

A Nascent Sport for Development and Peace Organization's Response to Institutional Complexity: The Emergence of a Hybrid Agency in Kenya

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Sport for development and peace (SDP) agencies increasingly deal with complex institutional demands. In this article, the authors present an in-depth case study of how a nascent SDP organization created from within a local community in Kenya responded to institutional complexity through a series of pivotal moments that shaped the nature of the SDP agency. Throughout the formative stage in its life course, organizational leaders faced increased institutional complexity as they grappled with a series of incompatible prescriptions and demands from multiple institutional logics. The case organization—Highway of Hope—responded to this complexity through a process of organizational hybridity. Five pivotal decision points were identified and analyzed to explore how they shaped the organization over its early stages of existence. Our findings provide guidance for advancing our understanding of hybridity processes in SDP, both theoretically and practically.

Keywords: case study, institutional logics, organizational hybridity, social change

It all started with a group of thugs. I was spending time in Kibera with a group of high school boys who were involved in all aspects of gang activity. We talked about what if we turned this area in Kibera from this section to that section into a place of hope? Into a place that brought restoration and good things, and where they as young men could transform their community. (interview with the program founder, Fall 2018)

The group of young men referenced in the above quote thought about what that social transformation might look like and considered how sport could be a part of that dream. At the same time, they felt extremely limited in their capacity to fulfill that dream—how could they build a court? What kinds of activities would they do there? Who could they involve who would make it become a reality without taking it from them? In the search for people and organizations who would help them to build the courts and know what to do with them, a nascent sport for development and peace (SDP) organization called *Highway of Hope* began. This organization began in the local community, and its founders wanted to maintain the integrity and identity of their program. Yet, they needed resources and support to develop their vision.

Throughout its start-up phase, this organization faced increased institutional complexity as they grappled with a series of incompatible prescriptions and demands from multiple institutional logics, consistent with other research in this area (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011). Examining how a nascent SDP organization responds to institutional complexity is essential to advancing SDP theory and practice. The case organization presented in this study responded to this complexity through a process of organizational hybridity, much like other SDP organizations (Svensson, 2017). Highway of Hope evolved through several

iterations of organizational hybridity, facing and solving organizational tensions regarding its mission, identity or identities, structure, and strategy for fulfilling the founders' vision. As a result of the organization's response to institutional complexity at several pivotal moments during the start-up phase, a symbolic or assimilated SDP hybrid organization emerged. Similar hybrids have been found to effectively advance their purpose and move forward as healthy organizations (Skelcher & Smith, 2015; Smith & Lewis, 2011, Svensson, 2017). The findings from this project could help in developing recommendations for the next steps for the case organization and for how other start-up SDP organizations can better respond to institutional complexity by identifying, accepting, and managing the tensions of hybridity processes to work toward developing more sustainable solutions.

Indeed, new SDP initiatives are difficult endeavors to build and sustain because they often involve scarce resources, as well as multiple stakeholders, agendas, foci, and institutional logics. As Svensson (2017) pointed out, "Today, a multitude of stakeholders are involved in SDP efforts, including nonprofits, corporations, intergovernmental agencies, governments, and high-performance sport organizations, which has created increasingly complex realities for SDP leaders" (p. 444). Advances have been made in theorizing a variety of hybrid models for responding to divergent institutional demands and in understanding the tensions and internal dynamics in the structure, management, and maintenance of organizations undergoing hybridization processes (Svensson, 2017; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). Now, empirical research is needed to examine and further develop theory in the area of organizational hybridity, particularly for nascent SDP initiatives (Schulenkorf, 2017; Svensson, 2017; Welty Peachey, 2016). How do hybrid organizations emerge and operate in practice? How do the nascent SDP entrepreneurs cope with and resolve tensions from institutional complexity as stakeholders enter and exit the organization and the project evolves? What are the ramifications of such actions for the organization?

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In this article, we present an in-depth case study that unpacks how a start-up SDP organization created from within a local community responded to institutional complexity through a series of pivotal moments that influenced the nature of the SDP agency. We highlight what SDP theory suggests, what was actually done in practice, and the implications and outcomes of those decisions. We then present the current challenges as the case organization advances through its life cycle and the key lessons learned for theory and practice.

Literature Review

Institutional logics are defined as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). In other words, institutional logics are the frames of reference from which individuals derive meaning and function within their organizations. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) identified seven distinct societal-level institutional logics associated with different institutional orders: family, community, religion, state (bureaucratic), market, profession, and corporation (commercial). At the same time, institutional scholars have also noted the importance of recognizing field-level logics. More recently, Ocasio, Thornton, and Lounsbury (2017, p. 511) clarified that the societal-level logics presented in their earlier work (cf. Thornton et al., 2012) “provide an ideal-typical model of societal-level logics. . . . They are meant to be an example and not the only possible model. Other forms of representing and measuring logics besides ideal types are both *possible* and *desirable*.” This clarification reinforces Thornton and Ocasio’s (2008, p. 106) stance that “institutional logics may develop at a variety of different levels, for example, organizations, markets, industries, interorganizational networks, geographic communities, and organizational fields. This flexibility allows for a wide variety of mechanisms to be emphasized in research and theoretical development.” As a result, researchers have identified a number of different field-level logics in different sectors and subsectors, for example, an editorial logic in the context of higher education publishing (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), aesthetic and efficiency logics in architecture (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), care and science logics in the medical field (Dunn & Jones, 2010), or an amateur sport logic in the context of community sport clubs (Skirstad & Chelladurai, 2011).

