O&S

organizações & sociedade

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A revista *Organizações & Sociedade* **(O&S)** é uma publicação trimestral, que tem como principal propósito disseminar pesquisas no campo dos Estudos Organizacionais e trabalhos de outras áreas que dialoguem e possuam claras implicações sobre as organizações. Acolhendo trabalhos de amplo espectro epistemológico, assim como que tangenciem o *mainstream* em Administração, a O&S veicula contribuições com alta consistência teórica e elevado rigor metodológico. São bem-vindos artigos sobre organizações públicas, privadas e do terceiro setor, e que articulam dialeticamente as organizações no contexto da sociedade contemporânea.

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Organizações & Sociedade, O&S

Dear O&S readers

This last O&S issue in 2016 inaugurates the Annual English Edition. Besides helping to accomplish some publication standards from important databases where O&S is indexed, this edition will allow O&S to reach a broader audience, thus increasing the visibility not only from the journal but also from the scholars who published their contributions in O&S.

As we announced in the first editorial in 2016, this year was characterized by new challenges for O&S and its editorial team. Maybe one of the main issues to be circumvented is related to the financial restrictions that might hamper the quality and the responsiveness of the outlet. These difficulties are even greater in public institutions funded by the Brazilian federal government, given the existing fiscal constraints. However, thanks to important partners who are in our side, we were able to deal with the external problems. In this sense, we would like to acknowledge the invaluable support provided by IBEPES and in particular from Edson Guarido Filho, Luciano Rossoni and Diego Coraiola. Without their help we would not be able to keep O&S on an excellence track. We are sure that the year 2016 paves our partnership.

In 2016, we also have consolidated our editorial practice by following our deadlines and editorial standards in a focused and transparent fashion.. We have also maintained (or at least tried) our quality standards and we have strengthened the relationship channels with authors and reviewers. As a result, O&S expanded and included more readers and authors from various regions of Brazil and abroad.

We reach the vol. 6, number 79 of O&S with articles reflecting the relevance and dynamics of the organizational studies field in Brazil. This aspect is easily noticed by the keywords of the nine articles comprising this edition, such as: work intensification; individual values; labour relations; high-performance; work systems; knowledge transfer; learning; organizational capabilities; institutionalization; public Ombudsmen; regulatory agencies; spirituality; organization studies and History; Archives; documents; urban entrepreneurialism; FIFA World Cup; Institutionalism; Ideal Types; Quality of Working Life; human behavior at work; functional music; public policy, agenda-setting, agenda denial; policy formulation. And, obviously: Organizations & Society.

First, *Pressure, Performance and Prestige: Dilemmas for Contemporary Professionals* is the first paper presented in this edition. In this paper, Ana Heloisa Costa Lemos, Leila Sharon Nasajon Gottlieb and Alessandra de Sá Mello da Costa demonstrate the negative implications of work intensification, such as an increase in the working loads, excessive pressure and sacrifices in personal lives, as well as other aspects considered positive, such as learning, professional growth, autonomy and financial gains.

The second paper - *Knowledge transfer, Learning and Organizational Capabilities in an inter-organizational software project* is from Silvio Popadiuk and Rosane Maria Soligo de Mello Ayres. In this piece, the authors aim to describe how learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms based on knowledge articulation and codification contribute to the development of organizational capabilities. By using the software sector as context, they evidenced the role of organizational efforts focused on knowledge articulation practices and on activities to develop client-specific capabilities. They also highlight the importance of knowledge codification practices.

Luciana de Oliveira Miranda and Paulo Carlos du Pin Calmon lead the paper *Institutional Change in Brazilian Public Administration: The case of the Ombudsman's Offices in Federal Regulatory Agencies*. Their study seeks to understand the process for the institutionalization of Ombudsman's Offices in federal regulatory agencies. The study show the existence of proactive actions by agents of change involved with the observed Ombudsmen teams in the study.

Spirituality in organizations? This question guides the fourth article in our English edition. Edivandro Luiz Tecchio, Cristiano José Castro de Almeida Cunha and Fabiana Besen Santos aim to analyze how national and international scholarship have been dealing with the organizational spirituality topic. The authors studied 118 full-documents available in Scopus and SciELO databases. They identified seven major themes about the subject: factors that encourage spirituality to development in organizations; the differences between spirituality and religion; the definition/concept of organizational spirituality; the benefits of spirituality for organizations; the dimensions of spirituality in organizations; the values of spirituality in organizations; and ways of identifying/ measuring spirituality in organizations.

Fifth, Amon Barros offers us *Archives and the "Archive": dialogue and an agenda of research in organization studies*. This text considers the "Archive" as a concept and a transitional space and also stimulates discussions from history and organizations in terms of theoretical and methodological concerns involving the use of archives. The paper concludes that archives and the Archive are constituent elements of practices and structures.

Clarice Misoczky de Oliveira and Maria Ceci Misoczky present the paper *Urban Entrepreneurialism in FIFA World Cup host cities: the case of Porto Alegre*. This paper analyzed the practices implemented in Porto Alegre in Large Urban Projects (LUPs) associated to the 2014 FIFA World Cup. An instrumental case study was performed, and three three units of analysis were incorporated: mobility, stadiums and the waterfront. Their findings indicate how each project is connected to urban entrepreneurial strategies.

The seventh article in this edition is *A criticism of the use of ideal types in studies on institutional logics*. The author, Guillermo Cruz, seek to reflect on the use of ideal types by some authors from institutionalism in studies. He argues that there is a misreading of what is advocated by Weber with respect to ideal-type construction, ignoring the issue of axiological neutrality and the impossility of ideal types being found empirically. In this respect, he argues that the way in which ideal types are used in studies on institutional logics needs to be reconsidered.

Eight, the paper *Qualit of working life and music in the manufacturing workplace* tackles an interesting topic: music and organizations. In this paper, Walid Abbas El-Aouar, César Ricardo Maia de Vasconcelos and Alipio Ramos Veiga Neto aimed to understand how the insertion of music in the work environment contributes to achieving Quality of Working Life (QWL), from the perspective of biopsychosocial and organizational well-being. They concluded that musical insertion provides biological, social and, above all, psychological and organizational well-being to the co-workers, thus contributing to obtain QWL in the workplace.

Lastly**,** Ana Cláudia Niedhardt Capella presents *Agenda-setting policy: strategies and agenda denial mechanisms*. Her work focuses on an aspect overlooked in literature on policy formulation: agenda denial, i.e. the political process by which issues are kept from policymakers' consideration and deliberation. The author argues that the power to keep an issue off the agenda is exercised through non- recognition or denial of the problem, discrediting the issue itself or the group directly related to it, the co-optation of leaders or the group's symbols, postponement and formal denial, among other mechanisms. This study explores these actions, seeking to contribute to research on public policy and agenda setting in public organizations

We wish excellent reading and our best regards!

Editors
Ariádne Scalfoni Rigo
Sandro Cabral

Artigos

Pressure, Performance and Prestige: Dilemmas for Contemporary Professionals

Ana Heloisa Costa Lemos*
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Abstract

Recent changes in the world of work have resulted in a greater level of work intensification. Whilst there have been gains in productivity, workers have been subject to increasing demands of both a physical and mental nature, which tend to have a negative impact on their well-being. Our interest in understanding this phenomenon has led to a qualitative study that seeks to analyse the experiences of professional graduates working in organizations that use high-performance practices, which tend to generate work intensification. The respondents revealed both the negative implications of work intensification, such as an increase in the working day, excessive pressure and sacrifices in their personal lives, as well as other aspects considered positive, such as learning, professional growth, autonomy and financial gains. These latter aspects deserve attention, since they can help us understand what leads qualified workers to accept intensified working practices.

Keywords: work intensification; individual values; labour relations; high-performance; work systems.

Pressão, Performance e Prestígio: Dilemas do Profissional Contemporâneo

Resumo

As transformações recentes ocorridas no mundo do trabalho trouxeram, dentre várias consequências, a intensificação do trabalho. Apesar dos ganhos de produtividade advindos desse processo, cada vez mais são exigidos dos trabalhadores maiores dispêndios de energia física e mental, o que tende a produzir impactos negativos sobre o seu bem-estar. O interesse em entender esse fenômeno motivou a realização de uma pesquisa qualitativa que buscou analisar a experiência de profissionais com formação superior inseridos em organizações que utilizam práticas de alta *performance*, que tendem a gerar intensificação do trabalho. Os relatos dos entrevistados revelaram tanto implicações negativas de se trabalhar sob condições de intensificação, como o aumento da jornada de trabalho, o excesso de pressão e o sacrifício da vida pessoal, quanto aspectos considerados positivos, tais como o aprendizado, o crescimento profissional, a autonomia e os ganhos financeiros. Estes últimos aspectos merecem atenção, pois ajudam a compreender o que leva trabalhadores qualificados a aceitarem trabalhar de forma intensificada.

Palavras-chave: intensificação do trabalho; valores individuais; relações de trabalho; sistemas de trabalho; alta performance.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the intensifying of the working day has been the focus of a number of research studies. Burke (2009) argues that these are "hot topics". Within this field, although results have identified aspects that might be considered positive for organizations and individuals in terms of increased productivity and salary gains (GREEN, 2001; 2004), discussions about negative features and aspects appear to dominate the literature (BROWN & BENSON, 2005; HEWLETT & LUCE, 2006; BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007). Results regarding burnout (BARNETT, GAREIS & BRENNAN, 1999), psychological problems (KIRKCALDY, LEVINE & SHEPARD, 2000), family conflicts (CROUTER *et al.,* 2001), fatigue, irritability and increased accidents at work (DEMBE *et al.,* 2005) are some of the problems indicated in studies that discuss the effects of the increased working day. It is understood that when intensity is greater, it requires higher employee performance, whether that be physical, intellectual or psychological (PORTER, 2001, 2004; GREEN; 2004; BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009).

However, from the employee's perspective, this new work dynamic appears paradoxical, since, alongside the possible financial gains arising from greater involvement at work, we cannot ignore the resulting physical and mental stress, which has led us to return to the question posed by Burke (2009, p.169): "Why do people choose to work long hours?" According to the author, some people have to do two jobs to survive, while others can make choices (BURKE, 2009). Regarding this second group, despite the deleterious aspects associated with increased work intensity reported in the literature (MCCANN, MORRIS & HASSARD, 2008), several studies suggest the existence of professionals who, despite working intensively long hours every day, state that they are satisfied with their jobs (GREEN, 2004; MACKY & BOXXAL, 2008; BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009).

Our study was therefore guided by the fact that, on the one hand, the work dynamic is changing and becoming more intense, and, on the other, a significant contingent of professionals frequently appear to justify their decision to work under such conditions. We sought to understand both these professionals' work dynamics and what leads qualified professionals to work in organizations and activities that demand intense dedication. In order to better understand this paradox – the dynamic of more intense and prolonged work *versus* professionals who consider these conditions to be satisfactory – the study analysed interviews with thirteen Brazilian professionals who work in organizations oriented by high-performance practices. In order to present the results, this article is divided into five sections, including this one. The second section is dedicated to discussing the phenomenon of work intensification in the existing literature; the third presents the research methodology; the fourth deals with the interview analysis, whereas final considerations are provided in the last section.

2. Transformations in the Production Sector and their Effects on Work Intensification

In discussing the work intensification process, Green (2004) draws attention to evidence which suggests that this phenomenon is gaining ground. According to the author, external market pressure causes companies to be concerned about cost reductions and increased product and service quality, aimed at competitive advantage. This pressure has consequently been pushed onto the workforce, which has been pressurized into expending greater efforts. Further, growing levels of work insecurity have led to fears of job loss, also causing work efforts to intensify. According to Green, changes are aimed at increasing efforts and improving worker qualifications and skills. Often, companies require employee identification with company goals, which translates into acceptance of the need to expend greater efforts to meet tighter deadlines, in order to more rapidly meet consumer demands and increase the company's global competitiveness.

Transformations in the world of work have also increased demands for employee flexibility and the development of further skills, at the same time that socializing outside work has reduced and job insecurity has increased (BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007). Information technology modernizations, allied to developments in internal company communications have increased capacity to monitor work processes, generating more psychological pressure for workers. Employee insecurity has increased as employees have begun to see the risks associated with not performing according to employer expectations. As a result of these feelings of insecurity, individuals have redoubled their efforts to improve their productivity, both qualitatively and quantitatively (GREEN, 2001; 2004; ROSSO, 2008). In relation to this, Antunes (2006) emphasizes that more stable work is suffering unprecedented pressure towards intensification, since employees are expected to be constantly available and submit to extremely variable working hours.

For Porter (2001), involving people in work appears to be increasing, in that they are always being asked to do more. The author asserts that organizational change initiatives have only succeeded through human effort. For him, the recent trend demonstrates that every change a company puts in place increases demands on individuals, often making them feel "stretched" to the limit, since they are being asked to do more with less. According to Porter, the idea of excessive work is contained in a particular "strong work ethic" defined in the following terms: always at work, work is unquestioningly the number one priority, and the more work, the better. This ethic leads people to work harder every day, reducing their opportunities for free time and leisure. Finally, as Green (2001) notes, it is possible that economic performance may be increased through increased pressure for greater efforts to be made at work, however, the author argues that this is not something that can continue indefinitely.

Burke and Fiskenbaun (2009) highlight some of the characteristics of intensified working that are principally responsible for the greater pressure workers are under, namely: a) the unpredictable scope of work; b) working according to tight deadlines; c) scope of responsibility related to more than one role; d) events related to working outside normal working hours; e) the need to be available 24 hours a day; f) direct responsibility for profit and loss; g) a great deal of travel; h) the large number of reports made to management; and i) physical presence at the workplace for at least 10 hours a day. The authors conclude that professionals are currently working long hours every day, intensely, with less holiday time, and often having to cancel their holidays. One significant point the authors address is that these same employees state that they love their work. They allege that work is stimulating and challenging; that they work with highly skilled professionals; that they receive high salaries and enjoy status and recognition. This apparent satisfaction with work, despite its intensity, is also reported in other studies dedicated to organizations that adopt high-performance work systems (MACKY & BOXALL, 2008; KODZ *et al*., 1998; JOHANN, 2004).

3. High-performance Work Systems and Work Intensification

White *et al.* (2003) label practices used to obtain greater discretionary effort from employees as high-performance or high commitment. Such practices involve a combination of work organization and human resource policies to promote greater participation in decision-making, provide opportunities to learn new skills and financial incentives to offer greater discretionary effort to serve the company's objectives. For the authors, these practices generally presuppose career development, training and performance-related pay. Some of the mechanisms companies use in attempting to increase worker productivity may function to boost and intensify work. We may highlighted them thus: (a) lengthening and intensifying the working day; (b) functionally polyvalent workers; (c) flexibility; (d) results-based management; (e) participatory management; (f) use of information technology; and (g) the adoption of variable pay systems.

In terms of the lengthening of the working day, the perception is that working 40 hours a week can already be considered outdated, almost part-time. There are many executives who work between 60 and 70 hours a week and these hours place them under extreme pressure. The reasons for this increase include activity overload, expectations of rewards associated with better results, peer pressure, and explicit demands from superiors (HEWLETT & LUCE, 2006; BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009). Health risks associated with tiredness and anxiety increase as a consequence of extended working hours, (BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007).

Polyvalence represents the capacity to carry out a range of diverse activities at the same time, which means doing more work in the same working day; the employee begins to take care of a number of processes, performing different operations within each. The employee's engagement in work becomes polyvalent, in the sense that they act on a range of fronts at the same time. In this way, there is greater occupation of the working day, leading to a certain sense of full employment in productive work (GREEN, 2004; ROSSO, 2006).

Flexibility is considered to be one of the main pivots of new company strategies and is related to work intensification, since it transfers the weight of market uncertainties onto the organization's employees (BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007). Companies that seek to incorporate flexibility into their daily life, organize their workforce into autonomous teams, with no unity of place or time, in other words, partly at a distance, with internal or external partners, with some full-time and some part-time members. Thus, the most valued workers, according to staff management based on flexibility, are those who are open to changing their routines and projects and who permanently manage to adapt to new circumstances (ANTUNES, 2006; CRUBELLATE, 2004). According to Boltanski and Chiapello (2007), this logic of constant change may be transferred to other employee attributes, so that certain qualities may also be permanently dispossessed, since they must be transformed as the situation demands. Thus, professionals are required to develop a new skill, that of being capable of recognizing, within their working circumstances, which properties they should have recourse to, in order to respond to certain demands.

Results-based management also functions as a work intensification mechanism, and is considered to be the principal source of pressure on workers. Performance appraisals provide employees with a sense of overload as a result of the increased number of reports and assessments required. This cycle has an impact on a number of other human resource processes and on administrative decisions about the employee's future, in terms of possible promotion, growth and remuneration. The expectation of a good appraisal operates as an incentive for hard work, since the quantity of work produced and the number of hours spent at work have weight in assessor decisions. The fear of the negative consequences of a bad performance appraisal by a supervisor creates a sense of mental and physical overload. This proves how this management mechanism may have an adverse impact on employees, while, at the same time, making companies think employee performance is improving as a result of continuous assessment, since this method enables them to determine which of their employees are making the greater efforts at work. (BROWN & BENSON, 2005).

White *et al.* (2003) suggest that the human resources management model, which involves participatory management, obtains high discretionary employee engagement. This effect is caused by an ideology that generates an employee expectation that they must, above all, demonstrate high commitment and performance, even if such efforts may have a negative impact on their personal lives. The attainment of this objective is, in the authors' view, organized through empowerment, motivation programmes, teamwork, quality circles and skills and career development. All these human resource practices are aimed at motivating higher performance levels and commitment and encouraging employees' discretionary effort in their work (GREEN, 2004; ANTUNES, 2006).

The use of technological resources, which provide greater connectivity, also contribute to the work intensification process. Modern communication has led to changing behaviour and expectations, which can be witnessed by the fact that people always carry mobile phones, whatever the day, time or event. Thus, companies have

begun to expect maximum employee availability and, through this, maintain abusive practices in terms of their expectations of professionals' time and energy (PORTER, 2001; HEWLETT & LUCE, 2006; BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009).

Finally, the variable remuneration could also be considered an instrument of work intensification. Employees perceive this form of remuneration as both an opportunity and a risk. The opportunity refers to the possibility of obtaining greater compensation for higher performance, while the risk refers to the possibility of receiving less reward for lower performance. Performance-related pay violates the principle of collectivism as it promotes the understanding that individual appraisal is more important and that those who receive more will remain at the company longer. The individualization of work circumstances, particularly of remuneration, gives companies greater dominance over each employee, enabling them to apply greater pressure on their employees (BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007). The differentiation and individualization of remuneration means that pay is conditioned by individual performance or by the results of the unit in which the professional works and thus become linked to personal properties and appraisal at higher levels (CHANG & BILLS, 1999; WHITE, *et al*., 2003).

4. Methodology

Assuming that long working days, periodic evaluations and variable remuneration are factors in the contemporary management of some companies, and that they contribute to work intensification (WHITE *et al*., 2003), we selected our interview respondents according to the following criteria: (a) they work, on average, twelve hours a day (without this being formally imposed on them); (b) most of their pay is represented by variable bonuses, distributed according to employee performance and the organization itself; and (c) the management model of the organization in which they work is guided by high performance practices, which tend to include aspects such as polyvalent functions, flexibility, results-based management, participatory management, the use of information technology, and the adoption of variable pay systems.

We opted to conduct a qualitative study, which attempts to understand a specific phenomenon in depth. This was because our focus was to analyse how the participants experienced and assessed their work dynamic, which included elements of intensification. Since we understand that the way this experience is perceived is subjective, our data was obtained through interviews, in most cases at the respondents' workplace.

The interview subjects were identified through the researchers' networks and by personal recommendations from people who work in organizations that adopt performance-related practices. Thirteen individuals participated in the study, five women and eight men from nine different companies, located in Rio de Janeiro. The respondents worked in posts at various levels, from trainees to directors and associates, and in a range of areas, such as finance, commerce, human resources, legal, accounting and others. All the participants were graduates, aged between 21 and 33, and had worked at their company for between six months and seven years. In terms of age, it was not the researchers' intention to only interview young people, but these emerged from the recommendations, possibly reflecting the work dynamic we focused on. Table 1 summarizes the principal respondent characteristics.

Table 1 – Respondent profile

Respondent	Area of operation	Organizational Line	Current post	Age	Time at Company
1	Personnel Management	Shopping Centre	Coordinator	24	2 years
2	Finance	Corporation	Director	26	7 years
3	Commerce and Marketing	Shopping Centre	Coordinator	27	2 years & 2 months

Respondent	Area of operation	Organizational Line	Current post	Age	Time at Company
4	Finance and New Business	Investment Fund	Associate	30	4 years
5	Finance and Borrowing	Corporation	Manager	29	6 years
6	Accounting	Corporation	Analyst	25	1 years & 6 months
7	Trading Desk	Investment Fund	Career Manager	24	4 years
8	Legal	Corporation	Leader	33	1 years & 6 months
9	Marketing	Cosmetic Products	Analyst	29	5 years
10	Corporate Sustainability	Telephones	Trainee	21	1 year
11	Management and Organizational Culture	Consultancy	Associate	#	#
12	Accounting/HR Management	Retail Sales	Coordinator	27	4 years
13	Human Resources	Banking	Analyst	26	6 months

Source: Compiled by the authors.

The interview guide was based on open-ended questions about the number of hours worked; the working pace; the existence of performance assessments, targets and results; the variable remuneration system; management style; and the influence of work on personal life. During the interview, other questions also emerged, which further enriched our conversations. The interviews lasted between 30 and 50 minutes and were recorded and transcribed in their entirety by the researchers themselves.

The data was analysed through content analysis, enabling the construction of *a posteriori* categories, which helped to identify the respondents' working conditions, reflecting a dynamic of intensification, and their justifications for adhering to this way of working. These categories guided the structure of the following item, dedicated to analysing the results.

5. Result Analysis

This section presents the results of our analysis of the interview responses, aiming to understand both their work dynamic and what leads qualified professionals to work in organizations and activities that demand intense dedication. The reports were organized into two parts. The first part covers aspects related to work intensification, summarizing the negative aspects related to the respondents experience, namely: (a) lengthening of the working day, (b) increased pace of work; (c) need for flexibility and polyvalence; (a) results-based management. The second part, on the other hand, covers reports that have received scant attention in the literature, namely positive meanings associated with intensified working. According to the respondents: (a) learning; (b) rapid professional growth; (c) attractive variable pay; (d) meritocracy; and (e) professional autonomy are the principal gains related to working in companies described as high performance. The following section expresses, discusses and illustrates these categories.

5.1. Working More: The Perceived Costs

In describing their working conditions, the respondents appear to experience most of the situations described by the literature as typical of work intensification, as well as the deleterious effects associated with an extended working day, increased pace of work, demand for flexibility and polyvalence, and pressure for results. Despite asserting, at certain times, that they liked their jobs and chose to work for high performance companies, the respondents did not refrain from highlighting the burden of working under these conditions. The following sections discuss some of the aspects highlighted in the interviews.

5.1.1 Increasing the Working Day and the Pace of Work

This first section deals with the lengthening of the working day and increased pace of work. Several references to long working days were identified in the interviews. Alongside longer days, we see a demand for full availability and, consequently, more time dedicated to the job. The interview discussions are in accordance with the literature, which highlights growing, implicit and explicit, pressure from companies for professionals to habitually work long hours and more intensely (ANTUNES, 2006; GREEN; 2001; 2004; GREEN & MCINTOSH, 2001; ROSSO, 2006; PORTER, 2001; 2004). The follow reports illustrate this:

> Today, I get to work at 9am and I don't have a set time to leave. I leave at 8pm or 8:30. I must work about 11-12 hours a day. (E6)

> I get to work at eight am and leave at half past nine at night. I get home and I read a little and I work a little bit more at the weekend. (E4)

Despite working long hours, the pace and speed with which work is carried out during these hours seems to be what the respondents consider to demand the most sacrifice. This is in accordance with what Hewlett and Luce (2006) call extreme jobs, that is, jobs in which subjects are submitted to intensification that translates into not only long, but also more taxing hours in terms of pressure and pace, which makes these positions particularly stressful. The respondents say that they are subjected to an intense pace of work and confirm that pressure is high during the working day. It is worth noting that, in several interviews, we identified the expression 'the mortality rate of people in the company' to express this pressure:

> [The company] (...) forces staff turnover. They have an interest in the worst ones resigning and making room for certain people who stand out. That's business. (E1)

> It's well-known that companies in this group have a very high pace, a very fast pace of work. The mortality rate is very high, as people resign because they can't stand the pace. (E9)

> The companies are really like funnels, the base is very large, it's very difficult to get out of the base (...) the base is (...) very large, because the mortality rate within these companies is very high. (E4)

All the professionals feel they are being held to account and pressured, which interferes with their personal lives because they are constantly thinking about work. Some of the respondents felt that they needed to be alert during the entire working day:

> Some of the people who work with me are my friends (...) but we are not friends during work. I can't be very warm, chat with them, when people start chatting I feel like I'm letting things build up, that dust is accumulating. (E3).

Furthermore, work supported by non-portable and portable computers, smart phones and other technologies tends to disrupt the pattern of clearly separated work and non-work time, since the boundaries between these times has become so diffuse (BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009; PORTER, 2001; BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007;

ROSSO, 2006). The respondents' experiences highlight the role of technological developments in work intensification and illustrate the sensation they described of never switching off from work, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, particularly as a result of using mobile phones connected to the company e-mail:

> I have my own Blackberry, which doesn't belong to the company, but it's got the company e-mail, so I respond to e-mails as soon as I get them (...) Saturday night. I never switch off. I only turn it off during holidays, when I'm out of the country (...) But not at any other time. (E1)

Finally, several respondents reported the feeling that they have given up other non-work activities in their lives due to the intensity and stress of their daily work. This stress appears even when the respondents consider questions that could be considered more trivial, such as time during the day to do physical activities or courses:

> I'm not going to say that I don't want to have a personal life, but my routine doesn't allow me to go to the gym or do a course. (E1).

The demands of work can also be identified in more problematic cases, as described by one of the respondents in relation to an employee who was on maternity leave and could not extricate herself from the issues and demands of her daily job:

> There are people who give their life to work (...) but at certain moments these people's personal lives have to be respected (...) when someone goes on maternity leave, you shouldn't call them the whole time. Carol had a premature baby, she was in Intensive Care, and Marina called her the whole time. Every day. (E1).

5.1.2. Demand for Polyvalence and Flexibility

All the interviews highlighted the importance of the next topic: employee polyvalence and flexibility. The polyvalence demanded by companies makes the employee focus on several tasks simultaneously, so that work becomes more intense and requires greater commitment, thereby consuming more physical, emotional and cognitive energy (ANTUNES, 2006; BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007; GREEN, 2004; 2001; CRUBELLATE, 2004).

Polyvalence has been associated with a demand for multiple qualifications and translates into a need for employees to demonstrate that they are capable of numerous and various tasks. The requirement to be capable of performing a range of activities emerged in the interviews in various ways:

> You have various things to do at the same and very few people to do them (...) In this philosophy, the bone they give you is too big to chew (E2).

> There are only four of us, and lots of meetings and we also have to do the intellectual bit (...) this equalization of time is very complicated, because there are not enough people in the team to meet so many needs. Sometimes you are doing an analysis, but you are alone in a big room with five hundred people demanding things from you. (E11)

As well as polyvalence, there is also demand for flexibility. The respondents indicate that this experience manifests itself in a need to be available to work in a range of locations, when the company judges it interesting or necessary to relocate them. Faced with this situation, they feel that the challenge is to adapt quickly to the different demands imposed on them, so they can continue in the organization and not be dismissed, even if this involves a geographical move:

> When I was promoted, there was no vacancy in the Rio portfolio, the vacancy was filled, there was only Minas and Goiânia, so I said: you can send me wherever you think is best. (E1)

The respondent reports also demonstrate that this demand for flexibility is linked to uncertainty and risk about the future, since what appears to be in play is what Antunes (2006) called establishing circumstances where agreements are always provisional. In several statements, however, it is not the company that experiences

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uncertainty and risk, but rather this is transferred to the employees themselves, as seen in the following statement:

> Where will you be in five years? I have no way of knowing. It's related to what people manage to build. If the company doesn't grow, you can't move up (...) if you don't push the cart, you won't get anywhere, so the greater objective is: the shareholders have to make money from this (...) things move in line with what the associate brings in. (E2)

5.1.3. Pressure for Results

As discussed in the literature, this third section also suggests one way of generating work intensification by demonstrating a philosophy of demanding, "better results, all the time", and furthermore, by making individuals responsible for constantly improving in order to attain the company's goals (ROSSO, 2006; BROWN & BENSON, 2005; BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007; GREEN; 2004; 2001). In the reports, we were able to identify that the appraisal of the attainment or otherwise of expected results involves decision-making about the future of each member of the organization, which demonstrates the burden and significance of a good assessment for the employees:

> Pressure is inherent in this work because you have to have a result every day and you are judged by the number that goes into the daily report. Everyone in the company knows everyone else's exact results for the month, day, year. (E8)

The respondents report that their fixed targets are always highly aggressive, which increases the sensation of pressure in routine work. Despite legitimizing this system, since they understand that this is the game and it has clear rules, these individuals confirm that they are under a lot of pressure. The following statements illustrate their experience of results-based management:

> The whole company has to be measured (performance)! People know what the game is, but it means always being held to account, a lot of pressure, a lot of dedication. (E2)

> We have to deliver on so much for so few people. The delivery target is very high and the team is tiny. We have to deliver on a lot of things and if the team always delivered, they would demand more and more, they wouldn't be happy. If you deliver five in one year, they want ten the next. You are always at your limit. (E3)

Our analysis of respondent perceptions of the results-based management model also allowed us to see that they sometimes experience a feeling of injustice about the appraisal process, since only employee results are taken into consideration. In other words, according to the respondents, even if other intervening factors affect attainment of the stipulated target, these are not taken into consideration as moderating factors:

> Results-based management is a fair way of seeing who is delivering and who is not, but the world is not robotic and the variables are infinite. (E1)

> You have to learn the hard way, because you have a target and you have to do everything you can to deliver it, independent of anything else. (E3)

Tension may therefore further increase as a result of an anticipated negative impact, should the specific objective not be achieved, even if other variables have influenced this.

It is worth noting that the variable pay mechanism, associated with results-based management, also increases pressure at work and demand for greater efforts, arising from both a desire to receive the rewards on offer and a fear of the potentially negative consequences associated with not meeting targets. Those who do not meet expectations are not only punished by not being remunerated, but, more importantly, run the risk of losing their job or being viewed negatively in their work environment:

> When you meet a target it's great, you're going to earn money and other things because of it, but when you don't meet a target, everyone knows about it and if you regularly don't meet your targets, you will probably be fired. (E8)

Despite the negative aspects associated with intensified working conditions, attention also focused on the fact that employees allege that they like their jobs and positively evaluate management practices which put added pressure on their performance. For this reason, the next section presents and discusses the main points these employees described as positive in their daily working life.

5.2 Working More: Reasons and Alleged Benefits

At the same time as reporting the costs and, to a certain extent, the negative aspects resulting from intensified working conditions and the lengthening working day, the respondents also indicated the benefits associated with this work dynamic. This aspect is less explored in the literature, which tends to emphasize the deleterious aspects of an increased workload. It deserves greater attention, however, because it helps to explain so many professionals' apparently voluntary adherence to high performance work. The respondents describe learning and rapid professional growth; attractive variable remuneration; meritocracy; autonomy and greater responsibility as the principal perceived gains of this management practice. The following sections attempt to organize their reports, identifying and illustrating these points.

5.2.1 Learning and Rapid Professional Growth

This item refers to the respondents' perceived opportunities for learning and rapid professional growth.

Despite experiencing a great deal of stress in their daily work, the respondents stated that working in organizations that require extended working hours was a personal choice and, conversely, that they encountered opportunities for a more rapid rise in such organizations, as well as alleged gains in learning about management practices.

Words such as "learning" and "growth" appear in the respondents' statements and they repeat them several times:

> Because, in fact, what I want is simple: I want to be in a place where there is rapid growth and financial remuneration because of this and where I can learn a lot. (E6)

> Opportunity to learn is the key to business, without this I would never dedicate so many hours, or wake up thinking about how the day is going to be, go to sleep thinking about work, rushing lunch. (E2)

The fact that they were all young and ambitious may explain this almost obsessive search for growth. Moreover, the respondents believe that their current efforts will be rewarded in the near future and see extreme dedication as an investment in their careers:

> I'm always thinking about how to do things, if I close this deal will I become a manger in six months? Will I receive a raise tomorrow? How much will the bonus be? Will the president come up to me and say I am the guy? (E7)

However, precisely because they are predominantly young, the majority of these individuals see intense dedication to their work as an necessary stage in professional maturity and make a point of stressing that there is a limit - they do not intend to work at this pace for a long time, since the costs of "high performance" are high:

> I want to make quick money, I'm going to retire at 40. I'm not going to work anymore (...). Because nobody can stand this burden of pressure forever. (E2)

Further, despite the pressure and losses arising from extreme job dedication, the respondents stress that the investment and sacrifice are worthwhile. That is, one can postulate that the respondents accept working in conditions that they recognize as necessitating sacrifices, because they see these sacrifices as transitory, as a necessary stage in their professional trajectory and, above all, as a pathway to rapid professional promotion:

I don't think it's great to work 12 hours a day, because I miss a lot of things, I risk my health, but if you weigh it up, I win, I create a lot, I have autonomy, I learn more quickly and I earn more. So, I think the benefits outweigh [the costs]. (E1)

Today, I am 27 years old and I know that I'm sacrificing part of my youth for a long-term project. I'm sure I have friends who take extended holidays, go away at the weekends, and I know that if I wasn't working I would have the same lifestyle, but I also know that in the future I will be able to have a lifestyle that will make up for all this. All this time investment that I'm making now will be rewarded in the future. (E4)

5.2.2. Attractive Variable Remuneration

Variable remuneration and awards for productivity, which in the literature are cited as conducive to work intensification (CHANG & BILLS 1999; BOLTANSKI & CHIAPELLO, 2007; ANTUNES, 2006) have, in the respondents' view, positive effects, since they experience this form of remuneration as objective, fair and meritocratic:

What you gain and what you lose is highly objective; you don't depend on anyone else, that's very clear. You meet the target, you earn money, full stop. It doesn't depend on a conversation, on politics... This is positive. I think it's great. (E8)

The targets policy is always very aggressive and variable pay occurs through meritocracy. You will be remunerated according to your development and meeting your targets. (E9)

It is worth mentioning that, according to Boltanski & Chiapello (2007), results-based management and variable remuneration are aimed at increasing employee involvement and sense of responsibility and self-control, thus obtaining greater engagement in work situations. However, although the authors criticized this aspect, some of the respondents also value it:

I love it! I think that the targets give your work direction. It's a fair way for you to see who is delivering and who isn't. (E1)

I think it's very good because it gives you focus, I'm not saying that if we didn't have targets, I wouldn't be here, but it obliges you to look every day, every hour. And at the end of six months, you can objectively measure who was good and who was bad. (E3)

Apparently, despite the pressure inherent in this remuneration system, the respondents appear to value it, since it is associated with aggressive targets, provoking a feeling that they are being encouraged to meet them.

5.2.3. Meritocracy

The topic of meritocracy also appears positively in the interviews with the respondents stating that they value meritocratic personnel management practices. According to most of the respondents, these practices characterize the organizations in which they work. Thus, obtaining recognition in pecuniary form, through promotions or the assignment of new challenges, appear to be important aspirations for these professionals, who endeavour to live up to this recognition:

It's well-known that the companies in group X are meritocratic companies, with a very intense pace of work, a very fast pace. These companies are really like funnels, the base is very large, it's very difficult to rise from the bottom, but this rise is faster in these companies than in the market as a whole. (E4)

The respondents frequently cited a desire to be recognized and valued and this appears to be the principal reward they expect in compensation for so much dedication and "passion" for the job:

Rapid meritocratic growth (...) It has to be a place where I can grow. Because just walking along is agonizing. (...) Recognition, in the sense of meritocracy. You will be rewarded for your merits and for the things that you did, and not how much time you have been there or who you know. (E6)

5.2.4. Greater Responsibility and Professional Autonomy

In this last section, the issue of increased individual responsibility also appears to be valued by the respondents, despite the critical literature suggesting that it is a problem, since it puts greater pressure on the employee and increasingly involves them subjectively (ROSSO, 2006; ANTUNES, 2006; WHITE *et al*., 2003; GREEN, 2004; PORTER, 2004; BURKE & FISKENBAUN, 2009; MACKY & BOXALL, 2008). The following statement illustrates this point:

> As long as the person who comes in is very responsible, precisely because they are used to the business culture of a lot of work and a lot of responsibility (...) Everyone has a lot of responsibility from the beginning. (E9)

Being responsible for projects considered to be strategic and having the autonomy to make important decisions were attractive features for our respondents, who may thus feel there is something different about the company in which they work. This greater involvement is often subjective and appears in the statements in the form of a discourse that emphasizes an emotional bond with work, not limited to formal working hours. This experience is reported as positive and is understood as indicative of an individual's "love" for their work.

> The difference between having a job and a career is that a job is something you go to from 9am to 6pm, you leave at night, it's finished and you go off to gossip. Not me! X is my life, it's different. (E1)

> To some extent, I'm in love with my job, but there are times when I stop and think that I'm too caught up in it. Then I go and read the paper. At the time of the election (...) Imagine, nobody talked about the election, nobody said that Bin Laden had died. You know, I miss this a bit, the outside world. (E3)

However, these same respondents recognize that this responsibility has a cost:

> As long as a person demonstrates a certain commitment and effort they gain more responsibility at xxx, but this responsibility isn't free. It comes with pressure, with being held to account, with more stress. (E3)

6. Final Considerations

In view of the fact that work dynamics are undergoing a process of modification, making them more intense and prolonged, this study aimed to analyse the experiences of professionals who work for long hours under intense conditions, highlighting both the negative aspects of this dynamic and those aspects the employees potentially perceived as positive, reinforcing their adherence to so-called "high performance work systems".

An analysis of the reports made by the professionals we interviewed revealed that they are almost always working under pressure, meaning that they have to work at a fast pace throughout the whole day. They work long hours every day and these hours are intense and stressful, due to the levels of physical and mental energy demanded. This pressure appears, to a large extent, to arise from the fact that they are required to achieve objectively measureable results and meet targets that the subjects consider relentless.

Another element that seems to contribute to this feeling of intensified work is through psychological encroachment on the time when the professional is not working. In other words, our analysis of the interviews revealed a sensation of overspill of pressure from work into times when the professional is not at work, such as at weekends, or at night, after they have left the company. This encroachment of their professional lives on their private lives appears to result from a significant emotional engagement in work. The intense involvement of the respondents with their job reinforces the fact that work is central to the construction of their identities. There are also important effects on self-esteem, since these professionals feel competent, and therefore worthy of social value.

Furthermore, the respondents appear to perceive the type of work they do as heroic, and are proud of the image of the organizations in which they work. Given that these organizations are known in the market as highly demanding of their professionals, contracting and maintaining only the "best", their members feel like "stars". This pride in being part of such a victorious and prestigious collective leads to an internalization of their company's values and adherence to and appreciation of its practices.

The analysis also suggested that, although the pace of work was onerous, the individuals chose to work in this way and considered the benefits to outweigh the costs. In this sense, although the respondents discussed the negative aspects of intensified work, they also drew attention to elements which gave them satisfaction in their jobs. Rapid professional growth, ongoing learning, meritocracy, variable remuneration, autonomy and greater responsibility are the principal "gains" from this type of work.

We can therefore postulate that choosing to work in an environment with observable work intensification conditions and an extended working day may be related to certain personal characteristics and values which shape the desires, needs and aspirations of employees who chose to work for organizations known as "high performance". It is worth noting, furthermore, that, although this was not intended by the researchers, all the respondents were young people, aged between 21 and 33 years old, allowing us to speculate that seeking work in high performance companies is the aspiration of ambitious young people at the beginning of their careers, desirous of prestige and personal and professional self-assertion.

We observed conclusively that the aspect that appears to be fundamental to an individual identifying with their respective organizations relates to the company's capacity to subjectively involve them by disseminating values that contribute to the construction of a desired heroic ideal, which such work symbolizes. The respondents' intense emotional engagement with their professional sphere reinforces the extent to which work is central to their identity construction. We could therefore say that the culture associated with the intensification of work is capable of creating unusual levels of motivation, loyalty and even fanaticism, enabling employees to interpret intensified work as something positive, in line with the wishes of the organization. The values disseminated by these organizations are able to provide an internalized ideological control structure for the employees, making it superfluous to control them extrinsically or bureaucratically. In other words, a new work culture appears to be under gestation, which guarantees the voluntary adherence of a certain strata of employees to a work dynamic that is increasingly extenuated. Even if we cannot extend this observation to the rest of the workforce, it is worth noting that it is qualified professionals, who generally have more options, who adhere, apparently voluntarily, to work systems which impose oppressive conditions. It remains to be seen whether workers with fewer choices would have greater resources to resist the pressures of the work dynamic that currently predominates.

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Knowledge transfer, Learning and Organizational Capabilities in an inter-organizational software project.

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Abstract

The aim of this work is to describe how learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms based on knowledge articulation and codification contribute to the development of organizational capabilities in software. The study focuses on client-specific and process capabilities. Results were obtained through a case study involving two partner companies in an inter-organizational project to develop an integrated information management and technology system. Evidence revealed investment and organizational efforts focused on knowledge articulation practices and activities to develop client-specific capabilities, as well as knowledge codification practices and activities to develop process capabilities. We also identified three factors that influenced software professionals' choice of the respective mechanisms (knowledge articulation and codification) namely: the sharing context, absorptive capacity and task complexity.

Key words: knowledge transfer, learning, organizational capabilities.

Transferência de conhecimento, Aprendizagem, e desenvolvimento de Capacitações Organizacionais em projeto interorganizacional de software.

Resumo

O objetivo deste trabalho é descrever como os mecanismos de aprendizagem e de transferência de conhecimento baseados em articulação e codificação de conhecimento contribuem para o desenvolvimento de capacitações organizacionais em *software*. As duas capacitações em estudo são: específicas do cliente e de processo. Os resultados obtidos por meio de um estudo de caso envolvendo duas empresas parceiras em um projeto interorganizacional de desenvolvimento de um sistema integrado de informações gerenciais e tecnológicas evidenciam investimentos e esforços organizacionais em práticas e atividades relacionadas à articulação de conhecimento para o desenvolvimento das capacitações específicas do cliente e em práticas e atividades relacionadas à codificação de conhecimento para o desenvolvimento das capacitações de processo. Também foi possível identificar três fatores que influenciam a escolha dos respectivos mecanismos (articulação e codificação do conhecimento) pelos profissionais de *software*, que são: o contexto de compartilhamento, a capacidade de absorção e a complexidade da tarefa.

Palavras-chave: transferência de conhecimento, aprendizagem, capacitações organizacionais.

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When we analysed the development and renewal of organizational capabilities through learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms in a software products and services company, the results led to an appreciation of two focal issues. The first is that a relationship of inter-organizational partnership can stimulate continuous learning and knowledge exchange and, for this reason, may be an effective source for the development of organizational capabilities between companies. The second issue refers to the fact that inter-organizational knowledge transfer, which requires intense, continuous and joint efforts to align common interests and learning goals and share resources, skills and experiences, is always challenging and difficult for both people and organizations. It is therefore is necessary to identify which factors and/or conditions favour or hinder the professional's selection of acquisition and sharing strategies (knowledge articulation and codification) in order to understand which aspects lead to better conditions so that knowledge and information flow between people becomes more productive.

This work explores these two issues through a literature review and an analysis of data obtained from a case study between Information Technology (IT) companies, and makes both theoretical and empirical contributions. The theoretical contribution refers to the possibility of integrating three macro themes: organizational capabilities, knowledge management and organizational learning. We assume that learning through knowledge transfer is the force that links up and interacts between heterogeneous social agents, inside and outside organizational boundaries, enabling the development and renewal of the capabilities required for organizations to adapt to their environment. Our empirical contribution is the identification and proposal, to managers and other software professionals, of organizational practices and factors that enable and influence organizational learning and establish knowledge management strategies (knowledge articulation and codification) for the development and renewal of specific organizational routines for product and service development.

Capabilities result from an evolutionary organizational learning process requiring deliberate investments in financial, emotional and cognitive resources. They mainly originate from the integration of knowledge that emerges from and resides in a range of sources, inside and outside the company. In most cases, however, this knowledge is neither ready nor available for immediate acquisition and use (ZOLLO & WINTER, 2002).

Organizational learning (OL) results from a complex combination of human (e.g. relationships between actors) and non-human (e.g. the structure, set of rules, artefacts and the environment) interaction and interdependence under constant negotiation and in joint efforts to reach a common understanding. We therefore need to identify and adopt knowledge transfer mechanisms or strategies that not only make information and knowledge available for acquisition, sharing and application in organizational routines, but are also able to explore and encourage interaction and socialization practices which continuously transform professionals, organizational structures and the various relationships between them (ANTONACOPOULOU; CHIVA, 2007).

In knowledge transfer and when learning during a partnership project to develop products and services, professionals adopt articulation and codification strategies for the acquisition and sharing of knowledge. The choice of strategies is influenced by certain organizational and individuals factors, namely: the sharing context, the professional's absorptive capacity, type of knowledge, cultural, structural and organizational differences and the goals of both the source and the recipient (AL-SATI; KACKNEY, 2011; COHEN; LEVINTHAL, NIU, 2010; SZULANSKI, 1996; TSAI; TSAI, 2005).

The aim of this paper is to answer the following research question: how do learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms contribute to the development of organizational capabilities? There are two organizational capabilities: client-specific and process. These are related to operations to develop software products and services. Figure 1 summarizes this study's conceptual analysis, relating learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms to specific organizational capabilities. We achieved our objective

through a case study, using interviews with four professionals from two companies, which we named Buyer-Seller, involved in a partnership project to develop software.

Figure 1 – Conceptual proposal for organizational capabilities, and learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms
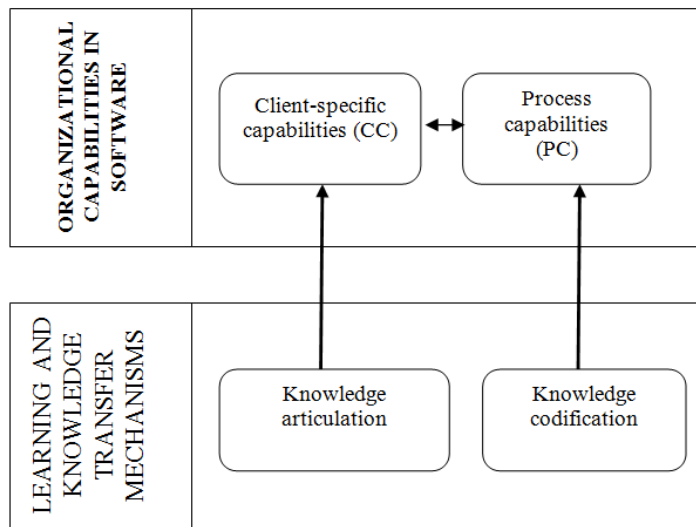
Source: Compiled by the authors

Following this introduction, the paper is organized into a further four sections. The second describes the review of literature, the third the methodological procedures adopted in the fieldwork and the fourth the results. The fifth section presents the final considerations.

Review of literature

Our analysis of the research results was based on a theoretical foundation combining four macro themes: (1) the Resource-Based View (RBV), which provides an understanding and exploration of the strategic relationship between a company's internal resources, capabilities and competitive advantage; (2) Knowledge transfer and learning mechanisms based on knowledge articulation and codification, the factors that influence how professionals choose mechanisms, as well as organizational practices through which information and knowledge flow occurs; (3) Organizational Capabilities and software capabilities, which are organizational routines related to the development of products and services; and (4) the Buyer-Seller Relationship, which is the general business context in which the mechanisms and capabilities develop.