The presence of multiple institutional logics within an organization is not an exceptional situation (Schildt & Perkmann, 2017). Many organizations face competing demands and prescriptions for organizing from different institutional logics both outside of sport (Greenwood et al., 2011) and within the sport industry (e.g., Carlsson-Wall, Kraus, & Messner, 2016; Gillett & Tennent, 2018; Skirstad & Chelladurai, 2011). However, there are many ways that an organization can respond to such institutional complexity (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Oliver, 1991; Pratt & Foreman, 2000). An organization could ignore new logics or decide to change and shift organizational practices to align with a different logic. Alternatively, an organization may combine or reconfigure the elements from multiple logics through a process of hybridization in response to the institutional complexity (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Gillett & Tennent, 2018; Raynard, 2016; Skelcher & Smith, 2015).

Hybrid Models

Thus, hybrid organizations combine multiple institutional logics (Battilana, Sengul, Pache, & Model, 2014). Researchers have conceptualized varying ideal-type hybrid models for how

organizations enact multiple logics through the process of hybridization (Skelcher & Smith, 2015). Besharov and Smith (2014) identified four types of logic multiplicity and their associated level of conflict. In dominant hybrids (no conflict), one logic remains central to organizational functioning, whereas additional peripheral logics still provide a high degree of compatibility with organizational actions. The latter remains the same in aligned hybrids (minimal conflict), yet multiple logics are central to organizational functioning. Estranged hybrids (moderate conflict), on the other hand, are characterized by one logic serving a core role in organizational practices, whereas peripheral logics remain incompatible and provide contradictory measures for organizational actions. Contested hybrids (extensive conflict) provide the most challenging situations, as multiple and incompatible logics are at the core of organizational functioning (Besharov & Smith, 2014). In SDP, Svensson (2017) identified organizational hybridity as a way for managers to respond to the growing institutional complexity in SDP practice. We have drawn on Svensson’s (2017) conceptualization of hybridity in SDP and relevant scholarship on hybridization processes to explore how a start-up SDP entity responds to institutional complexity and the implications of the hybridization processes that the organization has undergone since its inception. Table 1 provides a more detailed summary of Svensson’s (2017) four ideal types of SDP hybrid models.

Hybrid Tensions

The process of organizational hybridity often brings about paradoxical organizational tensions, which can be categorized in four types (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Learning tensions can surface in terms of different prescriptions for how an organization should grow, develop, and change over time. Conflicting identities among individuals and subgroups of internal stakeholders and the organization can also create belonging tensions within an agency. Different logics are also associated with different values and norms of operating and can, therefore, result in performing tensions over organizational goals and the evaluation criteria for performance. In addition, different logics also prescribe varying standards for the structures and processes underpinning how an agency operates, which can produce organizing tensions (Smith & Lewis, 2011). How these tensions are manifested within day-to-day practices and experienced by organizational members depends on the extent to which employees have a paradox mindset, as well as the amount of organizational resources available to them for carrying out their responsibilities (Miron-Spektor, Ingram, Keller, Smith, & Lewis, 2018). To this point, Miron-Spektor et al. (2018) recently argued, “If contradictions and competing demands pervade the workplace, then effective employees must learn to gain comfort in their discomfort and effectively engage tensions” (p. 40). A growing number of scholars have called for researchers to advance from identifying the presence and configurations of multiple institutional logics to exploring the dynamic process of organizational hybridization in responses to institutional complexity (Battilana, Besharov, & Mitzinneck, 2017; Perkmann, McKelvey, & Phillips, 2018; Schildt & Perkmann, 2017; Smith & Besharov, 2019).

Managing and Sustaining Organizational Hybridity

When organizational actors perceive the values associated with different logics as mutually beneficial and reinforcing rather than contradictory, that mindset “served as the glue that held members together, mitigating tensions among them and enabling [hybrid]

Table 1 An Overview of Svensson's (2017) Theoretical Types of SDP Hybrids

Hybrid model	Characteristics	Example
Differentiated	Organizational functions and responsibilities are structurally compartmentalized within a single structure or across independent, but associated entities.	An SDP agency drawing on multiple social enterprises including a store, restaurant, and/or professional sport club to support their community-based mission.
Symbolic	Selected functions of an ancillary approach are incorporated into another more central logic. The new logic is emphasized in external communication, yet core practices remain grounded in the organization's primary logic.	A local SDP organization relying on external funding and communicating practices in alignment with funder demands, yet internally operating according to a different logic.
Integrated	Multiple logics are combined in previously unknown ways to create innovative new organizational arrangements. The goals associated with seemingly conflicting logics are simultaneously achieved through the same means.	A work-integrated social enterprise focusing on promoting livelihood and career development by engaging unemployed individuals at risk of permanent exclusion in the production of hand-stitched sport equipment or operating a bicycle repair shop.
Dysfunctional	Intractable internal dysfunction arising from the contested nature of the opposing approaches. Conflicts are intensified by the inability of leaders to harness productive tensions from the hybridization process and successfully manage the paradox.	An SDP organization entering a partnership with a high-performance sport partner, where the introduction of an elite sport logic generates unmanageable frustration among staff members due to the fear of community-based practices and values being replaced by the interests of the external partner agency.

Note. SDP = sport for development and peace.

identification to merge" (Besharov, 2014, p. 1496), despite divergent identities and values among other actors. Specifically, these "pluralist managers" influence the identification process by (a) developing integrated solutions, (b) deemphasizing ideological principles when discussing organizational practices, and (c) routinizing or anchoring the hybrid ideology through the development of inclusive and supportive policies and procedures. At the same time, it's imperative to recognize so-called "lightning rods" (Ashforth & Reingen, 2014, p. 474)—the most extreme or idealistic member of each group—as these individuals are the ones likely to initiate heated debates about the future direction of the organization.

Battilana et al. (2014) discovered the importance of spaces for negotiation as an instrumental tactic for successfully managing the paradoxical tensions of hybridity. Canales (2014) also found the creation and maintenance of spaces for negotiation, or what he called "local deliberation structures" (p. 20), to be imperative for maintaining a healthy balance of stability and flexibility. Creating and sustaining hybrid spaces in such organizational models involves the leveraging of the dominant logic, hybridizing the dominant logic by embracing the constraints of another logic while adjusting dominant logic practices, and bolstering the dominant logic by institutionalizing the hybrid space while protecting existing members from the excessive influence of the new logic (Perkmann et al., 2018).

In other words, sustaining organizational hybridity requires negotiation processes for facilitating settlements among actors with conflicting identities, values, and practices (Castellas, Stubbs, & Ambrosini, 2018; Schildt & Perkmann, 2017) arising from institutional complexity (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith & Tracey, 2016). When "faced with diverse prescriptions and demands, organizations cope by creating their own idiosyncratic organizational settlements . . . specific organizational configurations that permit the coexistence of organizational principles and practices cohering to different logics" (Schildt & Perkmann, 2017, p. 140). Hybrid

arrangements can also be sustained over time through structured flexibility—stable organizational processes allowing for actors to adapt and evolve organizational meanings, values, identities, and practices over time (Smith & Besharov, 2019). Sustaining hybridity over time can, therefore, be achieved by recognizing the boundaries or organizational "guard rails" and being cognizant when the orientation of an organization approaches those boundaries (Smith & Besharov, 2019). For example, Jay's (2013) in-depth field study of a hybrid revealed that organizational members initially gravitated toward a dominant institutional logic. After a while, however, actors began to reframe their outcomes through an alternative logic. Over time, organizational members developed new interpretations and meanings of their actions and outcomes, resulting in a more balanced hybridity response.

Although the nature of hybrids is often presented as the combination of conflicting and incompatible logics, identities, and structures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Jay, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2010), researchers have found leaders of hybrid organizations instead of seeing opportunities and hidden complementarities of such combinations rather than challenges and problems (Hockerts, 2015; Panum, Hansen, & Davy, 2018; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). Smith, Besharov, Wessels, and Chertok (2012) argued that successfully managing hybridity requires leaders to develop three skills: accepting, differentiating, and integrating. Accepting skills involves leaders embracing seemingly conflicting logics as mutually reinforcing by embracing paradoxical thinking and adopting an abundance mentality to resources. Differentiating skills refers to the ability to identify and respect the unique values of each approach and how they can be valuable to the organization. Integrating skills refers to the ability of leaders to coordinate and configure divergent approaches in creative new ways that generate productivity rather than disruptive conflict. Doing so requires leaders to facilitate synergies in decision making by developing a culture of trust, cultural sensitivity, and openness to new ideas among internal stakeholders (Smith et al., 2012). Thus, the existing literature points

Table 2 The Process of Becoming a Symbolic Sport for Development and Peace Hybrid