Resource-based View – RBV

The RBV posits that an organization's internal resources are the principal determinants of its competitiveness. Advantage in relation to competitors may be achieved through the coordination and exploitation of strategic resources, distributed heterogeneously in an industry (BARNEY, 1991; TEECE; PISANO; SHUEN, 1997; WERNERFELT, 1986). It involves knowing exceptional ways to deploy such resources, at the same time as developing resource bases and future capabilities (GRANT, 1996).
Under the RBV criteria, knowledge emerges as a significant strategic resource. In particular, tacit knowledge, since this is inherently indeterminate and dynamically reconfigured (TSOUKAS, 1996). Its transfer and sharing depend on repeated personal

interactions (KOGUT; ZANDER, 1992; LUBIT, 2001; NONAKA; TAKEUCHI, 1997; ZACK, 1999). Explicit knowledge is capable of being codified and stored accurately, but this does not guarantee that it will be readily assimilated by all, since its full understanding and apprehension may require prior skills and knowledge, specifically, absorptive capacity (COHEN; LEVINTHAL, 1990).

The transfer of these two types of knowledge, tacit and explicit, requires idiosyncratic organizational mechanisms which increase their value, such as the creation of a context of constructive communication and the use of different communication instruments that encourage and foster sharing, and propel the integration of a range of knowledge and other specialized resources fundamental to the development of organizational capabilities (GRANT, 1996; EISENHARDT; MARTIN, 2000).

To adjust to the demands of their environment, organizations often need to accelerate access to unavailable or insufficient resources and skills, which are difficult and/or time-consuming in their acquisition and internal absorption. Under these circumstances, the acquisition and renewal of skills through inter-organizational partnerships has been seen to be a viable strategic alternative, enabling companies to remain at the leading edge of technology (ULRICH; SMALLWOOD, 2004; TEIRLINCK; SPITHOVEN, 2013; FITJAR; GJELSVIK; RODRÍGUEZ-POSE, 2013), whilst at the same time stimulating theoretical investigations into this topic and other correlates for knowledge transfer and organizational learning.

Knowledge transfer and learning mechanisms, and influencing factors

Studies in software engineering have recommended approaches to knowledge management and organizational learning in the software development process for highly significant reasons (ALTHOFF; BOMARIUS; TAUTZ, 2000; DINGSOYR, 2002; KAUTZ; THAYSEN, 2001).

The first is that software engineering is considered to be a typical knowledge creation process in which tacit and explicit knowledge are recognized and converted over the entire product development lifecycle (LUCAS, 2006). The second is that software operations are highly dependent on tacit knowledge, where the individual is the expert and the principal holder of knowledge that can be systematically shared with an organization (RUS; LINDVALL, 2002). Finally, it is because software projects are under constant threat of discontinuation, due to the high mobility of human resources. This could only be alleviated by investment in infrastructure and the development of a work environment which promotes knowledge sharing inside and outside the company (RUS; LINDVALL, 2002).

Where information systems are outsourced, knowledge transfer must be understood as a set of individual and organizational activities assumed by the client to identify and acquire potentially useful knowledge, which is externally generated by the vendor (AL-SATI; KACKNEY, 2011) and vice-versa.

Some authors admit to a hierarchical relationship between data (a raw fact in the form of a number, image, text, symbol, etc.), information (data processed in a context and endowed with relevance and purpose) and knowledge (actionable information). There is some overlap and redundancy between the expressions knowledge transfer/ sharing and information transfer/sharing (WILSON, 2002; SINGH, 2007; PAULIN; SUNESON, 2012).

There is also a tenuous line between what is transferred: whether it is information or knowledge, or both. Based on Singh's (2013) supposition that knowledge resides in the user and not in information collection, information becomes knowledge once it is processed in an individual's mind (tacit knowledge) and this returns to being information (explicit knowledge) through the practices of knowledge articulation and codification. This work therefore considers the distinctions asserted by Wilson (2002)[1], who admits

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1 *Knowledge which is shared with other people is inconsistent or incomplete, since it is never exactly the same as the knowledge generated by its creator or holder (tacit dimension).*

that knowledge involves a combination of information and experience, reflected and interpreted within a context, integrating thought and feeling.

The knowledge transfer and learning mechanisms addressed here are, respectively, knowledge articulation and codification (ZOLLO; WINTER, 2002), which are the means by which individuals in an organization continuously acquire, share and accumulate the knowledge and experience required for the development and reconfiguration of organizational capabilities (HAKANSON, 2007). Such mechanisms may also be understood as knowledge management strategies (acquisition, dissemination and sharing) (HANSEN et al., 1999), and are therefore considered interchangeable in this work.

The codification strategy is the compression of knowledge and experience into a structure which involves the use of codes and models to translate rules and actions into procedures, guidelines, specifications and documents (WHITAKER; MITHAS; KRISHNAN, 2010). Through codification, knowledge is incorporated into transferable artefacts and may be moved over long distances (HAKANSON, 2007). The articulation strategy is the process through which tacit knowledge is explained, and this favours knowledge innovation and creation and promotes division of labour, thereby generating specialization advantages (economies of scale) (WHITAKER; MITHAS; KRISHNAN, 2010).

Knowledge transfer in organizations requires effort, since it depends on how easily knowledge (tacit) may be transmitted, interpreted and absorbed in a transaction between the source and the recipient. It is a distinct experience rather than a gradual process of dissemination, since it depends on the characteristics of all those involved in the transaction, which can itself generate causal ambiguity (BRESMAN; BIRKINSHAW; NOBEL, 2010; SZULANSKI, 1996), creating barriers which may be cognitive (absorptive capacity and content assimilation), social (trust between the source and recipient) and structural (configuration of the context in which the exchange and leaning takes place) (HANSEN; HASS; MARTINE, 2001), and which influence the choice of knowledge management strategies (codification and articulation).

Some of the barriers to knowledge acquisition and assimilation as well as to the best practices featured in the literature are, respectively: the nature or type of knowledge, absorptive capacity, context, task complexity and cultural differences, organizational structure and the goals of the source and recipient.

The type or nature of knowledge to be shared or acquired may be in tacit or explicit form. Tacit knowledge is not immediately available in written form, and its transference is far from trivial. Explicit knowledge may be simpler to transfer, since it does not depend on a strict social bond between transmitter and receiver. When initiating a process of knowledge conversion from tacit to explicit and vice-versa, organizations may therefore enhance the applicability of organizational knowledge (NIU, 2010) by replicating its capabilities (BERTA; BAKER, 2004; GIANNAKIS, 2008). This is particularly true in specific episodes of tacit knowledge transfer, which depend on the intensive use of communication for more prolonged periods of intense personal interaction between the source and the recipient (SZULANSKI, 1996).

According to Cohen and Levinthal (1990), absorptive capacity is related to the way in which an organization develops routines and strategic processes to internalize and apply external knowledge, and signifies the ability to recognize the value of new information, and assimilate and apply it for commercial purposes. Transfer effectiveness is conditioned by prior knowledge and skills, as well as the recipient's motivation to seek out and accept knowledge viewed by them as different or new. In this sense, a lack of motivation may engender in the recipient attitudes of procrastination, denial, sabotage, passivity or acceptance in their implementation and use of shared knowledge (SZULANSKI, 1996), due to the recipient's inability or failure to recognize and assimilate the knowledge made available for sharing and/or use (VAARA; et al., 2012).

Context is related to individuals who acquire knowledge because they are in a situation or task environment (TSAI; TSAI, 2005). This operational environment could be either sterile or fertile in terms of knowledge acquisition and sharing, as a result of the organizational structure (SZULANSKI, 1996). That is to say, when the

organization provides a favourable context (e.g. sources of coordination, culture, communication systems etc.) and collaborative mechanisms (e.g. teams, rules), knowledge transfer and the learning process tend to be facilitated (GOODERHAM; MINBAEVA; PEDERSEN, 2012).

Furthermore, cultural differences and the goals of the knowledge source and recipient may impede collaboration and, consequently, hamper knowledge transfer (AL-SATI; KACKNEY, 2011).

The factors described above may isolate or, at the same time, impact, positively or negatively, on the configuration and implementation of the articulation and codification strategies undertaken in the development and evolution of organizational capabilities.

Organizational capabilities

Organizational capabilities are the organizational skills required to repeatedly perform a production task, which directly or indirectly relates to the capacity to create value through the transformation of input and output recourses. These capabilities are based on the integration of created, existing and accumulated skills and knowledge within an organization (GRANT, 1996; WINTER, 2000; SPANOS; PRASTACOS, 2004).

Capabilities are rarely ready and available for immediate acquisition and use. They require development and improvement over time, through interactions between various tangible and intangible resources (TEECE, 2000). Their creation requires investment in continuous learning, through a sequence of coordinated and repeated activities by individuals undertaking organizational routines (DAGHFOUS, 2003). They can also be developed by inter-organizational teams, dedicated to commercial partnership projects (WAGNER, 2003).

According to Zollo and Winter (2002), learning processes are responsible for the evolution, over time, of two sets of organizational activities: i) those dedicated to the company's operational functioning (staff and line activities), that is, operational routines (or operational capabilities); and ii) those dedicated to the modification of these operational routines, that is, dynamic capabilities.

This study concentrates on analysing the development and renewal of software capabilities, in particular, process capabilities (PC) and client-specific capabilities (CC).

Software capabilities

Software development is made up of a series of activities and methods undertaken collaboratively by project teams and, for this reason, necessitates the mutual sharing of both tacit and explicit knowledge (RUS; LINDVALL, 2002). It requires organizational practices to exchange and integrate knowledge and information, which ensure the realization of interests and goals common to the two companies. It means progress in terms of product development, combining the current and distinct skills and abilities of professionals from each, enabling new skills and routines to be complemented and incorporated into both.

Software development is a tumultuous human process which involves rapidly changing technologies, highly skilled and mobile professionals, with distinct know-how, interests and views about a specific goal (PRIES-HEJE; BASKERVILLE; HANSEN, 2005). It is made up of a series of activities, methods and practices undertaken collaboratively by project teams. It is thus rich in tacit knowledge, which usually involves mutual knowledge sharing (RUS; LINDVALL, 2002).

Three main generic phases constitute a software development process (PRESSMAN, 1987): definition (focused on 'what?') – systems analysis, software design planning and requirements analysis; development (focused on 'how?') – software

design, codification and testing; and maintenance – concentrating on the changes associated with error correction and the necessary adaptations as the software environment evolves and new applications are produced in line with client requirements. In this latter phase, the steps of the previous phases are reapplied.

Previous studies conducted with global software service companies (ETHIRAJ et al., 2005; JARVENPAA; MAO, 2008) have identified and categorized two important capabilities for the industry: client-specific capabilities and process capabilities.

Client-specific capabilities (CC) are a function of repeated interactions with clients over time and in different projects, which reduce administration costs and improve the project. They focus on the routines and recourses that align provider activities with the goals and priorities of the client over the short and medium term. The service provider must develop an understanding and have sufficient knowledge of the client's business (e.g. banking), of their functional domain (e.g. share trading) and of the specificities and idiosyncrasies of the client's operational environment (ETHIRAJ et al., 2005; JARVENPAA; MAO, 2008). In large part, they therefore reflect a tacit knowledge of the client's business domain and operational routines, acquired through repeated interactions between the client and the seller.

Process capabilities refer to routines to deliver tasks and resources in order to achieve software design, development and execution. They reflect technical skills, abilities and recourses in software development systems and processes. They demonstrate the richness of the organization's software development process and reflect the consistency with which process outputs may be produced. They therefore also reflect knowledge domains (technical, managerial, product) which, for the most part, may be acquired explicitly, investing in infrastructure, information systems and formal training (ETHIRAJ et al., 2005; JARVENPAA; MAO, 2008).

Both software capabilities may be acquired and/or renewed through inter-organizational partnerships which stimulate learning and knowledge sharing and provide tangible benefits for the partners involved, in terms of cost reduction and improved efficiency (WAGNER, 2003; WHITAKER; MITHAS; KRISHNAN, 2010).

Buyer-Seller Relationships (B-S)

Economic factors are driving software development projects towards the outsourcing model (PRIES-HEJE; BASKERVILLE; HANSEN, 2005) whereby organizations hand over one or more of their business processes to an external seller (WHITAKER et al., 2010).

Beyond the need for companies to concentrate more fully on their core business, this practice has been justified by an immediate need to access unavailable or insufficient resources, which are hard and/or time-consuming to acquire as intellectual capital, knowledge, operational expertise or know-how (SUMPIKOVA et al., 2013).

Specifically, knowledge related to Information Technology (IT), enables an external provider to attain higher levels of efficiency for their clients' IT service delivery, while at the same time improving organizational performance through the implementation of improved systems. Learning and acquiring new knowledge may also generate productivity gains for companies that operate within a buyer-seller relationship (SUMPIKOVA et al., 2013).

According to Wagner (2003), one of the main benefits of a closer buyer-supplier relationship is the synergy resulting from two organizations working together and solving common problems in order to achieve common goals.

Outsourced information systems projects have been recognized as intensive knowledge undertakings, which often invoke interactions between people with different knowledge and skills, where the seller functions as the knowledge source and the client as the recipient (AL-SATY; HACKNEY, 2011). In this study, the buyer (client) and the supplier (seller) are both knowledge sources and recipients at the same time.

Methodological procedures

In order to investigate the phenomenon within its real life context, the empirical research was based on a case study (YIN, 2001) in an Information Technology (IT) company, known as the BUYER, which developed an integrated management information and technology system (IMITS) via a partnership contract with a specialized software service provider, known as the SELLER.

The IMITS project began to function as a partnership project in 2007, when the Buyer decided to migrate their system from a platform based on Microsoft technology to one based on Java technology, although they did not have readily available skills and abilities in-house to develop the integrated system for the new development platform. The Seller was then contracted to define the scope of the new version.

The IMITS is a property system (the Seller's intellectual property) in the form of an integrated management system. At the beginning of the contract, the Seller, who was not cognisant of the Buyer's business context, was required to form an inter-organizational team (project managers, developers, business analyst, infrastructure support and testing) in which each had to complement the capabilities required for the development and maintenance of the new version, which was then named IMITS-Web. One of the agreement requirements was that the companies should learn and exchange knowledge with each other. These factors made the project suitable for our case study.

The case study was chosen according to one of Gil's (2010) recommendations, that is by seeking out a typical case based on prior information. Thus, at the pre-testing stage for the software professional interview questions, we found out that that the IMITS project envisaged knowledge transfer and complementary skills with externally contracted partners and that, therefore, the parties involved (Buyer-Seller) would have to develop and maintain an interface to administer all the phases and the resulting products. This information, allied to the availability of the two companies to participate in the study, was decisive in making an intentional choice, which would lead to better understanding of the research question (CRESWELL, 2010).

Data was collected from two sources: semi-structured interviews and open-access documents provided by the respondents. The interviews were conducted with four professionals, including two project managers and two developers from both the Buyer and Seller. We chose these job profiles intentionally, since their functions assume an accumulation of skills and abilities that included knowledge inherent to the two capabilities under study (client-specific and process).

Each interview lasted approximately one hour and thirty minutes. All were recorded, with the respondents' prior authorization, and then transcribed. Data with ambiguous interpretations or inconsistent with the documents was reviewed and clarified with the respondents.

The data collection aimed to capture the project professionals' evaluations of the knowledge acquisition and exchange during the development of the IMITS-Web and how these contributed to the systematization, consolidation and maintenance of development routines (organizational capabilities), specifically, those routines and resources which aligned the Seller's activities with the Buyer's goals, needs and priorities over the short, medium and long term; and how learning and knowledge transfer occurred over time.

The research protocol included an interview script to obtain a minimum set of information in the field. Focusing on the complexity of developing capabilities, we gathered the following information: academic backgrounds of the Buyer and Seller technical teams; how team skills have changed over time; how the partnership contributed to skill development; where the ideas for changes to or improvements of the product came from; the possible benefits arising from improved skills; the possible barriers to knowledge acquisition; how they prefer to learn and/or acquire knowledge; what influences this preference. The respondents provided other information during data collection and this was highlighted and incorporated into the initial information set during the transcription phase.

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We used content analysis techniques to interpret the interview data (BARDIN, 2011). These consist of a set of techniques to analyse communications, using systematic procedures and goal descriptions based on message content in order to overcome uncertainties and enrich our reading of the data (MOZZATO; GRZYBOVSKI, 2011). We operationalized these analysis techniques using certain *a priori* categories based on the literature review and complemented *a posterior* according to the repetition frequency of characteristics associated with the research topics, extracted from the interview content and summarized in a single chart.

As one of the strategies to increase the reliability of data in qualitative research, Creswell (2010) recommends the use of different sources of information. To this end, we also used documentary sources, based on the (physical and electronic) records made available by the respondents, including: the official bid for contracting the Seller, the project description including terms of amendment, project reports, databases of lessons learnt, and a use case template (UCT). These records were important for reviewing the interview responses and were used to cross-reference the two data collection instruments and as a source of additional data, enabling a more in-depth analysis, as recommended for case studies (GODOY, 1995; YIN, 2001).

Discussion

The empirical study took place in an Information Technology company which developed, in-house, the first version of an integrated management and technology information system using a Microsoft platform. The number of users increased and demands for new features emerged, leading them to migrate to a Java platform, that is, to redesign the system as a whole. Specific operational capabilities need to be developed in such companies.

The companies had complementary capabilities (the Buyer was more client-specific and the Seller more process oriented), providing an important justification for the partial outsourcing of the IMITS-Web, that is, the design team's need for knowledge, operational expertise and know-how.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the development of client-specific capabilities in these companies, we need to recognize a typical business approach to defining its clients through a mediated model. In other words, there is an agent between the product user and the producer (JARVENPAA; MAO, 2008, LEVINA; ROSS, 2003). The case we studied operates by way of a "partnership" between the two companies in the configuration: End User – Buyer – Seller. The End User is the one for whom the system is developed, and directly benefits from the features configured in the work. The Buyer is the company that outsources development services to the Seller and interacts with the End User in order to understand their needs and translate them into system features. The Seller is the one who interprets, alongside the Buyer, the End User's demands and develops the product.

Client-specific capabilities

The inter-organizational team works in the same physical environment in the Seller company's facilities, where a project office was set up to create physical proximity and facilitate interaction. The project managers of each company set up in the same office and jointly developed project activities. At the time of the interviews, the two managers stated it was not possible for others to discern the fact that they worked for separate companies, and this increased their sense of familiarity. At the time of renewal, the Buyer-Seller contract was extended and longer contracted periods were guaranteed through the mutual interests of both parties, as the Buyer's Project Manager stated:

> "It is in our interests to develop this current partnership because we had a number of previous problems, when the partnership was with a company in another state (BH) and everything had to be solved by telephone or e-mail, which put back project deadlines, while their professionals had difficulties understanding our needs. And the

project manager only listened to complaints and resolved conflicts between the two teams, here and there, and no one was interested in exchanging anything, and their team had high staff turnover, so when the developer or tester started to dominate the project he would leave the company" (Buyer's Project Manager).

Since one of the Buyer's goals was to contract a company capable of developing a partnership that facilitated the transfer of basic knowledge about the Java platform and one whose team was able to assume the updating and maintenance of the IMITS-Web over the medium and long term, the requirements of the official contracting process had to be changed entirely. To this end, the total and exclusive commitment of the Seller's team (one project manager and four developers) to the project was included, as a means of guaranteeing that the professionals were able to learn and master the Buyer's business. The Seller's Project Manager confirmed that this demand was essential for the evolution of the initial project stages and to fine tune the common language to communicate between the teams.

Another activity undertaken by the Seller's team was the inclusion of the Use Case Template (UCT), which formalized the specification requirements for updating features (updating modules) and maintaining the system.

> "This document helped us a lot in mastering system features and consequently better understanding the business we were working for, which was very hard at the beginning. I think at some point all of us are going to learn about this business" (Seller's Developer).

The intention was to codify the design scope to facilitate communication between the teams and assess project performance. It required a great deal of team discipline to establish and continue using this design document. In this way, according to the Buyer's Project Manager, the need for personal interaction when dealing with design problems was greatly reduced.

By constructing and allocating a specific physical space for the project teams, in order to maintain proximity and interaction between them, the Buyer is evidencing deliberate and explicit investment in a mechanism that provides and fosters knowledge articulation. By including the UCT as a standard document for the project, that is, by ensuring that all IMITS-Web maintenance and updating is preceded by UCT use and authorization, the Seller is seeking to establish a common means of sharing knowledge and information, which guides the project team throughout the product development stages. This is, therefore, an explicit knowledge codification practice.

The End User, specifically its administrative team, encouraged the Buyer's developers to enrol in lectures and/or specific courses related to new work procedures which could require IMITS-Web updating. For example, the Buyer's developer made a comment about an asset depreciation course he participated in with the End User because he wanted to enhance this feature within the system.

The Buyer's team has their own expertise and know-how about these client-specific capabilities, and was able to transfer and impart knowledge to the Seller's professionals. After a three-year partnership, the Seller's more experienced developers already understood the End User's needs and suggested and/or triggered system updates. According to the Seller's Project Manager, it generally takes at least one year for a software engineer/developer to understand the system's administrative modules for themselves. The Seller's Project Manager and Developer have the same opinion about what each of the teams need to know regarding the business environment, since they incorporate the End User's vision and needs into the development project.

We asked the Buyer's developer about the importance of and need for prior experience and knowledge in order to perform the project tasks, and she said:

> I completed a basic post-graduate course in information systems twenty years ago, as well as mini courses in programming languages (SQL and Visual Basic), however I recognize that my greatest contribution to the project is my understanding of the purchasing and asset module, since I have worked in these areas here in the company. I think that when our knowledge about an activity/area is very basic, it can impede good understanding of what we do. Look, we have already taken courses on the Java platform and other more up-to-date technology, but I came out of these lectures not having understood anything, so then I talked to the project manager, who is trained in computer science and we complement each other, because she doesn't know anything about the administrative tasks and those system modules are my responsibility. Without the team of specialized contracted developers, we would not have the IMITS-Web version that we have today.

The Buyer's and Seller's Project Managers prefer to learn from books or contact with colleagues (the Seller's Project Manager is a highly experienced teacher of Java technology) because that way it is quicker and easier to learn. "Currently we don't need conventional courses, after all, there is material on the internet and I've got a book".

The Seller's Developer stated that it is not difficult these days to learn on your own, since a trained and experienced professional knows how to update his knowledge in a specific area. He also mentioned a knowledge articulation practice commonly used by software professionals today – that of joining the LinkedIn network. On this network, one can locate an expert in an area of application and book a meeting with them (e.g. lunch, evening drinks). According to the respondent, knowledge exchange is much more specialized and personalized and one can thus increase one's '*netknowledge'* (a term the respondent used meaning the network of software professionals' knowledge).

This report evidences large gaps in prior knowledge and experience (absorptive capacity) between the knowledge 'source and recipient', which could in itself compromise learning and knowledge transfer (COHEN; LEVINTHAL, 1990; SIMONIN, 1999; SZULANSKI, 1996), since the Buyer's professionals have neither 'training nor experience' in Java technology. This could impact on the development of software capabilities (both process and client-specific).

Process capabilities

The Seller's team is experienced in the use of software development methodology and the Project Manager is formally trained in project management, although this does not apply to the Buyer's team. The UCT document was one of the first documents that taught the Buyer's team how to work in development by adhering to a particular standard.

> "Before this document everything was haphazard, the end user requested something and we made the adjustment. However, neither the request nor the solution were recorded and this created repeated work for the team. Then they passed on this know--how to our team and the project" (Buyer's Developer).

Another activity that changed the team's working methods was the Seller's incorporation of a software tool named JIRA (a programme that organizes and manages software development projects), which manages modifications to the IMITS-Web in terms of complexity and criticality, records the timeline of alterations and is responsible for project development activities.

> "This greatly facilitated project management and meant the team was more up-to--date with project progress - who is taking care of what and who is specializing in which IMITS-Web modules, improving our project manager's distribution of tasks to the developers" (Seller's Developer).

The project had a common Buyer-Seller-approved project development monitoring system. This system contains a project knowledge database, records of requests, a history of programming coding modifications, lessons learnt (feature and specification errors and corrections), which the entire team had access to and was responsible for updating.

The Seller's team has expertise in development methodology and is transferring this to the Buyer's team, which (based on reports from the Buyer's Project Manager) had previously developed the system chaotically, without applying standards.

Learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms, organizational practices and factors that influence mechanism choice

Table 1 summarizes the organizational practices that the companies (Buyer-Seller) employed to develop organizational capabilities, adopting one and/or other learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms. The two companies used at least one of these organizational practices in each of the two training sessions provided during the project.

Table 1 – Learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms and organizational practices.

Learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms	Organizational practices
Knowledge articulation	• Project meetings • Personal interaction with the End User • Meetings via the LinkedIn network • Discussion forums.
Knowledge codification	• Electronic database (JIRA, project management and organization software) • Books and periodicals • Technical documents and reports from the internet.

On the one hand, client-specific capabilities require investments in time and team availability in order to share what is known between the teams and the end user, and to locate the right expert on discussion forums or LinkedIn in order to obtain a solution for the project problem or technical quandary. They therefore require knowledge articulation efforts. On the other hand, process capabilities are predominantly developed by practices that require explicit investment in training programmes, infrastructure and information systems, which enable information storage, project reports, use case templates etc. However, some practices, such as opting for books, periodicals and documents sourced on the internet, may require both explicit (funds to buy books and subscribe to specialized magazines) and implicit (learning by doing) investment in learning. They therefore depend on codification efforts, without discarding the need for knowledge articulation, principally during their acquisition and storage.

The relationship between elements from the theoretical framework and the fieldwork results are summarized in Figure 2. Both client-specific and process capabilities are acquired through learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms, which are, respectively, knowledge articulation and codification. These two strategies involve the utilization of organizational practices (Table 1) by the project team to convert tacit into explicit knowledge and vice versa across all software development stages. However, professional deliberations about one and/or other strategy are demonstrably influenced by certain factors, namely: the sharing context, absorptive capacity and task complexity. These factors function to facilitate or hinder knowledge transfer and consequently interfere in the capability learning process.

Figure 2 – Influential factors, knowledge transfer and learning mechanisms, and organizational capabilities.
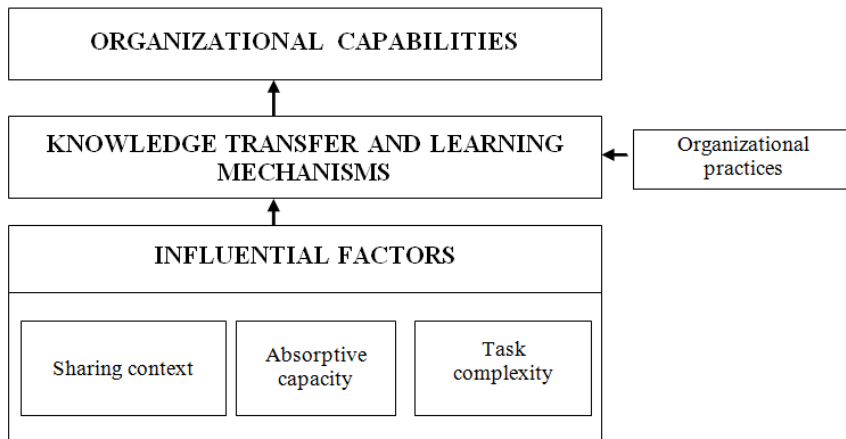
Source: Compiled by the authors

Client-specific capabilities involve intense interactions and a close relationship with the client in order to understand their business specific domain, which more often than not requires tacit exchanges of knowledge. Process capabilities require learning about routines and the application of resources involved in the operations. These necessitate discipline, infrastructure, systems and training programmes and, therefore, explicit investment in knowledge codification.

In terms of the types of shared knowledge (tacit and explicit), the developers most involved in process capabilities made the following comments:

"When the problem is new to me, hard to solve and requires a quick decision, I prefer to enter a discussion forum or call a friend to find the way out, because the priority is to move forward. When I have more time to solve the problem and time to think, I prefer to read internet material or project documents and then ask for someone's help" (Seller's Developer).

"I prefer, above anything else, to ask my office partner, if he provides the solution, then I'm satisfied. When I see that my office partner has discovered a new solution or something interesting I seek to learn it right away". (Buyer's Project Manager).

In this case, relative ease of conversion between two types of knowledge is not the only important factor for knowledge transfer and learning. Task complexity also influences the adoption of knowledge articulation and/or codification. This is because the choice that the professional makes between one or other strategy is related to the characteristics of the knowledge he requires in order to undertake a specific task. That is, some tasks depend on routine, already codified, knowledge, and reading a report or technical procedure is sufficient to complete them. Others depend on non-routine, specific and complex knowledge and may require consultation of a network of experts in order to learn from accumulated experience.

Professionals have a greater propensity for the convenience of proximity to acquire the knowledge they require when the task needs to be performed quickly. When they work in close proximity, they feel they need to expend less effort to acquire knowledge if the environment encourages direct interaction with an office colleague. Then they tend to favour the knowledge articulation strategy.

The Buyer's team's lack of *a priori* knowledge about the Java platform led to a requirement for the Seller's professional team members to have at least three years' experience, so that these professionals could begin training the Buyer's team. A lack of prior knowledge and experience may therefore hinder or impede learning and knowledge transfer based on codified knowledge, so the preferred option was to outsource (Seller) professionals with expertise, in order to acquire the skills and abilities needed to develop the IMITS-Web.

As predicted in the literature review, *absorptive capacity* is a barrier to knowledge transfer and compromises the development of process capabilities, through the knowledge codification strategy. This means that the professional has neither the *a priori* knowledge nor the experience to autonomously acquire the knowledge required to migrate from one technology development platform to another (from Microsoft to Java, for example).

Constructing an office where the Buyer and Seller teams could work together promoted knowledge articulation. Training, implementation forms and a project monitoring system facilitated access to information and knowledge exchange, promoting codification. Other aspects that featured in the interviews included ensuring that the End User was not aware that the Seller team was outsourced, and physical proximity, which created more familiarity between team members. Increasing involvement between professionals thus creates friendships, fosters articulation and may more quickly alert the team to the need for knowledge codification.

The *sharing context* is another factor which may influence the choice of knowledge articulation and codification strategies. This means that the organizational environment (tangible and intangible resources, climate) favours the sharing of information, knowledge and abilities between people. This predisposes them to work collaboratively and learn continuously. It involves eliminating physical barriers (greater physical proximity between knowledge source and recipient) and making available technological resources that favour interaction between professionals. The fact that professionals work in the same physical environment creates integration and strengthens interdependence in tasks and professional experiences, as well as stimulating social bonds.

Task complexity involves the knowledge characteristics (routine/standardized and non-routine/non-standardized) that the professional requires to undertake specific tasks, i.e., it depends on how complex the task is from the professional's point of view. Degree of task complexity was seen to influence the professional's preference for adopting knowledge articulation or codification. When the task was more standardized, that is, the procedures were clearly demarcated and detailed analysis or judgement was not required in order to understand how to complete it, the tendency was for the professional to explore already available and explicit knowledge based on physical or electronic data (e.g. JIRA, books, virtual libraries, etc.) Typical process capability routines display these characteristics. In contrast, when the task is more specific and more complex, it might take more time to find a solution, which might not be available for access or use. In this case, the professional preferred to seek a solution from other professionals who have recognized and legitimized technical skills and experience in this subject.

This barrier to task complexity, identified in our field research data, is consonant with Simonin's (1999) considerations that the number of interdependent technologies, routines, individuals and resources associated with specific knowledge may complicate task completion. The complete spectrum of a skill may be distributed amongst several individuals, departments and contexts, so that knowledge is not easily integrated or understood in its entirety by many individuals, thus hindering transferability.

Final considerations

The results we obtained suggest that the development and renewal of software capabilities may occur via learning and knowledge transfer mechanisms based on knowledge articulation and codification (strategies for knowledge acquisition and sharing) and on inter-organizational partnerships (e.g. a buyer-seller relationship). However, professional choice of strategy is influenced by social, structural and cognitive factors.

In terms of the structural aspect, working in a team, in an environment which facilities and stimulates information exchange and knowledge, as well as analysis and solution of joint problems, the inexistence of team member subordination (Buyer-Seller),

all tend to promote communication and trust between people, and an interest in learning and sharing what they know. In terms of the social aspect, collective learning promotes a disposition for interaction and interdependence in the professional workspace, which becomes a connecting force between a variety of heterogonous social agents (e.g. software professionals and users). Regarding the cognitive aspect, the effectiveness of the practices adopted for the acquisition and sharing of knowledge is conditioned by absorptive capacity (the ready assimilation of the knowledge that is being shared) and distinct skills and experience in relation to the complexity of tasks undertaken.

Both of the capabilities we investigated require and are based on different types of knowledge. Client-specific capabilities require an exchange of tacit knowledge, which is acquired through personal User-Buyer-Seller interactions. They require access to, transit through and integration between Seller professionals in both the Buyer's and End User's environments, so as to better understand their needs and requirements. Client-specific capabilities may therefore require greater efforts and specific investment in certain organizational aspects, in order to strengthen culture, information and knowledge-sharing policies between and within organizations both individually and in groups. This increases the teams' interest and trust so they can learn and complement each other's skills and abilities though knowledge and experience, which is already available for use and has apparent economic value.

Process capabilities (PC) rely more heavily on autonomously acquired explicit knowledge (for example, through self-study from books, courses and learning by doing). Interpersonal interaction may therefore be less intensive than in CC. PCs require more experience, ability and absorptive capacity from individual professionals in terms of new knowledge. They could therefore necessitate strategic company activities in terms of contracting policies, recognizing and maintaining the best experts on the staff team, as well as permanent incentives for professional qualifications and training.

Theoretically, integrating organizational capability approaches to learning with organizational knowledge management demonstrates the dynamic potential (adjusting routines and resources to environmental contingencies) to (re) configure the skills required for software development (process capabilities) and align products/services to the client's needs and priorities (client-specific capabilities). We are therefore reasserting the strategic value of this relationship for studies regarding competitive organizational performance.

We empirically identified specific strategies for the acquisition and sharing of knowledge and the factors that influence these strategies. We found that one of the main obstacles to guaranteeing information and knowledge flow, while improving organizational capabilities and reducing cognitive distance between parties (who are involved in the acquisition and sharing of these resources), is the fact that the greater the disagreement and physical distance between these parties, the more likely it is that difficulties will arise in the acquisition, assimilation and use of organizational knowledge.

Finally, the study's main methodological limitations refer to the fact that it was based on a single buyer-seller transaction and a specific project, and we acknowledge that opting for the single case study technique restricts findings and conclusions to the companies investigated (YIN, 2001). In general terms, we have confirmed the supposition that knowledge is constructed from interaction between individuals within society and internalized through the learning process (TSAI; TSAI, 2005), and that the repetition of organizational practices (organizational routines) is an essential learning mechanism (EISENHARDT; MARTIN, 2000). We therefore propose the expansion of future investigations of training, particularly those that look at how to employ essential routines, to include: (i) identifying and selecting partners who have the resources and skills required to generate new knowledge (SCHILKE; GOERZEN, 2010); and (ii) building and maintaining trusting relationships (NIU, 2010) in order to stimulate the exchange of information, knowledge and experience between partners both inside and outside organizations.

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Institutional Change in Brazilian Public Administration:
The case of the Ombudsman's Offices in Federal Regulatory Agencies

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Abstract

This research study seeks to understand the process for the institutionalization of Ombudsman's Offices in federal regulatory agencies. It is based on a constructivist research strategy and examines five case studies. The theoretical framework is based on the Theory of Institutional Change advocated by Thelen and colleagues (2005 and 2010), associated with Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) types of institutional work. The result of this analysis proves the existence of proactive actions by agents of change who belong – or belonged – to the Ombudsmen teams involved in the study.

Key words: institutionalization; institutional change; public Ombudsmen; regulatory agencies.

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Resumo

Esta pesquisa se propôs a compreender como ocorrem os processos de institucionalização das Ouvidorias das agências reguladoras. O estudo parte de uma estratégia construtivista de pesquisa realizada através de cinco estudos de caso. A base teórica é a Teoria da Mudança Institucional proposta por Thelen e colaboradores (2005 e 2010), aliada às formas de ação institucional de Lawrence e Suddaby (2006). O resultado desta análise comprova a existência de ações proativas de agentes de mudança que compõem – ou compuseram – a equipe das Ouvidorias pesquisadas.

Palavras-chave: institucionalização; mudança institucional; ouvidorias públicas; agências reguladoras.

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<div align="right">Introduction</div>

There has been considerable debate surrounding the process of institutionalization within the public bodies that were created in the wake of the 1988 Constitution (ALVES, 2009); (BARROS, 2011); (BUVINICH, 2009); (CARDOSO, 2010; 2011); (FARIA, 2007); (FORNAZARI, 2006); (LEMGRUBER, MUSUMECI & CANO, 2003); (MARQUES, 1997); (PECI, 1999); (ZAVERUCHA, 2008). One example is that of the Ombudsman's Offices in regulatory agencies, considered a fundamental channel for society's participation in, and the democratic oversight of, public management. However, few in the academic community have addressed this topic and there has been scant scientific analysis of the institutionalization of these Ombudsmen.

Thelen proposes a theory of institutional change, arguing that most forms of change occur on a daily basis, even in the absence of critical moments and that, in many contexts, the endogenous mechanisms of change are the most influential. This means that, in order to understand the institutional dynamic, social scientists must pay closer attention to the processes of change that occur during long episodes of relative political or organizational stability (THELEN, 2003).

By examining a specific investigation location, this study proposes to understand how the processes and mechanisms of change (MAHONEY; THELEN, 2010) occur within the institutionalization – the creation, maintenance or disruption (LAWRENCE; SUDDABY, 2006) - of Ombudsman's Offices. The research was structured and developed through a collective case study (STAKE, 2000) of the Ombudsmen of five federal regulatory agencies: the National Telecommunications Agency (*Agência Nacional de Telecomunicações*: ANATEL), the Health Surveillance Agency (*Agência de Vigilância Sanitária*: ANVISA), the National Waterway Transportation Agency (*Agência de Transportes Aquaviários*: ANTAQ), the National Land Transportation Agency (*Agência Nacional de Transportes Terrestres*: ANTT) and the National Civil Aviation Agency (*Agência Nacional de Aviação Civil*: ANAC).

A number of analyses have been conducted since the establishment of the first federal regulatory agency in 1999. However, we found no research studies specifically aimed at understanding the institutionalization process of the Ombudsmen. This study, therefore, makes two contributions: (i) it adopts the institutionalization of public Ombudsmen as an investigation location, and, (ii) it formulates an analytical model regarding institutionalization adapted from the Ombudsmen case studies, using a combination of ideas from Mahoney and Thelen (2010) and Lawrence and Suddaby (2006).

This analytical model will now be explained, following which there will be a discussion of the results, before we consider the contributions of the investigation, its limitations and proposals for future research.

<div align="center">The Process of Institutional Change</div>

According to Hodgson (2006), institutions are the most important structures in the social system, since they form the constituent material of social life. We agree with this supposition and consider institutions to be systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions. Furthermore, we suggest that the Brazilian public sector is governed by a series of institutions that guide the conduct of public policies in a range of areas, such as the concession and regulation of public services.

Studies about institutions have started to regain the position they occupied in the past and, in recent years, have begun to feature more prominently on the research agendas of public policy areas and government studies. A large majority of these studies were founded on the supposition that institutions change incrementally, so we think it is worth identifying the determinants of this stability. The term 'path dependence' has thus become widely disseminated, principally through the work of Douglass North (1990; 1994) and Paul Pierson (2000; 2004), and has been used to represent a trend

for institutional stability. According to these authors, once institutions are stabilized, as a result of occasional and ad hoc events, it is not unusual for a positive feedback mechanism to start functioning, which contributes to its maintenance and stability, even when the possibility of implementing alternative, more effective, institutions emerges. In other words, there occurs in institutions, what North calls the "matrix of institutional relationships", which provokes institutional stability.

However, we consider path dependence to be a mere label for a certain kind of dynamic phenomena, not a theory to explain the way in which these systems behave. Thus, to invoke the concept alone does not provide a satisfactory explanation for institutional change. To construct an explanation requires us to develop precise mechanisms through which history can influence present and future decisions.

Whilst we recognize that institutional changes are expensive, we agree with the present day consensus that they occur more frequently than expected. In fact, as discussed by Di Maggio (2008), Powell (1991) and Pierson (2004), there are currently a large number of academic works regarding institutional change in public and private organizations. In fact, the theme of institutional change has initiated a broad debate. As a result, different perspectives exist about how to characterize this process and what its determinants are. It is not the intention of this article to review these different perspectives, although it is worth mentioning the differentiation made by Pierson (2004) between analyses about "institutional choice" and "institutional development". Pierson characterizes studies about "institutional choice" as those centred on the deliberate action of rational actors, which are therefore influenced by a functionalist perspective, centred on the choices of specific actors. Studies that examine the theme of "institutional development" focus on an analysis of change processes over time, which occur gradually or as a result of the influence of critical junctures.

This work is, to a large extent, influenced by studies about institutional development. However, it differs from the classification proposed above, in that it integrates actors into the mechanisms of institutional development, while considering that their operations may not be characterized as functionalist or adequately represented through the suppositions of rational choice. We chose to analyse the process of institutional change based on the model proposed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010). The contribution these authors make arises from their critique that most studies in the area have concentrated on the consequences of exogenous shocks or critical junctures, which create windows of opportunity for change and bring about certain basic institutional reconfigurations, while neglecting changes based on endogenous developments, which frequently unfold incrementally. In this sense, the authors examine the relationship between institutional and behavioural variables. Mahoney and Thelen (2010) observed that actors within the same organization are constantly renegotiating the interpretation and application of certain rules, leading to institutional changes, which are highly incremental, but may have a significant impact over time.

In its original form, their model has two exogenous variables (political context and institutional features), an intervening variable (type of change agent) and an endogenous variable (type of institutional change). It is their conception that the characteristics of the political context (number of veto points) and the institution (discretionary powers for interpreting its meaning and effectiveness) condition the type of expected institutional change ("I" relationship), as outlined in Figure 1, below. This occurs because the political and institutional context incentivizes the adoption of specific strategies by the change agents ("II" relationship) which cause different types of institutional change ("III" relationship).

One of the key contributions of this work is its addition of another component to the model described above, highlighting the role of agents in the development, transformation, maintenance and disruption of institutions. In this sense, it is necessary to introduce the concept of institutional work, developed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). Institutional work is the intentional work of individuals and organizations with the aim of creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions. The authors suggest an approach to the study and understanding of institutional work containing three key elements: the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors; the

more or less conscious actions of these actors; and the set of practices through which these actors create, maintain or disrupt institutions.

Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) contribution, incorporating the concept of institutional work, can be see to open up a range of possibilities to investigate what they describe as 'interested actors', who act to influence both the political and institutional contexts. The results of this analysis prove that, in fact, proactive individual actions constitute an important element in the process of institutional change.

The view of formal and static structures, traditionally present in the literature of institutional change, is associated with a perception of passivity towards institutionalization processes. This perception may be erroneous, since certain organizations and actors, in specific situations, need to conform to institutional mandates and resource limitations, which may not occur passively (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Therefore, the question that arises considers, on the one hand, the weight that institutions impose on agents and, on the other, the need to innovate new practices and strategies in order to understand how actors may break the ties that bind them and organize themselves to create and maintain or disrupt institutions. Combining the original model proposed by Mahoney and Thelen with contributions from Lawrence and Suddaby involves the insertion (in grey) of a component that characterizes types of change agents' institutional work. Through this, we intend to formulate an expanded model, which integrates institutional work with assumptions about the dynamics of institutional change.

Figure 1: Expanded Institutional Change Model
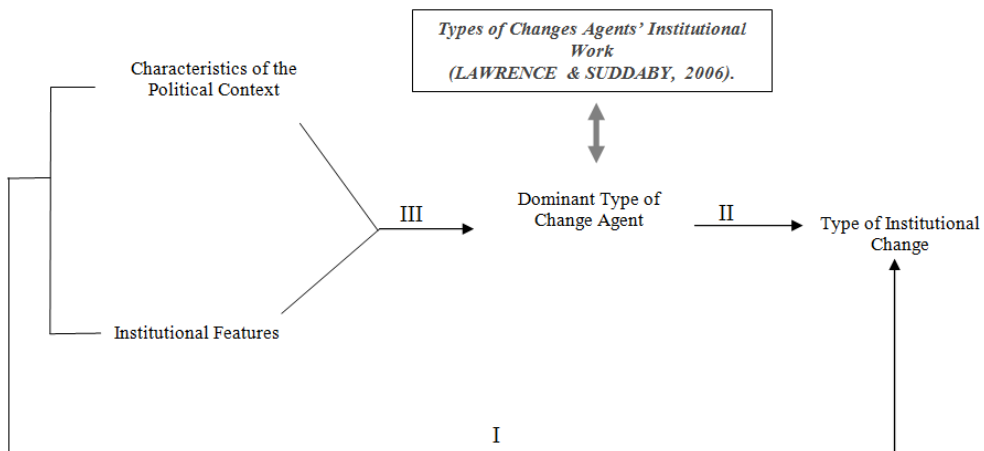
Source: developed by the author, based on Mahoney & Thelen (2010) and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006).

Types of Institutional Work and Institutional Change

The above model also enables us to simultaneously analyse the types of institutional work proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) alongside the types of institutional change proposed by Mahoney and Thelen (2010).

The types of institutional work cited by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) are: the creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions. Creative activities reflect three broad categories and activities: overtly political work, in which actors reconstruct rules, property rights and boundaries, which define access to material resources; work which emphasizes the reconfiguration of actors' belief systems; and work conceived to alter abstract categorizations in which the boundaries of meaning systems are altered.

Institutional work aimed at maintaining institutions involves supporting, repairing or recreating the social mechanisms that ensure compliance, such as ensuring adherence to values systems and reproducing existing norms and belief systems.

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Finally, institutional work functions to confront or weaken mechanisms that members are obliged to comply with. This includes disconnecting sanctions, disassociating moral foundations and undermining legal assumptions. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) emphasize that this form of specific investigation is rarely found in the literature.

In terms of types of change, Thelen and colleagues propose that changes such as displacement, a concept which emerged from the 'new' institutionalism in sociological thought (STREECK & THELEN, 2005, p.19), occurs when new models emerge and are diffused, substituting previous and well-established organizational forms and practices. In fact, Streeck and Thelen (2005), note that pre-existing institutional structures are not necessarily consistent, so their configurations may be fragile, vulnerable to attempts to change and, occasionally, eliminated and transformed by displacements.

Streeck and Thelen (2005) think that the type of change known as 'layering' operates through a mechanism known as differential growth. Thus, the introduction of new elements triggers a dynamic that, over time, may – actively – expel or supplant old institutions, so that their dominance progressively fades. The most important issue is knowledge of the extent to which new and old systems can coexist in harmony or whether tensions will inevitably emerge between these two systems and their respective defenders.

Change by drift is based on the statement that institutional steadiness is not permanent, even though the term "institution" is related to the notion of stability and adherence. (STREECK; THELEN, 2005). Contrary to other neo-institutional authors (North, 1990 and Pierson, 2004), Thelen (2003) commented on the difficulty of institutional survival based merely on the presence of positive feedback or growing returns. According to the author, institutions require active maintenance. In order to remain as they are, institutions need to be restored and reoriented and, in some cases, reassessed and renegotiated in response to changes in the political and economic environment in which they are incorporated (STREECK; THELEN, 2005). If such maintenance is deliberately withheld, the institution may not survive.

Streeck and Thelen (2005) indicate a fourth type of institutional change, known as conversion. In this case, institutions are deliberately abandoned, gradually reinterpreted, then redirected to achieve other objectives, functions and scopes. Such redirecting may occur as a result of changes to the environment, in power relations, or from political challenges to the functions and purposes that the institution should serve.

Based on this typology of institutional changes, the authors suggest that different types of change agents exist with varying strategies: insurrectionaries, symbionts, subversives and opportunists. Two basic questions illustrate the differences between these types of change agent: (i) Does the agent seek to preserve existing institutional rules? and (ii) Does the agent comply with institutional rules?