Turning points/ organizational markers	Main activities	New stakeholders	Existing organizational logic(s)	Logic(s) introduced by stakeholders	Main sources of tension	Outcomes of the decision point	Retained logics	Rejected logics	Resulting mission definition
Inception	Program Founder and local “thugs” envision a place of hope in their own community.	Kenyan youth leader and Kenyan youth	Family and community	N/A	At this point, there are no tensions; the organization is simply seeking the best means to fulfill its mission and goals.	Search for partners with whom to collaborate.	Family, community, and social welfare	None	Community revitalization through sports for youth in our section of Kibera.
Decision Point 1—initial potential partners	Program founder meets Kenyan Parliament member and U.S. philanthropic group as first potential partners to resource the project.	Kenyan Parliament member and U.S. philanthropic group	Family, community, and social welfare	Bureaucratic—introduces the necessity for all building operations to be approved through appropriate governmental channels. Also introduces some governmental scrutiny and desire for oversight.	Learning—Original members had contained vision for a particular area, whereas Parliamentary member had a much larger scope. Belonging—Will government involvement be desirable for organization? Performing—What is the goal of the broadly defined mission?	Partnership with U.S. philanthropic group did not form. Simply shared resources and left the project. Parliamentary member convinces original founder to locate partnerships outside Kenya to realize larger scope of the full Highway of Hope. Partners agree to help with established vision and to defer to Kenyan leadership—to help bring financial and human capacity to fundamentally Kenyan (and Kibera) vision. Structures and daily operations remain intact.	Family, community, social welfare, and bureaucratic	Community revitalization through basketball throughout Kibera.	
Decision Point 2— U.S. Leadership Foundations partnership	Highway of Hope leaders meets U.S. Foundations executive, who offers to partner with them to build the organization, both courts, and programming. Kenyan leaders visit the United States to view model programs and negotiate a partnership.	U.S. Leadership Foundations executive	Family, community, social welfare, and bureaucratic	Western development—Introduces a western-oriented approach to organizing and measuring performance so that external donor funding (from individuals and corporations) can be solicited.	Learning—Should the Highway of Hope program fundamentally alter its direction as a Kenyan-centric organization? Belonging—Should U.S. partners belong? What will be their role, and will they garner control of the organization? Performing—how will performance be measured, and how will this fit with United States and Kenyan stakeholders? Organizing—Who will be in charge of the fundraising, and who will oversee the building of the courts?	A U.S.-based nonprofit (503c) is formed with joint Kenyan and U.S. executive leadership. Roles and basic organizational structure are defined, but no formal work plan is developed.	Community, social welfare, bureaucratic, and western development logic. Systems for achieving goals and the measurement and evaluation of those goals are formulated.	The Family logic drops as it becomes incompatible with the western development logic. Systems for achieving goals and the measurement and evaluation of those goals are formulated.	Community revitalization and individual development through basketball for youth in Kibera.

(continued)

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Turning points/ organizational markers	Main activities	New stakeholders	Existing organizational logic(s)	Logic(s) introduced by stakeholders	Main sources of tension	Outcomes of the decision point	Retained logics	Rejected logics	Resulting mission definition
Decision Point 3—Kenyan programming partners	Highway of Hope visionary team locates local Kenyan partners to design and operate programming on the courts.	Kenyan basketball leader and Kenyan youth development leaders	Community, social welfare, bureaucratic, and western development	Elite sport—the local basketball partners introduce an elite sport logic whereby development of basketball talent is seen as central.	Learning—How should the organization meet both basketball and development goals? Where should courts be located? How many should we build, and in what order? Performing- is this program about basketball or development, and what takes precedence? Organizing—What will be the organizational structure, and will people be paid or voluntary?	Attempt to implement both basketball and developmental programming based on existing resources, trust, and informal agreements. Partners are all volunteers, mostly from the local community, who are committed to broad vision. No organizational structure or work plan is developed.	Community, social welfare, bureaucratic, and western development	After much discussion, the organization rejects the elite sport logic and reifies its commitment to development of youth through basketball. The community logic of the local organization meshes well with the existing community logic.	Community revitalization and individual development through basketball for youth in Kibera.
Decision Point 4—U.S. programming partners	The U.S. Leadership Foundations executive suggests the partnership with the U.S. program developers and research director, who can help develop a more formal program content and evaluate that content toward garnering external funding.	U.S. basketball, mentoring, and research partners	Community, social welfare, bureaucratic, and western development	Market—The U.S. partners press for an increased business and performance-based logic, with a focus on the formalization, efficiency, and documentation of results. Elite sport logic reexamined.	Learning—How should the organization meet both basketball and development goals? How many partners should be included—how fast and how large should we grow? Belonging—Is this a Kenyan, United States, or shared program? Performing- what are the explicit goals of the organization, and how will we measure them? Pressure for formalization of curriculum, goals, and measurement. Organization—Pressure for formal structures and processes, including policy and procedure manuals for all operational elements.	Formal agreements adopted with clear responsibilities, timelines, and resource allocations attached. Curriculum jointly developed between Kenyan and U.S. partners. Implementation by Kenyans with ongoing U.S. support.	Community, social welfare, bureaucratic, western development, and market	The organization again rejects the elite sport logic in mission and goals hopefully lead to community revitalization.	Individual development of girls through sports in Kibera and other locations that will hopefully lead to community revitalization.

to the need to investigate both the people and process when examining the management of organizational complexity.

Organizational Hybridity in Low- and Middle-Income Countries

Beyond people and process, it is also important to consider context. Thornton et al. (2012) argued that it is imperative to recognize the role of local communities and how the environments in which agencies operate influence organizational behavior. Likewise, Kerlin's (2013) work suggested that the lived realities of managing organizational hybridity may be considerably different depending on the context where the organization operates. Although the literature on hybrids remains predominantly focused on various social enterprises in Europe and North America, entities responding to institutional complexity through creative hybrid combinations and reconfigurations of logics are also found in low- and middle-income countries including Bolivia, Cambodia, Kenya, Laos, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Gupta, Beninger, & Ganesh, 2015; MacLean & Brass, 2015; Marchant, 2017; Panum et al., 2018; Smith & Besharov, 2019). The broader field of international development and humanitarian work is rapidly changing, with increased reductions in traditional development funding models, resulting in challenging new situations for civil society actors in low- and middle-income countries (Appel & Pallas, 2018). The changing priorities among funders and donors are increasingly stimulating the emergence of new hybrid organizations (MacLean & Brass, 2015). The study of hybrid organizations is particularly relevant in Kenya, the context of our case study, which has become a regional hub for (social) entrepreneurs in East Africa and has witnessed an emerging group of hybrids (Marchant, 2017; Panum et al., 2018). The ability to draw on hybridity processes is particularly important for organizations in low- and middle-income countries to generate innovative solutions for overcoming existing environmental challenges (Gupta et al., 2015).

Clearly, we know increasingly more about the configurations of different logics in organizations. However, we know little about how the dynamic organizational hybridity processes evolve and influence an organization over time (Battilana et al., 2017; Perkmann et al., 2018; Schildt & Perkmann, 2017; Smith & Besharov, 2019). In this study, we sought to understand how a nascent SDP organization created within a local Kenyan community, Highway of Hope, responded to institutional complexity. Drawing on Svensson's (2017) conceptualization of organizational hybridity in SDP, along with life course theory (Giele & Elder, 1998), we identify pivotal decision points and how they shaped the organization over its early stages of existence. Following the recommendations by Ocasio et al. (2017) and Thornton et al. (1999, 2008, 2012), we also drew on institutional theory to identify both societal-level and field-level logics in the context of the SDP organization. Our findings provide guidance for advancing our understanding of hybridity processes in SDP both theoretically and practically.

Methods

Given the goals of the project, a social constructivist philosophy toward understanding a lived reality was fitting (Creswell, 2013; Sandelowski, 2000, 2010). As this study was committed to accurately representing the lived experiences of the participants, a qualitative descriptive case study approach, with its focus on naturalistic inquiry, proved the best methodological fit (Eisenhardt, 1989;

Sandelowski, 2000). As Eisenhardt argued, "The case study is a research strategy which focuses on the dynamics present within single settings" (p. 534). Thus, we chose a single case of a start-up SDP organization as the context for this study.

As a way to understand the decision points and their resultant impact on the organization, we conceptualized the case as the life course of the organization over its early stages, unpacking the case over a 4-year period from its conceptualization as an idea through its first year of implementation. In brief, life course theory examines "a sequence of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time" (Giele & Elder, 1998, p. 22). The life course paradigm incorporates individuals' personal and sociocultural contexts, their networks, and their life choices or transitions at key decision points (Giele & Elder, 1998). A *turning point* is a moment when a decision must be made between two life choices—for example, a choice based on a job offer, or the choice to marry or not, to have children or not, or to retire or not. The choice in a life course determines the subsequent career or life trajectory. In sport management, this theory has been used to frame individuals' decisions in such areas as sport participation (Walsh, Green, Holahan, Cance, & Lee, 2019), career and family (Bruening & Dixon, 2008), and career trajectories (Hartzell & Dixon, 2019).

In this study, we utilized life course methodological principles and applied them to an organization. That is, we examined the life course of the organization over its first 4 years of existence, according to salient turning or decision points. In concert with the concept of hybridity, the decision points of interest were those created by the introduction of stakeholders into the project. Each introduction represents a set of organizational tensions as the case organization faced new institutional logics, resulting in competing demands that required an organizational response. The focus of this study was to explore these decisions and how they influenced the organization.

Data Collection

Case studies rely on a variety of data collection methods to understand the case in as much depth as possible. These collection methods can include archives, observations, field notes, and interviews (Eisenhardt, 1989). The data collection is often done in concert with analysis, allowing for flexibility both in the specific data collected (e.g., adding relevant interview questions or changing an observational protocol) and in the sources of data (e.g., adding relevant interviews or archival data sources). Eisenhardt (1989) cautioned, however, that flexibility is not a "license to be unsystematic; rather this flexibility is controlled opportunism in which researchers take advantage of the uniqueness of a specific case and the emergence of new themes to improve resultant theory" (p. 539). Prior to any form of data collection (e.g., observation, interview), all of the participants gave voluntary consent to participate in the study.

Internal Documents

The lead researcher in this project served as the research director on the Highway of Hope project starting in the second year of its conception. The organization gave her access to all of the internal documentation from the beginning of the project, and she helped to create some of the curriculum and policy manuals as the project progressed. These internal documents became an important source of data for understanding the mission, goals, personnel, structure, and operations of the organization.

Observations

Observations of the organization and its members were also an important data source. *Observation* has been described as “the fundamental base of all research methods” (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 389). Over a 2-year period, observations of the organization included, but were not limited to, several in-person multiday meetings of the United States–Kenya leadership team (one in the United States and two in Kenya); regular online meetings of project subgroups; bimonthly conference calls involving the entire project team; multiple visits to the project site to attend mentoring sessions; mentor and coach trainings; basketball practices; and informal interactions with project team members, participants, school representatives and teachers, and community members.