According to Mahoney and Thelen (2010), insurrectionaries deliberately seek to eliminate existing institutions and rules, while parasitic symbionts exploit an institution for their own gain. Subversives effectively disguise their preference for institutional change, without preventing the system from functioning strategically. Finally, opportunists are so-called because they strategically wait for the appropriate opportunity to promote change. Given that opposing an institution comes at a price, they do not oppose openly or continuously against the existing institutional structure. Their activities are aimed at taking advantage of the occasional possibilities that the dominant system provides.

In the next section, we will outline our analysis of the institutionalization of the regulatory agency Ombudsmen, based on the expanded model proposed above.

Research Design and Composition

Studies about Public Ombudsmen in Brazil are still comparatively recent, although some have been conducted in the areas of public security and public health, such as Faria (2007), Lemgruber *et. al.* (2003) and Zaverucha (2008).

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Most of these analyses are concerned with using a qualitative approach, through case studies and collection techniques, such as interviews and bibliographical and documentary research. Generally, results are based on content and document analysis. The quantitative approach has been applied in only a few works, principally to support data analysis.

In contrast to the traditional view that institutions shape the behaviour of actors, studies have not been able to explain the boundaries of influence of actors who are directly involved in the institutionalization of Ombudsmen. There are, therefore, indications that an analysis based on case studies (YIN, 2012) may be an appropriate research strategy, as it would then be possible to observe a phenomenon while it is happening.

The procedures for structuring the research were as follows: initial exploratory analysis; case selection; construction of analysis coding; selection of documents, legislation and interviewees; collection of documents and legislation and application of interviews; analysis of documents, legislation and interviews; preparation of analysis reports.

Following the choice of investigation location – the Ombudsman's Offices in federal regulatory agencies – a survey was conducted using basic information from the ten agencies and collected from their respective websites and relevant legislation. For this study, we used a collective approach (STAKE, 2000) and case selection focused on generating information about the institutionalization of Ombudsmen in federal regulatory agencies, rather than investigating extreme, unique or revealing cases, as suggested by Yin (2011).

What was the justification for the selection of cases? From the ten existing federal regulatory agencies, we selected those in which an Ombudsman's Office was actually proposed within the founding law and whose organizational structure was located in the Federal District. Five fulfilled this demand: ANATEL, ANVISA, ANTT, ANTAQ and ANAC.

In a letter to each Ombudsman, we requested access for interviews and permission for non-participant observation. All the Ombudsmen granted interview access, but, curiously, all also refused observation. The reason given for this stance was that Ombudsmen deal with a particular type of information (different kinds of complaints) which, in most cases, is confidential and for this reason, the presence of researchers may inhibit both the complainant and the work of employees.

The process of data collection was structured over two phases: (1) documentary research; and (2) semi-structured interviews. The documentary research was based on the survey and previous readings of institutional reports from the five agencies. Furthermore, laws, ordinances, provisional measures, decrees and opinions related to the Ombudsmen in question were also located and analysed. During the research, a survey was made in five national newspapers[1] with a wide circulation, in order to gather information about these agencies. Interviewees were chosen according to the following conditions: occupant or ex-occupant of the post of Ombudsman; career civil servants, or occupants of commissioned positions, who had served the longest time in their respective Ombudsman. As an exception, in the ANAC case, we interviewed two public servants outside the Ombudsman team. In total, thirteen informants were interviewed between March and May 2013, providing a total of 10.5 hours of recorded data.

Data analysis began with the construction of analysis coding. Documental analysis then sought to characterize the mode of data recording. Once organized, the data was examined in order to detect the most frequent themes (LÜDKE; ANDRÉ, 1986). To complete this classification of the five agencies, we constructed tables for each agency, highlighting the speeches extracted from those which exemplified each coding. The objective of this stage was to contrast, by analysis coding, what was perceived from the interviewees regarding each element in the theoretical model, separately for each agency. Summary charts were developed in which we confirmed the timeline of events and activity reports for each agency and its Ombudsman. We then

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developed an historical description of each agency and its Ombudsman. In the final phase of analyses, evidence was collated using the theoretical models of institutional change from Mahoney and Thelen (2010) combined with ideas from Lawrence and Suddaby (2006).

Discussion of the Results

In this section, we will discuss how features from the political and institutional contexts influence the specific type of institutional change that emerges from the institutionalization of the Ombudsmen. Based on studies about institutional change, we would expect a combination of political context and institutional characteristics to indicate a specific type of institutional change, namely the one known as *drift*. To this end, we would need to observe characteristics from the political context demonstrating strong veto possibilities. In other words, we would need to find actors that have access to institutional (or extra-institutional) means of inhibiting change, as well as certain institutional characteristics which leave little space for choice, both in interpretation and in complying with its rules. Our analysis therefore focused on the legislation that was specific to the creation of the regulatory agencies we studied, with an emphasis on their internal regulations.

The result suggests that institutional change characterized as *drift* would occur if the research only focussed on an analysis of official documents, such as the agencies' foundation laws and their respective internal regulations. For example, the General Telecommunications Law (*Lei Geral das Telecomunicações*: LGT), which instituted ANATEL, cites the Ombudsman as one more agency element. Information about sector autonomy is not explicitly mentioned, nor does it specify hierarchical position. ANVISA's foundation law does not mention the Ombudsman's Office, only its Director. It is worth mentioning that this law only defines the responsibilities of the individual who takes up the post of Ombudsman. Finally, the law that created ANAC explains that:

> [...] **Article 9.** ANAC will **have as its ultimate decision-making body the Board of Directors** as well as an Attorney, a Magistrate, an Advisory Board and an **Ombudsman,** as well as specialized units [...] (our emphasis)

Similar ambiguity regarding the Ombudsman's hierarchical position and autonomy is seen in the founding texts of the five agencies. However, if we observe their respective internal regulations, we can see that, in some cases, a specific legal framework for the Ombudsman's Office does exist. This is true, for example, of ANATEL, which recently (on 29/04/2013) approved new internal regulations, in which it describes, in Chapter 3 – about the Ombudsman – the Ombudsman's role and functions.

A series of functions regarding the office and person of the Ombudsman is listed in ANAC's internal regulations. It is interesting to note that, although this does not specify any hierarchical or administrative link, article 21 of the document mentions that the agency's board has the option to assign other responsibilities to the sector, which implies, at least implicitly, a subordination of power.

ANTT's current internal regulations state that the Ombudsman is linked to the Directorate General, in contrast to the trend observed in previous agencies. This is also observed in ANTAQ, where article 5 of the most recent version of the internal regulations (2012) confirms that the Ombudsman is part of the Directorate General. However, we note that the original internal regulations of 2006 state that "*[...] The Ombudsman, in the exercise of his or her duties, will act independently [...]*". Later on, the regulations also describe the functions of this office, and indicate a subtle link with the Board. Given this combination, we could expect, as mentioned, the prevalence of a specific type of institutional change: *drift*, through the operation of agents who exploit institutions for their own gain, despite jeopardising the effectiveness of the institution through their activities. In fact, these agents exploit the nature of the rules, while transgressing their foundation. Such agents are called *parasitic symbiont agents*.

However, the results of our analysis of the interviews and Ombudsman reports indicates the existence of a political context with weak veto possibilities. Most of the institutional characteristics manifest high discretionary powers for the interpretation and implementation of Ombudsman activities, in line with the evidence below. Despite being part of the second oldest regulatory agency, created in July 1997, the ANATEL interviewees agree that the formation of the agency and its Ombudsman remains a work in progress. Thus, between 1997 and 2005 *"[...] the Ombudsman was learning how the Agency functioned, its regulatory position and its interactions with citizens, and both ANATEL and its Ombudsman at that initial moment,* realized that it was little publicized or known by society in general *[...]* (ANATEL interviewee).

From 2006, "[...] *the ANATEL Ombudsman was taking part in these things and participating as intensely as possible, with propositions and contributions which brought about important changes to the sector and to agency regulations* [...]" (statement from an ANATEL interviewee). The first ANATEL managers and superintendents came from Telebrás and their discourse about the role of a regulatory agency was influenced by the Fernando Henrique Cardoso Government, viewing it exclusively as a market regulator. In fact, the Ombudsman's Office had to construct its own "freedom" of operations within each agency's hierarchy. The first Board of Directors had "*the very singular view of a neoliberal State [...] which saw the agency much more as an obligation to guarantee the economic and financial equilibrium of the sector, rather than other issues related to a citizen's diffuse rights*" (statement by one of the ANATEL interviewees). Over the years, the team from the ANATEL Ombudsman was made up of permanent employees, without prior experience in the area. The selection of the Ombudsman, like other agencies, is effected by the Presidency of the Republic (for a two-year mandate, except for ANTT and ANTAQ, which have three-year mandates, all renewable).

The interviews demonstrate that the Ombudsmen's power to propose is of a very personal nature. In other words, it depends on who occupies the role at the time. While ANATEL's current Ombudsman, who is in the role for a second term, is seen as a proactive, previous Ombudsmen were not seen in this way.

Another passage contains this assertion, *"which personalities had a role in the development of the Ombudsman? Mainly the Ombudsmen themselves."* (Statement from one of the ANATEL interviewees). We can see that, in their first years, the Ombudsman found it difficult to make other sectors of the agency understand their role. To this end, the sectors needed to respond to the demands they received and understand what a public Ombudsman means. Our analysis of the interviews from ANVISA demonstrated that, as in the case of ANATEL, its Ombudsman is still undergoing improvements.

From 1999 to the middle of 2006, the ANVISA Ombudsman had a simple system, with no control over the responses each sector sent directly to citizens. The issue was referred to the Ombudsman for that particular sector, which responded directly to the complainant. There was, therefore, no control of response. At the end of 2006, the control system changed and, from then on, the Ombudsman team received the sector's response before it was sent to the user. From the ANVISA interviews, we saw that users brought historical complaints about delays in process analysis, slow access to the agency's internet page, and budget restrictions which hampered the Ombudsman's freedom of action, as well as complaints about the small size of the team, especially given the volume of demand. Difficulties were also identified within ANVISA in terms of demonstrating the importance and functions of its Ombudsman to other agency employees. However, ex-Ombudsmen initiated a process to support understanding in other agency areas, with the aim of promoting a relationship with the Ombudsman:

> *[...] We sought to do it and it is a maturing, isn't it [...] It is working very closely with the areas [...]* **It is ... to work very closely with the areas, isn't it, holding really regular meetings with the general management**. *(Statement by one of the interviewees [ex-Ombudsman] – ANVISA).*

From ANTT's creation in June 2001, until the installation of the first Ombudsman in November 2002, the Magistrate retained the Ombudsman's responsibilities. At

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the beginning, the agency had very limited infrastructure, it was the (outsourced) Ombudsman's team at the time who answered the telephones. As a consequence, at the time, 50% of demand was not responded to, due to a lack of team members. It is worth noting that, in the act of ANTT's creation, no item differentiates the service sector from the Ombudsman. Today, the Agency has an outsourced call centre, which concentrates on demand that the Ombudsman professionals call "first level". If the user is not satisfied and activates the Ombudsman's Office, which then initiates so-called "second level" procedures.

In the ANTT interviews, we observed the same comments as in the previous agencies regarding the occupier of the Ombudsman office. Evidence demonstrates that their actions depend on their personal set up, in other words, on whoever occupies the role at the time. In respect of the ANTT Ombudsman, the office is still constructing an identity within the agency and struggles to work in harmony with those areas most often cited, such as inspection. In the agency's organizational chart, the Ombudsman is subordinate to the Board of Directors. However, this does not prevent constant positioning by the current Ombudsman, in order to confront problems related to the agency's transparency and accountability. It is worth noting that, at the time of the interviews, all the agency's directors were temporary.

The analysis of the ANTAQ Ombudsman demonstrated that, of the five studied, it suffered the most as a result of constant structural changes. Since its foundation in 2001, the agency has experienced a total of twelve modifications to its internal regulations. These modifications reflect a search for improvements to ANTAQ's organizational structure, as well as for a better definition of the functions of its sectors and regional units. On the other hand, they have contributed to a feeling of insecurity in relation to the Ombudsman's institutionalization, compared to the other sectors. In this way, we can see that ANTAQ was in a fragile state when it began operating. The Ombudsman team also underwent significant changes, most notably following the withdrawal of the last named Ombudsman. Today the post is occupied by an interim Ombudsman. She is the only one in the current office who is not contracted out. No comments were made about the office's financial independence, while the team is the smallest of the five Ombudsman's Offices considered here. It is also the only one of the agencies whose call centre is internal, which imposes a heavy workload.

During one of the restructurings, the press office, which managed the agency's "talk to us" section, was also redirected to the office. As she is a temporary appointment (since November 2012), the current Ombudsman's power to make proposals is practically non-existent. In her interview, one can sense her discomfort about suggesting anything: *[...] sometimes I report to the areas, I go to the Superintendent to request a better interpretation, we have to report to a larger, higher, forum, obviously [...].* This position reflects the Ombudsman's behaviour and the current dynamic of the Ombudsman's Office. Finally, we note that the Ombudsman is subordinate to the Board of Directors in the ANTAQ organizational chart, despite article 7 of Resolution no. 369, which states that *"the Ombudsman will act independently in the exercise of his or her duties."*

ANAC is the newest of the agencies we studied and has been active for seven years. From the agency's creation in 2005 until January 2007, the Ombudsman only existed on paper. After that, there was only an outsourced team as well as the Ombudsman. The occupier of the role was discovering what "*they could do, in the context of the Ombudsman [...]"* (statement from one of the ANAC interviewees). We observe, then, that the office is still constructing its role.

Currently, the office team is composed of eight people, including the Ombudsman. Hierarchically, the Ombudsman's Office is subordinate to the Board of Directors and, according to the interviewees, does not have administrative or financial autonomy. "*[...] if the Ombudsman is autonomous and independent, in theory, it should have administrative and financial autonomy, but this does not happen [...]"* (statement by one of the ANAC interviewees). Despite the hierarchical subordination, the Ombudsman's power to propose is once again asserted. The interviewees are categorical "*[...] So, in this way, this power of the Ombudsmen, the force of an Ombudsman, it does not*

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come about via a regulatory instrument, it comes from the Ombudsmen themselves [...]" In other interviews, we see that, despite the position of the Ombudsman's Office on the organizational chart, there is, in fact, another dynamic at work:

> *[...] It* [the Ombudsman's Office] *has, in inverted commas, "administrative" autonomy [...] he* [the current Ombudsman] *has some autonomy, but I don't see him* [the current Ombudsman] *as internally subordinate [...]* (statement from one of the ANAC interviewees).

In relation to the structure of the agency and the office of the Ombudsman, the interviewees, once again, emphasized a dilemma about the way user demands were treated: "*[...] I also cannot consider, this inspection agency cannot examine every complaint and bring an action, there too, we don't have the structure for this.*" (Statement from one of the ANAC interviewees). This issue provided the Ombudsman's Office with a place in which to debate its functions and its real role in the agency. The current Ombudsman and team members demonstrated that there is greater clarity today about the role of the Ombudsman in ANAC and that, despite the ambiguity present in its legislation, this role is still under construction.

Finally, we should note that, in the view of the current Ombudsman, the establishment of the Access to Information Law (*Lei de Acesso à Informação*: LAI) created some discomfort within ANAC. During his interview, he made it clear that, despite democratic advances in public management, this law has caused confusion regarding processes that had, until that point, belonged to the Ombudsman's Office.

According to Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) theoretical model, the next element to consider is type of institutional change. In the case of the ANATEL Ombudsman, we observed that there was evidence of the typology known as *conversion* in institutional change: (1) existing rules reoriented by actors and (2) gaps between the rules and their real application are actively produced by agents. The ANVISA interviewees also presented evidence of *conversion*. Below are examples from records about *existing rules reoriented by the actors*:

> *[...] today they* [ANVISA employees] *are afraid* [of the Ombudsman's demands] *because if we send a response like this to a person who is fed up, impatient, they don't want to respond to that company any more, when they send the same complaint for the nth time, if they send back something rude, incomplete, we return it, we say 'please reassess this user complaint' or we say 'user consulted the site and could not find the legislation, please send in an attachment', or: 'please send a complementary response by e-mail',* **thus, we try to improve the quality, so that was a good change** *[...]*.

The same is seen in the interviewees from the ANTT Ombudsman. Here we highlight an example of a record of *existing rules reoriented by actors*:

> *[...] We send the third or fourth response to the same user, against the same company, an identical response, saying "Your complaint will be considered, will be analysed, will be included in a statistical table, so that, at a particular time, depending on the number of complaints to the company, a specific inspection will be carried out" – but this was already their fourth complaint, on the same topic, I don't know, maybe about the same bus, this I won't send, I prefer not to respond to this person, this is doubting people's intelligence, and [...] for example, if the response he really wants, there are users that think that if you only respond, he will say, someone is paying me attention, but* **if that user is someone more critical, if he has a bit more awareness, you know, he won't be satisfied with the response he receives, if the response doesn't lead to action** *[...]* (statement by the current ANTT Ombudsman).

In the case of ANTAQ, we only located evidence of the first type - *existing rules reoriented by actors*. Finally, the result of our analysis of the ANAC interviewees confirms the evidence found in the other agencies. There are examples of both classifications which configure the type of institutional change known as *conversion*. Thus, empirical evidence indicates a certain concentration of types, both of change and actors. Contrary to indications, changes by *conversion*, through the actions of *opportunist* agents, occur more frequently than might be expected.

The result of the analyses (particularly the interviews) indicates the existence of a political context with weak veto possibilities, while, in most cases, the institutional

characteristics present high discretionary powers for interpretation and implementation of Ombudsman activities:

– There are no manifestations of the typologies of *drift* or *layering*;
– We only observed conduct representing the *displacement* type in one of the ANAC interviews.

Why did this happen? One possibility is that, despite conditions in the political context that suggest strong veto possibilities, political entrepreneurs manage to reduce the influence of these possibilities, so that it moves from strong to weak. This evidence indicates that Streeck and Thelen's (2010) model should perhaps consider one more variable – the institutional actor (LAWRENCE; SUDDABY, 2006).

As discussed in the presentation of the theoretical model proposed by this research (Figure 1), the institutional actor manifests proactive behaviour through activities for the creation, maintenance or disruption of the institution, in contrast to the concept of the change agent described by Streeck and Thelen (2010), who relies on the characteristics of political contexts and institutions in order to thrive.

In Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) theoretical model, another element for consideration is the 'dominant type of change agent'. The expectation at the beginning of the research was for the prevalence of a type of institutional change known as *drift*, through the operation of *parasitic symbiont agents*. However, the result of our analysis of the interviews and Ombudsman reports indicate that another type of change agent was frequently present.

An examination of the ANATEL interviews shows no evidence of *parasitic symbiont* agent behaviour in the interviewees' discourse. In fact, evidence points to a unique type of agent: the *opportunist*, who has ambiguous preferences about the continuity of institutions, rules or norms. According to Mahoney and Thelen (2010), this type of change agent does not attempt to change the rules, but rather takes advantage of the probabilities of what the system has to offer in order to achieve his goals.

We found the same situation in the ANVISA Ombudsman. There was no evidence in the interviews of behaviour typical of *parasitic symbiont agents* or *symbionts*, nor of *insurgents* or *subversives*. We only found the typology known as *opportunist*. Here we can see a clear example of the ambiguity of the norm exploited by agents:

> *[...] She* [the ex-Ombudsman] **proposed a change which we still think is questionable today, I don't know how to tell whether it's positive or negative, but it was a significant change** *[...]. In my opinion, it increased the trajectory a little [...]* (statement by one of the ANVISA interviewees, our emphasis).

The behaviour reported by the ANTT interviewees confirms the trend of perceived *opportunist* agents. The agency's current Ombudsman explains the approach he took to the Board not to follow the example of other regulatory agencies regarding the procedure that the user has to follow in order to register an event or complaint about a body regulated by the Ombudsman. This position is based on the inaccuracy of the agency's internal regulations, specifically in relation to the Ombudsman's role.

Our analysis of the ANTAQ interviews, like those of other agencies, provides evidence that the change agents' actions could be considered *opportunistic*. It is interesting to note that, although the agency's internal regulations state that the Ombudsman should produce bi-annual reports, these were suspended via a unilateral decision made by the then Ombudsman.

Finally, the results of our analysis of the ANAC interviews also reveal evidence of behaviour characteristic of *opportunist* agents. In the situation exemplified below, the current Ombudsman describes how the Ombudsman's Office has managed to support the agency in relation to the reform of the Brazilian Aviation Code (*Código Brasileiro de Aviação*: CBA). It outlines an opinion contrary to the current CBA:

> *[...] ANAC has not managed to increase its number of people, because it is limited by the Ministry of Planning. [...] ANAC's bible is called the CBA, it is a code from about 1986,* **a work that ANAC has had to review over time, updating the CBA.** *[...] Based on this, we made specific regulations complementing what was already in the CBA,* **[..] and we have improved it as much as possible, slightly improving the**

entire regulation of what ANAC does, creating more regulations, *which could facilitate or approximate what ANAC does to what the Consumer Defence Code, for example, presupposes.* (Statement by ANAC's current Ombudsman).

Thus, the expectation of the research was to encounter *parasitic symbiont* agents; however, our analysis pointed to the *opportunist* type of agent since we observed ambiguous preferences about the continuity of institutions, rules or norms.

– There are no manifestations of the *parasitic symbiont* or *subversive* typologies;
– Only one interview by the ANAC interviewees mentioned conduct typical of an *insurgent* change agent.

In our analysis of the interviews, we also found evidence of institutional activities for the creation of institutions and, particularly in the ANTT case, evidence of *disruption*. In the interviews, we did not find any relevant evidence of conduct linked to the *maintenance* of institutions. The first agency we analysed, ANATEL, presented an example of institutional work – creation – through a record of *establishing rules*. This is an example of the type of work called *defining*:

[...] What we did, and his [the current Ombudsman] participation was of fundamental importance, but we did it as a team, as a whole, beginning with a group dynamic, coordinated by the Ombudsman [...] Then we conducted a diagnosis of the Ombudsman's Office, **what we do, how we do it, why we do it, what we will do, how we will do it, why we will do it and out of that result, we worked on the organization of the process** *[...]* (statement from one of the ANATEL interviews).

During our analysis of the ANVISA interviews, evidence emerged of institutional work – creation (also through a record of *establishing rules)*. Once again, the form of work is *defining*:

[...] **I believe it was in 2007, there was a change to the system, a system which now allowed us to receive the response recorded by the area,** *and we assess this response, not technically, because we are not going to question the support of those who respond, who are much more qualified than the team here, to respond to specific topics... We look at how polite the response is, we see if it is consistent with the question [...]* (statement from one of the ANVISA interviews).

In the ANVISA interviews, we also saw the institutional work of *creation*, found in *constructing rewards*, where the form of work is classified as *constructing normative networks*. There is also an example of *changing the abstract categories of meanings*, through a form of work called *changing normative associations*.

Our examination of the results of the ANTT interviews also included evidence of institutional work of the *creation* type, by *establishing rules* through the form of work known as *defining*:

Each Ombudsman who comes in brings certain ideas to implement, to hear certain opinions, he goes through a time in which he finds out how it works, to understand how it functions and then he begins to put forward his opinions and we begin to implement them, *so the [...]* [ex-Ombudsman] *was, "Oh, I think the three-digit number is interesting for facilitation." So, I mean, it was his idea* (statement from one of the ANTT interviews).

Furthermore, ANTT featured the institutional work called *disruption*, through *undermining the mechanisms*. There, we found the form of work that Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) call *disconnecting sanctions*:

[...] today we don't have any resolution, there are no mechanisms defining that he [the user] should go to the company first, then what he can [...] (statement by one of the ANTT interviewees).

The results of our analysis of the interview conducted with the ANTAQ Ombudsman demonstrated the institutional work known as *creation*, by *establishing rules*. Once again, we found the form of work that Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) call *defining*:

[...] **Since part of the IT in regulatory agencies is outsourced, there were internal changes to the companies' contracting, bidding and we were even**

> ***fighting with the company to finish this job***, *when last year [...] we finished it, after certain adjustments to improve it [...] we put it online and properly inaugurated the new system, which allows user satisfaction with the service to be graded at the end [...]*

We also observed an example of *creation* through the *construction of norms and complementary practices*. In this situation, the form of work is classified as *mimicry:*

> *[...] And then he filed, investigated, examined, saw that really it was really irregular, he could even change the resolution, for example 902 -* ***this is being altered, there's already been an audience to change the points which aren't in agreement with the reality, you know, I even have to make my own contribution*** *[...]*

Finally, the ANAC interviews present evidence of the institutional work called *creation* by *establishing rules*. Once again, we identify the form of work called *defining*, as seen in the following passage:

> *[...] The recommendations also serve, in my opinion, to institutionalize, to formalize, for what? Often the officer knows what is happening, knows that there is nothing to do, but at a strategic level, the Board has to do something. Often the officer knows, he shows them what is needed for him to effect that change, but he is at the operational level. So he needs things to be done at a strategic level.*

What then is Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) contribution to this research?

– We found evidence of institutional work in the form of the **creation of institutions**, specifically around the issue of *establishing rules*;
– There was also, particularly in the ANTT case, evidence of **disruption**;
– **No** relevant evidence was found of behaviour linked to the maintenance of institutions in the Ombudsmen we studied.

Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) original theoretical model to describe and explain how a change agent acts was insufficient on its own, since the change agent described by the actors displayed reactive conduct. It was therefore necessary to move from the concept of change agent to one of institutional actor, proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), in order to explain the institutionalization of the Ombudsmen we studied.

Application of the Expanded Model of Institutional Change

The result of our analysis of the five agencies demonstrates that there is movement towards the institutionalization of their Ombudsmen, through the type of change that Mahoney and Thelen (2010) call *conversion*. This typology is illustrated by activities to readjust old institutions in line with new proposals, or even, to define new purposes for the old structures of a given organization.

According to the authors, these activities are defined by a change agent known as *opportunist*. This typology is exemplified by the inaccuracy with which the actors perceive an institution, since, for the agent to thrive in the process of institutional change, gaps must be observed between the rules and their exposure or interpretation; such gaps exist due to a lack of foresight or critical analysis of their consequences.

The type of change agent called *opportunist* in Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) conception may or may not seek to preserve the institution, and may or may not follow its rules. The point is that our content analysis demonstrated that the authors' original theoretical model to describe and explain how a change agent acts was insufficient on its own, since our analysis proposes a reactive change agent who only emerges within political contexts and characteristics specific to the institution. Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) contribution about the institutional work of actors in creation, maintenance or disruption, therefore, supports the most robust understanding of our research results.

These results emphasize that the predominant procedure of change agents may be explained through the typology defined by Mahoney and Thelen (2010) as *opportunists*, behaviour found in the five Ombudsmen we studied. As observed in the theoretical model we presented, this typology describes those who *exploit the ambiguities in the interpretation and application of rules and remake the existing rules in a way that is different from the original intention of their formulators*. In relation to the processes of institutional change (MAHONEY; THELEN, 2010), each of the Ombudsmen had the following characteristics in common, in that there was no evidence of:

· behaviour typical of insurgent agents, associated with the typology called displacement;
· behaviour typical of subversive agents, associated with the typology called layering;
· behaviour typical of parasitic symbiont agents, associated with the typology called drift;

However, strong evidence of *opportunist* agent conduct was found, associated with the typology called *conversion*; and, more specifically, all the Ombudsmen we studied provided evidenced of existing rules being reoriented by actors.

Regarding the common characteristics related to institutional work (LAWRENCE; SUDDABY, 2006), we observed that:

· all the cases demonstrated evidence of creation, specifically in establishing rules;
· evidence of the form of work called *defining* was found in all the cases, characterized as *acting to construct systems of rules which confer status or identity* and *defining limits of adhesion, or creating a status hierarchy within the actor's area of operation*; and
· none of the interviews demonstrated action related to the maintenance of institutions.

We can infer from this specific fact that, given that the public Ombudsmen are still works in progress, this form of institutional work could not have occurred.

In relation to characteristics observed in only one case, the institutional work was seen thus:

· interviews conducted at ANVISA revealed other forms of institutional creation: constructing normative networks and changing normative associations;
· in respect of the ANTT Ombudsman, we observed institutional disruption in activities known as disconnecting sanctions and undermining associations and beliefs; and
· the result of the interview conducted with the ANTAQ Ombudsman revealed a form of creation not seen in the other cases: mimicry.

The only case analysed which demonstrated evidence of institutional change of the *drift* variety (MAHONEY; THELEN, 2010) was located in the ANAC interview.

Conclusions

This research employed the concept of *institutions* as formal or informal rules that enable the emergence of a structure via interactions between individuals. The idea was to investigate the processes of institutionalization in five federal regulatory agency Ombudsmen. In other words, to examine how these sectors are institutionalized within their respective organizations - the regulatory agencies. An Expanded Model of Institutional Change was used, based on Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) Theory of Institutional Change, allied to Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) Types of Institutional Work. These theories were adhered to because Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) original theory did not explore the possible proactive actions of so-called change agents.

The five Ombudsmen in the regulatory agencies we studied contained common elements which are worth highlighting in our explanation of the institutionalization processes. All demonstrated that the type of institutional change is defined as *conversion* (MAHONEY; THELEN, 2010). In other words, the change agents did not necessarily promote the alteration of rules and norms. Instead, rules were reinterpreted in favour of these agents. This happened because of ambiguity between the legislation (laws of creation and internal regulations) that covers the functions of the Ombudsman and their team and the structural, financial and human resources available, which are, themselves, scarce. According to Mahoney and Thelen, these circumstances give rise to an agent of institutional change known as *opportunist*.

What can we infer from these conclusions to explain the institutionalization process? In fact, the Ombudsmen for federal regulatory agencies are still becoming institutionalized within their respective agencies. The length of time between the creation of each agency did not affect the degree to which they were institutionalized. The institutional work undertaken by change agents – Ombudsmen, ex-Ombudsmen and teams of civil servants and advisors – exploits a space of negotiation for the reinterpretation of current rules defined by the governments that created these organizations. These change agents are not interested in maintaining institutions of which, in reality, they are not fully confident. However, they also do not work to undo or substitute them; rather they (re)construct them so that they establish the support required to fulfil their role. This finding is an important element in understanding the idiosyncrasies of the institutionalization process of Ombudsmen. It also demonstrates that the Expanded Model of Institutional Change, which combines elements from several proposals to analyse the institutionalization process, allows us to illuminate, with greater clarity, the institutional dynamic underlying the analysed cases.

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Spirituality in organizations?

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Abstract

This article aims to describe how organizational spirituality has been dealt with in national and international research. Thus, a review of literature was carried out, based on a systematic search on literature on the Scopus and SciELO databases. The survey revealed 551 articles, but only 118 were available as full-documents. After reading the articles, 72 were selected for analysis. From the selected articles, seven major themes were identified and are covered in this article: factors that encourage spirituality to develop in organizations; the differences between spirituality and religion; the definition/concept of organizational spirituality; the benefits of spirituality for organizations; the dimensions of spirituality in organizations; the values of spirituality in organizations, and ways of identifying/ measuring spirituality in organizations. In general, it was found that the theme of organizational spirituality is gaining momentum among academics and managers and can no longer be ignored. Although research performed until now has provided encouraging results, more research is required, including empirical research, in order to elucidate and consolidate an understanding of the theme, as well as its importance for people and organizations.

Keywords: Organizations. Spirituality. Spirituality in Organizations.

Espiritualidade nas organizações?

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo descrever de que forma a espiritualidade nas organizações vem sendo tratada nas pesquisas nacionais e internacionais. Para isso, foi realizada uma revisão teórica, a partir de uma busca sistemática da literatura nas bases de dados *Scopus* e a SciELO. No levantamento retornaram 551 artigos, sendo que 118 estavam disponíveis na integra. Após a leitura foram selecionados 72 artigos para análise. Dos artigos selecionados, emergiram sete grandes temas que são tratados ao longo desse artigo: os fatores que induzem o desenvolvimento da espiritualidade nas organizações; a diferença entre espiritualidade e religião; definição/conceito de espiritualidade nas organizações; os benefícios da espiritualidade para as organizações; as dimensões da espiritualidade nas organizações; os valores da espiritualidade nas organizações; e as formas de identificar/mensurar a espiritualidade nas organizações. De forma geral, constatou-se que a espiritualidade nas organizações ganha força entre acadêmicos e gestores e não pode mais ser ignorada. Apesar das pesquisas realizadas até o momento serem encorajadoras, novas pesquisas são necessárias, incluindo pesquisas empíricas, de forma a elucidar e consolidar o entendimento a respeito da temática bem como sua importância para as pessoas e organizações.

Palavras-chave: Organizações. Espiritualidade. Espiritualidade nas Organizações.

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1 Introduction

The corporate world, based on the changes which take place in society are re-structuring a "spiritual awakening" in the workplace, which has been observed in recent years (KHASAWNEH, 2011; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; CORBETT, 2009). A trend in the business world is establishing spirituality as one of the points to seek better organizational results, among other factors (KHASAWNEH 2011; PAWAR, 2009a; FRY *et al*., 2011). Many arguments are used by researchers in the area to explain the interest in spirituality in organizations: 1) the search for spiritual solutions to alleviate turbulent social and business changes (FRY et al, 2011); 2) the global changes which brought a growing spiritual awareness (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; FRY *et al.*, 2011); 3) the realisation by organizations which believe that a humanistic working environment creates a win-win situation between employees and the organization; 4) the understanding that happy workers are more productive and creative and are more satisfied with the organization (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003). In addition, the fact of ignoring the human spirit in the working environment could mean that a fundamental characteristic of what "the human being" means (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005) is being ignored.

This interest on the effects of spirituality in the working environment has led various researchers to perform research related to the theme (e.g. REGO, CUNHA, SOUTO, 2007; KHASAWNEH 2011; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; FRY *et al.*, 2011). Even understanding the importance of the topic to organizations (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2003), its effects on the organizational environment are observed, although they are insufficiently analysed and understood (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003). It is noted that the field of study is marked by all of the typical characteristics of paradigm development, including a lack of consensus on a definition for spirituality in the working environment (DENT; HIGGINS; WHARFF, 2005). This leads to certain questioning, such as if the theme deserves the attention that is allocated to it (REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007). But this does not seem to be the most appropriate attitude, as the fact that it is difficult to define what spirituality is in the working environment cannot be translated as something inexistent or undesirable to investigate, among other reasons. Spirituality is a complex phenomenon, which can no longer be ignored by society and organizations (REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007). It is observed that research related to spirituality in organizations is progressing and can no longer be ignored. Its effects in the working environment need to be understood and identified.

Faced with this contextualisation, this article has the aim of describing in which way spirituality in organizations has been dealt with in national and international research. Therefore, using bibliographic research and the precepts of the systematic review of literature, the main factors leading to the so-called "spiritual awakening" in organizations were raised, as well as a series of concepts of what spirituality is in organizations and its differences in relation to religion. The main benefits which it may provide for organizations were also identified; the values which are present in its construction; the so-called "dimensions" of spirituality and the methodology or way that spirituality is measured, as can be seen in the next sections of this article.

2 Methodology

Setting off from the central objective of the article, which is to present the essential elements, in order to understand spirituality in organizations, we decided to prepare a theoretical and systematic review of the topic. According to Sampieri, Collado and Lucio (2006), a review of literature comprises detecting, consulting and obtaining a bibliography and other materials which are useful for the purposes of the study, from where relevant information that is required for the specific problem under investigation is extracted. This review should be selective, considering the quantity of articles published every year.

Clearly, covering all of the literature on a specific theme is rather difficult, if not impossible. Thus, we decided to look for articles on the topic in two databases: *Scopus* and SciELO. *Scopus*, according to the Elsevier[1] (2013) site, is the largest database of abstracts and quotations from literature reviewed by peers around the world, with more than 21,000 titles and 5,000 publishers. The Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO[2]) is an electronic library that contains a selected collection of selected Brazilian journals. Its aim is to establish an electronic library, which may provide wide-ranging access to collections of journals as a whole.

Considering the search criteria available, the Social Science & Humanities sub-database was selected to collate articles on the *Scopus* database. The search criteria were established, with the aim of achieving a wide coverage of publications on the theme. The searches carried out for these used the expressions: "Workplace Spirituality" and "Spirituality in Organization" in the title, keywords and abstract search fields. One hundred articles indexed to the database were revealed with the first expression, with 39 being available for download as full-documents. The second expression revealed 451 articles indexed to the database, with 66 being available for download as full-documents. For the total systematic searches carried out on the database, 551 items of academic were work revealed, with 105 available for download. Following an initial reading of the abstracts, 59 articles were classified for analysis and preparing the study.

Considering the search possibilities available, research was performed with the term "Espiritualidade nas organizações" on the SciELO database, resulting in 13 articles being found, all with the full texts available. Considering the search on the two databases, a total of 72 articles were attained.

The abstracts of 72 articles were read to ascertain if the academic work dealt directly with spirituality in organizations. From reading the articles, seven themes emerged, which seek to understand spirituality in organizations, as described below:

Theme 1 – spiritual awakening in organizations: brings together the factors and explanations for this awakening found in the articles selected;

Theme 2 – spirituality and religion: presents the differences between the two terms identified in the articles selected;

Theme 3 – constructing the concept of spirituality: identifies the elements to define spirituality in organizations, according to the articles selected;

Theme 4 – the benefits of spirituality in organizations: lists the main benefits of spirituality in the workplace found in the articles selected;

Theme 5 – the values of spirituality in organizations: exposes a summary of the values associated to spirituality in organizations based on the articles selected;

Theme 6 – dimension to analyse spirituality in organizations: according to the articles selected, it presents a description of the study of spirituality in organizations from these dimensions;

Theme 7 – how to measure spirituality in organizations: identifies and describes ways of measuring spirituality in the workplace from the articles selected.

In the process of formulating the themes, some articles were discarded and other bibliographies/references were included, with the aim of clarifying the concepts selected. The main results obtained are presented in the next sections of this article.

3 Spirituality in organizations

The study on spirituality in organizations became an important theme for the practical (KONZ, RYAN, 1999) and academics, to the point of considering that there is a spiritual awakening in the workplace (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003). An analysis of the number of publications in recent years, considering data from the *Scopus* database,

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reflects this trend. Analysing Graph 1, it is confirmed that the first publication on the topic, considering the parameters defined for the research, took place in 1986. The number of publications has grown systematically since then, year after year, with the apex in 2011.

Graph 1: Publications on spirituality in organizations per year
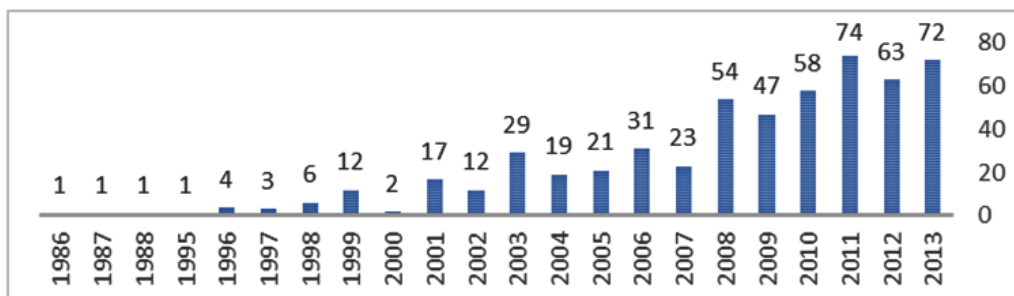
Source: *Scopus* database

Even though it is a recent construction (PAWAR, 2008), and is taking its initial steps, it seems that spirituality in the workplace came to be more than a trend (KONZ, RYAN, 1999; BURACK, 1999). However, the field of study (spirituality in organizations) is marked by all the characteristics typical of paradigm development (DENT, HIGGINS, WHARFF, 2005).

Much of the questioning on spirituality in organizations needs answers, such as: how should spirituality be conceptualised? How should spirituality in organizations be defined? Which research methods are more appropriate to develop studies further: quantitative, qualitative, or a combination of the two? Is it appropriate to measure spirituality in quantifiable units? Are new research methods required beyond the limits of the traditional research methods used in administrative science? (BENEFIEL, 2003). The answers to these questions are complex and, to a large extent, imprecise. What can be confirmed is that "management" and spirituality, previously considered incompatible, have been brought closer together in recent years. A number of studies seek to relate the two themes (BENEFIEL, 2003) from a central question, which is if spirituality affects workplace performance? (SANDERS, HOPKINS, GEROY, 2003).

3.1 Spiritual awakening in organizations: possible factors

Profound changes are in progress in the workplace and spirituality is put forward as one of the main themes. The critical ingredients to accelerate the change are becoming established. There is an important mass of knowledge and solid research, with a growing number of articles, books and other texts being disseminated (academic and popular publications); needs are being expressed by individuals; and top executives and owners of organizations are increasingly convinced of the merits of these approaches (spirituality in organizations) and seek guidance to initiate changes (BURACK, 1999).

The main factors inducing workplace spirituality are:
1. **Looking for meaning while at work:** work has a meaning for people, which goes beyond the material rewards associated to this (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005). In as far that the activities performed at an organization are in line with spiritual values, they provide meaning to an individual. As they develop behaviour which demonstrates values, such as integrity, courage, honesty, kindness, confidence and self-discipline or other forms that express spirituality in organizational interactions, as well as behaviour that could be translated into benefits for clients or the organization, individuals may find meaning when performing their work (DRIVER, 2007). Therefore, work is no longer something disconnected from personal development. Individuals

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seek to transcend simple economic exchanges. They try to connect their professional life with their spiritual life; form communities in the workplace and seek a unified vision and purpose for their lives, which goes much further beyond financial gain (KONZ, RYAN, 1999).

2. **Improved organizational performance:** many organizations encourage spirituality, as they believe that a humanised workplace creates a win-win situation, where both workers and the organization benefit (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; DANIEL, 2010). When integrating spirituality in organizational management, the following is sought: 1) attaining a competitive advantage through ethical behaviour, job satisfaction, committed workers and productivity (BENEFIEL, 2010); and 2) increasing organizational commitment, which may lead to improved organizational performance (REGO, CUNHA, 2008). Lastly, happier workers are more productive, more creative and, consequently, more satisfied, leading to improved organizational performance (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; SANDERS; HOPKINS; GEROY, 2003).

3. **Reaction to corporate greed:** spiritual awakening in the workplace is presented as a reaction to the corporate greed of the 1980s (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003). Downsizing, re-engineering and dismissals during the 1990s made the workplace somewhere where workers were demoralised and where there was a growing injustice in relation to salaries (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). Often, people earn money but their personal values fall behind. With this, many workers leave the corporate world and those who stay tend to incorporate their personal values into their professional lives and, consequently, their work routines (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003).

4. **Need to connect with other people:** organizational models of bureaucratic and scientific administration which recommend specialisation led to isolation and alienation between workers (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). In contrast, spirituality arose at work because people want to feel connected with what is important and they want to feel connected with every person at work (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). For many individuals, work colleagues almost replace the family and a group of friends (KARAKAS, 2010). The workplace is a community for many individuals, represents and promotes the only consistent link with other people and the human need for connection and contribution (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). The essence of the community involves a deep sense of connection (mental, emotional and spiritual) among workers in teams or groups in organizations, including support, freedom of expression and genuine warmth (NEAL; BENNETT, 2000).

Behind these factors is the conviction that the human spirit can no longer be ignored in the workplace, as it is a fundamental characteristic of what a "human being" represents (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005). It is the vital principle, the driving force that is traditionally believed to be inside the individual and is the essential nature of every human being (KALE, SHRIVASTAVA, 2002). It is the spirit which motivates, nurtures the "reserves" of a human being's dedication and effort and decides if he will give his best or only enough to survive (DRUCKER, 1954 *apud* BADRINARAYANAN; MADHAVARAM, 2008).

3.2 Spirituality and religion

The concept of spirituality and religion are very similar. There are two distinct perspectives related to them. In one, the two concepts are inseparable, while in the other, the terms spirituality and religion are different concepts (DENT, HIGGINS, WHARFF, 2005). Spirituality and religion are considered separate terms in this study. Despite the definitive link between the topics, they are different (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001).

Religion is concerned with a system of beliefs, ritual prayers, rituals, ceremonies and formal practices. On the other hand, spirituality is concerned with the qualities of the human spirit (FRY, SLOCUM Jr., 2008). Spirituality should not be confused with religion, as it is not related to a belief system (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). The term, spirituality, includes positive psychological concepts, such as love, patience, compassion, tolerance, forgiveness, contentment, personal responsibility and a sense of harmony with the environment (FRY (2003).

Spirituality presents the following key elements: it is informal, organised or structured; is beyond religious denominations; is inclusive and includes and accepts every type of person, not being proselytic; is universal and timeless; it is an essential sources and provider of meaning and purpose in life; it is the fear that is felt in the presence of the transcendental, the sacred in everything, in everyday routine; a deep feeling of interconnection with everything; inner peace and calm; an endless source of power and commitment; it is the final essence final (ultimate goal in itself) (MITROFF, DENTON; 1999). The main differences between religion and spirituality can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Differences between spirituality and religion

Spirituality	Religion	Researchers
An inner desire and feeling of community.	A system of organised belief.	DUCHON, PLOWMAN (2005) ASHMOS, DUCHON (2000)
Appropriate topic of discussion in organizations.	Inappropriate topic of discussion in organizations.	MITROFF, DENTON (1999)
Not dependent on any form of religion.	May serve as a vehicle to nurture and understand explicit spirituality.	KALE (2004)
Broader concept which represents beliefs and values.	More restricted concept, which refers to behaviour. It has dictated principles, dogmas and doctrines.	FRY (2003)
Is concerned with the qualities of the human spirit.	System of beliefs, ritual prayers, rites, ceremonies and formal practices.	FRY, SLOCUM Jr., (2008) ASHMOS, DUCHON (2000)
Not operated in terms of affiliation or sectarian ideas.	Characterised by measures of church attendance, amount of prayer, participation at church and related activities, among others.	GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ (2003)
Parochial and exclusive.	Non-sectarian and international.	SOLOMON (2003)

Source: prepared by the authors

3.3 Constructing the concept of spirituality

There are many possible forms of workplace spirituality (KARAKAS, 2010). This contributes, so that there is no clear definition of what spirituality in the workplace is in literature. For this reason, the concept of spirituality will be discussed below to then ascertain its development in the organizational environment. The term spirituality comes from the Latin word *spiritus* or *spiritualis*, which means breath. *Spiritus* is defined as an uplifting and fundamental principle to give life to physical organisms (KARAKAS, 2010). This means that the spirit is the vital force which lives in human beings while they are alive (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003).

The concept of spirituality was extended beyond religious traditions and applied to professional and organizational settings (BURACK, 1999). When taking the concept of spirituality to the organizational environment, it is seen that it is characterised as having a universal aspect or, that is, characteristics are found in different cultures and organizations. These characteristics are the essence of spirituality in organizations. One of the most important among these is the relevance attributed to moral and ethical values, such as: honesty, optimism, confidence, justice; problem solving; encouragement; intrinsic motivation and orientation for excellence (REAVE, 2005).

Spirituality presents a closer link with the concepts of individual and social well-being (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005). It involves efforts to find the final purpose in life through developing connections with work colleagues and consistency (or alignment) among the individual beliefs and values at the organization (MITROFF, DENTON, 1999). The concept of spirituality at work includes organizational aspects or conditions, as well as mechanisms which facilitate workers to experience spirituality at work (PAWAR, 2008). Various concepts of spirituality found in literature are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Concepts of spirituality

Concept	Authors
Experiences of self-transcendence, meaning and community in the workplace by workers. It also recognises that these experiences may come from various mechanisms, including organizational ones.	PAWAR, 2008
A quest to find sustainability, understanding, authenticity, meaning and a holistic and deep understanding of existential being and its relation/inter-relation with the sacred and transcendent.	KARAKAS, 2010
Recognition that employees have an inner life that nurtures and is nurtured by significant work that takes place within a community context.	ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000
Workplace spirituality is having compassion for others, experiencing a feeling of inner awareness, in search of significant work that allows transcendence.	PETCHSAWANG, DUCHON 2009
A set of organizational values illustrated in the culture which seeks to promote workers having transcendental experiences through the work process, facilitating its connection with feelings of compassion and happiness.	JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004
Spirituality in organizations as being constituted by opportunities to engage in meaningful work, in the context of a community, experiencing a feeling of happiness and respect for inner life.	REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007

Source: prepared by the authors.