During these observations, the researcher kept extensive field notes and journal entries. This method was beneficial in two ways: it allowed the researcher to simultaneously collect and analyze the data, and it provided the most economical recording method in terms of time and money (Kieren & Munro, 1985). These in-depth field notes from the variety of observations took the form of jottings and notations with some verbatim sentence quotes; however, these notes were not full verbatim transcriptions. The researcher documented the date, time, setting, people involved, and particular happenings during all observations. Although the initial observations were largely unstructured, these observations became more focused on the pertinent issues as the study progressed (Shipway & Holloway, 2016).

Formal and Informal Interviews

In addition to the extensive observations, the research director also interviewed, both formally and informally, a wide range of stakeholders in the program. These included the Kenyan program founder, the U.S. Urban Ventures director, the Kenyan program director, the Kenyan mentoring leader, the American mentoring leader, the Kenyan basketball leader, the American basketball leader, principals and teachers at three secondary schools in Kibera, a Kenyan Junior National Basketball team coach, and female high school athletes (volleyball and soccer) at two Kibera schools (group interviews). The researcher utilized a semistructured interview guide for each formal interview. In general, the interview protocol consisted of two parts: a discussion of the participant’s goals and desired outcomes for the program and the necessary programmatic components, processes, and resources needed to reach those goals and outcomes. Although she asked each participant the same general questions, the semistructured nature of the interview guide allowed her to ask additional probing questions to further understand the experiences, responsibilities, and points of view the participants shared. The formal interviews ranged in length from 20 to 60 min and had an average length of approximately 30 min. An external transcriptionist professionally transcribed the audio files for verbatim transcription.

In addition to (and likely more informative and insightful than) these formal interviews, the lead researcher conducted informal interviews or conversations in person, via Skype, and via telephone throughout the project to gain an appreciation for the same types of questions. That is, in conversations over a meal or coffee, in the car, or in project site visits, the stakeholders constantly reflected on the goals and desired outcomes for the program; status toward those goals; tensions within the organization; and needed adjustments in the program’s content, mission, or processes. These informal interviews were documented in the same manner as field notes, with some notations taken as jottings or key words, and others as verbatim quotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995).

Following the principles outlined by Eisenhardt (1989), these documents—internal documents, observational field notes, journal entries, and interviews—formed the in-depth “story” of the organization, which is the basis of analysis, interpretation, and theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Giele & Elder, 1998).

Data Analysis

Using qualitative content analysis and life course approaches, we combined the various data sources to create a chronological case outline of the program to date (Giele & Elder, 1998). As one might conjecture, this was an extraordinary amount of data that needed to be winnowed to an organized summary. “Qualitative content analysis is a dynamic form of analysis of verbal and visual data that is oriented toward summarizing the information contents of that data” (Sandelowski, 2000, p. 338). Although there is no standard format for such analysis, we followed Eisenhardt (1989) and Sandelowski (2000), who suggested that sequential analysis can be a helpful approach for organizing longitudinal data. Thus, the goal of this initial phase of analysis was to offer a “comprehensive summary of the events in the everyday terms of those events” and to “accurately convey the event in their proper sequence” (Sandelowski, 2000, p. 336).

Once we had constructed a chronological description of the organization, including the people, places, conversations, and outcomes, we reorganized the data according to the purpose and theoretical guidance for the study. In other words, we first identified the key decision points in the organization, which we defined as encounters with stakeholders who held competing logics. For each decision point, we examined the established organizational logics, the new stakeholders or partners and the logics introduced, the resulting tensions (learning, belonging, performing, and organizing), the resolution of these tensions (people and spaces), and the organizational changes (in logics and behaviors) moving forward in the organization. Understanding that the data set consists of over 300 pages of documents and notes, the entire organizational history is beyond the scope of this manuscript. We presented the data according to chronology (Figure 1) and these theoretically guided themes (Table 2), with the overall goal of accurately representing the organization over its nascent life course to date in ways that help us to understand the development of hybridity in SDP organizations and how it informs not only organizational challenges, but also opportunities and hidden complementarities of such combinations that progress the organization through its next phase (Hockerts, 2015; Panum et al., 2018).

Results: A Life Course Perspective of a Nascent Hybrid Organization

Figure 1 provides an overview of the life course and key decision points of the Highway of Hope organization over the first 4 years of its existence to date. (Note: Each arrow represents a turning point—the direction (up or down) does not imply growth or directionality, but the magnitude of the shift is depicted by the angle of the arrows.) For each phase, we examined the main activities, stakeholders, tensions, and resulting outcomes of the decision point (Table 2).