As can be seen, workplace spirituality is not related to something mystic or isolated. It is about the opportunity to express many aspects of being, not merely the ability to develop physical or intellectual tasks in the workplace. The understanding of spirituality starts with recognition that people have inner and outer lives and that nurturing the inner life may lead to an outer life with more meaning and productivity.

3.4 The benefits of spirituality in organizations

Tension between rational objectives and spiritual realisation is an important topic when approaching spirituality in organizations. Apart from being productive and efficient, the worker wants to find meaning in his work. The envisioned separation between professional and personal life is shown to be inefficient, as it is observed that personal life affects activities performed in the workplace. This leads organizations to set up programmes that aim to balance the various aspects of workers' lives (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003).

Recognising workplace spirituality is admitting that people take more than their bodies and minds with them, as they carry individual talents and unique spirits. The organizations that ignore this basic fact, inherent to human nature over time, now explore spiritual concepts, such as confidence, harmony, values and honesty, with the aim of attaining their objectives (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003). Executives and workers seek to introduce a set of practices in the field of organizational spirituality or, in other words, practices that promote satisfaction, increased quality and production, with positive reflections in the financial area, particularly on return on investment (MARQUES, 2008). Spirituality has been receiving so much attention that it is established as fundamental to face the challenges of the workplace today (MITROFF, DENTON, 1999).

It cannot be specified if the incorporation of spiritual practices in the workplace provides increased productivity or profitability. The topic is still controversial (KARAKAS, 2010; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003). In a review of the literature, Karakas (2010) puts forward that a group of authors sees spirituality as anti-materialistic (Gibbons, 2000; Lips-Wiersma, 2003) and anti-positivist (Fornaciari *et al*, 2003) and, due to its nature, they question the positivist research methods which seek to relate spirituality and organizational performance (Fornaciari, Lund, Dean, 2001; Fornaciari *et al*, 2003; Gibbons, 2000; Lips-Wiersma, 2003; Mitroff; Denton, 1999b; Palmer, 1994). There is ethical concern about incorporating spirituality in the workplace, in the sense that it is used as an administrative tool to manipulate workers (DENT; HIGGINS; WHARFF, 2005). However, another groups confirms that spirituality could be used to improve organizational performance and research on spirituality should demonstrate its links to productivity and profitability (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003;).

Adopting the foundation of this second group, research was performed with the aim of relating spirituality to various factors that may have an impact on organizational performance (e.g. DUSCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; KHASAWNEH 2011; PAWAR, 2009b; ROBLES, 2011; KARAKAS, 2010; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; ALTAF, AWAN, 2011; JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004). The majority of the research considers that workplace spirituality provides benefits both for the workers and the organization (SANTIAGO, 2007), as presented in Table 3.

Table 3: The benefits of spirituality in organizations

BENEFITS	AUTHOR
Reduction in vices in the workplace, a deeper feeling of the meaning and purpose at work, sense of community, increased well-being and loyalty.	KARAKAS, 2010
Increased morale, sense of belonging to the organization.	GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; KARAKAS, 2010
Increased productivity and creativity	GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003 E 2004; KARAKAS, 2010; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007
Reduction in stress	KARAKAS, 2010; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011
Greater commitment to the organization	MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; KARAKAS, 2010; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011; JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; BENEFIEL, 2010
Increased happiness	GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005
Greater job satisfaction	MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007

BENEFITS	AUTHOR
Greater involvement with work and increased self-esteem	MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003
Lower staff turnover	MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007
Improved personal relations at work, improved communication, increased confidence among workers, increase in ethical behaviour, improved performance, improved decision-making, more innovation and increase in personal fulfilment	ALTAF; AWAN, 2011
Greater motivation and more adaptability	JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004
Reduced absenteeism	DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005

Source: prepared by the authors

Apart from the authors listed above, there are other reasons for spirituality in the workplace to be encouraged: 1) provides increased knowledge of spirituality by the academic and professional environment; 2) helps to understand the implications of spirituality for workers' well-being and 3) allows for a discussion of the spiritual dimension at work without religious proselytism (ROBLES, 2011).

Both empirical and theoretical research indicates that performance and productivity increase as a result of a deeper meaning and that spirituality provides a sense of meaning and purpose for workers. Workers want to be recognised for what they are or, in other words, as whole people with a spirit, heart, soul, passions, hopes, talents, aspirations, families, private lives and emotions (KARAKAS, 2010). Spiritual needs are filled by some factors, such as: 1) recognition and acceptance of the responsibility that each individual has in relation to the common good; 2) understanding the inter-connection between various aspects of life; 3) carrying out services to humanity and the planet. When one speaks of incorporating spirituality in the workplace, a change in organizational culture is suggested, transforming the workers at various levels of the organization, so that they start to implement humanistic practices and policies in the organization's daily routine (GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003).

Lastly, spirituality is a means through which workers seek to find a deeper meaning to life. The organizations recognise that, along with stress and problems in the workplace, other aspects of social life affect workers and they seek ways to face them (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001). Spirituality in organizations is one of the paths to deal with adverse situations and increase organizational performance (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; KARAKAS, 2010; ALTAF, AWAN, 2011; KHASAWNEH 2011, PAWAR, 2009a; FRY *et al*.; 2011). Workers desire a greater integration between their spiritual values and their work. The organizations are forced to respond to this demand and create humanistic environments, where spiritual principles and values become an integral part of organizational culture (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001).

3.5 Spiritual values in organizations

A set of spiritual values in the workplace is attractive to organizations. However, even with the increase in research related to spirituality in organizations, little is known in relation to the effects of spiritual values on job satisfaction and performing work with meaning, among other factors (KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008). People carry certain values with them and take them to the working environment when they start at an organization. On the other hand, when entering an organization, the person is subject to new values which form part of organizational culture. Thus, interaction starts between the individual's values and those of the organization.

This also takes place in the case of spiritual values. On a more basic level, spirituality in the workplace can be seen as incorporating an individual's spiritual values into his working environment. In this case, personal spiritual values have an effect on an individual's behaviour, and the interpretations and responses related to work events. In a macro vision, spirituality may refer to the organization's culture, where spirituality reflects the individual's perception in relation to spiritual values existing in a working environment. In an integrative vision, workplace spirituality reflects interaction between the individual's spiritual values and those of the organization (KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008).

The alignment between individual and organizational values will result in more positive attitudes by workers. The workers who embrace the organization's values have a stronger connection to it and have better attitudes in relation to their work. Individuals who wish to work at an organization that cultivates spiritual values, may possibly identify with it (KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008). Organizations that have a set of embedded values not only benefit their workers but also obtain a better organizational performance (MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999). By adopting humanistic values through policies and practices which recognise dignity and the value of their employees, organizations promote spirituality at work. They also provide an alignment between personal development and corporate targets with this process (JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004).

Even without a consensus on what spiritual values would be in organizations, researchers have dedicated their time to establishing a set of values that make up workplace spirituality (MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999; GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004). Milliman *et al.* (1999), in a study carried out at Southwest Airlines, indicates the existence of five spiritual values: community, feeling of being a part of a cause, empowerment, emphasis on intellectual and emotional aspects and humour. Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2004) synthesise a set of values that form and demonstrate the presence of workplace spirituality: benevolence, generativity, humanism, integrity, justice, reciprocity, receptivity, respect, responsibility and confidence. A summary of these values is presented below:

1. The **community** refers to team work, servitude or acting in the organization's interests, the feeling of being part of a family, where they take care of each other (MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999);
2. The **feeling of being part of a cause** indicates the need that a person has in performing significant work, in something greater to believe in and feel and how they can contribute to an organizational mission, which makes a difference to other people's lives (MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999);
3. **Empowerment** is related to workers' empowerment to take measures that they consider necessary to respond to clients' needs or help work colleagues. If errors of judgment take place, they are celebrated with the intention of transforming failures into personal growth (MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999);
4. **Emphasis on intellectual and emotional aspects and humour** refers to providing services with a feeling of friendship, individual pride and "company spirit" which, in short, are the demonstration of a commitment to a greater cause and desire to serve humanity MILLIMAN *et al.*, 1999);
5. **Benevolence** related to orientation to promote the happiness and prosperity of workers and other parties interested in the labour context. Workers are more productive when an organization shows affection towards them (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004);
6. **Generativity** is demonstrated by a long-term focus, concern about the consequences of current actions on the future and respect for future generations. Individuals who have high generativity are interested in leaving a legacy for those who follow them (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004);
7. **Humanism** is linked to practices and policies which defend dignity and the value of each worker, offering opportunities for personal growth,

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together with organizational objectives. It refers to a vision of the world that confirms the capacity and responsibility of every individual of living in a way that aims for the greater good of humanity (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004);

8. **Integrity** is related to a firm adhesion to a code of conduct, sincerity, honesty, frankness and the unforced exercise of power. An environment where individuals and the organization share values in an aligned way, improving organizational performance (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004).

9. **Justice** refers to the treatment and evaluation of workers who work at an organization in a balanced, impartial, fair and honest way, impartially applying punishments and rewards. Conversely, they are happier, more productive and satisfied when they see that the decisions are fair (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004).

10. **Reciprocity** related to inter-connection and interdependency existing between workers. Workers' inter-connection and interdependency, experienced by feelings of community and performing work with meaning, leads to increased organizational commitment, job satisfaction and improved self-esteem (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004).

11. **Receptivity** is related to an "open mind", flexible thinking, creative rewards and calculating the risks to be run. Open relations and support from work colleagues promotes productivity and creativity. Receptive managers tend to deal better with a risky situation and implement changes in the workplace more effectively (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004).

12. **Respect** involves considering and treating workers with esteem and value, showing consideration and concern for others. Organizations that value and respect workers have greater productivity, job satisfaction, performance, enthusiasm, collaboration and creativity, and lower absenteeism and stress levels as a result (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2004).

Spiritual values affect various aspects of the organization, including organizational performance. An organization's fundamental spiritual values represent its philosophical point of view, priorities and sense of purpose. They reflect its sense of spirituality and purpose. An organization's greater aim is represented by its values, which directly influence its mission, targets and objectives and, lastly, provide a base for social practices and the context in which the workers are placed, think, act and take decisions. They should reflect the workers' inner needs, beliefs and aspirations (MILLIMAN et al., 1999), so that these values really have an impact on the organization.

3.6 Dimensions of spirituality

Spirituality in the workplace could be studied from its dimensions (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009). In the majority of studies, these dimensions encompass three levels: individual, group and organizational (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003). An individual's attitudes, considering his perception of himself, are analysed at the organizational level. Aspects related to the functioning of the work unit (sector, department and directors) in which the individual works are approached at group level. The workers' attitudes about his work in the organization as a whole (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000) are covered on the organizational level.

The number of dimensions also varies according to each author's approach. Studies with three (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON 2003; PAWAR, 2009b), four (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009), five (REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012) and eleven (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001) dimensions are observed and can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Dimensions of spirituality

DIMENSIONS OF SPIRITUALITY	AUTHORS
Conditions for community	ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000. REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON 2003; PAWAR, 2009; HARRINGTON; PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012;
Meaningful work	ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON 2003; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; PAWAR, 2009; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001
Inner life	ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012
Happiness at work	REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007
The individual's alignment with the organization's values	REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON 2003; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012
Feeling of value to the community	REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012
Compassion, full attention (inner awareness) and transcendence	PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009
Positive organizational purpose	PAWAR, 2009
Spiritual practices implemented at the organization	GONÇALVES, 2011

Source: prepared by the authors

When analysing Table 4, the dimensions of spirituality most observed are: 1) conditions for community; 2) meaningful work; 3) inner life and 4) an individual's alignment with the organization's values. However, the "individual's alignment with the organization's values" dimension is one of the factors adapted by the authors of Ashmos and Duchon's (2000) work. Ashmos and Duchon used various factors related to organizational values but they serve as a base to complement the conditions for community and meaningful work dimensions.

In addition, it is ascertained that other dimensions listed are closely linked to the three initial dimensions defined by Ashmos and Duchon (2000):

1) **Conditions for community:** the dimensions, personal responsibility, positive connections with other individuals, community in the work unit and organizational values (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001), have already been identified by Ashmos and Duchon (2000) as factors which complement the "Conditions for community" dimension. To a great extent, the compassion dimension (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009) is also related to the "Conditions for community" dimension, as it involves a deep sense of connection between people and includes support, freedom of expression and genuine care (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003) and compassion includes responsibility for others, a desire to alleviate the other's suffering and desire for mutual affection (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009);

2) **Meaningful work:** The positive and individual values and organization dimensions (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN (2001) are factors put forward by Ashmos and Duchon (2000) as being related to the "meaning at work" dimension. The same takes place with the "feeling of value to the community" (REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007) and "positive organizational purpose" dimensions (PAWAR, 2009). In addition, the "happiness at work" dimension could be considered a sub-dimension of "Meaningful work" (REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007);

3) **Inner life:** the contemplation dimension (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN (2001), related to behaviour associated to expression of inner life (ASHMOS, DUCHON,

2000), which also takes place with the transcendence and full attention dimensions. Transcendence involves a positive state of energy or vitality, a feeling of perfection and experiencing happiness (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009). However, full attention refers to a person's mind being present, not being preoccupied with past or future thoughts or other distractions;

Therefore, the dimensions are defined as follows: 1) conditions for community, 2) meaningful work and 3) inner life (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000), bearing in mind that these served as a base to define the other authors' dimensions:

Conditions for community is a critical dimension of workplace spirituality. It means having a strong link with others (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). This dimension takes place at group level, involving behaviour, interactions and an individual's concerns for his work colleagues. Community at work is supported by the belief that people see themselves as connected to others and that there is some type of link with an individual's "inner me" and that of others (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003). Essentially, the feeling of community involves a deep sense of connection between people, which includes support, freedom of expression and genuine care (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003).

Meaningful work is a fundamental aspect of workplace spirituality. It involves having a deep sense of meaning and purpose at work. This dimension represents how workers interact with their work on a daily basis on an individual level. The expression of spirituality at work presupposes that every person has his own motivation, truths and desires of being involved in activities which provide greater meaning, both for their lives and those of others. The search for purpose in life, considering the workplace is no something new but, in the context of spirituality, interesting or challenging work is not enough, a deeper and objective meaning, the experience of a dream, expressing the needs for inner life through work with meaning and contributing to work colleague is sought (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000).

Inner life is a fundamental aspect for understanding workplace spirituality and its nourishment could lead to a significant and productive outer life (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). It should be understood that people have spiritual (inner life) and physical, emotional and cognitive needs and these needs do not stay at home when people go to work (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005). In addition, development and expression of the human spirit at work may lead to beneficial consequences for the organization. Some organizations are encouraging spirituality at the workplace as a way of increasing workers' loyalty and morale (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000).

3.7 How to measure spirituality in organizations?

As shown above, spirituality is understood as an important topic for organizations (GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2003). However, it is observed that its effects on the organizational environment have not yet been sufficiently analysed and understood (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003), requiring further research to be carried out, including empirical research, as "the majority of the literature does not have an empirical base" (REGO, CUNHA, SOUTO, 2007, p. 6). To a great extent, this is due to the fact that research on spirituality in organizations is recent, being formulated (PAWAR, 2008) or at an investigatory stage (DENT *et al*., 2005). To Milliman, Czaplewski and Ferguson (2003), even with a considerable quantity of research on the topic, it seems that they have focused on outlining the nature of spirituality at work and, therefore, research on the consequences of workplace spirituality is required.

When thinking of performing empirical research involving spirituality in organizations, two questions should be taken into consideration: is it appropriate to measure spirituality in quantifiable units? Are new research methods required, to go beyond the traditional research methods used in administrative science? (BENEFIEL, 2003). Various authors, such as Ashmos and Duchon (2000), Milliman, Czaplewski and Ferguson (2003); Duchon and Plowman, (2005), Petchsawanga and Duchon (2012),

Rego, Pina and Cunha (2008), Milliman *et al* (1999), Kolodinsky and Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2008), among others, have carried out empirical studies on spirituality in organizations. As Ashmos and Duchon (2000) suggest, developing a concept and way of measuring spirituality at work is important, so that organizational scientists can start to understand and observe this phenomenon in the workplace.

Studies were performed with this aim, seeking to relate spirituality to various aspects of organizational life, such as job satisfaction (PAWAR, 2009b; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011), involvement with work (PAWAR, 2009b; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008), organizational commitment (PAWAR, 2009b; REGO, PINA, CUNHA, 2008; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2003), work overload (stress) (ALTAF; AWAN, 2011), performance at the work unit (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005), performance at work (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009), intention to leave a job, intrinsic satisfaction with work, organization based on self-esteem (MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003), organizational frustration, satisfaction with rewards, organizational identification (KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008) and motivation and adaptability (JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2003).

Some studies simply seek to measure levels of workplace spirituality (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; KHASAWNEH, 2011), while others are also concerned with identifying ways of measuring spirituality in the workplace (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; MILLIMAN et al., 1999). In reality, the vast majority of studies are reviews and theoretical studies on spirituality (e.g. DRIVER, 2005; DRIVER, 2007; JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2003; IZAK, 2012; MARQUES, 2008; BURACK, 1999; KARAKAS, 2010; MARQUES, 2010). Independent of the type of study and doubts related to the research methods used to develop studies on spirituality in organizations, they are carried out, measuring and relating spirituality to a wide range of areas, as demonstrated earlier in this article.

A way of measuring spirituality involves the values of spirituality in organizations (already listed in section 3.5) (JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2003; KOLODINSKY, GIACALONE, JURKIEWICZ, 2008). However, this form seems to be hardly used by theorists. Use of the so-called "dimensions" of spirituality (listed earlier in section 3.6) when one intends to measure this in the organizational environment (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; MILLIMAN *et al.,* 1999; REGO, PINA, CUNHA, 2008; GONÇALVES, 2011; DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; SILVA, 2012) are observed more frequently. Even using other classifications, Pawar (2009) and HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN (2001) also use factors which may be characterised as "dimensions" of spirituality.

Each dimension of spirituality comprises a series of factors (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; MILLIMAN et al., 1999; REGO, PINA, CUNHA, 2008; GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012). The aim of these factors is to serve as a subsidy to evaluate workers' reactions at the organization studied (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000). These reactions will be translated and show the presence of this dimension in the workplace and determine its level (higher or lower intensity). The authors use the Likert scale for this of 5 (five) (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; PAWAR; 2009; KHASAWNEH, 2011; GONÇALVES, 2011) or 7 (seven) points (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; SILVA, 2012).

The measurement could be made while considering three levels: individual, work unit (department and sector) and organizational (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003). However, the results at the work unit and organizational levels have shown to be frustrating as measures of spirituality. As the items for the work unit and organizational levels question the workers regarding their relationship with something abstract or, in other words, the organization, the question becomes considerably more subtle because it questions them about themselves in relation to other people or events in their daily work routines, and the results have not been profitable (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000).

In any case, the authors use the statistical resources to carry out an analysis with the data collected. Among the various statistics used, an exploratory factorial analysis (SILVA, 2012), analysis of the correlation between the variables (HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; PAWAR, 2009), standard deviation (KHASAWNEH, 2011; PAWAR, 2009; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000), average (PAWAR, 2009; KHASAWNEH, 2011; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; HARRINGTON, PREZIOSI, GOODEN, 2001; ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000), significance analysis (KHASAWNEH, 2011; PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009; ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000), regression analysis (PAWAR, 2009), regression and multiple correlation (PETCHSAWANGA, DUCHON, 2009), factorial analysis using the method of extracting maximum probability with varimax rotation (ASHMOS, DUCHON, 2000) and multiple linear regression of independent variables on the dependent variables (GONÇALVES, 2011; SILVA, 2012) are identified.

With the end of this study in sight, we return to Benefiel's (2003) questions on the study of spirituality in organizations, and it can be seen how incipient the topic is. It can be confirmed that the developmental stage of the theory on spirituality in organizations is that of "paradigm development", including the lack of consensus on defining spirituality in organizations (DENT; HIGGINS; WHARFF, 2005). This incipience leads to certain questioning, such as if the theme deserves the attention which has been focused on it (REGO; SOUTO; CUNHA, 2007). But this does not appear to be the most appropriate position, as the fact of being difficult to define what spirituality is in organizations cannot be translated as something inexistent or undesirable to investigate, among other reasons. In addition, spirituality is a complex phenomenon, which can no longer be ignored by society and organizations.

Ignoring spirituality could mean that an essential factor to understand what the "human being" is, is being ignored. In addition, disregarding spirituality in organizations rejects all of the benefits that it may provide, as listed in item 3.4 and identified by various authors (e.g. MILLIMAN, CZAPLEWSKI, FERGUSON, 2003; KARAKAS, 2010; ALTAF; AWAN, 2011; JURKIEWICZ, GIACALONE, 2004; DUSCHON; PLOWMAN, 2005; GARCIA-ZAMOR, 2003; REGO, SOUTO, CUNHA, 2007; BENEFIEL, 2010). These benefits may significantly contribute to attaining organizational objectives, and for the well-being of the people who work there.

The benefits provided by spirituality in organizations deserve special attention. When one speaks of benefits, it should be borne in mind that they should be both for the organization and the workers that act in them. On the other hand, while there are potential and significant gains, which lead to promoting spirituality in the organization, particularly those listed in this article, there is also a concern in relation to its use in a manipulated way, only aiming towards organizational gains, to the detriment of the possible benefits which it may bring to workers (CANAVAGH; BANDSUCH, 2002; MILLIMAN; CZAPLEWSKI; FERGUSON, 2003). When the organization adopts practices that promote spirituality, these aspects should be considered. Spirituality should provide benefits both for the organization and its workers.

In order to ascertain the benefits provided by spirituality in organizations, and how it relates with the different organizational aspects, the authors structured a way of measuring workplace spirituality by analysing dimensions that form it and statistical techniques. However, with spirituality in organizations being a personal matter, the disappointing numbers may explain the mosaic of meanings that it represents? Is transforming spirituality into numbers enough to understand how spirituality affects the workplace? Could interpretive research provide more meaning to the data (numbers) collected? In any case, all and any research method has limitations. The fact is that research developed involving spirituality in organizations represents an advance in understanding the human phenomenon and that, above all, is a complex understanding.

4 Final considerations

People are complex beings, made up of reason, emotion and spirit. Investigations and actions developed in organizations focused their attention almost exclusively on reason for a substantial amount of time, disregarding the fact that human beings are also endowed with emotions (REGO; CUNHA; SOUTO, 2007). Human beings are rational but also spiritual. The body, mind and spirit integrate and make up the human being. As Ashmos and Duchon (2000, p. 136) indicate, "[...] people have a mind and spirit" and "developing the spirit is as important as developing the mind".

Recognition that people have an inner life is on the discussion agenda for theorists and organizational managers. There is significant evidence, both on academic and organizational terrain that the topic has been studied, practised and developed (REGO; CUNHA; SOUTO, 2007). The debate has been hesitant but has a tendency towards growth for the importance that spirituality has been achieving in the organizational environment. This study intends to contribute to this aspect.

Much as it is recognised that studies on spirituality in organizations require empirical support, it is understood that they are important, since they help to clarify and consolidate the concepts, resulting in a better understanding of the theme. A number of statements can be made from the work analysed:

1. The conceptualisation of spirituality in organizations is still unclear (FRY, SLOCUM Jr., 2008). Even accepting the complexity of the theme, consolidating an understanding of what spirituality in organizations really is or what it represents becomes necessary;
2. An aspect which is clear in the articles analysed is the difference between religion and spirituality in organizations. Spirituality is not related to a belief in God and is not restricted to this. One does not need to be religious, let alone belong to an organised religion to be spiritual (SOLOMON, 2003). Spirituality is linked to a way of knowing oneself and about the world and a means of personal and group integration (FAIRHOLM, 1996);
3. Spirituality in organizations provides a series of benefits, both for the organization and the individuals who work there. However, new studies are required on the theme, particularly empirical studies, as the majority of literature, even international texts, lack an empirical foundation (REGO, CUNHA, SOUTO, 2007);
4. Observing spirituality in organizations is worthy of attention. Various studies seek to develop quantitative measures of spirituality. These measurements are made by identifying the values or so-called dimensions of spirituality in organizations. This leads to certain questioning, such as: is it appropriate to quantify a theme as complex and personal as spirituality? Is qualitative research necessary?

In addition to this questioning, other questions are latent. How to analyse the organizational benefits and recognise an individual's inner life? What would the values of spirituality be and how can they be observed in the workplace? How is the search for meaning to actions related to higher productivity or other aspects of the organizational environment? Is spirituality being used in organizations in a manipulated way, simply looking for better organizational results? These questions deserve further investigation.

Much remains to make progress in studies on spirituality in organizations, particularly if the Brazilian context is considered. The subject is in an embryonic stage and from the moment that it is admitted that the human spirit in the workplace can no longer be ignored (DUCHON, PLOWMAN, 2005), performing further studies becomes necessary, placing them on the discussion agenda for Brazilian academics and organizational managers.

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Archives and the "Archive": dialogue and an agenda of research in organization studies

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Abstract

This text considers the "Archive" as a concept and a transitional space and to bring together discussions from history and organizations in relation to theoretical and methodological concerns involving the use of archives. It sets out from the supposition that broadening our understanding of these terms may support historical research in Management to advance new questions about of a range of objects, including documents and archives. During this process we focus on the changes brought about by advances in information technology, particularly the internet, and put forward certain considerations concerning Organization Studies that rely on archives. The conclusion indicates that archives and the Archive are constituent elements of practices and structures, and that the field would benefit from a research agenda that took into consideration: 1) greater methodological awareness about the implications of the use of documents and archives; 2) discussions about organizations that archive and how archives shape practices within these organizations; 3) studies of already available documents, including those online; 4) an interrogation of knowledge in Management in relation to Archives.

Key Words: Organization Studies and History. Archives. Documents.

Os arquivos e o "Arquivo": diálogos com e uma agenda de pesquisa em estudos organizacionais

Resumo

Este texto pretende discutir o "Arquivo" enquanto conceito e enquanto espaço (em transição) e tem como objetivo aproximar as discussões em história e organizações das preocupações teóricas e metodológicas que envolvem o uso de arquivos. Parte-se do pressuposto que aprofundar o entendimento desses termos pode contribuir para que a pesquisa histórica em Administração avance como novos questionamentos sobre diversos objetos, inclusive os documentos e os arquivos. No percurso foi dado foco às mudanças trazidas pelo avanço das tecnologias de informação, especialmente da *internet*, e foram realizadas algumas ponderações sobre os Estudos Organizacionais que se valem de arquivos. A conclusão aponta que os arquivos e o Arquivo são elementos constituintes de práticas e de estruturas e que o campo se beneficiaria de uma agenda de pesquisa que considerasse 1) maior consciência metodológica sobre as implicações do uso de documentos e arquivos; 2) discutir as organizações que arquivam e como os arquivos impactam em práticas de atores na organização; 3) pesquisas sobre documentos já disponibilizados, inclusive *online*; 4) interrogar os conhecimentos da Administração em sua relação com Arquivos.

Palavras-chave: Estudos Organizacionais e História, Arquivos, Documentos.

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The aim of this text is to discuss the "Archive" (concept), archives (spaces and document sets)[1] and management, specifically from the point of view of Organization Studies and History. Interest in this debate emerged from a perception that, although these terms permeate texts regarding the use of documents as historical research sources in management (COSTA & SARAIVA, 2011; ROWLINSON, HASSARD, and DECKER, 2014) and those that discuss administrative knowledge (BARROS, *et al.*, 2011), they are often not specifically addressed in works in this area. Furthermore, thinking "empirically" was important for previous studies. Yet, many that we consulted did not question the use of archives and documents, nor did they demonstrate a clear understanding of their characteristics – despite consulting a range of records in physical and digital archives. This led me to question whether these studies were documentary or archival and what the implications are for both forms.

In theoretical terms, this text contributes to Organization Studies by delineating issues about the potential of both the document and archives as research sources for this area. Furthermore, it sets out a debate that has been held in other knowledge areas and aligned to the historic turn (CLARK & ROWLINSON, 2004), which may extend self-knowledge in works that use archives and documents as databases. The text also seeks to broaden the debate about archives, leading to a more generic view, albeit one which concentrates on historical archives.

The motivation for this work emerged while conducting studies in which I reflected in a more detailed manner on the use of documents as sources for historical research and on the object of this text, the Archive, both in its active function in creating memory and as a philosophical concept to be permanently reviewed. In this text, we argue that a document refers to an archive, either in the sense of a set of other documents produced under the same rules, or as statements that enable the emergence of a specific materialized discourse in texts or other records. The broadening of our understanding of what could be considered an archive is the result of post-modern discussions (COOK, 2012a)[2].

The discussion has also been effected by the practical transformation caused by the web and information technology in general, which have expanded the capacity for the storage and dissemination of records. The use of the internet has provided space for a range of studies and has reduced the cost of storage and the availability of documents (which may be digitized to improve preservation and circulation). The internet has not only transformed research using historical sources, through the wider availability of digitized materials, but has also challenged the concept of the archive as a place, and questioned more traditional views related to "organic" emergence, as the natural effect of activities within a specific organization, as Schellenberg ([1956]2003), for example, argues.

The issue of the use of archives recurs in the field of History and Archival Sciences (COOK, 2012a; SCHWARTZ & COOK, 2002). To a lesser extent, it is also present in discussions about management (COSTA & SARAIVA, 2011; ROWLINSON, HASSARD, & DECKER, 2014), particularly in the areas of organizational memory and information systems (CORAIOLA, 2012; 2013). According to Schwartz and Cook (2002), as well as being a concept that has developed in philosophy, as seen in Derrida (1995), the archive is the object of an entire knowledge area (Archival Science) and is a physical (and, in the case of the internet, virtual) space, as well as being a specific profession (the archivist).

As L'Eplattenier (2009) notes, both in relation to historical research in the field of Rhetoric and Composition, and in the subarea of historical studies in management, and more specifically in archival research, few texts reflect on the specificities of archival research. One exception is the work of Decker (2013), who concentrates on the discipline of business history, and certain other discussions approach the theme, such as in the juxtaposition between organization studies and history undertaken by Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker (2013) and the text by Mills and Helms Mills (2011),

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which discusses how to address and operationalize the concept of the archive during research into three airline companies. However, since it is a relatively small subarea, it is understandable that few texts reflect in detail on the methodology and historical methods in management and organization studies, particularly in reference to the use of archives. In most cases, works are limited to recounting the process that enables archive access and sometimes to the auxiliary methodology and techniques of data classification and analysis.

Extending capacity to store information has increased the potential number of sources available for study, but has not eliminated the need to decide what should be left out of an archive (FEATHERSTONE, 2000). When deciding whether to archive (or discard), the function of an archivist working in an organization dedicated to maintaining archives has become more wide-ranging, as the capacity to store information has, in turn, become more generally disseminated. Nevertheless, absent data and the "veracity" of present data are inherent to archival studies: a judgement will always have to be made about what will, or will not, be preserved and this has not changed with the advent of the internet.

This work discusses the theme from the point of view of a management researcher, or more specifically one from Organization Studies, in the context of historical studies. The argument developed here is not exhaustive – that would be impossible –, does not seek to extract a concept which enables the operationalization of research in or about archives, nor does it provide a fixed definition for the concept "Archive", particularly since no single meaning for this concept exists (MILLS & HELMS MILLS, 2011). As we have said, as well as mass computer use and the digitization of an increasingly large number of documents, discussions about archives have also had a profound impact on questions arising from post-modern or post-structuralist philosophy and the debate about the possible transformations of the concepts that structure this field of knowledge remains open (see, for example, COOK, 2012a; ZIMMERMAN, 2007; SCHWARTZ & COOK, 2002; FEATHERSTONE, 2006; 2000).

As well as re-examining certain issues from debates about the Archive as a concept, and about archives, their causes and effects, this text discusses some of the implications of the World Wide Web and its potential for archival research of an historical nature. Its reflections are aligned with those of Coraiola (2012) – in a study that particularly concentrates on an analysis of the evolution of the legislation that deals with archives in Brazil – and Costa and Saraiva (2011) – who discuss the production of memory in organizations. Another, more practical, objective is to stimulate discussions about the importance of preserving archives, not only in public institutions, but also in private organizations, which can contribute to historical narratives, from both management and a range of other fields related to daily life, of which business, public and social organizations have been, or are, a part.

The Archive, archives

There are several potential interpretations of what we understand by the word "archive". It may refer to a place, a group of documents, or, more generically, a collection of disorganized data which has some, always attributed, connection. Delmas (2001) considers the short time since the archival sciences were established as having a direct influence on the lack of consensus in the area. Another important point resides in the permanent changes that new information technology brings to the debate. Cook (1998) indicates that archival theory and methodology originally developed out of the personal experiences of the first authors, particularly Hilary Jenkinson [1892-1962] and Theodore Schellenberg [1903-1970], based on the *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, published in Holland in 1898 and written by Samuel Muller, Johan Feith and Robert Fruin (TSCHAN, 2002). The manual's publication influenced all the archivists of Europe and the United States (BRICHFORD, 1982; BARRIT, 1993), although, according to Ketelaar (1995), it directed discussions towards practical, rather than theoretical, aspects.

Delmas (2001) asserts that discussions regarding archives only began to take on a scientific aspect in the middle of the 20ᵗʰ century, which explains why debates have only recently begun to influence other disciplines (MANOFF, 2004). Stoler (2009) points out that if only a stricter perspective is considered, the "archive" refers to an institution or the document set it holds. However, the meaning of the word "Archive" has broadened and begun to refer to a metaphorical invocation that refers to a *corpus* or collection of sources.

From the point of view of Schellenberg ([1956]2003, p. 13), defining what constitutes part of an archive requires an analysis of whether the documents "[...] were produced in the course of purposive and organized activity, if they were created in the process of accomplishing some definite administrative, legal, business or other social end, then they are of potential archival quality." Schellenberg (2003) stresses that the reason for which the material was archived should move beyond the purpose for which it was originally designated or the reason for which it was accumulated. The author also states that the archive should be maintained for use by people other than those who produced the objects. "Moreover, whenever historical manuscripts become part of the documentation of an organized activity [...] they also may be considered to be archives" (SCHELLENBERG, 2003, p. 18).

In this viewpoint, described as modernist by Cook (2012a), the role of institutions that archive records is to select items, not because of their individual values, but in relation to a series which documents a specific production. From this perspective, archives develop "naturally" out of the activities of a certain organization or, to a lesser extent, individual. The modernist approach questions the idea that there is a unique version in history objectively reflected by documents, which may be relied on by a neutral and impartial historian, but does not dwell on the intentions that underline the production of such documents. In other words, it accepts the idea that different points of view may be adopted to narrate a fact, but differs from the perspective that emerges in post-modernism, since it does not consider documental "proofs" to be the result of activities located within power relations that give shape to and define the discourse and possibilities of doing (and remembering).

Cook (2012a, p. 15) criticizes the understanding of Schellenberg and his followers, since, although modernists have criticized the uniqueness of history, suggesting that there are possibilities for interpretation (contrary to the notion that a document is a reproduction of empirical acts and facts), they are not concerned with the nature of the document or what it represents (or how it could be made). In this text, the Archive takes on Cook's (2012a) definition, which, as Stoler (2009) suggests, expands the meaning of the concept beyond simply envisaging the spaces (the organizations that archive) and what they contain, to a metaphor related to a series of possibilities for saying (and doing), which is, according to Foucault (2008), preserved within power relations.

Post-modernism questions the possibility of a document or an Archive being perceived as something "natural" or "organic".

> The origins of our modern Archives already, in effect, involve the combination of a *group* (the "scholars"), of *places* ("libraries") and *practices* (of copying, printing, communi-cation, classification, etc.). It is, in a dotted line, an indication of a complex technique [...] These combine to create a new *job* ("to collect"), the satisfaction of new *needs* (the justification of family groups and recent politicians, thanks to the establishment of traditions, letters and specific "property rights") and the production of new *objects* (the documents that are isolated, conserved and recopied) whose meaning, from now on, is defined by their relationship to the whole (the collection). [...] It is producer and reproducer. (CERTEAU, 2000, p. 81-82, emphasis in the original).

Thus, the Archive is constructed from human practices and subject to the vicissitudes which give shape to these activities. The relaxation of how sources are defined and utilized was described by Foucault (2008) as one of the methodological challenges of the "new history".

> The document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said [...] history is now trying to define within

the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations. His-tory must be detached from the image that satisfied it for so long, and through which it found its anthropological justification: that of an age-old collective consciousness that made use of material documents to refresh its memory; history is the work expended on material documentation (books, texts, accounts, registers, acts, buildings, institutions, laws, techniques, objects, customs, etc.) that exists, in every time and place, in every society, either in a spontaneous or in a consciously organized form (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 7-8).

The Archive may be understood as a legacy of activities that have already occurred, but which are no longer inscribed records (and not necessarily written). Stoler (2002) states that the archive (including physical spaces) is not only a source of knowledge, but must also be understood as an object for reflection, a topic to be analysed by those who venture to seek out content, an instrument of knowledge and power constructed in the intersection between these games (STOLER, 2009). When dealing with colonial archives, Stoler (2002; 2009) emphasizes that these may be understood as monuments erected by their supporters to legitimize and reflect back one particular view, above any other.

Thus, in order to go beyond questioning a document's veracity, it is necessary to think about what were (and are) its uses, the possibilities it opens up, as well as the pathways that are shut off. In order to consider the document as a monument (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 8), it is essential to be able to understand the actual dynamic that enables its preservation, since "[t]he document is not the fortunate tool of a history that is primarily and fundamentally memory; history is one way in which a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked." As Rago (1995) notes, texts from documents do not reveal the past in any way that "really" existed.

For their part, archives "[...] as records – wield power over the shape and direction of historical scholarship, collective memory, and national identity, over how we know ourselves as individuals, groups, and societies." (SCHWARTZ & COOK, 2002, p. 2). In this sense, we should consider documents, and the institutions and subjects that hold them, from a point of view of enquiry.

Documents refer to statements that extrapolate and are not only related to the archiving rules of the institutions that hold them or the people that select them, but also to a discursive apparatus that permeates the whole of society (FOUCAULT, 2008). Archives, and the right to access them and the documents they contain, are the product of social constructions that are also established by the information needs and values supported by governments and civil society (SCHWARTZ & COOK, 2002). Their existence is affected by material aspects, such as the development of technologies that have an impact on the records people produce.

The relationship with construction and preservation is a construct and also a sign that goes beyond individual agents, as Derrida (1995) notes. There is an interaction between those responsible for archiving the documents of an organization (whatever that may be) and individuals, who are also influenced by the context within which they are located, in order to decide what should or should not be produced, archived or discarded. Schwartz & Cook (2002) indicate that social forces must be taken into consideration, even when contemplating the production of an individual document (independent of its means of registration, be that video, photograph or text). In this case, the document is a form of mediation between its producer and its receiver, and its registration and availability are mediated by those responsible for the archive. Steedman (2009) suggests that, in fact, the notion of what is, or is not, historical is twice filtered. It is the interaction of the researcher with the data that makes something in history (or narrative).

In this context, we should consider how increased ease of storing and availability of information, at ever-decreasing prices, has extended the possibility and attractiveness of creating virtual databases which encompass aspects that would once have been considered irrelevant (GIL & ELDER, 2012). Thus, a large number of organizations, and even people, may become responsible for storing and disseminating information which they consider relevant to the extent that they

document one or other human activity. If previously only the "great names" had an archive that could become public or be consulted, the increased time and information produced and transmitted via the internet provides archive material – usually on the servers of internet service providers – about an individual at the exact time of recording[3] As Cook (2012a) notes, the archivist is being called upon to let go of their passive position, in which they wait for an archive to be produced and then preserve it, to become an archive creator.

However, even when we take into consideration all the increased storage capacity, it is the decision to maintain something recorded, as part of a repertory which may be accessed – an action not far removed from the dynamics of power – that makes a record subject to analysis by a researcher. As Marques (2007, p. 14) states: "memory is constituted as a field of political struggle in which different reports of history confront each other in order to control the archive. Thinking about an archive thus requires careful consideration of how the memory operates, including the process of forgetting, and of its interconnections."

An organization which archives within a physical space has also lost monopoly of the documents it maintains, given that these may be stored and grouped together by an increasing number of people and organizations[4]. For Featherstone (2000) the archive, beyond a specific space in which a range of records and cultural minutiae are deposited, is called upon to circumscribe all aspects of daily life. "The problem then becomes, not what to put into the archive, but what one dare leave out" (FEATHERSTONE, 2000, p. 170). This issue has always, if implicitly, been true for archives, but has acquired a new dimension, due, to a large extent, to the various technical means of storing and reproducing that have emerged.

Thus, the extended meaning of archive is partly due to the advent and dissemination of internet use, as well as to the growing number of digitized documents, which have increased both the possibilities for creating archives and their accessibility. As we will discuss in the next section, this new perspective has opened up pathways for research and enabled new questions to be posed and new answers to be found in old digitized archives, in archives that have become accessible through new regulations, or in archives formed out of a collection of sources not necessarily originating from the activities of only one organization.

Archives on the internet

As Certeau (2000) and Foucault (2008) assert, the writing of history is not limited to the mechanical collection and gathering of facts. It is the effect of the position of the author, of the context in which it is written and the elements of which it is comprised. Certeau (2000) also stresses the importance of the entire technical apparatus for the writing of history, which is modified as new means and possibilities of doing emerge. From Derrida (1995), one can assert that the internet and other technological developments have provoked changes to the constitution of archives and the relationships that societies establish with them: "which is no longer archived, nor experienced in the same way" (DERRIDA, 1995, p. 18).

The emergence of the internet has imposed changes on the meaning of the terms archive and archiving. As Gil and Elder (2012) note, where previously an essential condition for an archive researcher was their physical displacement to archives held by institutions, the current technological apparatus enables more people to access a digitally available document set at the same time. It also allows collecting to be undertaken using electronic tools which enable, for example, a search for, or the counting of, a word or expression. Thus, the researcher is liberated from the need to read each document, leading to a potential modification, not only in how research is undertaken, but also to the researcher's global relationship with their data. Accessibility raises other questions, such as the possibility of experiencing some distress at not being able to analyse data exhaustively, exploring its entire complexity in all its detail (FEATHERSTONE, 2000).

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Relating this notion to the demands of scientific research, the idea that every object is constructed and that this construction (or this focusing) will always leave out relevant information regarding what is being studied is increasingly important. Featherstone (2006) points out that the immense quantity of information, stored and accessed in a disorderly manner, may lose its meaning amongst the mass of documents and other sources available on the internet.

> But, with the advent of digitization, the survival and usability of culture and history need not rest wholly on the availability of space for, or the physical composition of, the original tangible embodiments of cultural production, much less on any single institution's budget. It might now become possible to keep copies of anything that is deemed actually or potentially of cultural significance for centuries and to do so in a medium that, hopefully, will be comparatively easy to conserve and in a format that can readily be searched. Instead of benefiting a fortunate few, these riches would be available to anyone with Internet access and a computer at her disposal, at least once the resources are in the public domain (ZIMMERMAN, 2007, p. 993).

Caygill (1999) highlights the political ramifications of knowledge (while not absolute) on the web and the extent to which this potential is released. This occurs to the extent to which hierarchies that constitute traditional archives are revisited, either in relation to the distance between the institution that holds the archive and its rules of recording, organization and access or in relation to what might be archived or for whom. Since those who know the past are better able to formulate interpretations that impact on the present, access to archives and their subsequent interpretation have always been facets of power struggles.

Caygill's (1999) perspective values the researcher's work, since, even if the web is understood as a depository of knowledge, in other words, even as a place where knowledge already exists, it is necessary to ask questions and make the correct connections in order to acquire the requisite information. This process does not only involve searching, but also creating new knowledge which emerges from the links forged to arrive at the desired point. Ernst (2005) asserts that the internet changes the relationship with memory and that, since it does not establish a hierarchy of content, is closer to a collection than an archive. Thus, going beyond questions of the interpretation and construction of meaning, a number of researchers with internet access may produce a range of narratives about the same object in the virtual archive, given that, in a certain sense, it is the search process itself that guides discoveries.

According to Zimmerman (2007), accessibility is not limited to the trivial facility of access. The availability of documents on the internet allows research to be conducted which could not be undertaken in any other way (because of a lack of funds, for example) and enables a much greater level of detail by increasing the number of databases that may be consulted. For some, the internet functions as a kind of general archive of humanity. This notion is questionable, since something is always omitted, as seen, for example, in the work digitizing archives about the African continent's recent history, presented by Isaac, Lalu and Nygren (2005).

The question of so-called big data relates to this discussion. It is not uncommon to read that access to these enormous and growing information banks has the potential to transform several areas of human activity, a discussion that gained ground in the mass media with the text written by Steve Lohr (2012) in *The New York Times*. The implications of the exponential increase in information production and storage have only just begun to be considered. Bail (2014) notes that, in 2002, the volume of data accumulated in one year was the equivalent to all the data that had been amassed throughout human history to that point. In 2011, the 2002 volume of data was being collected every two days. The growing use of the internet and its associated elements is directly attributed to this explosion in the volume of information. It is worth remembering that the non-profit organization *The Internet Archive* has been dedicated to archiving web page content since 1996. For its part, Google© has digitized a large portion of content from books available in libraries around the world, as well as newspaper content. However, big data is not limited to texts uploaded to the internet, since much of the data produced is in multimedia form or in other types of electronic archives.

According to Bail (2014), it is important that the social sciences in general recognize the opportunities opened up by access to this big data, but remain clear about the difficulties of operationalizing research when dealing with such a large mass of potential information. The logic of archiving and the means of examining these databanks are crucial to making operational any research that uses big data. As we know, access to these banks (and even to computers) as well as digitization tools and the World Wide Web is not equitably distributed. To summarize, the internet is not one single archive. We understand that an archive must be composed of certain intentions which permeate it, providing unity and specificity to what it holds, having an underlying significance, which is shared and which assigns a logic to the archived set.

Furthermore, the availability of archives online does not place them immediately at the disposal of those who might be interested in them. Without the mediation of the organizations that produce and arrange the archives on the internet in a coherent way (which occasionally happens), they may be presented as a chaotic set of data, albeit linked by a common characteristic – such as belonging to the same era or the same state body or dealing with the same set of practices. For a document set to be considered an archive, it must be organized according to (always questionable and precarious) rules, but might also be considered part of a more wide-ranging Archive which links them together: the set of elements that narrates a specific practice disseminated by the social body, for example.

Yakel (2006) suggests that archivists play a fundamental mediating role in the relationship between the researcher and the archive. Since researchers know the documents, they are capable of responding to more elaborate problems which may not be solved in any other way (such as in interaction with an internet database). Yakel (2006) understands that the role of the archivist remains important, although it has been gradually modified through the emergence of new experiences in navigating the web which allows, for example, site visitors to "label" (adding key words and/or descriptions) the documents they analyse, and makes it possible for the pathways between one document and another created by others to remain on record for future visitors. Researchers who have previously passed through an archive may leave tracks or research clues for those who visit it later, but may also create a certain narrative out of the data. As Featherstone (2006) posits, the organizing of data into separate boxes and sections that gave some meaning to archives has lost ground in the face of the decentralization achieved by the availability of archives on the web.

Cook (2012b) stresses the importance of the role of both the archivist and the researcher, and asserts that the provenance of an archive, previously understood through the bureaucratic structures that produced it, must be rethought more broadly.

> The focus on the principle of provenance has shifted to function, activity, discourse and behaviour, instead of, as it was in the past, being centred on structures, positions, mandates and origin [...] the meaning of provenance is transformed from its structural origins into a continuous discourse centred on functions, activities, processes, social forces and in the personal and organizational relationships and cultures that collectively lead to the creation of documents, within and through personal and organizational lives in constant evolution. The new provenance provides multiple perspectives and many orders of value, rather than a new fixed order (COOK, 2012b, p. 146-147).