Inception

In 2015, a local youth worker was meeting with a group of young men in Kibera. As described earlier, they decided together to work toward a vision of social transformation in their community

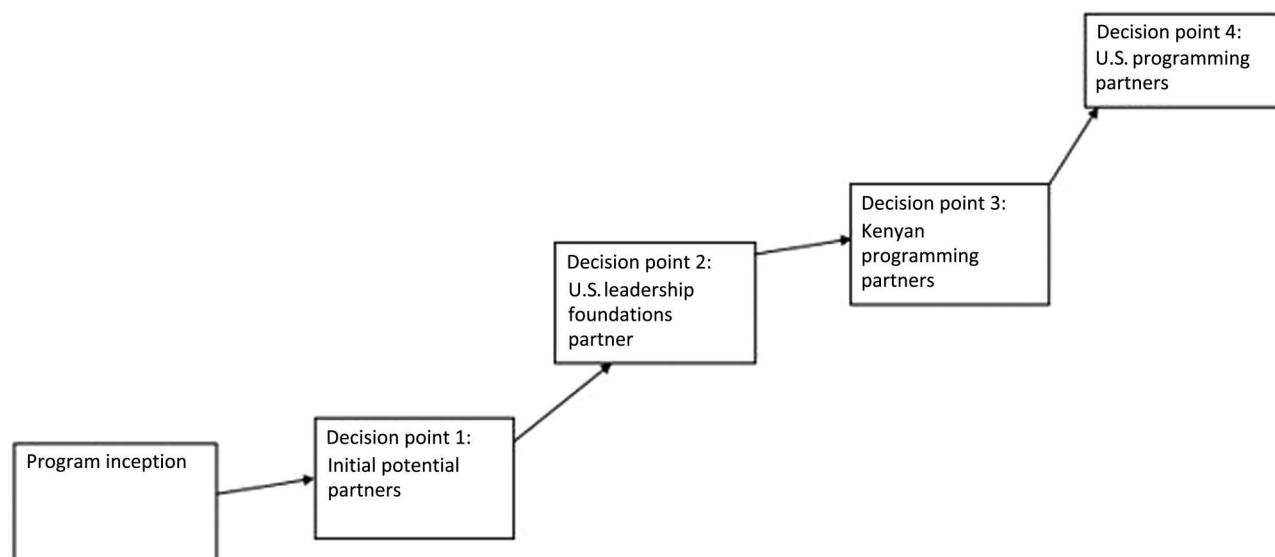


Figure 1 — Life course of a nascent sport for development and peace hybrid organization.

and thought that sport could be a part of that vision. At this point in the organization, the vision was one of community revitalization through sport in Kibera. Thus, it was based on a family logic whereby the local community would organize to solve its own issues. The organization, at this point, had really no explicit tensions, but also had few resources and no structure or processes for enacting their vision (interview with the program founder, November 2018; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018). Thus, in this phase, the loosely defined organization began a search for partners who could help them reach their goals of transforming their community, starting with the youth.

Decision Point 1: Initial Potential Partners

Main activities and stakeholders. In this search for partners, the founders were introduced to two groups. One was a parliamentary representative in Kenya from Kibera, and the other was a philanthropic group from the United States. The group from the United States was touring Kibera and learned of the desire to build some basketball courts. They met with the program founder and agreed to fund one court (interview with the program founder, November 2018; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018). The program founder had no access to land; therefore, they needed to contact the government and see if they could build a court at a local school. The schools are on government-owned land and are the few places in Kibera that offer sufficient and safe spaces to build a basketball court (field notes from the scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018).

A friend of the program founder (who is now also the program director) was a close colleague of the parliamentary representative. They both grew up in Kibera and shared a strong desire to “bring hope to the children of Kibera” (internal document: Kibera Regional Council meeting, February 2018). The parliamentary member agreed to meet with the program founder and the U.S. philanthropist to discuss building a court. During this extended meeting, the parliamentary representative introduced the vision of a “Highway of Hope” and challenged the organization to build not

one, but 16 courts—one at each of the public schools in Kibera (field notes from the scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018; internal document: Kibera Regional Council meeting, February 2018).

The U.S. group agreed to donate the money for the first court. With the input of this group and the approval of the Kenyan Government, a court was constructed at one of the local Kibera schools. The U.S. group, fulfilling their promise, left the organization. However, the parliamentary representative agreed to maintain a partnership and to provide guidance, resources, and support for the project (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018).

Logics and tensions. In terms of logics, the U.S. group did not become partners with Highway of Hope; they simply provided monetary resources. Although they did not introduce new logics or tensions per se, they did introduce the viability of obtaining western resources, which later impacted the life course of the organization in the form of a more salient logic. Further, the decision to build a basketball court (as opposed to other sport facilities), also seemed to fundamentally narrow the focus of the program to basketball. This had ramifications later in the program’s life for the choice of program partners.

The parliamentary member, however, introduced a bureaucratic logic, which likely established the necessity for all building operations to be approved through appropriate Kenyan governmental channels. It also established some governmental scrutiny and oversight. In the words of the program founder (in-person interview, November 2018),

We needed to partner with the government because the schools are on government land and control. Working with the government, of course, introduces some challenges for process and approvals. It makes everything slower and you have to work on finding the right people and situations to get things done. We were fortunate, though, to have [parliamentary member] as a partner because he also had a vision for helping kids in Kibera, and he helped us navigate the government processes.