Thus, the internet is home to a myriad of documents, which may be organized as archives before the researcher has contact with them and may later be (re)organized. The instantaneity and volume of communications that may be exchanged, maintained or archived, allows for new ways of viewing what could be considered research archive or material (GIL & ELDER, 2012) and researchers may make the document sets they collect available to other researchers. This data has to be (re)evaluated and (re)organized by each item or group that is interested in it, even when to do so it is sometimes necessary to undo orders and connections that have previously been defined. Those that have been previously organized are, in their own way, monuments to certain powers or views of the world, since, as Kurtz (2007) and Schwartz and Cook (2002) indicate, the archiving process is always political. The metaphor of the *flaneur,* on the other hand, may characterise a stroll through collections of sources initially seen as formless (FEATHERSTONE, 2006).

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Management Research and the use of archives

As Manoff (2004) points out, several knowledge areas have set out discussions that seek to qualify an understanding about archives. In Brazil, few works utilize archives to develop reflections in the area of Management. One of the few diligent works on this theme is Coraiola's (2013) thesis. In part, this may be the result of difficulties in finding archives that enable the researcher to develop more profound reflections about their object of research. Saraiva and Costa (2011) assert that part of the problems arises from the fact that archives are selected memories and, since a great deal of research has been conducted on for-profit organizations concerned with their image, it has becomes less likely that archives will be maintained if they contain records that could be considered negative.

Few Brazilian companies direct efforts to the maintenance of their archives (COSTA & SARAIVA, 2011). Coraiola (2012) emphasizes that it was only after 1960 that the preservation of company documents for historical ends began to occur in Brazil, unlike in European companies who established the practice at the beginning of the 20th century, and the United States of America (USA), France and England, who began to do so after the Second World War. As Adkins (1997) notes, in the USA, company archives gained ground rapidly in the 1970s, then lost momentum following the wave of business process reengineering in the 1990s, one of whose mottos was the reduction of organizational costs.

For Adkins (1997), the legitimacy of maintaining company archives was strongly supported by research into Business History by economists. Further, the author stresses that, while initial efforts were directed at organizing material that could tell the company's story from a positive point of view and as a public relations exercise, over time archives began to be seen as an instrument for the company's memory. For the author, this is in part due to changes to the composition of company workforces, which have become increasingly less stable, so that workers have stopped being, in some sense, the repositories of an organization's memory.

Organizational memory is the object of studies arising from management, particularly by authors in the field of Organizational Memory Studies, which are generally concerned with aspects related to the organization's learning and longevity. Memory is an important theme in, for example, the construction of organizational image and is a complex concept beyond the scope of this discussion, but one which merits attention in relation to its ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects, given that its very nature may be questioned (see, for example, NORA, 1993).

For its part, the archive is composed of records that can be accessed by historians to reconsider what memory has presented as fact, constructing new narratives about what has happened (ROWLINSON, *et al*., 2010). This not only applies to the company's own archives, which are subject to the organization's decisions about what to preserve and what to consign to oblivion (DECKER, 2013). Coraiola (2013) emphasizes the importance of "external archives" for reflections about organizations.

To operationalize his research into organizational archives, Coraiola (2013, p. 44) defined the concept as follows:

> an organizational archive is a collection of documents and records produced by individuals, groups, organizations or states [1] which are organic in nature [2] are no longer used for the development of routine activities and [3] are preserved because their value goes beyond merely technical, administrative or legal aspects.

As can be seen, Coraiola (2013) defines a concept very similar to that of Schellenberg (2003), although he adopts a more open-ended view of archives in the rest of his work. The operational definition established by Coraiola is useful and pertinent, but should be put into perspective, to the extent that it circumscribes what the company archive is, defining it according to three specific elements, particularly the intentionality of the archive as a repository of memory. However, from the point of view adopted here, it is important to be aware of the intentionality of those who set up the archive (either person or company), thus accomplishing new possibilities

for linkages with narrated stories (MARQUES, 2007). As Marques (2007) confirms when talking about literary archives, company archives are also mediated by a myriad of discursive practices which permeate them. The meta-reflection about the logical purpose of archives that contain documents for study is an additional challenge for this kind of research.

Archives that form an important part of what becomes established as organizational memory are the source and focus of conflict. As Costa and Saraiva (2011, p. 1764) assert regarding the formation of memory, this is, in part, derived from the choices managers make. However, as Coraiola (2013) points out, workers and other agents can also record the events that an organization participates in (such as changes to the context arising from the installation of a factory, for example), at the same time as it is observed that the archivist adopts practices and tactics to negotiate what should be kept. Either way, "the intentionality attributed to the way that the past is represented cannot be disconnected from the power relations inherent it this 'recovery'" (COSTA & SARAIVA, 2011, p. 1764) and the capacity to exercise power in an organization is not equitably distributed.

Regarding public bodies, it is possible to speculate that some of the difficulties concerning access to archives and documents comes about through structural deficiencies in Brazil and in the federal bodies that maintain and preserve documents, as well as historically low levels of public accountability. We should also remember that concern with the publication of public documents has only recently gained force through Law No. 12527 of 18 November 2011, known as the Access to Information Law (BRASIL, 2011), which regulates access to public information, although discussions about maintaining archives have been going on since the promulgation of the Archives Law in 1991. It is therefore expected that the public authorities are still organizing themselves in order to meet the demands for information that are perhaps being made – not discarding the possibility that secrecy is used as a means of restricting access to relevant data and an instrument of power[5].

As Alcadipani (2014) discusses in relation to ethnographies, achieving the transparency required to undertake research in public or private organizations is a separate challenge and one which has involved few academic debates. However, unlike ethnographic research, which maps the current situation in an organization, archival research may be less constrained, since it often deals with documents that have been filtered before being made available, particularly in private organizations. Not every organizational archive is subject to the same norms of creation and maintenance, particularly since it is the companies which define the policies about the documents they produce and the way they are stored (VALENTIN, 2012). The majority of archived documents in an organization tend to be linked to their daily operations, without having, in principle, a defined historical character, so that they have received insufficient attention, even from the archival sciences, which only began to witness more structured discussions on this theme in the 1970s (ARAÚJO, 2012).

For Sousa (2010) the preservation of the history of organizations may serve to strengthen their identity, by strengthening their brand and knowledge management, amongst other pragmatic features. The author, however, emphasizes the dimension of historical social responsibility, as part of corporate social responsibility, emphasizing that companies must take seriously their task of maintaining records of their interactions with society. However, preservation efforts are often linked to anniversaries or other celebrations, leading to unstructured preservation and maintenance activities. In general, company managers have little interest in maintaining archives, and a contrary movement has only been seen more recently in the creation of initiatives for the preservation and appreciation of memory (CORAIOLA, 2011). Either way, few advances have been made in accessing archives produced by public or private organizations in Brazil (CORAIOLA, 2012), aside from the Access to Information Law mentioned above.

Due to the restrictions discussed here regarding the use of archives in general, it would appear that there would be some merit, albeit not in an orthodox sense, in broadening the concept of what archives are and what should be subject to archiving. The relaxed notion of what constitutes an archive or an historical source enables a

questioning of historical narratives, and the use of materials that differ from those used by organizations, which are often maintained in secret. This discussion could originate from the perspective of production, accumulation and dispersal addressed by Foucault (2008). However, this view is no substitute for the need to dedicate ourselves to widening the accessibly of sources produced by a range organizations that are often responsible for archiving them.

Final Considerations

We argue here that a researcher in management and organization studies with an interest in researching archives may advance their reflections about historical research by examining the documents available and the institutions that host them, while attempting to understand the practices that permeate the action of archiving. This research field has been expanded by the internet and the diversity of data made available online. Thus, we understand that incorporating archives not only as spaces in which documents are found, but also as institutions and a repertory of practices and knowledge, may contribute to the development of the subarea of historical studies and to management in general.

Interest in history within the field of Organization Studies has increased and discussing the Archive and archives may be important for these areas to come together more effectively. In this sense, I have returned to certain discussions which have been established outside management theories, but have also approached certain works from that area which address archives. I hope the text will contribute to developments by focusing greater attention on the use of archives and their importance, while, at the same time, advocating ongoing scepticism in relation to the information contained in them, since the archive itself may be the object of study.

The principal difficulty encountered during this work was attempting to delineate a concept (which remains provisional) that defines what is able to be archived and when a collection is an archive. This discussion, already addressed in archival studies, is important in assisting researchers in the area to acquire greater clarity about the material with which they work. Although the text has advanced these points, particularly the first, new developments are required in order to more precisely delineate the conditions that allow a set of documents or data to be considered an archive. In any event, imprecision appears to characterize this period, both from a conceptual point of view (in the questions posed by post-modernism) and from the perspective of the space that hosts the archives and archiving practices (transformed by technological advances, particularly the internet).

Cook's (2012a) text provides us with some indication about how changes are transforming archival practice and theory, but remains inconclusive, concentrating on pointing out trends. For his part, Featherstone (2000) makes it clear that the definition of what is or is not able to be archived changes according to the socio-cultural context of the practice. The value of what has been processed and archived itself alters over time and we have witnessed a paradigm shift in the meanings and practices that constitute archives, caused by the internet, by information technology in general (FEATHERSTONE, 2006) and by big data (BAIL, 2014).

In line with these changes, I suggest certain points to advance the discussion. Obviously, in doing this, I do not wish to determine the direction of discussions, but rather to indicate possibilities that may advance the debate. Such an agenda cannot ignore the fact that there is an entire field of debate established around the status of documents, archives and the Archive, particularly in History, Archive Studies and Philosophy. We can also not ignore certain practical points, such as those made by Montana (2013), which stress that organizations are incurring growing costs and operational risks in dealing with the creation, storage and discarding of data, something that will have an impact on the sources available in the future for works of an historical bias that pose questions for the archivist in the present. Bringing this debate to the field of management and, especially, organizational studies means entering into dialogue with these areas.

The *first point* on a research agenda regarding archives in Organizational Studies is to more clearly define how different archives can be analysed and what the limitations are for their use. This discussion must also address the nature of the documents and the impact the archivist and the institution have on their production and storage. Furthermore, the debate should consider the opening up of research sources in order to stimulate interdisciplinary debate about the conclusions found. In other words, what is posited is the need for reflections of a methodological and epistemological nature regarding archives, documents and the implications of their use in research in this area.

Following this approach, a *second point* to develop relates to research about organizations that archive, treating them as objects of study. This discussion could also be expanded to reflect on how documents from that archive may have contributed to defining certain organizational practices and structures (whose rationality could be called into questioned, should the documents that established them be analysed).

The *third point* refers to the possibility of exploring documents already available, both online and outside the World Wide Web. These include the Wikileaks (www.wikileaks.org) "leaks" or those catalogued by the "*Opening the Archives"* project run between the State University of Maringá and Brown University (http://library.brown.edu/openingthearchives/), or even documents that record agreements signed by multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank (http://www.worldbank.org/projects?lang=en). One could also reflect on the revelations made by Edward Snowden about the surveillance activities of the National Security Agency (NSA) and their effect on businesses and companies that handle the information of millions of user-consumers (GREENWALD, 2014).

A *fourth* and ultimate suggestion is to advance reflections about what are the Archives (in terms similar to those proposed by Michel Foucault) that constitute management theories, as well as each of its subareas, as an episteme. One could also examine the role of educational materials as documents which archive certain definitions and discourses that formulate what is taught (and, to some extent, practiced).

We also recall that the availability of a range of documents in an archive is not an exclusive product of technology, but also arises from the availability of the people and institutions who make their archives accessible to the general public. In this sense, broadening discussions about archives in management theory and in historical studies within Organization Studies may stimulate the creation and availability of new public or private archives that lead to new questions about the development of the area and its present form. In the case of studies carried out in management, it is interesting to note that the documents analysed are usually embedded within networks that are, to some extent, limited: if, on the one hand, it is possible to link these documents to the social webs that engender them, on the other, they also have an effect, particularly on an organization within their specific context.

Stoler (2002, p. 107) observes that, "to understand an archive one needs to understand the institutions that it served". Not only those organizations that possess archives, but also institutions in a wider sense, which have recourse to such archives in order to establish, reinforce or legitimize certain practices. The archive is a crucial space for those who look to the past in seeking answers to the present, but it is also a constituent of the present and the future. Researching archives and documents, examining both what they reveal and what they disguise, can broaden our understanding of organizations and the processes they establish.

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(Endnotes)

1 We have differentiated between these terms using capital and small letters where we judge it important to underline the term, or evidence the given use.

2 We know that the definition of this term is controversial, but it is not within the scope of this text to outline this discussion. For an introduction, see Peters (2000).

3 Which has led discussions to emerge about the privacy not only of individuals, but also of social organizations and corporations. See, for example, Bruno's (2008) discussion, or, in the field of fiction, The Last Enemy, a series produced by BBC One (NEAL, MACDONALD & BERRY, 2008).

4 Clearly, it is not easy to make a large number of these records available on the web, because of costs, operational difficulties related to digitization and the quantity of records produced over human history.

5 As Derrida (1995) notes, it is possible to measure the effectiveness of a democracy by assessing its openness to the notion of society participating in and accessing archives so as to interpret and make investigations based on them.

SUBMISSION DATE: 23/09/2014
APPROVAL DATE: 15/07/2015

Urban entrepreneurialism in fifa World Cup host cities: the case of Porto Alegre

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Abstract

The aim of the study that gave rise to this paper was to analyse the practices in place in Porto Alegre in relation to Large Urban Projects (LUPs) linked to the 2014 FIFA World Cup. An instrumental case study was performed, incorporating three units of analysis: mobility, stadiums and the waterfront, comprising 18 projects. Following the introduction, a presentation on the methodological procedures and two theoretical sections are given: on the concepts of urban entrepreneurialism and urban marketing, and on definitions and practices of planning and their expression in cities. The case of Porto Alegre then follows. Lastly, is an analysis indicating how each project is connected to urban entrepreneurial strategies. It concludes, indicating that the fact of being a host city was used to disseminate the image of a modern, developed and efficient city; the choice and management of projects was interconnected to economic growth, entrepreneurialism and the creation of an environment favourable for business; and the selection of LUPs led to a fragmented treatment of the territory. Under the aegis of speculation, urban planning lost relevance and the public administration renounced its position as market regulator.

Keywords: Urban entrepreneurialism, Large Urban Projects, the FIFA World Cup, Porto Alegre, Urban planning.

Empreendedorismo urbano em cidades sedes da Copa do Mundo: o caso de Porto Alegre.

Resumo

O objetivo do estudo do qual se originou este artigo foi analisar as práticas vigentes em Porto Alegre em relação aos Grandes Projetos Urbanos (GPUs) vinculadas à Copa do Mundo 2014. Foi realizado um estudo de caso instrumental com três unidades de análise incorporadas - mobilidade, estádios e orla – na qual estão contidos 18 projetos. Após a Introdução seguem uma apresentação dos procedimentos metodológicos e duas seções teóricas – sobre os conceitos de empreendedorismo urbano e marketing urbano, e sobre definições e práticas de planejamento e sua expressão nas cidades. Na sequência vem o caso de Porto Alegre. Por fim, a análise, indicando como cada projeto se vincula às estratégias de empreendedorismo urbano. Conclui-se indicado que o fato de ser cidade sede foi utilizado para difundir a imagem de uma cidade moderna, desenvolvida e eficiente; que a escolha e a gestão dos projetos se articulou ao crescimento econômico, ao

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empreendedorismo e à criação de um ambiente favorável aos negócios; e que a opção pelos GPUs levou a um tratamento fragmentado do território. Sob a égide da especulação, o planejamento urbano perdeu relevância e o poder público abdicou de regular o mercado.

Palavras-chave: Empreendedorismo urbano. Grandes Projetos Urbanos. Copa do Mundo. Porto Alegre. Planejamento urbano.

Introduction

The International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) announced that Porto Alegre would be one of the 2014 FIFA World Cup host cities on 31st May, 2009. Hosting mega-events is usually associated to benefits such as the improvement of urban infrastructure and gains for some economic sectors, mainly those involved with tourism and construction. However, it is necessary to consider a context in which, as Harvey (2007) summarises, the free market, by fostering competition, becomes a vehicle for the consolidation of monopoly power. In addition, this is a new scenario, unlike that of the 1990s, in which there was an important set of revitalisation projects of historical centres in various Brazilian cities (for example, see FERNANDES and GOMES, 1995; FISCHER et al., 1995; VIEIRA, 1999 and 2000; GONDIM, 2007; SOUZA and VIEIRA, 2011).

The expansion of monopoly power and incentives to competition on a global level had repercussions in urban organisation. Sassen (2010), based on Friedmann (2010), develops the theme of hierarchies in city networks: major cities, such as Tokyo, London and New York, compete on a global level; peripheral cities seek to gain prominence on a national scale and, simultaneously, have the functions of global cities, configuring a peripheral geography of centralities. According to this reference, Porto Alegre could be classified as a peripheral city. However, as it is located in the centre of the Southern Common Market (*Mercado Comum do Sul* - MERCOSUL) it holds a valued status to exercise the functions of a peripheral global-city.

Even before becoming a candidate for hosting matches, the Porto Alegre government had associated the mega-event to opportunities to invest in infrastructure and urban development, in addition to prestige and global dissemination of the city's image. This process took place in a context of widespread adoption of business administration concepts and practices by the public administration, a movement that had also reached urban planning.

Fernandes, in 1977, already discussed how local governments developed actions in partnership with the business sector, aimed at the commodification of urban life. He considered the case of Salvador between 1992 and 1994, showing the consolidation of a project for a tourism-based city directed towards the cultural and leisure consumption markets. This article is interesting because the author used Harvey (1989) as a reference, but mixing the concepts of 'entreprisation[1]' and 'urban entrepreneurialism' (a topic that will be covered later on in this paper).

A further set of studies was marked by the topic of Rio de Janeiro's strategic planning from the case of Rio de Janeiro. Vainer (2000a) and Novais (2010) highlighted that this trend originated in Barcelona, when the strategic business planning model was used to plan interventions for the 1992 Olympic Games (a kind of model in the history of mega-events). In Brazil, a milestone of this trend was the Strategic Plan for Rio de Janeiro*,* financed by a consortium of 46 companies and business associations who, in turn, hired a Catalan consultancy firm (VAINER, 2000a).

Focusing on the organisational aspect of the process to elaborate the above-mentioned plan, Guanais and Fisher (1999, p. 60) concluded that the fundamental prescriptions of the literature on "a model whose origins are found in the business world" were fulfilled. In the same direction, Novais (2010, p. 21) examined "the ways

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1 *'Empresarialismo', in Portuguese.*

in which the strategic planning for cities became a reference for urban practices in the early 1990s". The author reviewed the origins of urban planning at Harvard University and the transference of a business management model to the public sphere, in the pioneering case of the plan for San Francisco, California (1981). This was precisely the model disseminated in the cases of Barcelona and Rio de Janeiro.

Novais (2010, p. 21) examined "the ways in which the strategic planning for cities became a reference for urban practices in the early 1990s". In turn, Vainer (2000b) discussed urban marketing as an aspect of strategic planning and the latter as a model in the globalised world. The author puts forward analogies in which the city appears as a *commodity* in its relation with urban marketing practices; as an *enterprise* that is submitted to market logic, under the aegis of productivity and competitiveness; and as a *homeland*, defined by depoliticisation and social peace, both needed to ensure increased efficiency.

Like Vainer (2000b), Compans (2005) adopted the analogy of the city-enterprise, studying the political-argumentative practices of the implementation process for the city of Rio de Janeiro project displayed in the 1996 Strategic Plan. To the author, it was a competitive entrepreneurial project that favoured the interests of the private real estate sector and elites in general. The concept of competitive entrepreneurialism came from Moura (1998, p. 2) and refers to "a movement that redefines local governments' roles and activities, with emphasis given to developing comparative advantages and seeking greater efficiency in urban management, aiming for competitive integration in the global market". This latter author highlighted other characteristic elements which appear as innovation, adding contributions by authors such as Harvey (1989) on urban entrepreneurialism, Borja (1993) on urban protagonism, and Osborne and Gaebler (1993) on entrepreneurial government. The aim of the study[2] that gave rise to this article - the analysis of the practices in place in Porto Alegre and their relation with Large Urban Projects (LUPs), linked to hosting the 2014 FIFA World Cup - was defined taking this context into consideration.

According to Lecroart and Palisse (2007, p. 6), a LUP "involves a relatively concentrated public action both in space and in time, and whose end purpose is to develop a chunk of city through renewal, intensification, or new development from scratch". Therefore, "the idea of a 'large' project is a convenient language to call very diverse realities", which may be of a physical, symbolic, programmatic and political nature.

In the following sections, a description of the methodological procedures can be found. In the sequence, two sections deal with the theoretical object: the first clarifying the concepts of managerialism and urban marketing, concluding with the definition and choice of the reference of urban entrepreneurialism; and the second, covering the definitions and practices of planning and its expression in cities. The next section deals with the case of Porto Alegre. Lastly, an analysis is made, indicating projects that are linked to entrepreneurial urban strategies.

Methodological procedures

The research strategy adopted was the single case study. A case study is "an empirical investigation which researches a contemporary phenomenon within its real context and specifically when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined" (YIN, 2002, p. 29). According to Stake (1995, p.134), "the decision to do a case study is not methodological". In fact, according to the author, what we choose to study is the case, irrespective of the methodological nature. "We could study it analytically or holistically, entirely by repeated measures or hermeneutically, organically or culturally, and by mixed methods – but we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the case". This study is analytical, with multiple data sources.

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2 It was a Master Course dissertation supervised by Professor João Farias Rovati - PROPUR-UFRGS. It was presented in October 2013 and evaluated by Professors Heleniza Ávila Campos, Paulo Reyes and Sueli Goulart.

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Stake (1995) identifies three types of case studies: (1) intrinsic – seeking the best understanding of a specific case; (2) instrumental – a specific case is examined, primarily in search of information on the topic, the case is of interest and plays a supporting role; (3) collective – it is an instrumental study extended to multiple cases. This is an *instrumental case* study, as it may shed light on similar processes that take place in other places, whether in the other eleven 2014 FIFA World Cup Brazilian host cities or in those which adopt LUPs as an intervention practice.

Therefore, a single case study was performed, incorporating three units of analysis which, in turn, contained sub-units. The units of analysis *mobility* (1), *stadiums* (2) and the *waterfront* (3) contain the 18 projects related to the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Porto Alegre. The criterion to define these units was their urban-architectural typology.

The *mobility* unit (1) comprises fourteen sub-units (projects), and only one does not have a relation with the 2014 FIFA World Cup Responsibility Matrix signed by the City Hall with the Federal Government. The *stadium* unit (2) comprises facilities of Sport Clube Internacional and Grêmio Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense. The *waterfront* unit (3) comprises the Guaíba Waterfront Renewal and the Mauá Harbour projects sub-units.

The selection of sub-units was not related to a specific period, as some projects have existed for 20, 30 or 40 years. It was done on account of their direct relation with the mega-event, as for projects which are listed in the Responsibility Matrix, or their indirect relation established by statements given by the Porto Alegre Municipal City Hall (*Prefeitura Municipal de Porto* Alegre - PMPA) affirming the importance of these projects to host the championship in the city.

The fieldwork started in 2009, parallel to the confirmation of Porto Alegre as a host city. The database was established between May 2009 and December 2013. The data collection included semi-structured interviews; participant and non-participant observations at events, seminars, public hearings and meetings; and internet research on sites, blogs and social networks, public documents and legislation.

All of the interviews were semi-structured but there were two types: (1) focused – appropriate for obtaining responses from people exposed to a previously analysed situation, and (2) investigative – carried out with "competent people, in which it is sought to bring together both useful data for the hypotheses raised and possible results" (ROSA and ARNOLD, 2008, p. 32). Type 1 interviews were held with the delegate of the Planning Region 1 (*Região de Planejamento 1* - RP1), the Head of Planning at the Urban and Environment Development Council (*Conselho de Desenvolvimento Urbano e Ambiental* - CDMUA); members of the MetrôPoA Office team, at the Public Enterprise of Transportation and Circulation (*Empresa Pública de Transporte e Circulação* - EPTC); a technician at the Secretariat of Urbanisation (*Secretaria de Urbanização* - SMURB); a technician and project manager at EPTC. Type 2 interviews were held with John R. Gold, School of Social Science and Law at Oxford Brookes University; Mike Collins, associate researcher at the Centre for Olympic Studies and Research, Loughborough University; Graeme Evans, professor and director at The Cities Institute, London Metropolitan University; and Iain MacRury, associate dean at the School of Arts and Digital Industries, University of East London – all based in England.

Non-participant observations were carried out at the following events: Public Hearing on the Impact of the 2014 World Cup; 2014 Road Show – seminar held by the Architecture and Engineering Trade Union and the 2014 Cup Site; Urbanisation, Transportation and Housing Committee (*Comissão de Urbanização, Transporte e Habitação* - CUTHAB) and Consumer Defence, Human Rights and Public Safety Committee (*Comissão de Defesa do Consumidor, Direitos Humanos e Segurança Pública* - CEDECONDH) at the City Council of Porto Alegre (Council) Seminar; Porto Alegre's Cup Popular Committee meeting; meeting at the Urban Development Sector (*Setor de Desenvolvimento Urbano* - SDU) at the former Municipal Planning Secretariat (*Secretaria de Planejamento Municipal* - SPM); Public Hearing at the Health and Environment Committee (*Comissão de Saúde e Meio Ambiente* - COSMAM) at the Council to discuss the cut of trees on Edvaldo Pereira Paiva Av.; the Porto Alegre Under Analysis Seminar held by ObservaPoa, PMPA; Public Hearing in the Council on the Guaíba Waterfront Renewal project. Participant observations were also carried out,

with interventions during the activity: COSMAM work meeting and public hearing at the State Public Prosecution Office (both on the cut of trees mentioned above); and the Reflections on the Development of Porto Alegre – 2014 Cup Seminar held by the Economy, Finances, Budget and Mercosul Committee (*Comissão de Economia, Finanças, Orçamento e do Mercosul* - CEFOR) at the Council.

Documental sources related to actions by leading actors in the case study were consulted: *Zero Hora* newspaper – a printed form of information belonging to Grupo RBS, a company directly interested in the event and in the modernisation project for the city because construction entrepreneurs are among its controllers; alternative media blogs; PMPA site; PMPA transparency site; World Cup Transparency Site – focusing on Responsibility Matrix projects, participating companies, schedule and work statuses; Grêmio Foot-Ball Clube and Sport Clube Internacional sites; Cup Popular Committee blog; Ministry of Sports site; 2014 World Cup Management Executive Committee site; Citizen Support Service (SIC) site, in search of documents not available on the Transparency site; Urban Trains of Porto Alegre Enterprise site (Trensurb); State Government site; State Public Prosecution site; City Council site; federal and municipal laws; Master Plans; Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) System Manual; and Urban Mobility Master Plans prepared by the Ministry for the Cities.

The information was systematised in a database organised per specific project and in further two, separately, for the political and institutional dimensions. The most relevant information to analyse the dimensions was highlighted, so as to visualise the specifics of each one. The logic for presenting the results was guided by the three units of analysis presented above: mobility, stadiums, and the waterfront.

The units and their sub-units were analysed exploring the multiple dimensions which form the LUP: political; symbolic; urban-architectural; economic; institutional and social and environmental, following Vainer's (2012) recommendations summarised in Figure 1. The political dimension deals with the context in which the project arises; the symbolic with the project justification and the relation with the urban entrepreneurial strategies proposed by Harvey (2006); the urban-architectural with the design adopted as a reference and the projects' relation with city planning; the economic with the investments needed and the funds origins; the institutional with new legal and institutional arrangements; and the socio-environmental with the participation and/or exclusion of the population and with possible socio-environmental impacts.

Figure 1 – Analytical matrix of evaluation proposed by Vainer (2012)

Analytical dimension		Ruptures		Democratic effect		Equality effect
Political	⇄	New coalitions, new alliances and dominant groups	→	+ = –	⇄	+ = –
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Institutional	⇄	New institutionalities, public-private associations, and new forms of urban government	→	+ = –	⇄	+ = –
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Real estate	⇄	New gradient of values and appreciation	→	+ = –	⇄	+ = –
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Urban architectural	⇄	Discontinuity of the urban tissue, preservation and introduction of images	→	+ = –	⇄	+ = –
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓

Analytical dimension		Ruptures		Democratic effect		Equality effect
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Symbolic	⇄ ⇤	New representations of values, identities and diversities	→	+ = −	⇄ ⇤	+ = −
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Financial-economic	⇄ ⇤	appropriation and distribution of costs and benefits	→	+ = −	⇄ ⇤	+ = −
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Socio-environmental	⇄ ⇤	social appropriation of urban and environmental costs and benefits, employment and income	→	+ = −	⇄ ⇤	+ = −
↑↓		↑↓		↑↓		↑↓
Scale	⇄ ⇤	local, national and international relations	→	+ = −	⇄ ⇤	+ = −

Source: Vainer (2012, p. 200).

As all of the dimensions comprise the same process, they are clearly related. Therefore, the analysis cannot be carried out in isolation and its combinations are made in accordance to the facts related to each unit. It is important to note that the aim is not to consider each dimension separately but to be guided by them, in order to understand the phenomenon. However, not all of the dimensions put forward were dealt with, as the focus was on the process itself and not on the impacts. Thus, the dimensions considered in the analysis were: political; institutional; urban-architectural; symbolic; financial and economic; and socio-environmental.

Urban entrepreneurialism

The field of public administration has been invaded by managerialism[3] in the context of the capitalist crisis during the 1970s. A marker was the Reinventing Government movement in the United States, whose key authors are Osborne and Gaebler (1993)[4]. To them, the bureaucratic model was suitable in periods of intense crisis (the Great Depression and the Inter-War period) in which the North Americans' interests converged on the same objective and mass culture did not exist. However, this setting changed and the public institutions needed flexible and adaptable practices, no longer responsible for serving citizens but for building environments in which they could create conditions for themselves.

Given the relevance of the Reinventing Government movement to understand urban entrepreneurialism processes as defined by Harvey (1989; 2006; 2012), its main characteristics should be summarised (Table 1).

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3 To Murphy (2008, p. 154), managerialism deconstructs *"issues of social life and organisations into a series of discreet problems that can be resolved through the application of technical expertise"*. To Parker (2002), managerialism is the generalised ideology of management that, in turn, has multiple meanings. This concept could be related to a group of executives; a process or a management act, or an academic subject related to management and administration.

4 The dissemination and specific differences with the post-bureaucratic movement, with the New Public Management in Anglo-Saxon countries, and with the Managerial Public Administration in Brazil cannot be ignored. However, the Reinventing Government movement is the most relevant approach for the purposes of this study.

Table 1 – Principles of Reinventing Government, according to Osborne and Gaebler (1993)

Catalytic government	Steering rather than rowing – conducting and orientating, instead of providing services, privatisation, outsourcing and public-private partnerships (PPPs).
Community owned government	Empowering the citizens rather than serving – training and encouraging communities to take control of services, providing resources and technical assistance.
Competitive government	Injecting competition in services delivery – encouraging innovation and quality and strengthening organisations.
Mission-driven government	Transforming rule-driven organisations – making regulations flexible and taking the mission and strategic planning as a reference, as carried out in private enterprises.
Results-oriented government	Funding outcomes, not inputs – replacing reward parameters, focusing on the control of results, not resources.
Customer-driven government	Meeting the needs of the customer, not bureaucracy – based on techniques of Total Quality Management (TQM), emphasising customer relation techniques.
Enterprising government	Earning rather than expending – creating means to make profit, charge taxes for services provision and investing in financial return.
Anticipatory government	Prevention rather than cure – anticipating problems through managerial tools, such as budgetary control and strategic planning.
Decentralised government	From hierarchy to participation and teamwork – sharing decisions with customers, NGOs and communities, TQM and decentralising.
Market-oriented government	Leveraging change through the market – cities are vast and complex clusters of people in which each individual adjusts to the other's behaviour, based on incentives and information and, therefore, should be structured as markets.

The idea of entrepreneurialism used by Osborne and Gaebler (1993) is in agreement with Schumpeter (2003), for whom the entrepreneur's role is to revolutionise production standards, creating new means, materials or products.

Harvey (2011), also in dialogue with Schumpeter's (2003) proposals, but in another direction, relates entrepreneurialism with modernity and its urban expression. Mentioning creative destruction as one of the characteristics of innovative entrepreneurialism in the modernist project, he shows the entrepreneur's importance: "considered a heroic figure, he was the creative destroyer *par excelence* because he was prepared to take the consequences of technical and social innovation to vital extremes. And it was only through this creative heroism that human progress could be guaranteed" (HARVEY, 2011, p. 26).

The fascination for innovation, embellishment and modernisation is part of the logic of the production of cities and circulation of capital until today. However, this fascination reaches a new level when the competitive logic between cities is introduced. It is noted that a transition from the Fordist system to advanced capitalism, with its economy based on floating capital and third sector activities, transformed the cities' role: no longer as a support for developing productive activities but as raw material to accumulate capital (HARVEY, 2006). In the same direction, Logan and Molotch (1993) consider that the space is a growth machine capable of increasing aggregate rent and ensuring wealth for the elites who use the growth consensus to eliminate any alternative. Therefore, the city must be prepared to become a favourable place for capital accumulation. As part of this context, marketing gurus have created the marketing of localities[5].

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5 An example of this focus can be found in Muricy's (2001) analysis on the sale of Porto Seguro as a paradise in the tourist market.

Kotler, Haider and Rein (1994, p. 85) explain that urban marketing has abandoned the function of attracting industry since the 1990s, to focus on creating products and adhering to the competitive logic between cities. The authors present a set of tools to sell a place: business planning and four intervention strategies in the urban space to prepare "the setting for efforts that are generally riskier and more opportunistic, to compete for economic advantages" (KOTLER; HAIDER; REIN, 1994, p. 107). These four strategies are: urban design; improved infrastructure; basic services, such as safety and education; and specific attractions (location, history, consumption, culture, sports, and events). These strategies may or may not be related to planning; if they are not, they will be riskier and more opportunistic.

The entrepreneurial government (OSBORNE and GAEBLER, 1993), urban marketing (KOTLER, HAIDER and REIN, 1994), and the city as a growth machine (LOGAN and MOLOTCH, 1993) are central approaches for Harvey's (2006) formulation on urban entrepreneurialism, which has Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) as one of its basic elements. This is where the local government joins together with private enterprises, with the aim of generating investment for construction projects or even to maintain existing structures. Harvey (2006, p. 171) stresses that PPPs are "subject to all of the obstacles and risks associated to speculative development, as opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development". It is also a common practice that risks are incurred by the public sector and profits are for the private sector. To Harvey (2006), entrepreneurialism focuses more on the political economy of the place than on the territory, stating that the construction of a place can generate impacts beyond its specific territory and change the city's image worldwide. The author systematised four basic strategies related to urban entrepreneurialism (Table 2), emphasising that they are justified in isolation, but it is their combination which provides rapid and unequal changes in the urban system.

Table 2 – Summary of urban entrepreneurial strategies according to Harvey (2006)

Creating environments to exploit particular advantages for the production of goods and services	When they do not derive from resource base or location, they are created through public and private investments in physical and social infrastructures. For this, coalitions between the three levels of government encourage private investments offering packages of aids and assistance, as well as investing in education and technology, and training the labour force with public funds.
Spatial division of consumption	Attracting consumption by the construction of sports stadia, shopping and convention centres, etc., and/or encouraging entertainment and cultural activities[6].
Control and command functions	Heavy investments in transportation (such as airports) and communications technology are required. The provision of infrastructure that make the speed and quality of internal and external connections viable is fundamental for inter-urban competition.
Redistribution of surpluses	Competitive edge with respect to redistribution of surpluses through central governments is still very important.

Harvey (2006) also shows concern with the rapid changes in urban space generated by innovative and competitive responses of the ruling class, resulting in a series of uncertainties and, as a consequence, instabilities in the urban system. These instabilities can be expressed in various ways, including the growth of social inequality and urban impoverishment.

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6 *In another formulation, Harvey (2011) explains the investments in this type of project as a search for symbolic wealth, such as the gentrification of specific areas, the restoration of urban landscapes and recovering history using images. Thus, the fetishisation of the urban space takes place, emphasising exchange-value, instead of use-value. When the state acts as a partner in the promotion of fetishisation, through the privatisation of spaces, favourable constructive parameters and tax exemptions, among others, it promotes accumulation by dispossession. In other words, it actively takes part in resolving the problem of over-accumulation in processes that include the exploitation of depreciated land, expulsion of the poorest sectors of society, gentrification and speculation in the financial and real estate markets (HARVEY, 2012b).*

The urban entrepreneurialism criticised by Harvey (2006) relates to Osborne and Gaebler's (1993) prescriptions for entrepreneurial government. In addition, it also relates to the marketing of places. It is important to note that at no time does Harvey (2006) refer to the use of tools such as strategic planning but only to strategies that, without being part of a planning system, are riskier and more opportunistic (in Kotler, Haider and Rein's (1994) terms). The strategy of urban marketing is connected to the turn to post-modernist styles of architecture and urban design, mentioned by Harvey (2006) when he refers to the spatial division of consumption. He also makes reference to the the improvement of infrastructure and basic services, such as safety, needed for the strategy of obtaining control activities; and to attractions, such as exploiting specific advantages to produce goods and services.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify the specific Brazilian context regarding the translation to Portuguese of Harvey's *From managerialism to entrepreneuralism: the transformation in urban governance in the late capitalism* (*Geografiska Annaler* - 1989). In the first translation, the idea of entrepreneurialism was confused with the idea of entreprisation[7] (*empresariamento*, in Portuguese). Many Brazilian authors adopted this translation as a reference, such as Vainer (2000b) and Compans (2004), already mentioned. Vainer (2000b) was key in popularising this confusion among Brazilian researchers. However, in 2005 it was released the book "*A produção capitalista do espaço*", including a chapter with a new translation of the same text. This time, the idea of entrepreneurialism was included[8]. The use of the term 'entreprisation' instead of 'entrepreneurialism' is relevant because it involves a conceptual difference. The term 'urban entreprisation' can lead to contradictory conclusions, such as treating the city as an enterprise. The problem with this idea is clearly stated by Harvey (2006, p. 167): "It makes it seem as if 'cities' can be active agents when they are mere things. Urbanisation should, rather, be regarded as a spatially grounded social process in which a wide range of different actors with quite different objectives and agendas interact through a particular configuration of interlocking spatial practices". Additionally, the definition of urban entrepreneurialism goes beyond the use of business management technologies. What defines it is the organisation of coalitions that use the place to produce new spaces of accumulation.

Urban planning practices

To Souza (2010, p. 46), "planning always refers to the future"; it means "trying to foresee the evolution of a phenomenon" or "trying to simulate the developments of a process, with the aim of gaining better protection against probable problems or, to the contrary, with the aim of making the most of probable benefits".

In Brazil, with the end of the dictatorship, the theme of popular participation gained strength and advocacy planning movements appeared, including the National Movement for Urban Reform. As a result, the 1988 Constitution defined the Master Plan as the basic instrument for policies of urban development and expansion. With this, as Ferreira (2010, p. 190) points out, "the municipal governments gained unprecedented autonomy to conduct urban policies". In this new context, some developed progressive policies such as the Participative Budget (*Orçamento Participativo* - OP) but, simultaneously, implemented market-led policies. Some adopted urban planning practices related to strategic business planning; others followed the propositions of urban reform, seeking quality of life for the population and arranging legal instruments

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7 The word 'entreprisation' has been used to refer to a process in which the enterprise is taken as a model for organising all human activities. It comes from the French and the main author of reference is Andreu Solé (see http://www.hec.fr/Faculte-Recherche/Membres-de-la-faculte/SOLE-Andreu). It should be differentiated from entrepreneurship or entrepreneurialism.

8 The new title in Portuguese is "Do administrativismo ao empreendedorismo: a transformação da governança urbana no capitalismo tardio". This time there is a new problem with the translation of 'managerialism" as 'administrativismo' instead of 'gerencialismo'. However, for the purpose of this paper's discussion this new mistake is not relevant.

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to do this. Ferreira (2010) analysis these contradictions and recognises that it is easy to understand that LUPs and PPPs appeared in that setting as a type of salvation for those who opposed urban reform and democratic urban instruments. The opportunity to implement great modernising projects also opened up a perspective for political-electoral success, in addition to favouring the real estate sector, traditionally involved in financing electoral campaigns. Therefore, Ferreira (2010) identifies the phenomenon of "urbanism in reverse", inspired by the idea of "hegemony in reverse" proposed by Oliveira (2010, p. 27). Urbanism in reverse expresses the ambiguity of government positions, said to be popular and democratic but adopting "market-led planning" (Table 3). In this, the regulatory role of "trying to domesticate or discipline capital" is substituted to the contrary, to the better adjustment to its interests, including immediate ones.

Table 3 – Sub-types of market-led planning, according to Brindley, Rydin and Stoker (2004)

Trend planning - flexibilisation	Although it is based on regulations, it should respond to private interests and land use policies, responding to market trends and forces.
Leverage planning – flexibilisation and entrepreneuralism	The public sector should encourage weakened markets through, tax reductions, land donations and selling land under the market value, etc.
Private management planning	The public sector transfers the management of urban renewal processes to specific areas of the private sector.

Another relevant concept comes from the French school of urban project or project planning (*l'urbanism de projet*), which arise from a criticism of regulatory planning. According to Avitabile (2005), project planning is associated to the notion of urban strategy and PPPs because it seeks immediate results and values the capacity to undertake them. It includes a city project (urban project) that integrates urban forms and landscaping, categories that are absent from regulatory planning. However, even if a city project exists, urban projects are for specific areas in the expectation that its effects would expand to the territory as a whole, or to large sections of it as a minimum. This is what Ascher (1992) calls a city in pieces which is, therefore, contradictory to the idea of planning.

In this context, LUPs appear as tools for interventions which result in flexibilised planning, although it may formally co-exist with the master plan or master plans. Vainer (2012) confirms that LUPs cause ruptures in the city understood as a multiple social space.

The term LUP is used in this article, according to Lecroart and Palisse's (2007) definition presented in the Introduction. Therefore, the main characteristics of LUPs are: (1) procedures using management instruments and public-private partnerships; (2) being a political project, as well as a project in space and time; (3) considering the scale of social and spatial impacts, in addition to their immediate surroundings; (4) recognising the connection of multiple actors and complexity of uses. The multiple dimensions (presented in Figure 1) proposed by Vainer (2012) are added to these characteristics for the analysis of the case presented in the following item.

The case of Porto Alegre

A wide range of projects was elaborated; some were on account of FIFA's requirements, such as the Internacional Stadium; and some had existed for more than 30 years, but they had not been executed due to a lack of resources or other reasons. Others were elaborated focusing on the opportunity for investments to resolve city's problems and, at the same time, to guarantee profits for the private sector. This study highlights projects that are related to holding this mega-event:

17 LUPs and a surrounding project, with 12 being part of the Responsibility Matrix (MR) and the remaining 6 because they were highlighted by leaders as being very important or even fundamental for the hosting FIFA World Cup. These projects were included into the three units of analysis mentioned above: mobility, stadiums and the waterfront (Table 4).

Table 4 – Summary of projects related to the FIFA World Cup in Porto Alegre

UNITS OF ANALYSIS	PROJECT	MR*	UNITS OF ANALYSIS	PROJECT	MR
MOBILITY	Tronco Av.	YES	MOBILITY	BRT- Padre Cacique	NO
	3rd Perimeter Av.	YES		3 Beira-Rio surrounding roads	YES
	Padre Cacique Av.	YES		Airport	YES
	BRT – Protásio Alves	YES		Aeromovel	NO
	BRT – João Pessoa	YES		Subway Line 2	NO
	Voluntários da Pátria St.	YES	STADIUM	Giant Forever	YES
	Extension of Severo Dullius Av.	YES		Grêmio Stadium	NO
	Bus Station Complex	YES	WATERFRONT	Mauá Harbour	NO
	BRT – Bento Gonçalves	YES		Guaíba Waterfront Renewal	NO
TOTAL	18 Project, with 12 from the Responsibility Matrix				

Source: prepared on the basis of Brazil (2010).

The recent trajectory of urban planning in Porto Alegre should be contextualised before progressing further. This city was governed for 16 consecutive years (1989-2003) by coalitions led by the Worker's Party (PT). Olívio Dutra's (1989-1992) period was marked by actions, such as confrontation with urban transport entrepreneurs, social housing policies that promoted the on-site urbanisation of shanty towns, and the creation of Participative Budget. He was followed by Tarso Genro's (1993-1996) government, that started the revision of the 1st Urban Development Master Plan (1st PDDU). The *Porto Alegre Project – Constituent City* was then introduced, with the aim of discussing the city's future.

The publication *As ideias que vão mudar a cidade nos próximos anos* (Ideas that will change the city in the coming years) edited the first set of panellists invited to *Constituent City* activities. Among these, the Catalan consultant, Jordi Borja that, along with Manuel Castells, disseminated the new role that Latin America cities should take. Borja's talk introduced topics such as inter-urban competitiveness and coalitions with the private sector to create local anchoring for globalisation. Borja (1993, p. 15) stated that large investments in infrastructure would be "capable of generating jobs, resources for distribution or taxes for monitoring purposes, counting on the private sector's interests and generating profits", having presented the case of Barcelona and exalted hosting the Olympic Games as an opportunity to create new dynamics. On the relation with the private sector, Borja (1993, p. 16) stressed: "I am convinced that a city cannot be made democratic and efficient from the market, but it is also impossible to construct a city without the market, and this fact imposes some renouncement". Therefore, the strategic planning should be flexible and market-led. Besides that, large projects – understood as LUPs – would be the strategies required for economic growth and competition between cities.

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Borja's influence is noted in the elaboration of the 2nd Urban and Environmental Development Master Plan (PDDUA). In the first part, different strategies are described: urban structuring, environmental qualification, economic promotion, the production of the city, and the planning system. One of these strategies is of particular interest for the aim of this paper: the production of the city. This sector comprises a framework of laws and two attachments: Social Housing Programme, in which the Special Areas of Social Interest (AEIS) and the Special Projects Programme are included. If, on one hand, a public policy for urban reform is formalised, on the other, flexibilisation towards market interests takes place. According to Article 55, Special Projects are those "which involve large areas (can cover a whole district); large projects carried out by a single company or even those in small areas which have special characteristics. This means that areas or pieces of land with problems or conflicts will be resolved through special projects, while normal situations will be analysed using general regulations" (PORTO ALEGRE, 1999). Therefore, it is observed that the 2nd PDDUA makes the Master Plan flexible in order to avoid administrative controls that would limit opportunities for economic growth. Managerialism is also present, in the critique of the supposed inflexible public administration bureaucracy and in the adoption of practices that allow leverage planning – in Brindley, Rydin and Stoker's (2004) terms. Perhaps this strategy is the one that best explains the practice of urbanism in reverse, in Ferreira's (2010) terms.

From Fogaça's government, which started in 2005, the PMPA adopted a management model based on the so-called integrative organisation of programmes, in order to gain agility. Part of this model was the transformation of the OP into Local Solidarity Governance and the support of PPPs, even if informal. To clarify, according to Lawless (1994), there are also informal PPPs – variable financial and administrative legal arrangements between various partners which, generally, are represented by the government, economic world, local media and higher education institutions.

The modifications of the PMPA organisation can be understood as part of the set of projects related to hosting the FIFA World Cup, including the creation of new institutions. One of these was the Special Secretariat for the Cup (*Secretaria Especial da Copa* - SECOPA). When it was created, the Secretariat was led by the deputy mayor at the time. Fortunati was in charge until 2010, when he took office in the City Hall; he was then elected mayor in 2012. It is important to note that before leading SECOPA, Fortunati was assigned to the Secretariat of Municipal Planning (SPM) and worked on the revision of the 2nd PDDUA, which was completed in 2009 and transformed into law in 2010. New evaluation instruments for the Special Projects Programme, mentioned above, were incorporated in this review. After Fortunati left SECOPA in 2010, the Secretariat lost relevance, although, along with the EPTC, the Municipal Secretariat of Public Works and Highways (*Secretaria Municipal de Obras e Viação* - SMOV), the Municipal Health Secretariat (*Secretaria Municipal de Saúde* - SMS), and the Municipal Housing Department (*Departamento Municipal de Habitação* - DEMHAB), it formed part of the Porto Alegre 2014 Cup Programme – the institution for urban planning (SPM), however, was not included.

Therefore, it is noticed that the transformation of urban planning practices that started during the Popular Front's second term in the 1990s, incorporated managerial practices of flexibilisation and facilitation, and opened the path to the urban entrepreneurial practices which followed. In the context, the SPM fell to the wayside. In the new organisation of PMPA, through specific projects, other departments took on a central role. So much so that immediately after the last municipal election the organisation by projects has been consolidated, with the creation of the Projects Office, emptying the functions of the Secretariat of Municipal Planning further and giving rise to the Secretariat of Urbanism.

The analysis of the Strategic Map of PMPA Actions (MAPA ..., 2011) showed that the FIFA World Cup was a strategy to boost tourism, transform urban mobility infrastructure and, at the same time, to create a favourable business environment, speeding up urban environmental licences and promoting innovation and entrepreneurialism. Therefore, it was consolidated a practice of city's public administration that fully incorporated market

logic and gradually reconfigured the government structure to favour specific initiatives of business sectors with privileged ties to key decision-making centres. Besides strategic planning following business administration models, what was constituted in Porto Alegre was the logic of a business desk, in which formal spaces for the population's participation and for the professional practice by technicians were undermined.

In this context, the opportunity for investments and worldwide visibility, coupled with the mega-event, stimulated the use of urban marketing (KOTLER, HAIDER and REIN, 1994) and urban entrepreneurial strategies (HARVEY, 2006) in particular, which may be identified in the following analysis of each of the three units.

A) Mobility

When Porto Alegre was confirmed as a host city, the Municipal Government had less than one year to prepare projects to be included in the MR. In an interview with an EPTC technician, it was reported that the projects were elaborated at meetings behind closed doors with top PMPA directors and some EPTC technicians. According to this report, the ten projects were created by referring back to old projects that had not been implemented, without evaluating their pertinence for contemporary Porto Alegre. In addition, no territorial impact study for any of these projects was carried out.

The discourses of the Department of Strategic Planning director and of the EPTC's Traffic Planning manager at public hearings and events on urban mobility or public works for the FIFA World Cup, corroborated with this information. They defended the projects because they were included in earlier plans that would finally be put into practice after 20, 30 or 40 years. Any study that proved the needs of these works was never presented. As Porto Alegre did not have any study which covered the different means of circulation and transportation in a comprehensive way, conditions for carrying out opportunistic projects that favoured individual transportation by car and the immediate interests of politicians and businessmen were created.

When presented by the municipal authorities, the BRT projects were associated to passengers' increased comfort, thanks to a combination of various aspects. However, the majority of them will not be implemented in Porto Alegre[9]. The PMPA and the State's Metropolitan and Regional Planning Foundation (*Fundação Estadual de Planejamento Metropolitano e Regional* - Metroplan) work on optimising lines, so that many buses do not circulate to the city centre. As the city already has electronic ticketing, this optimisation could have been done independently of introducing the BRT system. Apart from this, the city already has bus lanes. Only 4.7km of BRT would be added to the existing system. Therefore, the main function of the BRT is to change the image of the public collective transportation system, modernising it and showing the contemporary architecture of the new bus stations and terminals, with no relevant impact on the service provision.

The remaining MR projects gave priority to cars, with the construction of overpasses and widening avenues. Some would include cycle and bus lanes, on account of Federal Government requirements, which did not detract from its focus on highways, as they are disconnected from these structures. On comparing the projects for all of the host cities for the 2014 FIFA World Cup in MR, it is seen that Porto Alegre was the one which invested most in individual transportation by car.

A further aspect refers to important projects to boost the city's expansion. An emblematic one led to the eviction of 1,400 families from Grande Cruzeiro (located alongside Barra Shopping Sul and in the vicinity of the Iberê Camargo Museum, which benefited the local real estate market) and their replacement in periphery areas. Another two projects directly benefited the Grêmio and Internacional stadiums, apart from private sector investors responsible for constructing them, exempted from carrying out any mitigating work.

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9 Up until the date that this article was submitted (15th June, 2015), the projects had still not been implemented. The same is valid for the highway projects also mentioned. That is why the sentence is in the future tense. An article published on 14th June registers that only 5 mobility projects were completed and that part of the CIERGS projects were subject to price adjustments of at least BRL 9 million, according to the State Court of Auditors (TCE), for "technical or intentional malpractice" (PRORROGAÇÃO ..., 2015, p. 26).

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The Subway Line 2 project have specific characteristics. Originally the layout was established in the Integrated Mobility Plan. In this, the project should be introduced in two phases. When the formulation of the MR was announced for the World Cup Line, the Phase 1 layout was altered to pass by the last access point for Beira-Rio during World Cup matches. In principle, the World Cup Line would be qualified as a MR project but the Federal Government vetoed it. If the World Cup Line was approved, it would benefit Internacional, Andrade Gutierrez and Melnik Even, as well as Grêmio Empreendimentos-OAS[10]. With the infrastructure improvement, the price of land would increase and the football clubs who were negotiating their land with construction companies would have their values increased, as well for the companies that were going to exploit them. In addition, it would contribute to the PMPA Innovative City Programme, which aims to promote the development "of innovation and technology, in search of new vocations to the city, boosting the economic matrix and stimulating productive sectors, taking advantage of the concentration of universities and research centres and producing new opportunities for jobs and income" (O PROGRAMA..., 2013). This programme fits in with the strategy of urban entrepreneurialism defined by Harvey (2006, p. 172) and refers to the "creation and exploitation of particular advantages for the production of goods and services". As part of the creation of this environment, in 2012 the Municipal Government presented a project to the City Council that altered the PDDUA, recording Zones of Technological Potential (*Zonas de Potencial Tecnológico* – REPOT) in which urban parameters were made flexible, and including benefits for real estate enterprises. When cross checking the map that defines the REPOT in the Attachment to PL 004/2012 with the World Cup Line, it is noted that the route permeates the whole area to be recorded as a REPOT.

To Harvey (2006), urban entrepreneurial strategies are also based on PPPs. This is the case for the majority of these projects, whether formal or informal (Table 5). The only exceptions are the Salgado Filho Airport and the Aeromovel. The vast majority of the PPPs are informal, with only the Subway Line 2 Project being formal. Partnerships also permeate BRTs, conceding the use of spaces in exchange for maintenance. The vast majority of informal partnerships for urban mobility projects are characterised by the Term of Technical Cooperation signed between the PMPA and the Centre for Industries in the State of Rio Grande do Sul (*Centro das Indústrias do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul* - CIERGS) on 26th October, 2009, three months before signing the MR. Table 5 also shows the projects which receive public funds.

Table 5 – formal and informal PPPs related to mobility projects

Project	Participation		PPP
	Public Sector	**Private Sector**	
Tronco Av., 3rd Perimeter Av., Padre Cacique, Voluntários da Pátria St., Extension of Severo Dullius Av., Bus Station complex and 3 Beira-Rio surrounding roads	Federal Government Funds	Basic project donated by CIERGS	INF
BRT Protásio Alves, João Pessoa, Bento Gonçalves and Padre Cacique	Federal Government Funds	Basic project donated by CIERGS and transportation enterprises	INF
Salgado Filho Airport	Federal Government Funds	—	—
Aeromovel	Federal Government Funds	—	—
Subway Line 2	Federal Government Funds	Enterprise that wins the bidding	FOR

Source: Prepared on the basis of Brazil (2010). Caption: INF-Informal; FOR-Formal.

10 Enterprises involved with construction and the exchange of land to make the stadium projects viable.

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It is no accident that all of the projects related to control and command activities are based on PPPs. Except for the Subway Line 2 and the Aeromovel projects, they are all on the MR and their basic and executive projects were donated by the CIERGS. According to the Term of Cooperation, it was the private initiative that approached the PMPA, offering to become partner to "speed up the implementation of projects considered a priority and required in terms of the Municipality's road and urban mobility system" (PORTO ALEGRE, 2009). However, this alleged agility was not achieved. The State Court of Auditors (*Tribunal de Contas do Estado* - TCE) analysed the MR projects until July 2013, determining that "the generalised delay in projects and public works shows failures in planning and organisation" (MOREIRA, 2013). The person responsible for preparing the contracts for CIERGS rejected TCE's critiques, stating that the projects "were implemented with great care and within the minimum timeframe. If they were carried out with 100% precision, they would take 10 years. They are basic projects" (MOREIRA, 2013). It is important to note that the projects implemented were only those related to mobility that prioritised cars. None of the BRT system projects were completed until December 2015.

When comparing the enterprises that won biddings with those which donated financial resources to José Fortunati's 2010 electoral campaign, significant data can be found, such as the fact that one third of the enterprises that won biddings for urban mobility projects were donors, reaching a total of BRL 1,049,000.00. The construction enterprises, representing 11 companies, financed 35% of the previous campaign, increasing to 605 in Fortunati's campaign through 29 companies of the sector (PRESTAÇÃO ..., 2013).

The population, which receives information on projects almost exclusively through corporative media, was invited to public hearings, usually held when the projects had already been finalised and the public bidding had been carried out, generating demonstrations by groups affected and critically worried with the city's future. The projects express the PMPA's disregard for the environment, basic living conditions and the right to housing of low income population, as well as the practice of implementing evictions, whether to remove obstacles to business or because the poor and their ways of living should become less visible.

The non-availability of information from the PMPA, also determined by the lack of response to formal requests is convenient, so that the projects do not suffer from any interferences. Valuation of alleged technical neutrality is also noted, when some technicians (usually the same ones) say that they represent the professional team at the PMPA and that they knew more about what is best for the city, even without having carried out the studies required by legislation (such as alternative projects and impact studies). The population does not have a voice and should not give their opinion as, unlike what the PMPA confirms, the projects are not for all of Porto Alegre. The projects may even be distributed throughout the territory but always favour identifiable corporate groups. Typical entrepreneurial urban strategies (HARVEY, 2006) are put into practice. The combination of their speculative nature with the lack of urban planning instruments which opposes the privilege of specific groups in some way, as well as flexibilising environmental impact studies and the lack of openness to the population when taking decisions, characterise the practices of levarage planning (BRINDLEY, RYDIN and STOKER, 2004).

B) Stadiums

The stadium unit of analysis obviously has a more direct relationship with the mega-event. In visits to the state capital, even before announcing the selection of the host cities, the FIFA committee put forward the S.C. Internacional's Beira-Rio Stadium to host the World Cup. Even so, the "World Cup opportunity" was used by Grêmio Football Porto-Alegrense to build new installations. For PMPA, it was an opportunity to "provide the city of Porto Alegre and the Metropolitan Region with an extremely modern sports, events and business complex" and "consolidate a new centrality of regional importance, redefining the profile and development potential for all of the north zone" (PORTO ALEGRE, 2008). According to Harvey (2006), sports stadia fit into the urban entrepreneurialism strategy related to the spatial division of consumption.

The two clubs associated with two Brazilian multi-national engineering companies which would exploit the business for 20 years[11] and benefit from National Economic and Social Development Bank (BNDES) credit. Both negotiated land at the former stadiums as a source of funds. Olímpico and Grand Park Eucaliptos Developments are exploited by the construction companies OAS and Melnick Evens, respectively. Although the PMPA was not financially responsible for constructing the stadiums, it had a direct participation through tax exemption, land donations, release from mitigation work and changes of urban parameters, among other measures. The laws approved in the City Council altered the urban parameters for these specific areas, being important to note that this took place on 29th December, 2008, when Porto Alegre had not yet been selected as a host city. Even so, the city would receive two "FIFA standard" football stadiums, when FIFA only required one. The football clubs, real estate speculators and councillors favourable to these projects knew how to take advantage of the context to approve alterations to the 2nd PDDUA. It also contributed the historic rivalry between the two teams' supporters, since both needed to be approved so as not to dissatisfy any of them. As a result, the movements that criticised their adverse impacts were silenced by a massive support from the population and corporative media. The forces and actors involved articulated what Logan and Molottch (1993) define as a coalition to grow, with the elites and media pressuring for their interests and taking advantage of those passionate about football.

The leverage planning practices in the case of the Grêmio Arena included increases in building density, construction of road infrastructure by the public authorities and flexibilisation of environmental parameters. As a consequence, the State Public Prosecution Service recommended the suspension of the surrounding work carried out by the PMPA due to problems with the Environmental Impact Study and Report. This process is still in dispute. In addition, there is an investigation by the Prosecutors Office related to acts of improper conduct by the public government for unjustified exemption of OAS's obligations that were part of the agreement to obtain the environmental permit. As a consequence of this exemption, public works in the surrounding area had been financed by public funds (RECOMENDAÇÃO…, 2013).

The Beira-Rio Complex is located in a strategic position: alongside the Guaíba waterfront and close to the city centre, and has associated ventures, such as the events centre and hotels. Urban parameters alterations were approved for the Giant Forever area: permission to construct higher buildings (from 18 to 33 metres) and higher construction rates (1.3 to 1.9); the section of Permanent Protection Area which was at least 500m from the watercourses was reduced to 255. In other words, leverage planning is found to be exercised, with the public authorities actively taking part in resolving the problem of over-accumulation by urban renewal processes, which includes the exploitation of depreciated land, expulsion of the poorest sectors of the population and lack of consideration for environmental aspects.

C) Waterfront

The Mauá Harbour and the Guaíba Waterfront LUPs[12] are also related to old projects that went through several municipal and state administrations.

Legislation was altered in order to make the Mauá Harbour project viable, authorising new land uses and granting attractive urban parameters. The bidding process resulted in the company Consórcio Cais Mauá (led by the Spanish group responsible for *Port Vell* in Barcelona and including the Brazilian architect Jaime Lerner's office) winning the contract and gaining the right to exploit the area for

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11 The new Grêmio administration has been trying to make an agreement for several months so that OAS sells the stadium to the club (for example, see: http://www.correiodopovo.com.br/Esportes/545630/Sinais-de-nova-negociacao-entre-OAS-e-Gremio).

12 This work has not yet started although the space of the Mauá Harbour has been closed off to the public since the beginning of September 2014 (see, the following on this respect: http://www.sul21.com.br/jornal/arquiteta-apresenta-modelo-alternativo-ao-projeto-de-revitalizacao-do-cais-maua/). In the case of the Waterfront, the tender process had no results on more than one occasion (see: http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/porto-alegre/noticia/2015/03/licitacao-para-revitalizar-a-orla-do-guaiba--deve-ter-o-preco-aumentado-4713033.html).

25 years. The main organiser was the state government and the PMPA's role was to legalise the new business in the PDDUA, making it attractive to the market. The PMPA was then responsible for approving the Urban Viability Study, among other licenses required. The PMPA's administration was reorganised to guarantee agility and flexibility in the approvals processes, with the creation of the Development and Special Matters Office (*Gabinete de Desenvolvimento e Assuntos Especiais* - Gades), directly subordinated to the Mayor's office. According to Article 5 of the Law, "the basic purpose of Gades is to raise external resources to expand the Municipality of Porto Alegre's investment capacity, through liaison and promotion of PPPs, thereby making the execution of special projects viable" (PORTO ALEGRE, 2012, p. 2). Gades became the sector responsible for special projects, such as Mauá Harbour and Guaíba Waterfront Renewal.

The Mauá Harbour LUP is a major intervention that does not consider impacts on the territory. In addition, the PPP that will exploit the location is directed towards elitist activities, such as a shopping centre, Hyundai concessionaire and a micro-brewery. The RBS Group once again acted intensively. In a special report, it stated that the Mauá Harbour "[...] will be the stage for a kind of re-birth of the metropolis", adding: "at mid-day, Governor Tarso Genro will transfer the ownership of more than 180,000 square metres of Mauá Harbour to private initiative, and the dream that it truly becomes a public place will start to turn into reality" (MELO, 2011). An inversion of terms and a mystifying rhetoric is observed. The place, which until that time housed various ephemeral, open activities, as well as permanent activities, such as a public marina, will become "a truly public place" when it is handed over to the private sector. With regards to the impacts on the city's central region, apart from increasing the flow of cars, the phenomenon of gentrification may also take place.

The intervention on the Guaíba Waterfront is also an old idea: the first renewal project is from 1986 and it was recorded in the 2nd PDDUA as a Revitalisation Area. When Fortunati was Secretary of Planning, he looked for entrepreneurs for a PPP, announcing a landscape design competition, which never took place. In December 2011, the PMPA hired the well-known architect, Jaime Lerner, and the project was then led by Gades.

The Rio Grande do Sul's section of the Brazilian Institute of Architects (*Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil* - IAB) asked twice the PMPA to hold a public hearing, so that the architect Lerner could explain the project. Faced with two refusals, it called for a public hearing via social networks, which was finally held in the City Council on 14th October, 2013. Lerner and his team presented 3Ds dated April 2012; they explained very little or almost nothing about the project. Delegates and consultants from the Planning Region 1 and IAB, from the Gaúcha Association of Environmental Protection, and some local councillors expressed their discontent that can be summarised in the following aspects: the hiring of Jaime Lerner for BRL 2.15 million without holding a public bidding; the exclusion of SPM technicians and the population in general; the absence of environmental impact studies. In the following day, the Mayor declared that the municipal government would no longer take part in public hearings at the Council, justifying that the critiques were unacceptable because "Jaime Lerner is one of the most respected city planners in the world, receiving red carpet treatment everywhere" and in criticising him, the public had disrespected the mayor's administration (ROCHA, 2013). However, it is necessary to clarify that this hearing was the calmest of all of those witnessed during this study, with specialised and technically accurate arguments. Furthermore, hiring Lerner is related to what Harvey (2011) calls urban spectacle, referring to the fetishisation of space via the designs of well-known architects.

Both of the projects are based on formal PPPs, granting exploitation of the area. The Mauá Harbour project will be constructed by private sector investments with the support of public development banks. The Guaíba Waterfront Renewal had investments from the Ministry of Tourism and federal funds from parliamentary amendments. Even so, the PMPA is studying the possibility of granting spaces to private initiative, in exchange for its maintenance or construction. This LUP is another example of urban

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entrepreneurialism strategy related to the competition for central government surpluses and both fit into the entrepreneurialism strategy related to the spatial division of consumption (HARVEY, 2006).

Lastly, the two cases, and the Waterfront in particular, exemplify that amid market-led planning practices, the public workers directly involved with urban planning had been displaced from the process, together with the population in general.

Conclusions

A summary of the projects which are associated to at least one of the entrepreneurial urban strategies proposed by Harvey (2006) are found in Table 6.

Table 6 – Urban entrepreneurial practices in each of the projects

Unit of Analysis	Project	EEU1	EEU2	EEU3	PPP
Mobility	Tronco Av.				
	3rd Perimeter Av.				
	Padre Cacique Av.				
	BRT – Protásio Alves				
	BRT – João Pessoa				
	Voluntários da Pátria St.				
	Extension of Severo Dullius St.				
	Bus station complex				
	BRT – Bento Gonçalves				
	BRT- Padre Cacique				
	Beira-Rio surroundings roads				
	Salgado Filho airport				
	Aeromovel				
	Subway Line 2				
Stadium	International Stadium				
	Grêmio Arena				
Waterfront	Mauá Harbour				
	Guaíba Waterfront Renewal				

Caption: **EEU1** = Urban Entrepreneurial Strategy related to spatial division of consumption. **EEU2** = Urban Entrepreneurial Strategy related to obtaining control and command activities. **EEU3** = Urban Entrepreneurial Strategy related to the redistribution of government surpluses. **PPP** = Public-Private Partnership.

All of the projects from the mobility unit fit into the strategy related to the acquisition of key control and command functions. According to Harvey (2006) and Sassen (2010), investments in mobility and communications are paramount in order to attract business. In addition, all of the projects are based on formal or informal PPPs, with CIERGS appearing as the directly interested actor. The absence of planning instruments favoured the adoption of a speculative strategy that benefits private interests and privileges cars mobility, at the expense of the quality of life of the population as a whole. Besides, the legacy of the World Cup will not benefit the low income populations, as publicised. Also the BRT projects will provide very few improvements to the workers' daily lives but will transform Porto Alegre's image, displaying modern stations and terminals with contemporary architecture. Even the Subway project, before the Ministry of Cities' intervention, would be constructed in an area with less passenger demands. As the PMPA affirms, the city of the future will have cable-stayed bridges and freeway roads for the comfort of car's drivers. The pedestrian will be condemned to crossing wide strips of asphalt or even to make major detours to arrive from one point to another, due to overs and under passes. Not even

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the Guaíba Waterfront, one of the main popular leisure areas in the city, escaped and will have a six lane freeway and a cable-stayed overpass.

The increase in social inequality is clear when the cases of Vila Grande Cruzeiro and Dique are taken into account, being directly affected by the mobility projects. Families were evicted, as in the case of the residents of Grande Cruzeiro, without any guarantees of when they will receive a new house or even if they will receive one at all. Although the PMPA affirms that there is a housing policy for this situation, this policy is similar to early 19th century hygiene policies, which had, among others, the aim of removing the poor from the urban centres and from the sights of the more privileged segments of the population, among others. Currently, the eviction of the poor has a direct relation with real estate market speculation, which is expanding to the south zone of the city, specifically in the case of Grande Cruzeiro. It is important to note that this is not the first episode of this type in the region in recent years. First of all, the inhabitants of Vila Foz, next to the Barra Shopping Sul, were removed to Vila Nova in a compensation agreed with the company Multiplan. Next, there was an attempt thwarted by a popular struggle to construct a luxury housing development at Morro Santa Teresa. Therefore, it is seen that this clean-up is necessary, not to improve the affected families' living conditions but to make viable the accumulation of capital by major companies.

Practices such as these indicate the practice of trend planning (BRINDLEY, RYDIN and STOKER, 2004) directed towards private interests with the consequent processes of accumulation through dispossession (HARVEY, 2012a), creating new spaces for interventions by construction companies once freed of the informal city. In fact, planning practices that merely follow and reinforce market trends are in contradiction with the reason for planning to exist. In other words, if the planning practices - understood as an instrument for designing desired futures – are following trends and being subordinated to the interests of social actors with the capacity to define these trends, they become one more space for private interaction and communication (between public agents and selected partners) and abandon their reason of being.

Another example of leverage planning is public investment in public works, such as in Farrapos, Padre Cacique, and Edvaldo Pereira Paiva Avenues, and in the area surrounding the Beira-Rio Stadium and Grêmio Arena where the clubs and companies were exempted from the responsibility for the construction of mitigation projects.

The analysis of the Stadium and Waterfront units also demonstrates leverage planning and urban entrepreneurial strategy associated to the spatial division of consumption. These LUPs will have adverse effects on the territory as a whole. In the case of the Grêmio stadium, although the government has not transferred the management of urban renewal processes of specific areas to the private sector, the Grêmio Arena LUP was conceived entirely by this sector. Its effects on the territory are already being felt and mitigated by the public sector. Private management planning (BRINDLEY, RYDIN and STOKER, 2004) is fully applied for Mauá Harbour. Although the project has been driven by the public sector, the business model and exploitation of the area (construction and management for the next 25 years) are under the responsibility of the private sector.

To conclude, it can be confirmed that considering Vainer's (2012) dimensions, presented in Figure 1, negative impacts both on the democratic and equality effect are clear.

This research was the first study on the meaning of the mega-event in urban planning practices in Porto Alegre. The indications are that the introduction of market-led planning is only starting. Further specific case studies would be able to evaluate the consolidation of these practices in the processes of urban renewal that will fallow LUPs and their impacts. It would also be relevant to analyse the impact of mobility projects and verify the formation of new centralities. Another phenomenon to be investigated is how these projects will alter real estate market dynamics and the city's image. The impacts on 3,000 families in the cases of Grande Cruzeiro and Vila Dique should also be monitored. There are many possibilities to explore, but the main challenge will be to understand the consequences of the dismantling and decreased relevance of urban planning, the potentially adverse effects on the city's organisation and vulnerable population groups; and to identify which practices will be instituted in replacing what has, so far, been defined as urban planning.

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A criticism of the use of ideal types in studies on institutional logics

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Abstract

A line of research directed towards studying how the preferences, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded in institutional logics has been established within the institutional area in recent years. One of the alternatives proposed to study the logic of organizational fields comprises using "ideal types". In this article, I seek to reflect on the use of ideal types by some authors on institutionalism in studies on the logics present in the contexts studied. I argue that there is a misreading of what is advocated by Weber with respect to ideal-type construction, ignoring the issue of axiological neutrality and the impossibility of ideal types being found empirically. In this respect, I argue that the way in which ideal types are used in studies on institutional logics needs to be reconsidered, taking these issues into consideration.

Keywords: Institutionalism. Institutional Logics. Ideal Types. Theoretical Article.

Crítica ao uso de tipos ideais nos estudos da lógica institucional

Resumo

Nos últimos anos tem se consolidado dentro da vertente institucional uma linha de pesquisa interessada no estudo do modo como preferências, identidades, valores e pressupostos de indivíduos e organizações se encontram imersos em lógicas institucionais. Uma das alternativas propostas para o estudo da lógica dos campos organizacionais consiste no uso de "tipos ideais". No presente ensaio busco refletir sobre o uso de tipos ideais por parte de alguns autores do institucionalismo nos estudos das lógicas presentes nos contextos estudados. Argumento que é feita uma leitura equivocada por parte de alguns desses autores daquilo que é defendido por Weber com relação à construção ideal-típica, ignorando a questão da neutralidade axiológica e a impossibilidade de encontrar empiricamente os tipos na realidade. Neste aspecto, defendo que o modo como os estudos nesta linha fazem uso de tipos ideais precisa ser repensado, levando em consideração essas questões.

Palavras-chave: Institucionalismo. Lógica Institucional. Tipos Ideais. Ensaio Teórico.

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Mﬞore than 30 years have passed since the emergence of classical studies which became known as "new" institutionalism. Focused on more cognitive and cultural explanations of organizational forms, this area brought legitimacy as a central aspect to individuals' and organizations' actions in seminal studies. It was proposed that actions, practices and formal structures did not only reflect technical demands and dependence on resources proposed by rational and adaptive theories, but were also influenced by institutional forces. Organizations altered their formal structures in order to gain legitimacy in their context, adapting their formal structure according to myths institutionalised in the environment, thereby avoiding the risk of being labelled negligent, irrational or even obsolete (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977). On the other hand, organizations became increasingly similar at field level. Behind this homogeneity was the action of memetic, coercive and normative isomorphic mechanisms (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1983).

The focus given on how organizations must conform to and be legitimated by their context led new institutionalism to be understood more as a theory of stability than a theory of change (GREENWOOD; HININGS, 1996). Where a low priority is awarded to individual actions, particularly ones concerned with changing what is institutionalized. The environment was placed as something external to organization and not influenced by this, instead of being seen as something with which the organization constantly interacts and is, therefore, also constructed by it.

Different efforts have been made in the institutional area in order to introduce dynamics to institutional studies in recent years. One example is the line of research interested in studying how the preferences, identities, values and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded in *institutional logics*. That is, the material practices and symbolic constructions through which individuals organise space and time, producing and reproducing its material substance and giving meaning to its social reality (FRIEDLAND; ALFORD, 1991). One of the alternatives proposed for the study of logics of organizational fields comprises the use of "ideal types" (e.g. THORNTON; OCASIO, 1999; GOODRICK; REAY, 2011), which is largely influenced by Doty and Glick's (1994) typological approach.

I seek to explore this particular development in the line of institutional studies in this article. I intend to not only revise the basic assumptions behind the idea of institutional logics, its classical authors and how this responds to the problems raised by contemporary institutional authors, but reflect on one of the main methodological tools used in the study of institutional logics: *ideal types*. This concept naturally refers to the ideal-type construction proposed by Weber, used to bring the researcher closer to reality. More than a methodological tool, the ideal type also carries a particular vision of the world, and a positioning about the possibilities and limits of social sciences. Its import into studies of an institutional area prompts some questioning: in what way does the ideal type in the study of institutional logics come close to Weber's construction? In what way are these concepts distanced from them? How does the use of this concept reflect in the way institutionalists position themselves on reality? What type of social science does it reflect? Can the use of typologies, as currently presented, contribute to institutional thinking?

These are some of the questions which guide this article. They highlight a longstanding debate in social sciences of the way Weber's concepts are interpreted by different authors and imported to studies in some theoretical areas. Lazarte (1996, p.27), for example, criticises the way the various readings of Weber reduced the polyphony of his work. He quotes the Weber represented by Talcott Parsons, as almost a "socio-psychologist", of Adorno and Horkheimer, as a positivist defender of the *status quo*, the phenomenological Weber of Schultz and, lastly, the main target of his criticism, the "domesticated" Weber portrayed by Cohn in *Crítica e resignação: fundamentos da sociologia de Max Weber*, "a rationalist resigned to his own incapacity of putting science to the service of substantiating universal values".

The discussion on how his theoretical precepts are imported into contemporary studies is no less important. Many of the theoretical areas currently established suffer from the influence of Weber's studies. Sociological institutionalism itself, in its seminal

studies, was inspired by Weber's work, whether to highlight how the institutions and their resultant myths influence the bureaucratisation process (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977), or even to argue that rationalisation and bureaucratisation have changed in society, resulting from processes where organizations became more similar, without necessarily becoming more efficient (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1983).

I would like to consider another line of studies influenced by Weberian thought here, where the concept of ideal types arises within studies on institutional logics. Initially I present Weber's proposals on social sciences and ideal-type construction. Then I revise studies on institutional logics to finally make some critical reflections on the way that ideal types are used in the study of institutional logics, where I return to some of the questioning given above.

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The majority of Weberian formulations on ideal-type construction arise from his concerns with the conditions and limits of social sciences. They can be grouped together into some central questions: What is the purpose or even the focus of studies on cultural science? Are there objectively valid truths in the sciences which are concerned with cultural life? What is the validity of value-judgments in the scientist's activities? To Weber (1949) social sciences should be understood as those subjects that, on the whole, deal with events in human life, according to the cultural meaning that they have. It is an empirical science of a concrete reality (*Wirklichkeitswissenschaft*), which seeks to *understand* the particularities of reality, the *relations* and *meanings* involved in individual events in their expressions and the way they elapsed *historically* in one specific way and not another. In this aspect, it ends up also being a *selective* science: the researcher can only grasp a limited fragment of infinite reality as the object of scientific understanding. It will be him who determines what may be considered "relevant" or even "worthy of study," based on the meaning that the cultural phenomenon studied presents to him.

A "value orientation" is therefore assumed by the researcher, with the empirical research being intrinsically linked to the "world of values". Whether tacit or explicit, conscious or unconscious, social phenomena are selected, organized and analyzed *according to individual assumptions*. As Weber (1949) emphasizes, it is not possible to analyze the reality "without assumptions", since any criteria in the things themselves that allows an investigator to select a cause or aspect that deserves attention in an isolated manner does not exist. It is precisely this assignment of a "general cultural meaning" for the infinite phenomena which we are in contact with – making them interesting and meaningful to us – allowing this approach of reality to be something other than a "chaos of existential judgments". This is also one of the aspects which makes the study of phenomena in social science something particularly distinct from the naturalist tendency to establish "laws" of general validity, which allow reality to be "deducted". From the point of view of naturalism, it is possible to arrive at a knowledge of reality that is "purely objective" and absolutely rational, i.e. knowledge without any relation to values and free of any individual particularities. In contrast, when "objectivity" is questioned in social sciences, it has to be intrinsically connected to this individuality and unilaterality ignored by naturalist thinking. In other words:

> The *objective* validity of all empirical knowledge rests exclusively upon the ordering of the given reality according to categories which are *subjective* in a specific sense, namely, in that they present the *presuppositions* of our knowledge and are based on the presupposition of the *value* of those *truths* which empirical knowledge alone is able to give us [...]. The "objectivity" of the social sciences depends rather on the fact that the empirical data are always related to those evaluative ideas which alone make them worth knowing and the significance of the empirical data is derived from these evaluative ideas (WEBER, 1949, pp.110 and 111 – emphasis in the original text).

Therefore, at the time in which the *individuality* of a phenomenon is taken into consideration, the causal explanation of this is not so much a question of determining "general laws", but rather studying concrete causal relations. Knowledge of causal

laws would not constitute the *end* to social sciences studies, but rather a *means* in the effort used in investigation to understand the empirical social reality (WEBER, 1949). With this in mind, it should not be assumed that the reality taken as a whole may have an internal order and general laws that may be able to impose a "loyalty" to it on any researcher. In social sciences, the object of knowledge is not imposed on the analysis as something already given but is constituted, through the researcher's methodological procedures (COHN, 2003, p.22). Having said that, although scientific activity is always limited and conditioned by individual values and assumptions, the authority of science cannot be called upon to impose any type of value on individuals. As Jaspers (2007) highlights, Weber is opposed to any attempt to make something that is accessible to knowledge as completely and definitively true, in order to prescribe what is correct and what *should be done*. Only dogmatically compelled sects would be "able to confer on the content of *cultural values* the status of unconditionally valid *ethical* imperatives" (WEBER, 1949, p.57 – emphasis in the original text). Thus, carrying out a "scientific duty" of seeing the factual truth should be separated from the "practical duty" which leads the individual to fight for his own ideals. Empirical knowledge of evaluative judgments should be distinguished, precisely, so as to avoid this type of "preaching" or even "moral inculcation" of ethical imperatives in research activities, making it explicit that "the arguments are addressed to the analytical understanding and where to the sentiments " (WEBER, 1949, p.60).

On discussing practical evaluations in academic teaching for example, Weber (1949) criticises the propagation of the professor's personal ideas in his classroom teaching activities. To him, the student should only receive something which stimulates his capacity for understanding and reasoning in the classroom; the capacity to recognise facts in reality – and suppress the unnecessary impulse of showing emotional states or personal feelings – even how to execute a given task. He stresses that it is important to oppose all types of "professorial prophecy" of placing personal judgments, particularly when there is no possibility to discuss issues from different angles, thereby preventing the student from being excessively influenced by the professor's evaluative suggestions to the point of no longer being able to resolve his own problems, according to his own principles. This is no different in research activities. To Weber, the scientist should refrain from any evaluative judgments in his analysis in social sciences since, as a scientist, it is not his responsibility to impose an imperative nature on his conclusions (COHN, 2003). Weber (1949) also highlights the position of historians in general, who have difficulty in accepting giving up evaluative judgments on political, cultural, ethical or aesthetic issues. He recalls that the empirical-historical causal chain is automatically "broken" in the majority of historical work at the moment in which the historian starts to make evaluative judgments. Such as when he tries to explain something that has been a source of ideals for the subjects studied, as the consequence of a "failure" – which is not the researcher's responsibility to judge.

The issue of "ethical neutrality" is something that should be highlighted, not only in teaching practice or research activities, but also in professional life. As Weber (1949, p.5) reinforces, on executing his responsibilities, the individual "should confine himself to it alone and should exclude whatever is not strictly *proper to it* — particularly his own loves and hates". However, the separation between the "empirical reality" and "essence of being" does not imply sacrificing the critical natural of scientific activity in any way. As Jaspers (2007, p.117) reminds us:

> The scientific obligation of seeing the truth of the facts and practical obligation of defending one's own ideals are different duties. This does not mean that the satisfaction of one is possible without satisfying the other. Weber only turns against the junction of the two things; it is only through their separation that the pure realisation of both becomes possible. There is no relationship between scientific objectivity and amorality […]. Only the distance in relation to the object and to itself allows serene questioning of reality. But determined valuations, which are contained in the act of knowing are in turn essential conditions of the knowledge because they educate for sensitivity, in the face of all possible valuations.

Having dealt with these issues, the time comes for us to turn our attention to one of the central points of this article: *ideal-type construction*. As stated previously, an individual encounters the infinity of reality, of which only a limited percentage can be learnt. In order to come closer to this reality and capture part of this multiplicity of meanings, concepts need to be constructed – prepared in the most conscious way possible with regards to their meaning – which serve as instruments to approach this reality and see which aspects it corresponds to or is different from. Taking this into consideration, *ideal types* are obtained through unilateral accentuation of one or more individual points of view, in order to form a homogenous framework of thought (WEBER, 1949), where specific traces of social reality are emphasised in order to have the *purest* expression of this (COHN, 2003). It results from the researcher's consideration of how a specific social and historic phenomenon could have developed, if it had elapsed in a *totally "logical"* way, *lacking contradictions*. For illustrative purposes, Weber (1949) presents the example of conducting a war. If we were to try and understand how a war is conducted, we would need to imagine that there is an ideal commander in charge on both sides of the conflict, with full knowledge of everyone`s resources and all of the resultant possibilities, acting in an entirely error-free and "logically perfect" way".

An important aspect to be highlighted in an ideal-type construction is its "separation" from reality. An ideal-type cannot be "ascertained" in reality, nor can it be constructed, with the aim of ascertaining in reality how "precise" its description of the phenomena is. It is not presented as an "accurate" image of reality, through which reality may be classified, but constitutes a set of mental constructs through which the researcher *comes close to* or even *diverges from* reality. And it is precisely this distance from reality which gives the ideal types their quality as constructs, since this distancing may contribute so that the researcher may clarify aspects of the reality that he is approaching or even reveal new elements. As Weber highlights (1978, p.21), "the more sharply and precisely the ideal type has been constructed, thus the more abstract and unrealistic in this sense it is, the better it is able to perform its functions in formulating terminology, classifications, and hypotheses".

Therefore, care needs to be taken with the meaning that the word "ideal" has here. The frameworks of thought prepared by the researcher need to be taken as "ideal" in the *purely logical* sense and never in the sense of "exemplary" (WEBER, 1949). The ideal type is a framework of thought prepared by the researcher in his attempt to analyse "unique historical configurations" and their individual components through *generic concepts*, which do not represent historical reality in any way, nor are they a scheme through which an action or situation may be classified as an example. Weber (1949, p.97-98) draws attention to constructions of utterances made in the sense of revealing the "essence" of a phenomenon of social reality (e.g. the "essence of Christianity"). These attempts try to present a historical "portrait" of empirically existing facts, which makes them have a relative and problematic validity, in terms of ideal types, also introduced as ideal types in the *practical sense*. That is, they contain judgments of what that phenomenon *should be* to the scientist, that is "essential" to him, that directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously expresses specific personal ideals. Presented in this way as "exemplary types". This returns once more to the question of *neutrality* in scientific activity and the importance of the researcher being careful not to transform his research, his effort to understand reality, into an act of preaching. As Weber (1949, p.98 and 99) reminds us:

> [...] the *elementary duty of scientific self-control* and the only way to avoid serious and foolish blunders requires a sharp, precise distinction between the logically *comparative* analysis of reality by ideal-*types* in the logical sense and the *value-judgment* of reality *on the basis of ideals*. An "ideal type" in our sense, to repeat once more, has no connection at all with *value-judgments*, and it has nothing to do with any type of perfection other than a purely *logical* one..

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Now the basic principles on Weberian ideal-type construction have been presented, as well as its basic assumptions, attention can now be given to another central priority of this article: studies on institutional logics. They originate from

Friedland and Alford's (1991) seminal article that suggested the existence of a c*entral logic* in each of the *institutional orders* existing in contemporary Western societies, such as the church, family and market. This central logic or, simply *institutional logics*, represents a set of material practices and symbolic constructions that form the basic organizational principles for each of these institutional orders. The institutional logic of capitalism, for example, would be the accumulation and commercialisation of human activity. In turn, state logic involves the rationalisation and regulation of individuals' practices through legal and bureaucratic hierarchies (FRIEDLAND; ALFORD, 1991).

For Friedland and Alford (1991) there was a need to reconceptualise the meaning of "institution" in institutional thinking, in order to consider the relationship between the symbolic and practical aspects of organizational life. Up until that time, the understanding of institutions was principally directed towards material aspects: institutions were mainly seen as a set of norms or standards existing at the supra-organizational level. The focus of these studies was directed precisely on the "homogenising nature" of institutions, with analysis directed towards subjects such as legitimacy, structuring and homogenising the fields and mechanisms to maintain order both within and outside organizations (e.g. MEYER; ROWAN, 1977; DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 1983). However, various gaps have emerged from this focus on stability in institutional studies, such as the issues of change and conflict, which could not be explained by this bias. Amidst this context, Friedland and Alford (1991, p.243) proposed the idea of institutional logics, based on the concept of the institution as being "simultaneously material and ideal", representing both the activity patterns through which individuals produce and reproduce their material substance and the symbolic systems which contribute in order to make it a significant experience. Thus, while institutions limited individuals' actions – serving as a base for structuring organizational fields –, they also provided opportunities for changes to the institutional context: through the *contradictions* inherent to the multiple institutional logics which the actors come across, supplying them with a range of "cultural resources" to govern their actions (THORNTON; OCASIO, 2008).

The idea of institutional logics continued to be explored by various authors following Friedland and Alford's (1991) introductory contributions. The majority of the subsequent work continued to recognise the existence of multiple logics in the reality in which the actors that they studied were immersed. Curiously, however, it was not uncommon to observe a tendency among the authors to put forward a logic as predominant. A rapid analysis of the studies along the lines of institutional logics[1] shows two forms of approach which were commonly adopted: on one hand there are authors who consider the way that a logic predominates in a specific field, being a "dominant" logic in this and serving as a guide for social actors` behaviour (e.g. THORNTON; OCASIO, 1999; REAY; HININGS, 2005); and on the other, there are those who accept the co-existence of multiple logics for extensive periods of time, without there necessarily being a predominance of one over the others (e.g. DUNN; JONES, 2010; GOODRICK; REAY, 2011). The studies which are accommodated in the first case tend to explore the way how a logic, dominant in a specific period, was "replaced" by another – disappearing or otherwise. Reay and Hinings (2005), for example, focus on the re-composition of the organizational field of health in the city of Alberta, Canada in which two institutional logics compete: the logic of professionalism and corporate logic. There was a change in the structure of the field and its dominant logic over time, with corporate logic prevailing. The change is strongly influenced by government actions to restructure the field, by inserting a new actor – regional health authorities –, which reflected the government's desire to have a new dominant logic in the field, based on efficiency, effectiveness, customer service and corporate processes. Although a new logic emerged in the field following government actions, the old, dominant logic – the logic of professionalism, based on valuing the doctor-patient relationship and a quality medical service – is not eliminated, only subjugated, continuing to be important in the field.

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1 *For a review of the institutional logics approach, see Greenwood et al. (2011) and Thorton and Ocasio (2008).*

The second line of studies on institutional logics also turns its attention to different periods in a specific field, but visualising how elements from different institutional logics co-existed in a specific period, having a higher or lower preponderance in its social and historical context at different times. The study carried out by Dunn and Jones (2010) is along this line, where two logics are presented – one of science and the other of care – which co-exist in the field of the American medical schools studied by the authors. The science logic focused on knowledge of the diseases which is constructed through research and innovative treatment, while the care logic gives greater attention to the clinical skills used by the professional to treat patients and improve health levels in the community. Making use of a historical narrative of the main events which have taken place since the first decade of the last century and a quantitative analysis where vocabularies, keywords and practices that underwent alterations over the years are explored, Dunn and Jones (2010) suggested that both of the logics are present at the different times, and although there is a slight predominance of elements of some of these, they are interlaced for most of the time: the topic of *manage care* focuses on the cost and efficiency of medical coverage; that of public health promotes community health based on a statistical analysis of clinical results and medical schools and, in the process, simultaneously emphasise the care that is centred on the patient and based on scientific research.

The authors used different research strategies to study logics, the majority combining qualitative and quantitative analyses, utilising ethnographies, case studies, content analyses and regressions, etc. However, attention is drawn to the use of "ideal types" by some authors. For example, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) analyse the relation between institutional logics and power structures in the higher education publishing industry, where they observe a shift in the dominant institutional logic in an industry from the logic of professions to the logic of markets. In editorial logics, the publishers' means and ends were influenced by the editor-author relationship and power structures were determined by the size of the organization and its structure. In market logics, the means and ends are based on competition for resources and acquisitions, while the power structures came to be influenced by competition on the product market and the search for corporate control. In their approach to the reality studied, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) initially sought to identify the logics prevailing in the industry and specify how these change over time. In order to make this identification, they conducted interviews with actors in the field (editors, investors and association managers), and historic research and, from this information, prepared their "model", involving the two logics cited. This model is centred on a set of nine characteristics: the type of capitalism, organizational identity, legitimacy, authority structures, the mission, focus, strategy used, investment principles and rules for succession.

In order to prepare the two "ideal types" of logics, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) follow the assumptions developed by Doty and Glick (1994) on the use of typologies to construct and model theories. In their article, Doty and Glick (1994), highlight that constructing typologies has been criticised for developing classificatory systems and not theories. In response to these criticisms, they made a distinction between typologies and classificatory schemes. While the schemes categorise the phenomena in mutually exclusive sets, through a series of decision-making rules, the typologies dispense with any set of decision-making rules to categorise aspects of the reality observed. They identify ideal types, representing "a unique combination of the organizational attributes that are believed to determine the relevant outcome(s)" (DOTY; GLICK, 1994, p.232). They quote the five types of organizational structures proposed by Mintzberg (1979; 1983) to attain maximum organizational efficiency and the three ideal types of strategies identified by Porter (1980, 1985) to maximise competitive advantage as examples. When talking about the question of the similarity of the ideal type with reality, Doty and Glick (1994) confirm that examples of organizations which correspond to the ideal type are very rare, so that the organizations may be more or less similar to the type, but normally cannot be specifically associated to one of the ideal types.

In their study of the pharmaceutical profession, Goodrick and Reay (2011) also employ the use of ideal types, following a methodological line similar to that adopted

by Thornton and Ocasio (1999). They evaluated literature on institutional logics and the study of professions in order to identify each of the four ideal types of logics (state, market, corporate and professional). They carried out a review of historical data in the last 150 years (consulting books and journals in the area and a record of actors' impressions in the field) and they compared them with the ideal types (developed with the assistance of a theoretical framework) where nine categories are identified for each of the types. Having "closed" the ideal types for each logic proposed, they set off to evaluate the "strength" of each of the characteristics in the different "historical eras", attributing values from 1 to 5, according to the "proximity" of the element developed in the type, with the historical records of the context analysed in that specific period. Making a simple average between the categories, Goodrick and Reay (2011) reached a value which represented the "strength" of the ideal type developed to explain each of the time bands considered. Considering the variations in the values of each ideal type over time, and the alternation between each of the types in the ranking considered for each era, the authors concluded that no logic was predominant, but there was a co-existence of multiple logics, in a "constellation of logics", with one or more logics being manifested in a more pronounced way in each era.

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Having arrived at this point, and given a brief demonstration of some of the logics studies in institutional analysis, I now return to the questioning posed above, in the introduction to this article: do the "ideal types" developed by the institutional authors come close to or move away from the Weberian ideal type? In which way can the use of typologies contribute or otherwise to the development of this theoretical branch? Generally speaking, when considering the way that some authors from institutionalism make use of the ideal-type construction, a dangerous inclination towards *verificationism* and *prescritivism* can be implicitly or explicitly observed. On one hand, it is assumed that the ideal type may correspond with reality and also that it could be "verified" in some way how much of that ideal type corresponds with it in reality. On the other, it tends to place the ideal type as a kind of "example", as a reference point to be reached by social actors. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) construct their ideal types from reality, at variance with the path taken by Weber (1949) and never contrast the type developed with reality in another way that is not through the perfect correspondence between the ideal type and reality. No effort is made by the authors to think about in what way the type constructed also moves away from what is observed in reality, nor about how this may contribute to reconsidering the understanding about that social and historical context and the ideal type of institutional logics used. The ideal type ceases to be an instrument with which the researcher comes close to reality, in order to capture the multiplicity of meanings which exist in it, to become a type of *summary* of the authors' impressions, placed in a representation of the "essence" of the institutional context.

In turn, Goodrick and Reay (2011) try to do something slightly different, at least with regards to constructing their ideal types. They do it from the theoretical framework that they had previously consulted, to then face the reality or records of it. Although there is a slightly greater effort by these authors to try and make use of the ideal-type construct as an instrument to approach the researched object, up to what point comparing the type constructed with records can be a successful way to learn about the material practices and symbolic constructions of that reality (basic idea of "institutional logics") is questionable. The analysis is mostly being directed to interpreters than protagonists of that socio-historical context. So, are the authors capturing the "logic" of the reality existing in the past or impressions and value-judgments by individuals who were in contact with it? Even if we ignore this question, other aspects remain. Like Thornton and Ocasio (1999), the authors do not explain in which aspects the constructed types move away from reality. Nor do they present the "original ideal type" – originating from a "pre-analysis" of data –, and how it was altered or otherwise after this approximation with the object. Or also what were the changes in the authors' understanding after being in contact with the data.

However, of all the questioning and criticism that could be directed to the way that ideal types are constructed and used by Goodrick and Reay (2011), none capture our attention more than the way the authors try to evaluate the "strength" of every construct developed. There is an effort directed much more towards *ascertaining* the similarity of their proposals with the reality than understanding the true multiplicity of what they were studying. Again, we have a very distorted use of the ideal-type construction proposed by Weber. Strangely, all of the authors of institutional logics that I criticise above quote Weber's work in their articles. But it appears that they were not concerned with looking for texts which discuss the methodological question in more depth.

The problems are no smaller in Doty and Glick's (1994) proposals on the use of typologies, which serve as a basis for analyses carried out by scholars of institutional logics. The typologies which they propose served to construct hypotheses of "relationships between the similarity of an actual organization to an ideal type and the dependent variable(s)" (DOTY; GLICK, 1994, p.234) and in some cases – which are rare, but possible, as the authors remind us – can be observed in reality, in individuals' and organizations' behaviour. This tendency to believe that the typology developed may correspond with reality may partly explain the attitude of the institutionalists criticised above. The way how the typologies proposed by Doty and Glick (1994) may take on the condition of "models" or "examples" to be followed to obtain something that may be classified by the researcher as "appropriate" or "positive" should also be highlighted – as noted in the suggestion by the authors of Porter and Mintzberg's work as examples of typical-ideal forms. Curiously, Doty and Glick (1994) make use of Weber's (1949) precepts to construct their definition of the ideal type, remembering that they are a unilateral accentuation of one or more points of view which may be a guide to formulate hypotheses. However, they appear to make an erroneous reading of that defended by Weber, based on what the most advantageous solution is for them, ignoring the question of *axiological neutrality* and the types` *non-attachment* with reality.

This reflection on the Weberian ideal-type construction and the way that the authors have made use of ideal types in studies on logics, although brief, makes us question the routes taken in institutional thinking. Without a doubt, the idea of institutional logics – particularly in the way proposed by Friedland and Alford (1991) – may contribute to institutionalists' intentions to bring dynamics back to their studies, making it possible to consider the conflict presented inside institutional fields and allowing a change to what is institutionalised. However, the way that recent studies along this line have made use of ideal types needs to be reconsidered. The time has come for institutionalists to reflect on the tools that they are proposing to study reality: how are they making use of their references? When are they getting close to the authors that they quote? And, particularly, when are they moving away from them? Clearly, there seems to be little or no attention by some authors in the institutional logic vein of studies to distinguish constructs that use the "ideal types" proposed by Weber. They need to do the same as Weber when he introduced the idea of the ideal type as a proposal for social science to perform their empirical social reality studies and that is to make clear what they do and do not want to say by "ideal". At this point I think that could be as important as it was for institutionalists to question the excessive focus on stability and also question the methods which accompany their new proposals.

And if it is to follow what is proposed in the Weberian ideal type, then at least we expect that this could be done exactly as Weber (1949) suggested, with the appropriate care given to questions such as value-judgments. The use of ideal types in their studies could be a major contribution to authors using the institutional approach and for other theoretical lines, particularly if we consider it as a tool which is prepared to face reality, both for its similarities and differences in relation to it. Accepting the impossibility of learning the infinity of aspects of the real world and understanding its tools as distinct from reality may help the authors in this field to perhaps reconsider what they think about institutional logics. Is there effectively a logic (or more) behind that reality, which may explain its operation in some way? Is there a "logic" inside the institutions, pervading the material and symbolic aspects which are socially shared and constructed by individuals and organizations? Would another term be more appropriate? These are just a few of the questions which remain to be answered in this field but are central to thinking about the course that it will take.

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Quality of working life and music in the manufacturing workplace

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Abstract

This study aimed to understand how the insertion of music in the work environment contributes to achieving Quality of Working Life (QWL), from the perspective of biopsychosocial and organisational well-being. The context where the study was conducted was the manufacturing area of a major textile company located in Natal, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil. The use of a case study was the research strategy adopted, with exploratory and descriptive objectives. The primary data was collected through the focus group technique and semi-structured interviews were used as an additional tool. Respecting the theoretical saturation criterion, four focus groups were formed, each comprising eight randomly selected participants from the seventy-six co-workers in the sector. The data was analysed qualitatively, using the content analysis technique. Twenty-eight QWL attributes were identified. It was concluded that musical insertion provides biological, social and, above all, psychological and organisational well-being to the co-workers, contributing to achieving QWL in the work environment researched.

Keywords: Quality of Working Life. Human behaviour at work. Functional music. Music at work. Textile industry.

Qualidade de vida no trabalho e música no ambiente laboral fabril

Resumo

O presente estudo objetivou compreender como a inserção de música no ambiente laboral contribui para a obtenção da Qualidade de Vida no Trabalho – QVT, na perspectiva da percepção do bem-estar biopsicossocial e organizacional. O contexto onde se realizou o estudo foi o setor de confecção de uma indústria têxtil de grande porte, localizada na cidade de Natal, estado do Rio Grande do Norte, Brasil. O estudo de caso foi a estratégia de pesquisa adotada, com finalidades exploratória e descritiva. Os dados primários foram coletados através da técnica de grupo focal, e, como instrumento complementar, foi utilizada a entrevista semiestruturada. Respeitando-se o critério de saturação teórica, foram formados quatro grupos focais, cada um composto por oito participantes, selecionados de forma aleatória, entre os setenta e seis colaboradores do setor. Os dados foram analisados qualitativamente, através da técnica de análise de conteúdo. Identificaram-se vinte e oito atributos de QVT. Concluiu-se que a inserção musical proporciona bem-estar biológico, social, e, sobretudo, psicológico e organizacional aos colaboradores, contribuindo para a obtenção de QVT no ambiente laboral pesquisado.

Palavras-chave: Qualidade de Vida no Trabalho. Comportamento humano no trabalho. Música funcional. Música no trabalho. Indústria têxtil.

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1 Introductory considerations

The presence of music in people's lives is common place, whether in leisure, religion, at functions, in commercials, on soundtracks for films and soap operas, among others. However, is music only to be heard or could it be used for other purposes? Functional music is presented from this perspective, where its extra-musical applications are based on the psychophysiological effects caused by music on the human being. According to Gatti and Silva (2007), music is to be heard passively, where sound perception takes place unconsciously, such as the atmospheric or background music used in restaurants, medical and physiotherapy clinics, supermarkets and others. This is related to the idea that music could be used to improve human activities. Therefore, it should not be heard and merely perceived.

This viewpoint is shared by other authors, such as Benenzon (1981), when he emphasises that functional music is heard but is not listened to and should not be exposed for conscious perception; Martí (2002) refers to background music, characterising it as functional and Jourdain (1998), confirms that when atmospheric music is experienced it is heard passively, instead of being active listening.

But could functional music be capable of affecting human behaviour at work, to the point of contributing to improving the Quality of Working Life (QWL), and therefore be considered a further source or attribute of this construct? Considering that reproduced or recorded music has been inserted in the company's organisational environment during work activities, some questioning is required: how has music been inserted in the work environment? What are the functions exercised by inserting music at work? Is music providing well-being to co-workers, to the point of contributing to achieving obtaining QWL? If this is so, which attributes of QWL are being affected by inserting music? The answers to these questions were provided with this research.

The QWL approach has been operationalised through programmes which invariably include the provision of leisure activities, stretching, culture and art, among other activities, to co-workers in work breaks, highlighting encouraging contact with music by establishing choirs at companies and classes to learn how to play a musical instrument (ALVES, 2011; FERREIRA; ALVES; TOSTES, 2009; LIMONGI-FRANÇA, 2007). However, although Quality of Working Life Programmes (QWLP) include leisure activities using music, they take place outside of the organisational environment, in the co-workers' free time.

From this perspective, it is highlighted that this study is pertinent, as it is an innovative approach and has a relatively low cost in relation to improving well-being at work, resulting in increased productivity and quality of the products and services provided by and to the company. However, it is emphasised that the theme is interesting to entrepreneurs, internal and external clients and academia, to further develop studies on QWL, introducing music in the work environment as a resource that generates well-being and differentiated productivity.

2 Music at work

Music in the work environment has been studied by a number of authors, such as Prichard, Korczynski and Elmes (2007) who highlight three areas of literature that refer to the relation between music and work, with differentiated focuses of investigation. The broader and perhaps most significant to managers is empirically focused, on the role and impact of recorded music on work environments. This was the field of study in which this research is placed.

In the current field of study on musical psychology, the majority of the descriptions on music and work have focused on the *Muzak* effect, also known as background music, presenting a limited vision of interactions which take place between workers and listening to music. They are studies which use a limited theoretical support on the consequences of organisational behaviour, as the result of musical experiences. However, the need to test a music and work theory persists, although the insertion of music in work environments has intensified (LESIUK, 2005).

Music has been used to regulate contemporary work, increasing control on workers and consumers. This control has been demonstrated in research, with the example of experimental studies carried out by North and Hargreaves (2008) and North, Tarrant and Hargreaves (2003). These authors concluded that music exercises a positive effect on consumer spending and return and that background music tends to reduce frustration in queues, also favouring the use of useful forms of behaviour, such as people keen to do voluntary work.

A part of this experimental work, carried out by psychologists (HAGEN; BRYANT, 2003; REYBROUCK, 2004), is based on the assumption that the effect of music is the result of extracognitive work performed by those who are exposed to it. In another vision, based on interpretive sociological tradition, researchers such as Nora and Belcher (2000) and DeNora (2002) explored the symbolic process of music captured by consumers and workers at a series of retail sites. These authors defend the idea that music supplies a set of indications for specific types of social action by consumers and employees, representing a resource for the performance of consumption identities and a sense of form, time and rhythm for consumption and service practices.

The positive change in organisational behaviour could also be explained by the musical preferences of those who are exposed to the music. The importance of this preference is reinforced by Davis and Thaut (1989), in a study that measured the subjective physiological and psychological reactions to relaxing music (preferred), concluding that preference, familiarity or past experiences with music have a major effect on a positive change in behaviour, rather than the type of music.

Despite these theoretical concepts, it is noted that the social context of listening could exercise an influence on the way that meanings are attributed to music or how it is perceived. For DeNora (2002), North and Hargreaves (2008), daily emotional reactions to music do not exist without a social context. Although in literature on music the research tends to overlook the social context in which the music is inserted (JUSLIN; LAUKKA, 2004), the limited empirical research in this area suggests that social listening generates more positive experiences and creates more emotional ties than individualised listening (THOMPSON; LARSON, 1995).

For the effect of this study, musical insertion is related to the way that the music has been inserted in the work environment, which considers the use of its constitutive elements (musical genre, rhythm, time of exposure to music and volume of the music) and also the functions or roles which music exercises on human behaviour at work, affecting the well-being of the worker in some way, while exercising his activities.

However, it should be emphasised that music could be harmful to man if excessive variations of its elements take place, especially regarding volume and time of exposure to music. Studies (BRAY; SZYMÁNSKI; MILLS, 2004; FLEISCHER; MULLER, 2005) carried out with individuals exposed to electronically amplified music revealed complaints related to hearing and loss of hearing associated to long periods of exposure to amplified music. However, exposure to music for short periods of time may cause loss of hearing and tinnitus, if the sound levels are high. In both cases, the music is transformed into environmental noise, which can harm people while exercising their functions.

According to Andrade and Russo (2010), the occurrence of loss of hearing is related to factors inherent to individual characteristics of the person exposed to the noise, the environment and aggressive agent itself (sound). In relation to this last item, researchers (RUSSO, 1997; MENDES; MORATA, 2002) put forward important characteristics of the agent for the appearance of changes in hearing, with the following being highlighted: quality, which refers to the frequency of the sounds which make up the noise in a specific analysis; duration, related to the time of exposure to each type of agent; the type of noise, defined as continuous, intermittent or impact; and intensity, which is related to sound pressure levels.

From this perspective, the reproduction of music at work should take aspects related to the form of musical insertion into account, bearing in mind that excessive oscillations between the parameters of its elements, such as volume and time of exposure to the music, could harm a co-worker's hearing, as well as his health in general.

In light of the above, bearing in mind that music represents a fundamental part of daily life, the way that this resource has affected people in the work environment, the place where they spend the majority of their lives and, more specifically in relation to these people's Quality of Working Life (QWL) cannot be ignored.

3 Quality of working life: concepts and theoretical models

An improvement in quality of life (QL) is associated to the individual's satisfaction in relation to himself, his family, social life, religion and work. Within this aspect, the relevant role of work in people's lives is highlighted and can be viewed as an element inseparable from human life, as they live in productive organisations for a substantial part of their existence.

Handy (1978) highlights the importance of organisational work, seen as an inseparable part of human life, confirming that QWL influences or is influenced by various aspects of life, outside of the organisational environment, in other words implying that the worker's satisfaction is associated to his life as a whole, having interfaces with his family, leisure, society, religion and his own physical and mental balance. This vision is shared by other scholars on the theme (LIMONGI-FRANÇA, 2004; MARTEL; DUPUIS, 2006; RODRIGUES, 1998).

QWL became the subject of increased attention from the mid 20th century and first decade of the 21st century, starting to be considered a crucial dimension in the lives of those who work, especially considering the set of new pathologies which have been installed in workers in a silent and destructive way (BELO; MORAES, 2011).

As Limongi-França (2004) claims, these pathologies may be labelled as "diseases of civilization", and are illnesses resulting from the workers' lifestyles in work situations and affect their health. This demonstrates the recent importance given to QWL, which enters the 21st century as one of the multiple concepts that well-being and job satisfaction address, which has justified the development of new studies on this construct.

Another argument which justifies the growing interest in the theme is highlighted by Arellano (2008), to whom QWL still presents a certain conceptual inaccuracy. This inaccuracy has already been mentioned by Fernandes (1996), confirming that a consensual definition in literature still does not exist in this respect. According to the above-mentioned author, QWL has been the object of academic studies and experiences in various countries and the interest in the theme can be considered recent in Brazil, with doubts still existing with regards to its exact meaning. "In addition to legislative acts which protect workers, the concept includes responding to human needs and aspirations, based on the idea of humanising work and the company's social responsibility" (FERNANDES, 1996, p. 40).

Following a review of the literature, we decided to present some of the main concepts on the construct. Generally speaking, according to Limongi-França (1996), QWL concepts can be grouped into three approaches: (a) the person's level of satisfaction with the company; (b) general environmental conditions and (c) promoting good health. Complementing this concept, Moraes and Kilimnik (1994) claim that QWL presents a subjective content, considering its relation with satisfying intrinsic needs, but also objective and concrete content, which refers to the way the worker is organised.

To Fernandes (1996, p. 45), "QWL" constitutes "[...] the dynamic and contingential management of physical, technological, social and psychological factors which affect the culture and renew the organisational climate, reflecting in the workers` well-being and companies' productivity". Therefore, according to this definition, QWL should be considered dynamic management, as people and organisations change constantly; and a contingential approach, as it depends on the reality of each company and the context in which it is inserted.

A further definition, proposed by Walton (1975), understands QWL as a concern about humanistic and environmental values overlooked by modern industrial society, in

favour of technological advances, productivity and economic growth. This definition is in contrast with human values and technology, expressing criticism of the emphasis in the organisational context and technological development, to the detriment of aspects related to humanistic values.

In Gadon's definition (1984), QWL aims for increased productivity and growth in employee satisfaction, taking into consideration achieving improved results by the organisation as an essential factor, so that the search to improve conditions and work relations takes place permanently. Thus, increased productivity generates resources which translate into encouragement, so that the entrepreneurs continue to invest in improvements to the organisational environment.

Based on their notions about QWL, various authors have been developing models and proposing criteria to evaluate this construct. In specialised literature on the theme, as Medeiros (2007) argues, more comprehensive models to diagnose QWL may be identified, comprising the analysis of a greater range of variables to models focused on more specific ones, and those developed by Brazilian authors.

Among the models with a comprehensive focus, those of Walton (1975) are highlighted, establishing eight QWL criteria (Adequate and Fair Compensation, Working Conditions, Use and Development of Personal Capabilities, Opportunity for Growth and Security, Social Integration in the Organisation, Constitutionalism, Work and Total Life Space and Social Relevance of Work on Life), which most significantly affect the worker's life in a work situation and its respective variables; Westley (1979) understands QWL as a way of humanising work, capable of solving four fundamental problems: political, economic, psychological and sociological; Lippitt (1978) proposes four key factors (work in itself, the individual, producing work and functions and organisational structure) to evaluate QWL.

With regards to models with a specific focus, the following should be highlighted: Hackman and Oldham (1975), whose emphasis lies in the characteristics of the tasks; Werther and Davis (1983), according to which QWL is based on a job project; Belanger, Bergeron and Petit (1983), who put forward dimensions for QWL analysis, such as work in itself, personal and professional growth, tasks with meaning and open organisational functions and structures; Nadler and Lawler (1983), who identified six factors that determine the success of job projects: perceiving the need, focus on the problem, structure to identify and solve the problem, compensation for processes and results, multiple systems and the organisation's involvement; Huse and Cummings (1985), who highlight two important aspects for a concrete definition of QWL, based on the job project: concern with the workers` well-being and organisational effectiveness and the workers' participation in work decisions and problems.

Related to the models developed by national authors, the following can be highlighted: Quirino and Xavier (1987), a pioneering QWL model in the country, which identified the subjective and objective aspects to measure the quality of life in organisations; Siqueira and Coleta (1989), who put forward a model which considered organisation as a sociotechnical system; Rodrigues (1998), who investigated QWL, taking measuring these professionals' motivation and satisfaction levels as a base; Fernandes (1996) who suggested the Operational Audit of Human Resources model to improve the quality of working life as the methodology to be adopted for the success of QWL Programmes in organisations and Limongi-França (2004), with a Biopsychosocial and Organisational vision as the focus, which formed the main theoretical support of this work and will be described in further detail in this article.

In a more recent perspective, Limongi-França (2004) proposes the identification of Quality of Working Life Management (QWL-M) interfaces in company administration, showing the emergence of new and complex managerial expertise, which is presented based on the analysis and evaluation of critical QWL management factors (QWL concept, productivity, legitimacy, administrator's profile, practices and values of organisational culture and new expertise), grouped together in BPSO-96 (B-Biological; P-Psychological; S-Social and O-Organisational) dimensions. Therefore, it is an expanded and systemic approach to QWL, which considers four dimensions of each individual which interact between themselves.

This approach, with Lipowski (1986) as its precursor, arises from psychosomatic medicine, which considers the biopsychosocial vision of the human being. It is an expanded concept of health, which did not correspond merely to the absence of disease but included the person's complete, biological, psychological and social well-being. From this vision, the human being is understood as complex, comprising these three dimensions, which simultaneously respond to living conditions and should be analysed together in studies on QWL.

This biopsychosocial understanding of the person, according to Limongi-França (2004), is situated in the same conceptual proposal of the holistic vision of the human being and is therefore based on the: *biological dimension*, which refers to physical characteristics inherited or acquired at birth and throughout a lifetime. It includes metabolism, resistance and vulnerability of organs or systems; *psychological dimension*, which is related to conscious or unconscious affective, emotional and reasoning processes, which form each person's personality and the way of perceiving and positioning himself with other people and the circumstances which he experiences and the *social dimension*, which reveals social and economic values, culture and beliefs, the role of the family and other forms of social organisation at work and outside of it, representation systems and organising the community to which each person belongs and takes part in.

The author inserted the organisational dimension into this approach (ARELLANO, 2008), in order to respond to the specifics of the culture and organisational environment. This dimension refers to questions of organisational image, technology and innovation, control systems, movements and records, training programmes and developing other specific activities at organisations. Thus, independent and dependent variable groups were created, corresponding to each dimension, as summarised in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1 – Independent variables – specific company actions

AREA OF INVESTIGATION	DESCRIPTION	INDICATORS
Organisational	Actions which value the company's image, structure, product and relationship with employees	· Endomarketing · Executive and decision-making committees · Internal communication · External image · Social responsibility · Citizenship
Social	Actions which provide mandatory and spontaneous social benefits and create leisure opportunities and culture	· Legal rights · Associative and sports activities · Tourism, leisure and cultural events · Family assistance
Psychological	Actions which promote self-esteem and the development of personal and professional capacities	· Selection proceses and evaluating performance · Career · Payment · Participative programmes
Biological	Actions which promote health, control environmental risks and respond to physical needs	· Map of risks · Internal Preventing Accidents at Work Week (SIPAT) · Meals · Medical service – internal and contracted · Ergonomic improvements · Specific training · Internal patrimonial security

Source: Limongi-França (1996, p. 87).

The dimensions and indicators listed in this table represent specific QWL actions (programmes, management, campaigns, surveys and controlling results) introduced by the organisation and result from managerial efforts (organisational, personal and financial mobilisation) at the company. These dimensions and indicators represent the dependent variables related to worker satisfaction at the organisation in the following table.

Table 2 – Dependent variables – employees' levels of satisfaction

AREA OF INVESTIGATION	DESCRIPTION	INDICATORS
Organisational	Satisfaction perceived in relation to organisational policy: what the company does and is reflected in the employees	· Company image · Valuing the product · Quality of information generated for internal communication
Social	Satisfaction perceived regarding the social support of legal and spontaneous benefits	· Family involvement · Assistance with formal education · Doing sports activities
Psychological	Satisfaction perceived regarding responding to individual needs of recognition, self-esteem and development	· Recruitment/selection criteria · Evaluating performance/career · Solidarity · Personal life preserved
Biological	Satisfaction perceived regarding programmes and services that guarantee physical well-being or recovery from illnesses and clinical onsets	· Work accident rates · Awareness, health and safety · Physical comfort/ill health · Food

Source: Limongi-França (1996, p. 88).

In Table 2, the dimensions and indicators refer to the employees' perceptions of satisfaction with aspects related to QWL actions introduced at the organisation. As Limongi-França (2004) highlights, the dependent variables refer to the satisfaction perceived in relation to management compatible with organisational needs, focusing on the performance of workers' well-being. The two groups of variables have identical focuses. However, it is the process which is modified: the independent variables correspond to company management and the dependent variables are related to the needs of the organisation's workers.

The approach proposed by the above-mentioned author demonstrates the importance of dealing with quality of life and entrepreneurial management in a more integrated way, encompassing self-perception of QWL and the institution's image from employees. For Limongi-França (1996) understanding the practice of QWL needs to be expanded, with a view to identifying new approaches concerned with the clients of quality of working life actions and programmes organised by the company.

In this perspective, QWL indicators should not be pre-defined by the organisation but should emerge from the workers' needs, through a consensus by individuals. These indicators may vary, depending on the context of each company and its workers' needs at a specific time (LIMONGI-FRANÇA, 1996).

Considering these assertions, a model was not used to measure QWL in this study, since this procedure did not form part of the intentions for this research. Therefore, the QWL dimensions which were attained from workers' perceptions of the company were not measured in this case.

Thus, the QWL concept was used, which provides a definition and dimensions that affect it. The definition used in this study was that of Limongi-França (2007, p. 168), who understands QWL as being the "perception of well-being, from individual needs,

the social and economic environment and life expectancies"; this involves collecting and analysing data on QWL in the light of the Biopsychosocial and Organisational (BPSO-96) vision, considering the dimensions proposed by the above-mentioned author.

In relation to QWL, well-being at work considers the biological, psychological, social and organisational dimensions of each individual and not just attending to diseases and symptoms of stress which arise from and are reinforced in the work environment. Thus, well-being involves the condition of staying intact as a professional, citizen and human being (LIMONGI-FRANÇA, 2004).

Therefore, from the employees' perception of the aspects which contribute to promoting well-being within the organisational environment and in relation to the work activities that they perform, the aim was to identify the attributes or sources to obtain QWL, associating them to the respective dimensions proposed by the above-mentioned author and these dimensions and indicators envisaged in theoretical models on the theme addressed in this study. This idea is summarised in Table 3 as follows:

Table 3 – BPSO-96 Vision versus Obtaining QWL

SOURCES OF QWL	DIMENSION CONSIDERED
	Biological
	Psychological
	Social
	Organisational
	Envisaged in other QWL models

Source: Prepared by the authors.

It should be emphasised that the sources for obtaining QWL in this study represent attributes indicated by the research participants which contribute to promoting their well-being at work and in relation to this. These attributes are also considered within the dimensions proposed by Limongi-França (2004) and can find theoretical support in other approaches to QWL interpreted by indicators inserted in the models listed. Thus, a flexible position in relation to research findings is adopted here, associating them to other understandings of QWL, which are not only those proposed by the above-mentioned author, and also the new theoretical insights which may surface following the analysis and interpretation of data.

4 Methodological route

We sought to identify a company that used background music in the workplace for this study. A number of companies were contacted by phone and email, such as mineral water bottling industries, networks of supermarkets, shops in shopping centres, service providers and instituions, such as the Brazilian Service to Support Micro and Small Companies (SEBRAE), National Service of Commercial Learning (SENAC) and Federation of Industries in the State of Rio Grande do Norte (FIERN). Following numerous searches, a company from the textile industry was located through FIERN, which uses music in the working environment in the sector that produces articles for the home in Grande Natal. It is a large-scale company in this field of activity. Thus, contact was maintained with this company and express authorisation to perform this research was obtained following a number of visits.

In order to achieve the objective of this study, four stages to be followed were identified: identifying QWL attributes from the workers` points of view; characterising

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music insertion in the manufacturing environment; identifying the functions of music at work and establishing associations between musical insertion and QWL. Insertion of music is understood here as the placement or distribution of music reproduced or recorded in CD (compact disk) format during work activities, with its sound distribution performed using stereo equipment – CD player, amplifier and speakers – being dispersed throughout the work environment.

Attributes in the key categories of analysis defined in this research were collated. They comprise: *Sources for Obtaining QWL*, which includes attributes listed by research participants, compared to the dimensions of the BPSO (1996) vision proposed by Limongi-França (2004); *Characterising how the music has been inserted into the working environment*, including the pre-established attributes of the musical genre, rhythm, time emposed to music and volume of the music; and *Functions of music at work*, which considers the roles played by music in the work environment on the workers` well-being at work and in relation to this. The participants were requested to make associations between the functions of music and the QWL attributes listed by them.

Considering Vergara`s (2004) concept related to means, this is considered field research, as data was gathered in the workspace where the industry workers perform their activities. In addition, the research strategy adopted was that of a case study, seeing as it investigated one department in an organisation, and this contemporary phenomenon was observed in its real context. In relation to the aims, according to Gil (2006), this research could be considered descriptive and exploratory, seeking to enhance ideas and discover interactions between the industry`s employees.

In order to comply with the purposes of this investigation, and within the qualitative approach, which favours subjective and intersubjective aspects, characterised by interaction between the research participants, we decided to use the focus group technique to collect the primary data. A discussion script was adopted here as the main instrument to collect this data, applied to the employees in the manufacturing department and semi-structured interviews as a supplementary instrument, which was applied to the department manager. The sessions and interview were recorded using a portable micro-recorder and video camera, after receiving the research participants` written consent.

As Ruediger and Riccio (2004) highlight, the focus group (FG) is characterised as allowing real time intervention during the analysis, as well as being able to encounter similarities and contradictions in the participants` perceptions of topics related to the object of this research. Both individual perceptions and those resulting from collective interaction, contained in discursive structures, the criticism or defense of topics and aspects relevant to the investigation are emphasised through this technique.

The main objective of a semi-structured ingterview is to understand the meanings that the interviewee attributes to the questions and situations associated to the topic under analysis. The purpose of the interview in this case is collecting descriptive data in the subject`s own language, so that the researcher is able to develop an idea on how the interviewee interprets aspects of the world (GODOY, 2007).

In a mutual agreement with the directors of the company researched, it was established that the focus group discussions were held in the industry`s outbuildings in an air-conditioned room and with comfortable chairs. Furthermore, the sessions were recorded and filmed, using equipment provided by the company, and the appropriate technical support staff and accompanied by a social worker. The moderator for the process was the researcher who has knowledge of the themes under study.

According to Marconi and Lakatos (2003) and Gil`s (2006) recommendations, a pilot test was held with the focus group before applying the research instruments, comprising eight workers from the sector, selected at random. This test served to explain the need to alter some of the questions on the discussion script and in the interview, in order to make the intention of the questioning clearer to the participants and expand on the information collected.

The focus group participants for the final research were selected at random. Time of service was initially used as a criterion, in order to consider the employees

who had experienced the working environment both before and after the insertion of music. It set off from the principle that the employee would be more able to reflect and give his opinion on the contribution of music in the workplace, having experienced both situations.

Four focus groups were formed, comprising eight members, making a total of thirty-three participants, including the sector manager. The criterion for interrupting the research was based on the principle of theoretical saturation which, according to Godoi and Mattos (2007), corresponds to the judgment criterion to close the sample from a group related to a study category, indicating that no further data is found which contributes to developing the properties of the category.

The data collected was analysed qualitatively, using the methdological procedure proposed by Bardin (2004, p. 21) in one of the content analysis techniques, called analysis by category. This was followed by the three stages and respective procedures defined to adopt this research method: *pre-analysis*, in which the material collected was initially submitted to a wide-reaching examination, identifying the general content. Then, a more detailed analysis was carried out to show the diversity of the themes present in the actors` statements, which were collated into analytical categories on a complementary spreadsheet; *analytical description*, in which the information was characterised, using the thematic criterion as a registered unit; and *benchmark interpretation*, in which a more detailed interpretation of the information was carried out, exploring each category individually.

5 Presentation and discussion on the results

The manufacturing sector at the company researched comprises seventy-six employees, distributed throughout the sub-sectors of cutting (04), sewing (29), review and folding (18), inspection (12), packaging (08), supplies (04), and management (01). The productive process follows the same sequence, starting with the finished cloth, passing through the sub-sectors, and being completed with the distribution and sale of the manufactured products on the internal and external markets.

Thirty-three workers took part in this research, with eight members in each of the four focus groups and the sector manager, as can be seen in Table 4.

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Table 4 – Social and demographic profile of the research participants

PROFILE	Focus Group A	Focus Group B	Focus Group C	Focus Group D	Interview / Management	TOTAL
Gender	1 male 7 female	4 males 4 female	2 male 6 female	2 male 6 female	1 female	9 male 24 female
Age (years)	3 aged 26-30 3 aged 31-35 2 > or equal to 36	1 aged 26-30 5 aged 31-35 2 > or equal to 36	2 aged 26-30 1 aged 31-35 5 > or equal to 36	1 aged 26-30 4 aged 31-35 3 > or equal to 36	1 > or equal to 36	7 aged 26-30 13 aged 31-35 13 > or equal to 36
Marital Status	1 single 7 married	2 single 6 married	2 single 5 married 1 widower	1 single 7 married	1 married	6 single 26 married 1 widower
Level of education	3 elementary 5 secondary	2 elementary 6 secondary	4 elementary 3 secondary 1 higher	1 elementary 5 secondary 2 higher	1 higher	10 elementary 19 secondary 4 higher
Length of Service (years)	8 more than 5 years	8 more than 5	3 from 3 to 5 5 more than 5	2 from 3 to 5 6 more than 5	1 more than 5	5 from 3 to 5 28 more than 5
Salary Band (monthly minimum salary)	8 < or equal to 3	8 < or equal to 3	8 < or equal to 3	8 < or equal to 3	1 > or equal to 4	32 < or equal to 3 1 > or equal to 4
Workload Hours/weeks	8 > or equal to 40	8 > or equal to 40	8 > or equal to 40	8 > or equal to 40	1 > or equal to 40	33 > or equal to 40
Sub-sector	1 packaging 4 review and folding 3 sewing	1 packaging 2 review and folding 1 cutting 4 sewing	3 review and folding 2 sewing 1 supplies 2 inspection	1 packaging 1 review and folding 1 cutting 3 sewing 1 supplies 1 inspection	1 management	3 packaging 10 review and folding 2 cutting 12 sewing 2 supplies 3 inspection 1 management

Source: Research data.

It was noted that the majority of the participants are female, which is coherent with the type of company and sector of activity (making articles for the home) that predominantly employ women in their factories, especially as it is the sewing sub-sector which is more labour intensive. With regards to age, the majority of the workers are between 31 and 36, showing a certain maturity in the sector. The majority of the participants are married and have completed secondary education. However, the fact that three workers in the focus group and the manager have university degrees attracted our attention, and corresponds to reports given that the company provides opportunities for formal education.

Almost all of the participants have worked at the company for more than five years. The majority commented that they have more than eleven years of work experience in the industry researched and that they have all performed their activities both with and without music in the work environment. This aspect is coherent with the participants` reports regarding the company`s concern with retaining their staff, which reflects on the organisation`s image, as well as complying with the criterion used to select participants for this research.

It is highlighted that all of the members of the focus groups earn up to three minimum salaries per month. The workload is 40 hours per week, from Monday to Friday on morning and afternoon shifts. The staff in the manufacturing sector do not work on Saturdays. The majority of those taking part in the research perform their activities in the sewing sub-sector, followed by the review and folding sub-sector.

It should be emphasised that significant differences were not seen between the different focus groups or during the interviews in the members` accounts, which justified a detailed analysis, considering each social and demographic profile, and also due to the similarity and regularity between the aspects that were considered to characterise this profile. Therefore, the analysis allowed for interaction between the research participants and consensuses and disagreements in the comments which arose during the debates.

Twenty-eight QWL attributes were identified. Six of these were present in the interactions of all the study participants. These are: *Company Image, Attendance Award, Music in the Working Environment, Internal Training, Interpersonal Relationships at Work and Medical Assistance at the Company*. Among these, only the *Music in the Working Environment* attribute was not envisaged in Limongi-França`s (2004) dimensions, nor identified in the theoretical QWL models listed here. However, from the study participants` accounts, it can be inserted in each of those dimensions, showing the strength and relevance of this attribute to the company`s workers, who elected it as a source of well-being and satisfaction at work. This forms the first relevant empirical finding of this study, bearing in mind that music at work has not been considered as a QWL attribute in literature on the topic.

Of the other five attributes, only one was not envisaged in Limongi-França`s (2004) dimensions. This is the *Attendance Award* attribute, which could be be inserted in the *Social* dimension due to the characteristics of the accounts. The other four attributes were envisaged in two of those dimensions, with the exception of the *Company Image* attribute, which was only considered in the *Organisational* dimension. Therefore, these five attributes were envisaged in at least one theoretical QWL model, with the *Interpersonal Relationship at Work* attribute being the only one envisaged in four of the fifteen theoretical models listed in this study. It was also considered in three out of four of Limongi-França`s (2004) dimensions, revealing that this is the attribute most valued by the study participants, alongside the *Music in the Working Environment* attribute, which was shown in the interview and the four focus groups and can be inserted into those four QWL dimensions from the research participants` interaction and accounts.

Of the other attributes, only seven were not envisaged in Limongi-França`s (2004) dimensions. However, they could be inserted into at least one of these, bearing in mind the characteristics of the study participants` accounts. These are: *Food Assistance, Socialising at the Company, Organising Work, Recognition and Valuing Work, Job Satisfaction, Work Results and Job Motivation*. Of these, only the *Socialising*

at the Company attribute was not included in the theoretical QWL models listed here. The *Recognition and Valuing Work, Work Results and Job Motivation* attributes, which are included in five and the other two in three of the fifteen theoretical models envisaged in literature on the theme, should be highlighted.

Among the sixteen other attributes, ten are envisaged in at least one of the dimensions. These are: *Food at the Company, Sports and Leisure Activities, Family Assistance, Opportunity for Growth and a Career, Legal Obligations, Social Responsibility and Citizenship, Recruitment and Selection Criteria, Safety at Work, Working Conditions and Health at Work*. Of these, only the *Food at the Company, Sports and Leisure Activities and Recruitment and Selection Criteria* attributes are not envisaged in the theoretical models.

Of the six other remaining attributes, *Social Integration and Communication at Work* are envisaged in three of Limongi-França`s (2004) QWL dimensions and three theoretical models on the topic. The other attributes are envisaged in a minimum of two dimensions. These are: *Payment for Work, Job Performance, Participating in Decisions at Work* and *Participating in Company Results.* The following attributes should be highlighted: *Payment for Work*, which is envisaged in four theoretical QWL models and *Job Performance*, which is considered in five of the fifteen theoretical models listed here on the topic.

The insertion of music in the sector is characterised by a range of musical genres, including pop music with lyrics, with only classical and instrumental music not being accepted. The rhythm varies from slow to quick but with some preferences for a faster and more stimulating rhythm. The musical insertion took place throughout the whole working day, without any breaks. However, there was a consensus on the need for breaks without music being played. The volume had previously been seen as unsatisfactory, as high and sometimes low, with significant oscillations, which required company intervention in order to improve the distribution of speakers throughout the sector, and care that the music recorded on CDs is of the appropriate quality, in order to avoid discrepancies in volume levels. The results confirm that this form of musical insertion contributes to promoting well-being at work, which contravenes theoretical concepts, especially with regards to musical genre.

From the accounts and interactions between the study participants, seven associations were identified between the roles of music and QWL attributes. Among these, one association only occurred during the interview and was not shown in the focus groups. This is the music which was positively associated to the *Company Image* attribute. When affecting this attribute, which is considered in the *Organisational* dimension and three theoretical models on the theme, music contributes to obtaining QWL for the employees in this sector of the company. The fact that this association is only shown in the interview could be explained by the maxim that the manager should have a broad vision of organisational processes and the company`s relationship with its internal and external environment, despite the employees who work at an operational level executing the tasks, especially as it is a manufacturing sector, where repetitive work is prevalent.

It should be emphasised that the *Company Image* attribute was identified in the four focus groups studied here. However, the functions of the music which explicitly affects them cannot be seen in any of these. Thus, associations between this QWL attribute and Musical Insertion in those focus groups were not made. In the interview with the manager, although it was not shown in the accounts on the functions of music, this attribute reappears in the *Associations between QWL and Musical Insertion* analysis category. As inferred from the accounts, this insertion contributes to improving the company`s internal image. For the manager, the sector assistants feel more valued by the organisation which has invested in sound equipment in order to promote the satisfaction and well-being of the co-workers at work.

Two other positive associations were identified in the interview and four focus groups studied involving two QWL attributes: *Job Performance and Working Conditions*. The first is considered in two dimensions: *Biological and Psychological* and also in five theoretical models. In turn, the second is inserted in the *Biological* dimension and

three QWL models envisaged in the literature on the topic. When affecting these two attributes, music contributes to promoting the assistant`s biological and psychological well-being, so that QWL is obtained.

Interpersonal Relationships was a further attribute to which music was associated. This association was also shown in the interview and the four focus groups. The attribute is considered in the *Psychological and Organisational* dimensions, also being inserted in the *Social* dimension; is present in four theoretical models, confirming that music positively affects QWL, contributing to promoting the co-workers` psychological, social and organisational well-being.

Music was also associated to the *Job Motivation and Social Integration at Work* attributes, which only occurred in the second focus group. The first attribute may be inserted in the *Biological and Psychological* dimensions and is also present in three theoretical models. In turn, the second may be inserted in the *Psychological, Social and Organisational* dimensions, being identified in two theoretical models. When positively affecting the dimensions of Limongi-França`s (2004) BPSO-96 vision, musical insertion contributes to promoting biological, psychological, social and organisational well-being, which results in obtaining the co-workers` QWL in the company sector. It is important to clarify that two members had had a disagreement at work some time ago in this focus group and did not speak to each other. However, during the interaction between the group members it was shown that there was a reconciliation between these two members following the insertion of music in the working environment.

A further association was shown in the four focus groups but was not ascertained in the interview. This is concerning music associated to the *Payment for Work* attribute which is linked to the employee`s productivity. This attribute is considered in the *Psychological and Organisational* dimensions and also in four theoretical models. Therefore, music positively affects the co-worker`s psychological and organisational well-being in this company sector, which contributes to obtaining QWL.

It is important to highlight that this association was only made possible from the interaction between the participants of Focus Group B, although this QWL attribute had been shown in the four focus groups analysed here but not identified in the interview with the company sector manager. This aspect may be attributed to the fact that the manager was not willing to spontaneously mention failures or deficiencies, although temporary, in the sector that she supervises. Also in the focus groups in which interaction is favoured between participants, the account by one group member may influence those of others and encourage active participation, supporting the appearance of consensuses and disagreements in their accounts, which is difficult to find in an individual interview. This further reinforces the proposal of selecting the focus group technique to understand the phenomenon.

In principle, the fact that Musical Insertion contributes to obtaining QWL, positively affecting the *Payment at Work* attribute, which is inserted within the Psychological and Organisational dimensions, which form Limongi-França`s (2004) BPSO-96 vision could seem strange. However, more accurate analyses and successive reflections on the interactions between the group members were required in order to arrive at this understanding.

The focus group participants under discussion indicated *Payment for Work* and *Organising Work* as QWL attributes. From the accounts presented, it was ascertained that there was insatisfaction from the group on this last attribute, particularly on account of the lack of material or a "process" to produce. The sector`s co-workers wanted to manufacture and attain the targets but lacked materials. Thus, in addition to *Organising Work*, a further attribute was affected, bearing in mind that it is linked to production. That is *Payment for Work*, also considered insatisfactory by the group. From the accounts it was noted that there were problems with equality of salaries and also that the salary was not compatible with the efforts made to perform the task. These accounts demonstrated the group`s dissatisfaction in relation to the payment policy, negatively affecting the co-workers` well-being in relation to work and, therefore, their QWL.

However, the group members attribute the role of positively affecting productivity to music, regardless of the rhythm and musical style, (KORCZYNSKI; PICKERING, 2007; MARTI, 2002; OLDHAM, 1995), contributing to them producing more and to a higher standard. By producing more, the co-workers receive an increase in pay, as they have variable payments, in addition to their fixed wages, which can be increased if the production targets stipulated by the company sector are reached. Thus, Musical Insertion indirectly affected *Payment for Work,* which increases on account of increased productivity.

The accounts related to increased productivity on account of musical insertion in the working environment may seem contradictory, seeing as the workers in the group are dissatisfied with the company`s payment policy and the way that the work is organised. This has contributed to them producing less, due to the lack of materials to execute the task, in order to reach the target stipulated by the company.

Despite these considerations, as mentioned in focus groups B and C, with regards to the interaction on QWL attributes – *Organising Work* and *Payment for Work*, respectively, the co-workers feel good, produce more and to a higher standard. A counterpoint to the theory on QWL (FERNANDES, 1996; GADON, 1984; HUSE; CUMMINGS, 1985; WERTHER; DAVIS 1983), where the basic premise defends the notion that Quality of Working Life is needed, so that more is produced and to a higher standard is noted here. The opposite was observed in the findings in the field. The group workers` well-being (QWL) was obtained when they produced more and to a higher standard and when this condition was given to them by the company.

Although Productivity has been cited by Limongi-França (2004) as a Critical QWL factor, and considered together this construct as inseparable elements in literature on the topic (FERNANDES, 1996; GADON, 1984; HUSE; CUMMINGS, 1985; LIMONGI-FRANÇA, 2004; WERTHER; DAVIS, 1983), it is ascertained that the discord between the theoretical concepts and findings in the field, and formerly contradictory, can be understood in a complementary manner, when admitting that there is a two-ways street between Productivity and QWL, where both feed and complement each other.

Considering what was discussed and observed in this study, it was ascertained that the QWL dimension most affected by musical insertion at work was *Psychology*, with five associations, followed by the *Organisational* dimension with four. This is followed by the *Biological* dimension with three associations and the *Social* dimension arises with two.

6 Conclusion

Considering the associations between QWL and Musical Insertion, which were demonstrated during the scientific investigation for this study, it can be concluded that Musical Insertion contributes to obtaining QWL in a manufacturing context, both for representing a QWL attribute and positively affecting seven of the attributes considered or which may be inserted in nine of the fifteen theoretical models covered here and in four QWL dimensions, thereby contributing to the promotion of biological, social and, above all, psychological and organisational well-being.

However, the importance of considering the context and way that the music is inserted should be highlighted, especially with regards to its constitutive elements, with a view to maintaining the balance required between music and work, so as to allow these two elements to harmoniously co-exist in the same environment. From this perspective, it can be confirmed that the insertion of music in the workplace alone does not guarantee the benefits demonstrated here. Advanced planning and periodical adjustments to the way that music is inserted in the workplace are necessary, in order to avoid sudden oscillations between its constitutive elements, which may be detrimental to the health and well-being of people in a work situation.

From the conclusion that was reached in this investigation, a conceptual QWL model was prepared, which interprets the empirical findings of this study, associated to the main theoretical support adopted here. This model is illustrated in Figure 1.
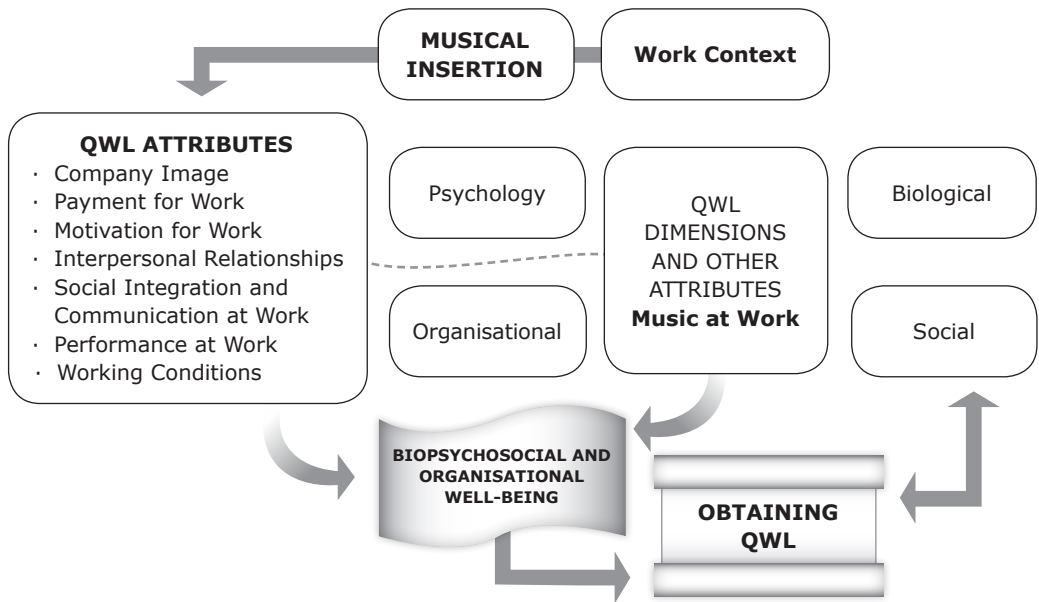
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Figure 1. QWL Conceptual Model

Source: Prepared by the authors from the research results.

The model presents Musical Insertion, which takes the work context in which the music is inserted and affects QWL attributes into consideration, considering the *Psychological* and *Organisational* dimensions in particular. The other attributes are not affected by Musical Insertion. However, one of them is Music at Work, which reflects the importance of considering the contribution of this attribute in an emphatic and expanded form in QWLP. By affecting these attributes, the presence of music in the manufacturing context positively affects Psychosocial and Organistional well-being, thereby contributing to obtaining QWL which, in turn, contributes to increasing productivity through a two-way process, in which both complement each other.

Thus, QWL can be defined from the model, as being the perception of biopsychosocial and organisational well-being affected by attributes with an objective and subjective connotation, in a specific work context, where the insertion of music plays a relevant role, to the point of affecting productivity which equally contributes to obtaining QWL, indicating a relationship of mutual complementarity between these two inseparable elements.

With respect to QWL, this study allowed for the identification of attributes which had not been considered in the theory, such as Inserting Music at Work which, in addition to being put forward as a QWL attribute, was associated to others from this construct, authorising the assumption that music was being under-used in QWLP and that the potential of this sound resource to promote well-being in the work environment had not yet been realised.

The fact that this work is founded on understanding QWL from the perspective of the subjects which were studied who, in turn, are at an operational level in the organisation, this may be an academic contribution when the prevalence of scientific research on the theme which has been undertaken with high level and mid-ranking administration are considered, indicating the elitist nature prevailing in research until that time.

The qualitative approach adopted here forms a new contribution to this work, also allowing for the humanisation of the researcher/participant relationship, as there was direct contact by the researchers with the researched groups. This allowed them to be observed in a more complete and in-depth way, providing quality and life to QWL studies and, therefore, with the use of this methodological approach in research on this construct being pertinent, bearing in mind that it also favoured more effective interaction and participation from the actors being studied.

With regards to studies on functional music at work, this investigation has contributed to filling the gap in research, which is understanding the way that music functioned on the factory floor, seeing that the insertion of music in work activities is an institutional innovation, which still lacks consistent theory to explain the benefits of this phenomenon in the manufacturing environment.

Furthermore, by demonstrating the contribution of musical insertion to obtain QWL, the "black box" for this investigative process was opened. This allowed an understanding of how this contribution took place, despite studies based on stimulus-response, which measure the results from interventions that took place in the initial stage of the research, emphasising the start and end of the scientific investigation process but without observing what takes place between these two extremes.

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Agenda-setting policy: strategies and agenda denial mechanisms

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Abstract

This paper focuses on an aspect overlooked in literature on policy formulation: agenda denial, the political process by which issues are kept from policymakers' consideration and deliberation. The theoretical study of agenda-setting has been successful in pointing out the reasons why some issues achieve meaningful consideration by political institutions. However, there are several issues that fail to gain serious consideration for a variety of reasons, including specific tools and strategies that opponents employ in order to deny the access of an issue to the agenda. The power to keep an issue off the agenda is exercised through non- recognition or denial of the problem, discrediting the issue itself or the group directly related to it, the co-optation of leaders or the group's symbols, postponement and formal denial, among other mechanisms. This study aims to explore these actions, seeking to contribute to research on public policy and further study on setting governmental agendas.

Key words: Public policy, agenda-setting, agenda denial, policy formulation.

A construção da agenda governamental: estratégias e mecanismos de bloqueio

Resumo

Este artigo pretende examinar uma dinâmica pouco investigada nos estudos sobre formulação de políticas públicas: o bloqueio da agenda (agenda denial), processo pelo qual questões são mantidas fora da consideração e deliberação governamentais. A pesquisa em agenda-setting tem sido bem sucedida em apontar os motivos pelos quais algumas questões obtêm atenção do governo, passando a integrar sua agenda. Há, no entanto, diversas questões para as quais diferentes ferramentas e estratégias são empregadas de forma a bloquear seu acesso à agenda. O poder de manter uma questão fora da agenda é exercido por meio da negação de um problema, descrédito na própria questão ou no grupo diretamente relacionado a ela, ações de cooptação, adiamento, bloqueio formal, entre outros mecanismos. O presente estudo tem como objetivo explorar essas ações, buscando contribuir para as pesquisas em políticas públicas e para o aprofundamento das investigações sobre o processo de formação das agendas governamentais.

Palavras-chave: Políticas públicas, agenda governamental, formação da agenda.

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Why are some issues considered by the government, possibly leading to the development of public policies, while others are ignored? Studies on agenda-setting deal directly with this question, i.e. the factors and mechanisms that cause some themes to be recognised by the government as important and requiring its contribution. The process of agenda-setting is thus a critical moment in the production of public policies, as it has great impact on its development and the results to be achieved. It is also a question of power, because it involves defining subjects that will be the focus of policymakers' attention, as well as affecting the choices that will be made later throughout the decision-making process.

Research on the process of agenda-setting has been successful in pointing out the reasons why some issues gain government attention and become part of the agenda. But there is another dimension of agenda studies receiving little investigation: agenda denial, the process by which issues are kept from government consideration and deliberation. Many issues are deliberately kept out of consideration by policy formulators, a process that involves the use of different tools and strategies in the interest of agenda denial. The power to keep an issue off the agenda can be manifested in mechanisms denying the problem ("there is no crisis!"). Further mechanisms may include discrediting the issue itself ("there are no elements proving a crisis; they are only rumours!") or directly to the group related to the issue ("groups who spread rumours about the crisis have bad intentions and use the issue to apply political pressure"). The set of resources used in the agenda denial process may include: co-optation actions, postponements, and formal denial, among other mechanisms. This paper aims to explore these actions. It will contribute to studies on public policies and for further research on the process of formulating governmental agendas.

The text is organised in three sections. Firstly, we present a brief discussion on the debates that came before the emergence of agenda-setting analyses. In the 1960s we see the development of political science studies on the expansion of conflict, and in the beginning of the 1970s, hitherto unexplored dimensions of power that directly influenced studies on governmental agenda-setting. Then we highlight some ways in which the latest literature developed around setting the governmental agenda. In the 1990s, studies in the field of public policy produced theoretical models capable of explaining a large part of the agenda-construction process. Less emphasis has been given to the process by which issues are kept systematically away from an agenda. In the third section, we seek to exploit this facet, highlighting key strategies and mechanisms keeping issues from the agenda presented in specialised literature. Finally, some final considerations are presented.

Conflict and power: the origin of agenda studies

In the field of political science, the first studies to consider agenda-setting as a fundamental part of the political process date back to the 1970s and initially develop as an offshoot of analyses that sought to reveal the limits of a pluralist approach developed in the 1950s and 1960s. Generally speaking, the pluralistic approach ignored the process by which certain issues arose in political debates, ignoring the emergence of issues in the decision-making process. Dahl (1957) takes up this discussion by confirming that one of the requirements for democracy comprised the absence of a dominant group in control of the alternatives under discussion in a democratic political system. In a later study (1996), he suggests that any question could pique the elites' attention.

For Schattschneider (1960), however, not all issues have access to the agenda. The author argues that conflict is the basis of political activity. Every conflict, when exploited by political organisations, can expand and become a political issue, while others tend to be suppressed by these same organisations. Expansion of the conflict develops through what the author termed "mobilization of bias". All conflict is initially

established between two groups: the first consists of a few individuals directly engaged in the conflict, and the second by a large number of spectators. The end result of all conflict, confirms Schattschneider, depends on how involved the audience is. Thus, those interested in keeping a conflict on the agenda will mobilise popular support, making the conflict, in the author's words, "contagious," seeking to make it increasingly politicised through mobilising and engaging those who were not initially involved. As the conflict expands, its nature, the actors involved, and the definitions of issues change. The notion that "politics is the socialisation of conflict"(Schattschneider 1960: p. 38) reflects the transformation of a "private" matter into a political alignment, by means of public involvement. In the author's words:

> "All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others because *organization is the mobilization of bias*. Some issues are organised into politics, while others are organised out "(Schattschneider 1960: p. 71)[1]

Through mobilisation, conflicts are socialised and become routine and/or institutionalised in the political system. Since many other conflicts also have the potential to go the same way, the author shows that political actors seek to take forward their conflicts in order to prevent others from mobilising attention and gaining public commitment. Moreover, the author understands that the conflict fundamentally establishes itself through defining alternative questions, problems and solutions. For the author, political systems fail to set all possible alternatives to any potential problems that emerge for consideration at any given time. There will always be a selection mechanism by which issues become prominent for the attention of those in authority to make decisions within the government. These individuals who make decisions are united around a conflict over defining alternatives, considered by Schattschneider (1960: p. 66) as the "supreme instrument of power." A small group of policymakers are directly involved in this conflict, while a larger group of individuals, often external to the government, makes up the audience. In the author's view, mobilising these individuals on the alternatives proposed by policymakers is essential for policy formulation. Schattschneider understands that those who set the terms of reference for a debate will gain the attention of the public and decision-makers, positioning themselves ahead of the others, "whoever decides what the game is about decides also who can get into the game" (Schattschneider 1960: p. 102). Schattschneider's study inaugurates the focus on constructing agendas, which starts to be considered a fundamental part of analyses on political process developed in the 1960s and 1970s.

Bachrach and Baratz (1962), for example, take the idea of Schattschneider's "mobilization of bias" to analyse processes in which conflicts are suppressed and issues are blocked from accessing the political system. For the authors, power would have "two faces": one, noticeable at the level of open conflict, which manifests itself in the decision-making process and behaviour; the other inconspicuous and directed to suppressing conflicts. For the authors:

> "Of course power is exercised when A participates in the making of decisions that affect B. But power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental do A's set of preferences." (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962: p. 948).

Criticism of the authors is directed to the concept of power presented by Dahl (1957: pp. 202-203), in which the author states that "A has power over B to the extent that it can get B to do something B would not otherwise do." Power, in this perspective would be relational, or involve a relationship between political actors (individuals, groups, governments and States, etc.). These actors have different preferences and those whose preferences predominate in a conflict situation would be precisely the actors who exert power in a political system. Study on political power should therefore focus on the decisions made by actors in search of implementing their preferences.

Bachrach and Baratz point out that the analysis of power proposed by Dahl is a partial view of the phenomenon, since it would be necessary to investigate not only the decisions taken by the actors but also those not taken, allowing an understanding of how the "mobilization of bias" operates to limit the spread of debate. The authors define "non-decision" as limiting the decision-making process to "safe" issues, by way of manipulation of community values and myths, and political institutions and procedures (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). In another study, the authors define "non-decision" in the following way:

> "Non-decision-making is a means by which demands for change in the existing allo-cation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are voiced, or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or, failing all of these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process"(Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: p. 45).

The "second aspect" of power, therefore, would be the ability to control the alternatives submitted for discussion, an aspect overlooked by Dahl and the pluralists, and essential for the understanding of political power in the authors' view[2]. Bachrach and Baratz do not position themselves against the notion that power is manifested in the decision-making process; the authors argue that power can also be seen in the "non-decision," that is, the creation of barriers to the emergence of conflicts.

Bachrach and Baratz influenced other authors to consider not only the government decision-making process, but also the "non-decisions" and control of access to the agenda, including Crenson (1971). The author argues that scholars, by concentrating their attention on observable actions and decisions, take the same point of view as the community they investigate, with the same blind spots and distortions. From this perspective, the analyses do not question why some subjects do not transform into issues. The "non-issues" were rarely faced as important political phenomena. The study conducted by the author, focusing on the issue of environmental pollution in US municipalities, sought to show that inaction is a fairly common way of exercising power.

Crenson analysed the "non-politics" of air pollution in two North American cities that produce steel in the state of Indiana (Gary and East Chicago). In Gary, the pollution levels were significant and there was no specific legislation on the matter. The pollution issue was not even discussed by public opinion or the government. On the other hand, in East Chicago, although pollution levels were lower, the issue was widely-debated and the government took concrete actions to address the problem. In the author's analysis, the difference in the ways the two cities addressed the issue of pollution could be explained by the agenda control exerted by interest groups linked to steel production. In Gary, a single company dominated steel production and, according to the author, its economic power was so decisive that the city feared the introduction of pollution-control measures could contribute to the company moving to another municipality, adversely affecting the local economy. However, in East Chicago, different companies worked at the same time, diluting the fear of confrontation and promoting the adoption of pollution-control measures. Through these case analyses, the author concludes that power is more than the ability to influence local policy decisions; it is also the ability to prevent some topics from being converted into major issues and, similarly, the ability to block the expansion of emerging issues. Moreover, the author shows that power need not be exercised effectively to provoke developments: the simple reputation attributed to an actor by the community may be sufficient enough to narrow the scope of choices made at the local level.

Another author who contributed to the discussion is Lukes (1974), who broadened the debate around how to study power from a theoretical and empirical point of view, highlighting a "third face" for investigation. The "first face" of power, as defined by Dahl (1957) focuses on observable conflict in the decision-making process, in which power involves political resources (votes, positions and influence) that will be used in the bargaining process. Lukes (1974) argues that this vision of power is one-dimensional because it highlights only behaviour observable in the decision-making process on debated issues in noticeable conflict situations, when in fact power is not only reflected in concrete decisions. Power also consists of the ability to limit the decision-making

process to non-controversial issues, in a less visible procedure. In the "second face" of power, the notion of "mobilization of bias", put forward by Schattschneider (1960) and developed by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) contributes to highlight that the exercise of power can also develop covertly through "non-decision" mechanisms or agenda control (and not necessarily only within the domain of the decision-making process). For Lukes (1974), this approach with respect to power, points to a two dimensional perspective that maintains certain one-dimensional characteristics for analysis, while adding new elements. The two-dimensional perspective is also criticised by the author for focusing its analysis on observable conflicts (whether they are open or covert) and not effectively distancing itself from the pluralist approach, in addition to taking power as an agenda denial in the decision-making process. For the author, power would be exercised in preventing the emergence of issues through manipulating perceptions and preferences that would ensure acceptance of the status quo, either because the current situation seems to be the only alternative, because it is seen as natural and immutable, or because it generates benefits. The author then proposes a "third face", or three-dimensional approach of power.

To Lukes, the "third face" of power involves both the decision-making process and control over the agenda: issues and "non-issues"; the real and subjective interests at stake; the observable (open or covert) and latent conflicts. The latent conflict, a fundamental ingredient of Lukes' three-dimensional point of view, is related to exercising power to shape preferences, in order to prevent the emergence of conflict (open or covert). According to the author, latent conflict, "consists of a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude "(LUKES 1974: p. 28). The conflict is latent in the sense that tension is established, based on the preferential difference between those that exercise power and those submitted to power, if they are aware or could express their own interests. Thus, the third dimension, that can be summarised into the idea of "power by way of domination", is the author's contribution to a "radical vision of power" exercised not only in the first two dimensions (the decision-making process and agenda construction) but at a much less visible level.[3]

Critics noted Lukes' focus on this less visible level of power as a factor that would compromise the three dimensional approach, since this focus brings serious restrictions to empirical analysis. When relating to and developing Lukes' three faces the power, Gaventa (1980), in his study on poverty in the central Appalachian region, contributes with the proposal of analytical tools to enable analysis of "latent conflict". In his analysis, Gaventa seeks to understand the relationship between power and political participation, by analysing the configuration of power exercised by a coal company and other local economic political forces over a group of miners and their families, subjected to a situation of oppression. The author tries to understand why, in a social situation of extreme inequality, a group that is at a distinct disadvantage remains quiescent, not even trying to exercise influence – albeit limited – to reverse the situation. The author shows that the conventional explanations for demobilisation consider poverty or lack of education as factors that tend to preserve the status quo and limit political participation. Such explanations were deemed insufficient by the author, who highlights the three dimensions of power as mechanisms that structure relationships between miners and the company; and lead to alienation and apathy in the long term. This domination is reproduced on account of a combination of factors involving cultural barriers, corruption, intimidation and fear by the group of being identified as disloyal to the company and the surrounding community. Highlighting the importance of the region's historical and social context in which the three dimensions of power operate, Gaventa shows that from these, combined, it is possible that one can analyse a situation in which groups of systematically oppressed people do not oppose the ruling elite – and are often allied with their oppressors. Thus, for the author, the three dimensions are integrated and complementary: "The total impact of a power relationship is more than the sum of its parts. Power serves to create power. Powerless serves to reinforce powerless. Power relationships, once established, are self-sustaining (Gaventa, 1980: p. 256)[4].

The authors and concepts herein presented are important for our study since they help us to understand the access policy to the governmental agenda and how the systematic denial of some issues takes place. Although they have roots in the studies discussed in this section, the most recent analyses on agenda-setting distance themselves from discussions on the theories of power. In the next section we will see how these analyses deal with the rise and fall of issues on the governmental agenda.

Studies on the public policy agenda

Although the discussion of power has developed around the debate between elitists and pluralists, as we saw briefly in the previous section, this debate has directly contributed to the initial development of studies directed towards understanding the governmental agenda.

The analyses of Roger Cobb and Charles Elder on agenda-setting, developed in the early 1970s, highlight the fundamental importance of pre-decision-making processes to understand the choices and alternatives to be considered by decision-makers, especially incorporating Schattschneider and Bachrach and Baratz's studies. For these authors, the research on agenda-construction consists of an alternative to discussions on classical democratic theory (and the issues of influence, equality, freedom, participation) and modern democratic theory (and discussions on stability of the democratic system, the decision-making process and characteristics of the elites, etc.) (COBB and ELDER, 1971). The limitations of the classical perspective and the efforts made by political scientists to reconcile theory and practice resulted in the democratic elitism approach that, for the authors, fails to analyse political participation. Cobb and Elder argued that the essence of the political conflict lies in the scope for participation: for any issue, there will always be more disinterested people than those willing to be directly involved. Returning to Schattschneider's ideas, the authors argue that individuals or groups in a political dispute seek to broaden the scope of the conflict, attracting other previously uninterested groups. Cobb and Elder develop this line of argument, analysing in detail the mechanisms by which groups seek to expand the conflict, extending the sphere of political participation. According to the authors, by focusing on the notion of the agenda it would be possible to develop a theoretical perspective that could explain how groups articulate their demands and turn them into issues that acquire visibility and require government action, the process fundamental to democracy. Thus, for the authors:

> "We are raising the basic question of where public-policy issues come from. We are concerned with how issues are created and why some controversies or incipient issues come to command the attention and concern of decision-makers, while others fail. In other words, we are asking what determines the agenda for political controversy within a community. How is an agenda built (i.e., how is an issue Placed on it) and who participates in the process of building it?" (COBB and ELDER, 1971: p. 905).

Setting off from this questioning on who participates and how the agenda is built, the authors conducted the first systematic studies on setting the governmental agenda in the field of political science, based on a distinction between a systemic and institutional agenda (COBB and ELDER, 1972)[5]. For the authors, the systemic agenda comprises the set of issues that receive society's attention and are seen as matters under government authorities' responsibility. The issues manifest themselves on the systemic agenda when they arouse the attention of public opinion or when a considerable part of the public demands some kind of concrete action with respect to a particular concern. Some of these issues on the systemic agenda will be the focus of the government's attention and move on to the second type of agenda identified by the authors: the governmental agenda (institutional or formal). The government agenda comprises the issues considered by decision-makers, whether at local, state or federal level.

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For the authors, these issues essentially involve conflict: "An issue is a conflict between two or more identifiable groups over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distributions of positions or resources "(COBB and ELDER, 1972: p. 82). Based on the notion of "mobilizing opinion" (Schattschneider), the authors argue that the issues typically emerge in small groups, and they are concerned with promoting (or preventing) expansion of the issue. During the expansion process, the issue can be redefined, as other groups become involved. In this process, many advocates of an issue may no longer support it, because they think the redefinition somehow brings ideas very distant from the original understanding of the problem. Additionally, while groups and individuals opposed to an issue seek to limits its expansion process, proponents seek to involve other groups, attempting to defeat the apathy and inertia of those who were previously demobilised (COBB, ROSS and ROSS, 1976).

Transition of issues on the systemic agenda to the governmental agenda can be achieved in three different ways (COBB, ROSS and ROSS, 1976). The first (outside initiative model) involves processes in which issues emerge in groups outside of the government and are expanded to first reach the systemic agenda, and then the governmental agenda. In this case, the demands are articulated in general terms, to later be translated into more specific demands, in the pursuit of establishing alliances between different groups on common questions, placing the debate on the systemic agenda. The groups then seek policymakers' attention, either through extending the issue to other social groups or connecting it to other existing ones. This expansion is essential for the success of an issue on the governmental agenda but, on the other hand, it is also a crucial moment for the proposing group, as the more groups that enter into the conflict, the greater the chance of the initial group losing control over the issue.

The second form of connection between the systemic and governmental agendas analysed by the authors (mobilisation model) locates the origin of an issue within government bureaucracy. An example of this would be launching a new programme for a public policy on health care or education, for example, and does not originate from incorporating a demand publicly acknowledged by the government. In this case, expansion of the issue is aimed at obtaining support from the public: once the issue is placed on the governmental agenda, the bureaucracy begins to mobilise a systemic agenda, in search of society's support and acceptance. Government leaders often seek to mobilise popular support for their decisions, in order to increase the chances of success in the implementation phase (COBB, ROSS and ROSS, 1976).

The third relationship between systemic and governmental agendas identified by Cobb, Ross and Ross (1976) (the inside initiation model) also originates within the government but, unlike the previous model, does not follow on to the systemic agenda. In this case, issues emerge in government agencies or influential groups, with access to decision-makers, without any effort by the proponents to expand the issue with the public. Whether for technical or political issues (e.g. programmes related to economics or the military), public participation is excluded and the proponents try to prevent the issue from reaching the systemic agenda.

To the authors, each of these agenda-setting models is related to the specific characteristics of the political system in which agenda construction is developed. In liberal democracies, the first form of articulation (from the systemic to governmental agenda) would be more likely, whereas the second (from the government to systemic agenda) would be typical of hierarchical societies where leaders have large amounts of power. Authoritarian-bureaucratic regimes with a high concentration of wealth and status tend to build their agendas following this third explanation.

Subsequent to Cobb and Elder's initial studies, different authors have continued research on the agenda-setting process. More recently, these analyses have moved away from concepts such as that of "non-decision" conflict and power, and focused on the entry and exit mechanisms for issues on the governmental agenda.

John Kingdon (2003) advances the agenda concept, to propose a differentiation between the concept of the governmental agenda, as defined originally by Cobb and

Elder (1972) and the notion of a decision agenda. For Kingdon, an issue becomes part of the governmental agenda when it attracts policymakers' attention and interests. However, given the complexity and the volume of issues presented to decision-makers, only some will be seriously considered within the governmental agenda at any given moment. These issues make up the decision agenda: a subset of the governmental agenda, which considers issues ready for decision-making by policy formulators, or are about to become public policy. For the author, "we should also distinguish between the *governmental* agenda, the list of subjects that are getting attention, and the *decision* agenda, the list of subjects within governmental agenda that are up for an active decision" (KINGDON, 2003: p. 04)[6]. According to the author, this differentiation is necessary because both agendas are affected by different processes. The author argues that changes to the decision agenda are the result of a combination of three factors: the way a problem is perceived (problem stream), the set of available alternatives (policy stream) and changes in political dynamics and public opinion (political stream). Changes to the governmental agenda require only two of the three aforementioned factors: one clearly perceived problem and a favourable political situation (problem and political streams). Thus, a public policy only begins if an issue reaches the decision-making agenda, having passed through the governmental agenda.

The Kingdon analysis (2003) on agenda-construction also moves away from Cobb and Elder's (1972) original proposition, explaining policy production as a relatively ordered process, in which the time to define the agenda follows the decision-making process and then implementation. The agenda-setting model developed by Kingdon (2003) breaks with the logic of policy production stages, proposing a more fluid explanatory model, organised around flows.

For Kingdon, each of the three streams is developed relatively independent of the others. Issues recognised as problems are in the first stream and therefore come to the government's attention. Some mechanisms, such as systematically produced indicators (monitoring government programmes and performance reports) and especially major events (disasters, catastrophes and major accidents), contribute to attracting attention on an issue. However, these mechanisms do not automatically transform the issues into problems. The interpretation of these events and their understanding, as problems requiring government action, is what determines the success of an issue on the agenda. In the second stream are ideas related to solutions and alternatives, developed by experts (researchers, congressional aides, academics, civil servants and analysts belonging to interest groups, etc.). These alternatives are not necessarily related to understanding specific problems, they circulate through communities of experts and while some are discarded, others survive and are considered by government actors. Finally, the third stream comprises the dimension of public opinion (general understanding of certain issues), organised political forces (positioning of interest groups in relation to a question, for example) and the government itself (moving people in strategic positions within the governmental structure, management changes and in the composition of Congress, among other factors).

In certain circumstances, these three streams converge, creating a possibility for change on the agenda. With these opportunities (policy window), a problem is recognised, a solution is available and political conditions make it a propitious time for change, allowing integration of the three streams and enabling issues to rise up the agenda. When these "windows of political opportunity" open up, political entrepreneurs come on to the scene. These are individuals willing to invest in an idea and may be part of the government (in the Executive Authority, occupying high positions or in bureaucratic roles; in Congress, as congressmen or aides), or otherwise (taking part in interest groups, the academic community or the media, for example). These individuals recognise the opportunity, its transient nature, and act to "tie up" the three streams, facilitating access of an issue to the agenda.

Analysing different empirical cases, based on the Kingdon model, (ZAHARIADIS, 2003 and 2014) two important adjustments have been put forward to the initial proposals. The first adjustment concerns entrepreneurs' role in the model. For Kingdon, all of the actors involved in policy production have problematic preferences. Zahariadis

shows that, in fact, one particular actor has clear and consistent objectives: the entrepreneurs (ZAHARIADIS, 2003). The author highlights that the Kingdon model understands 'ambiguity' as a central element of the policy production process or, that is, it involves fluid participation, problematic preferences and uncertain technology[7]. Allowing a different understanding of the issue, the ambiguity may be strategically manipulated to serve different purposes. This is one of the entrepreneur's most important roles: managing ambiguity, trying to make sense and create meanings on the issues for other actors who have problematic preferences. Therefore, considering that in the Kingdon model access of an issue to the agenda is related to the three flows described above, Zahariadis' analyses contribute to highlighting the entrepreneur's fundamental role as the only actor who has clear preferences and whose action is geared towards manipulating other players, especially the decision-makers.

The second adjustment proposed by Zahariadis is related to opportunities for change. To Kingdon, opportunities for change are processed independently from all other elements of the political system. Applying Kingdon's model in parliamentary democracies, Zahariadis shows that there is a possibility to create deliberate opportunities for change, as in the cases of dissolution of parliament and calling elections. In this case, the "windows of opportunity" may be manipulated to create more favourable environments for some actors: if entrepreneurs can change the context, this can increase their chances of success – or block the chances of others (ZAHARIADIS, 2003).

Besides these two adjustments to the model, Zahariadis (2003, 2014) proposes some important amplifications of the original Kingdon model. The first points to the possibility of using the model to understand the more general process of policymaking. In part, this means breaking with the perspective of the policy cycle, already widely criticised by theorists in the field of public policies[8]. On the other hand, this also points towards possibilities of applying the model to research specific moments, such as implementation, which contributes to revealing the connections between politics (formulation) and administration (implementation) (ZAHARIADIS, 2014, p. 45). Another important application of the model is related to the way Kingdon reconciles two factors in the political world: ideas and interests. The model does not eliminate the idea of self-interest and, at the same time, highlights the role of ideas in developing problems and solutions (ZAHARIADIS, 2003, 2014). An extension of the model for foreign policy issues is also highlighted by the author as a possibility, allowing an analysis of the interactions between domestic actors on issues arising in the external environment (ZAHARIADIS, 2003).

An alternative explanation for the agenda-setting process was developed by Baumgartner and Jones (1993), who drew up the "Punctuated Equilibrium Model." The authors understand that, unlike Cobb and Elder's (1972) observations, who highlight the difficulty that new issues have of being added to an agenda and break away from the status quo, given the conservative nature of the political system there are periods of stability on the agenda, marked by incremental logic but also times which favour rapid and unexpected changes. For the authors, the change in agenda occurs when the perception of a policy is changed, mobilising actors who were previously removed from the decision-making process. The authors use the idea of "policy monopoly" to designate a set of understandings about a specific issue that becomes dominant and from which actors gain the ability to control the interpretation of a problem and the way it is perceived and discussed. Monopolies are reinforced by institutional arrangements that keep the decision-making process limited to a small group of actors, restricting access by others. These monopolies are responsible for maintaining stability in the production of public policies and restricting new issues on the governmental agenda.

While a shared vision of symbols, problems, solutions and causal relationships prevail for a particular policy – i.e. while a policy image is dominant, restricting access to the decision-making process of those actors who do not agree with this image. There is, then, a prevalence of slow, gradual and incremental changes, configuring a balance in the production of public policy. However, at times, new players gain access to monopolies, creating instability and opportunity for change on the agenda.

According to the authors, this takes place because of changes in the way a question is understood, or through changes in policy image. Changes in perception of the issues, events that attract the government's attention and alterations in public opinion, for example, can contribute to altering a policy's image, allowing access of different groups to the decision-making process and thus favouring access of this issue to the governmental agenda. When an issue rises up to the agenda, the monopoly ceases to exist and the system becomes prone to change, since the attention of government leaders and the public can lead to the introduction of new ideas and new actors. New ideas and institutions tend to remain over time (policy legacy), creating a new state of balance in the political system that, after a period, tends to return to this stability. Thus, in the model proposed by the authors, stability results from two key elements: the predominance of an image and creating institutional arrangements able to support it, limiting access from other groups. On the other hand, a change in public policies is the result of unsuccessful mobilisation strategies, restraint or even blocking other groups, leading to destruction of the monopoly and, consequently, the promotion of new images.

After this initial effort of theorising about the stability process and policy change, explained by the dynamics of the agenda, the authors performed a series of studies to test the punctuated equilibrium model, investigating telecommunications policies, immigration, health, science and technology, security and others (BAUMGARTNER and JONES, 2002). These studies led authors to see a direct relationship between agenda-setting processes and the allocation of government attention. Considering the multiplicity of issues presented to policymakers on a daily basis and the complexity of the problems, attention – a resource considered by the authors as scarce – becomes crucial to explain how governments prioritise certain problems (JONES and BAUMGARTNER, 2005). The authors focus on the dynamics of processing information in the context of producing public policies, seeking to understand how allocating attention is processed in government institutions. They demonstrate that the dynamics of changing agendas is related to government attention and setting priorities. More recently, the authors highlighted the importance of information in the problem definition process, furthering studies on the relationship between processing information in individual and collective dimensions (BAUMGARTNER and JONES, 2015).

Designed to explain stability and changes in agendas in the US context, the punctuated equilibrium model has been applied in different national contexts (BAUMGARTNER, JONES and MORTENSEN, 2014). Seeking to understand how focusing the government's attention by governments produces policy changes, researchers were able to demonstrate the model's success to explain agenda changes in different national contexts. Moreover, these studies allowed not only the opportunity to test the punctuation hypothesis but also to carry out comparative analyses between agenda changes in different countries, such as Canada, Belgium, Denmark, England, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the United States (BAUMGARTNER, GREEN-PEDERSEN and JONES, 2006; JOHN, 2006).

Thus, literature on agenda-setting has developed in political science since the 1970s, under strong influence of the debate related to conflict and power issues. More recently, studies have developed in the area of public policies and, while retaining many of the original concerns, they expand these analyses, incorporating important new concepts and approaches to understand agenda-setting. However, these studies do not focus on one important dimension in the agenda-setting process: access-denial to issues on the agenda, the topic that we will develop in the next section.

Agenda denial strategies and mechanisms

As we have seen, studies on agenda-setting investigate how an issue turns into a problem that captures the decision-makers' attention. One facet little analysed by literature, however, is the process by which issues fail to reach the governmental agenda. Far from being an automatic process, the success or failure of an issue on

the agenda involves a series of factors: the connection between problems, solutions and the political context, as highlighted by Kingdon (2003), or the change in policy image and mobilising new actors in the process, as put forward by Baumgartner and Jones (1993), or even the three mechanisms analysed by Cobb and Elder (1972). In this section, we seek to explore the main explanations for issues being systematically absent from the governmental agenda in agenda-setting literature.

Cobb and Ross' (1997) study on agenda denial is one of the few reflections developed on the subject. The authors define "agenda denial" as "the political process by which issues that one would expect to get meaningful consideration from the political institutions in a society fail to get taken seriously "(COBB and ROSS, 1997: xi). For the authors, conflict surrounding the agenda develops on two different levels. Firstly, the conflict is processed around consideration or otherwise of the issued placed for decision-makers by the government. Kingdon's (2003: p. 04) differentiation between the governmental agenda (a set issues that attract attention) and decision agenda (a set of issues ready for a decision) only partially explains this type of conflict, as not all of the issues that reach the governmental agenda are forwarded on to the decision-making agenda[9]. The second conflict emerges in the competition to interpret the issues and worldviews underlying these interpretations or, in other words, what problems will become the subject of government action. This is essentially a symbolic process in which the conflicting actors' material interests are related to defining the issues: "in all agenda conflicts, we suggest, the material interests are invariably linked to symbolic definition, as each side seeks to widen support" (COBB and ROSS, 1997: p. 14). The relationship between interests and symbolic definition is highlighted both in Kingdon's and Baumgartner and Jones' model. In the latter, the concept of policy image composed both by empirical data and emotional appeals, precisely reflects the relationship between interests and how a policy is discussed.

For Cobb and Ross (1997), it is possible to observe two opposing sides in any of these types of conflicts: the proponents, seeking to draw attention to an issue and gain access to the governmental agenda for several reasons, and opponents who seek to restrict an issue from accessing the agenda. To explain how issues emerge, more recent studies on agenda-setting focus their analysis on the proponents, while the opponents' activities receive little investigation. Thus, to understand agenda denial, the authors transfer the analysis to the role of the opponents who are identified in two groups by the authors.

The first group of opponents or, in other words, actors engaged in suppressing new issues on the agenda, is within the government itself. For Cobb and Ross (1997), the individuals formally responsible for decision-making, such as bureaucrats belonging to the executive authority, individuals in commissioned positions, politicians and members of the legislative and judicial branches are the main opponents in the confrontational agenda-setting process. For the authors, these individuals do not always act as opponents, since they can also appear as proponents of an issue, seeking space on the agenda. Kingdon points to the "visible participants" – those put forward by Cobb and Ross – as the actors who have a higher ability to take an issue to the governmental agenda (but not necessarily to the decision-making agenda). However, for Cobb and Ross, the most common position for these individuals is avoiding risk and opposing change processes for a number of reasons, including ideology and information, among others. In the Kingdon model, such individuals may support an issue in favourable periods of the political cycle, such as times when people in key positions are changing (political stream). Following this period, change on the governmental agenda is less likely. Baumgartner and Jones show that changes on the agenda are processed in short periods, and are followed by sub-system policy, characterised by stability, in which the policy monopoly is closed to new issues, blocking the access of new groups and ideas onto the agenda.

The second group of potential opponents to agenda-change are actors negatively affected by altering an issue's status. In situations where agenda-change represents a benefit for a particular group, due to losses imposed on another group, the conflict between proponents and opponents is established in a relatively open way. The dispute

over control of an issue is one of the central features of opposition between groups. In some pubic policies, some groups are seen to have legitimacy over an issue and it becomes difficult for an opponent to defend, or present different views on it.

Therefore, the dispute over agenda-setting involves proponents whose performance is analysed by agenda-setting theories, and opponents, whose behaviour Cobb and Ross (1997) try to explain. For this, they set off from the principle that opponents will seek to achieve their objectives at the lowest possible cost. When they face limitations in their strategies to block access of an issue to the agenda, they increasingly seek alternatives that involve higher costs. We will now analyse the different strategies adopted by opponents, according to the approach developed by the authors.

The first strategy: avoidance

To Cobb and Ross (1997), low-cost strategies are characterised as involving the lowest possible amount of financial resources, people and time. In these denial strategies, opponents avoid direct confrontation with the proponents. One typically characteristic tactic is to ignore a problem that exists. Ignoring a problem means that an issue has little chance of gaining access to the agenda because no government action is required. Ignoring a problem, however, is not always a viable tactic: another low-cost alternative is admitting the existence of an issue but then blocking it, preventing conditions from being defined as problems, in Kingdon's terms. This means that opponents seek to deny that a situation presents a problem. One clear example is the treatment cities often receive when there are major floods: public officials cannot simply ignore the issue with the media and public opinion. In this case, the issue is dealt with as an isolated incident, seeking to avoid any possibility of standardisation: an unexpected inundation of rain and the confluence of different factors on one exceptional occasion, etc. This is precisely the action, unlike those which, in the Kingdon model, seek to use the indicators to show a pattern of events and thus attract the decision-makers' attention. Opponents may also seek to show that the issue is exaggerated or misunderstood. A variation of this strategy is to assign responsibility for the event to "natural causes" outside the reach of human action, establishing a causal relationship between, for example, a problem and the "forces of nature". A third tactic does not involve ignoring the issue or limiting its effects, but rather in disqualifying the group that puts the problem forward. In this case, the issue is disassociated from the group that defends it and the alternative to agenda denial comprises questioning the legitimacy of the applicant group and the issue it defends.

The second strategy: attack and dissipating conflict

Another group of strategies involves direct attack on the issue and/or applicant group. The choice between opposing the issue or group (or both) fundamentally depends on this group's characteristics. If the group proposing change is recognised as being legitimate, it is respected and has credibility in the community, denial is not usually directed towards the group and tends to be restricted to the issue proposed. On the other hand, there are strategies that avoid attack and do not seek to block the issue or the applicant group (placation strategy). In this case, opponents seek to demonstrate concern over the issue on a symbolic level and, instead of attacking the group or issue, they provide a visible but not necessarily significant solution, blocking the proponents' action and dissipating the conflict. Both strategies (attack and placation) involve a higher volume of resources and establish a broader level of conflict than in the previously analysed strategies. If, within this avoidance alternative, the opponents do not directly confront the proponents, strategies to attack communication between the two groups are clearly established, with the opponents having the initial goal of negatively characterising the applicant group or the issue it has raised.

Blocking the issue may initially take the form analysed in the previous topic, preventing its recognition as a problem. Questioning the premises on which the proponents seek to construct the problem is an additional tactic: criticism of the accuracy of data used and questioning causal relationships adopted are ways to put the problem represented by the proponents under suspicion. If indicators alone (historical patterns, evaluation results and activity monitoring, etc.) do not represent facts and do not determine the existence of a problem (KINGDON, 2003), then they need to be strategically represented (STONE, 2002), so that the decision-makers are convinced of their existence – or, in the case of agenda denial, of their inexistence or lack of importance. Just as numbers can draw attention to an issue, they can also remove concern when they are characterised as fragile or represented so as to minimise a problem. Another way of disqualifying an issue is to portray it unfavourably, raising suspicion within public opinion. Opponents can employ tactics based on arguments that exploit ambiguity and uncertainty around the issue and that gives rise to fear of possible changes, arising from the issue appearing on the agenda, highlighting, for example, negative impacts, hidden costs that could make the situation worse and unpredictable future problems, among others. On developing the concept of policy image, Baumgartner and Jones (1993: p. 26) show that you can set a tone (positive or negative) on an issue, this being a crucial activity to develop the issue from the standpoint of mobilising support. In the case of agenda restriction, therefore, the opponents emphasise the negative aspects of an issue, while the proponents seek to represent it positively, in order to mobilise support.

The first attack-tactic is directed towards the issued proposed. The second form of blocking is direct confrontation with applicant groups and not the issue itself, used especially when the groups proposing an issue are new and not well-known, with a low level of legitimacy. In this case, the opponents seek to destroy the proponents' credibility, transferring to a defensive position, making efforts to protect themselves, instead of continuing in defence of the issue they support. An extremely common tactic is to connect the applicant group with one known to be unpopular. Another tactic is to hold certain groups responsible for their own problems, trying to characterise a public issue as a private matter, limited to the individuals involved, thereby decreasing pressure for government action. The third tactic blocking groups and their issues from the agenda consists of exploiting the idea of a victim. One of the appeals frequently used by proponents is to demonstrate that the group is the victim of a situation (social, racial, economic, ethnic, and physical, etc.). In this case, the opponents seek to block the group and neutralise the idea of a victim in some way. Lastly, the tactic of "role reversal" can be used: the opponents pass themselves off as the proponents' victims.

Another attack tactic consists of fraud, spreading false rumours, lies, and slander, as a way of blocking groups from the decision-making process. Therefore, the media can be an important vehicle for disseminating inaccurate information, or whose veracity is questionable about a group. It is also important to remember that the opponents' attacks on proponents could focus on the entire group or individuals and sub-groups within it. This is the case, for example, when a confrontation is directed at the group leader, negatively investigating his behaviour and motivations.

Thus, a first group of average cost strategies comprises attacking the issue or group that proposes it. Another alternative is dissipating the conflict, or what the authors refer to as "symbolic placation", a commonly-used strategy when the issue has strong public appeal, not being possible to ignore or combat it and when the applicant group has great legitimacy, limiting the opponents' tactics to disqualify the proponents. The former have shown that they are engaged in developing the issue and are willing to yield to the applicant group's demands. However, the opponents' actions do not resolve the problem (the way it is advocated by the proponents), but is intended to dissipate the conflict. This strategy is usually employed by public officials formally entrusted with decision-making and involves some tactics analysed by Bachrach and Baratz (1962) with respect to blocking issues from the decision-making process. Cobb and Ross (1997) mention four actions to exemplify this type of strategy. The first is establishing a committee to discuss and analyse the issue presented by the

proponents. Establishing a discussion forum eases the conflict, delays the decision process, may weaken the applicant group over time and represents a way for the opponents to deal with the problem without too much effort. Another way of diluting the conflict is to create a symbolic experience from which the opponents point out a small part of the problem, in order to demonstrate their commitment to the issue. For example, focusing on positive results attained by a project executed, and extending this positive evaluation to a programme as a whole (or the policy itself) may be a form of symbolic action. Highlighting actions taken in the past, with the promise of intensifying the pace of actions in the present also allows opponents to signal that the government is dealing with the problem. As noted by March and Olsen (1989: p. 90), analysing the North American government's reform policies, it is often unacceptable for leaders not to show that they are up to the challenge ("confessions of impotence are not acceptable; leaders are expected to act," say the authors). March and Olsen argue that reforms and any modernisation process constitute examples of symbolic action.

The co-optation of applicant members in the proponent group is the third tactic of symbolic placation. In addition to the practice of offering jobs and positions to individuals, Cobb and Ross (1997) highlight "symbolic co-optation": co-optation of symbols used by the applicant group. The authors indicate the environmental sector as a fertile example of this type of tactic: symbols associated with the environment are seen positively by public opinion and even groups that would potentially enter into conflicts with environmental protection groups take on the conservation discourse (co-opting language) using symbols which, in theory, would be contrary to their interests. Finally, postponement is another symbolic action tactic, in which opponents agree that the issue raised by the proponents is valid, but impossible to deal with. In this case, the limited nature of available resources is emphasised – financial and technical constraints and restricted time or personnel, among others – to resolve particular problems. Together with postponement, another frequently used tactic is to emphasise measures already adopted in the past related to the issue, as a kind of "guarantee" for the promise of future action.

The third strategy: threats

The third type of strategy put forward by the authors is less frequent because it involves high costs for the proponents and opponents. Cobb and Ross (1997) describe tactics involving political, economic or legal threats against applicant groups, as examples of such actions.

The case studies analysed and collated in Cobb and Ross' (1997) book show how North American federal administration agencies worked to keep issues off the governmental agenda. The cases analysed by different authors, involving agencies such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and also case studies on health policy suggest the use of average cost strategies as the most frequent form of opposition response to the proponents' demands. The occurrence of high-cost strategies was not recorded in any of the cases analysed.

Final considerations

This study aimed to present and discuss, albeit in an introductory way, the politics of governmental agenda access, an issue that, despite its importance, has not has been sufficiently considered by specialised literature. Research on the pre-decision-making phase of the public policy process that involves defining issues that will be considered later on in the decision-making process – or those that will be kept away from it – is one of the most critical issues to understand the production of public policies and democracy itself. Agenda studies were initially developed from a dialogue extremely close to democratic theory, as put forward by Cobb and Elder (1971; 1972). This connection is less evident in more recent literature, although the agenda-setting

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process is a vital issue for theory and practising democracy. Understanding both sides of the agenda – how a question is placed on the agenda and others are systematically denied – may contribute to narrow the interface between agenda-setting models and democratic theory.

Throughout this study, we saw that the power of keeping a subject off the agenda or that is, denying access of an issue is as important as the power of placing it on the agenda. This is an aspect that has been neglected in literature on agenda-setting. Specific efforts, such as Cobb and Ross' (1997) analysis help to understand the logic of blocking issues from the agenda, but are still limited. The authors do not place the strategies within the institutional and historical context, where groups fight for access to the agenda, restricting the scope of the proposed explanations. Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) understanding of policy monopolies could be useful in order to contextualise the strategies presented by the authors. In this case, with monopolies as the unit of analysis, it would be possible to investigate how the groups that interact with these monopolies impede the process of change on the agenda for strategies, using the strategies presented by Cobb and Ross, especially with regard to the mechanics of production and disseminating images (defining and redefining issues). Parallel to theoretical development on the subject, an empirical analysis is necessary to further understand the means employed by governments in developing both construction strategies and agenda denial.

The issue definition process seems to be the key element for both agenda setting and denial. Schattschneider (1960) is the starting point for discussion on defining and redefining issues, since the conflict expansion and mobilisation process is developed through issues. More recent literature has discussed how policy image is set and maintained (BAUMGARTNER and JONES, 1993; TRUE, BAUMGARTNER and JONES, 1999); transforming conditions into problems (KINGDON, 2003); the strategic representation of issues (STONE, 2002) and the process of rhetoric and persuasion in constructing a policy (MAJONE 1989). Performing further study on these topics will certainly throw light on agenda access policy, as we have seen, and also on the more far-reaching process of producing public policies.

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(Endnotes)

1 *Italics in the original text.*
2 *For a critical analysis of Bachrach and Baratz's proposal, see: Merelman, R. "On the Neoelitist Critique of Community Power ". American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, No. 2, June 1968 (pp. 451-460); Polsby, N. W. "Community: the Study of Community Power". In D. Sills (ed), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968; Wolfinger, R. E. "Non-decisions and the Study of Local Politics". American Political Science Review, Vol. 65, n. 4, Dec., 1971 (pp. 1063-1080).*
3 *For a discussion of Lukes' proposals, their limits and challenges (theoretical and empirical), see Shapiro, I. "On the Second Edition of Luke's Third Face". Political Studies Review, 2006, vol 4, 2006 (pp. 146,155).*
4 *For a preliminary discussion on the Gaventa study, see Reid, H.G. "Review of John Gaventa, Power and Powerless: Quiescence and Rebellion in the Appalachian Valley". Journal of Politics, vol. 43 n. 4, Nov. 1981 (pp. 1270-1273).*
5 *The differentiation presented by the authors allowed for the development of studies on the governmental agenda (also called "institutional" or "formal") in political science. Until then, studies on agenda-setting turned their attention to the relationship between public opinion and the media, being developed in the field of communication. The origin of the term agenda-setting is attributed to Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's pioneering study, published in 1972 and established the relationship between the media and public opinion agenda in the field of communication. For an analysis of these studies, see: Azevedo, Fernando A. F." Agendamento da Política" and RUBIM, Antonio A.C. (org). Political Communication: concepts and approaches. Sao Paulo, Ed Unesp, 2004 (pp. 4172).*
6 *Italics in the original text.*
7 *These three characteristics are related to the garbage can model, developed by Cohen, March and Olsen (1972), used by Kingdon as the basis for his explanation of agenda-setting. In the context of the garbage can approach, organisations are considered "organised anarchies," operating in conditions of great uncertainty and ambiguity in which participation in the decision-making process is developed erratically and with a high turnover (fluid participation); the participants' preferences are inconsistent and ill-defined (problematic preferences) and organisational processes and procedures are unclear and generally misunderstood by participants (uncertain technology).*
8 *For a critical perspective to the policy cycle, see (SABATIER, 1999).*
9 *To Kingdon (2003, p. 202), an issue reaches the decision agenda only when the streams of problems, solutions and political context are gathered together. However, the governmental agenda is established by the partial junction of two specific streams: policy and problems. In any event, in the multiple stream model, an issue should be on the governmental agenda to access the decision-making agenda. This is this first aspect that Cobb and Ross take into consideration.*

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