In addition, this partner also vastly enlarged the scope and vision of the project through the introduction of a social welfare logic, which introduced learning and performing tensions (see [Pache & Santos, 2013](#) for more detailed discussion of the nature of the social welfare logic). As expressed by the program director, “It’s a whole different animal to think of sixteen courts across a whole settlement, as opposed to just one or two courts in a confined area. This changed our whole concept of fundraising and resource needs” (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017).

Outcomes of the decision point. Although the structure and operations of the Highway of Hope program at this point remained largely unchanged, the decision points at this stage appeared to have two major impacts on the direction of the program. First, the introduction of a bureaucratic logic altered the timeline and future processes of the organization. The work needed government approval and appropriate alignment with the goals and financial structures of the schools. Second, the increased scope of the program through the introduction of a social welfare logic shifted thinking from a community-based organization/solution to one that involved external partners. Thus, at this point, the life course seemed only slightly altered and the organizational members did not necessarily “feel” the impact in the daily operations or structure; yet, these decision points established the future path for the nascent organization.

Decision Point 2: U.S. Leadership Foundations Partner

Main activities and stakeholders. The introduction of an executive from Leadership Foundations in the United States became the next decision point that altered the course of the organization and introduced logics that seemed to fully introduce the actual hybridization process. The U.S. Leadership Foundations leader shared the vision that “We should do ‘something’ with sport to bring hope to children in Kibera” and had a wealth of experience in community transformation through sport in his own local community. Thus, he appeared to be an attractive and valuable partner who could not only help resource the program, but also provide guidance on how to implement it (field notes the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; interview with the program founder, November 2018).

The Kenyan team consisting of the program founder and the program director traveled to the United States to meet with the Leadership Foundations executive and see in person the work that had been done in the United States, which was presented as a model program (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017). Beginning with this visit and extending through weekly phone conversations and an extended working retreat, the partners developed an original prospectus, which outlined the original vision and scope of the project, enumerated needed resources, and delineated potential people and organizations who could contribute to the project (phone interview with the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, April 2017). In this process, they also agreed upon three foundational purposes that would guide the organization in its development (Kibera Highway of Hope Organizational Prospectus, September 2016). The three foundational purposes were as follows:

(a) We are undertaking an immensely important and comprehensive project—a private–public partnership—to transform the Kibera slum of Nairobi, the largest urban slum in Africa.

(b) Basketball is a key component and the first step of the overall project and will enable us to draw youth (both boys and girls) and their families off the streets into constructive, organized activity.

(c) We are partnering with the NBA, Athletes in Action, Little Prince Basketball Academy (Kibera), and local schools to develop programming.

Although no other partners were actually added at this time, they agreed to seek additional partners who could carry out the vision. Thus, the organization Highway of Hope was “officially” formed as a joint venture of Center for Transforming Mission (Kenya) and Leadership Foundations (United States). It was to be legally registered as a 501(c)3 nonprofit, headquartered in the United States for financial purposes, yet structurally based (leadership and operations) in Nairobi, Kenya.

Thus, in this early phase, the organization was already making choices that likely continued to define its logics, identities, and forms. Even choices such as legal structures (501(c)3 nonprofit headquartered in the United States), basketball versus other sports, and youth versus adults started to shape the organization and created spaces for both opportunities and tensions.

Logics and tensions. In terms of logics, this decision point introduced a western development logic, which is a western-oriented approach to organizing and measuring performance so that external donor funding (from individuals and corporations) can be solicited. This logic brings with it more formalized structures, mission, goals, and measured outcomes (see [Dossa, 2007](#) for a more detailed discussion of western development and [Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012](#) and [Darnell, Field, & Kidd, 2019](#) for more detailed discussions of the western development logic in SDP). This type of shift in organizing is reflected in the U.S. Leadership Foundations Executive’s operational capabilities statement (no date): “We provide solid, systematic ways to evaluate the effectiveness of joint efforts. As well as overall performance.” It was also reflected in subsequent operations in the organization. For example, rather than the previous loosely defined mission of “we should do something to help kids,” the organization now adopted a formal mission statement and strategic goals. As another example, the organization began to operate with formal position titles and organizational charts that clearly delineated roles and responsibilities, rather than the previous informal agreements based on relationships and existing hierarchical structures in the community. Thus, this type of formalization seemed to slowly replace the existing family logic, which is based on informal trust and relational structures (cf. [Thornton et al., 2012](#)).

The original orientations and priorities from each side began to emerge as potential tensions, particularly surrounding the following six central issues: (a) Is this program for Kibera or to share? (b) Who will actually control the program? (c) How will we define and measure effectiveness? (d) Who would be responsible for the daily implementation? (e) Who will fund the program? and (f) What additional partnerships should we seek and what would those mean to our organization? (field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; program founder, personal communication, February 2018; weekly conference call, May 2018; Kenyan Regional Council meeting, May 2018).

Outcomes of the decision point. At this point, the Highway of Hope organization consisted of three people (the program founder, the program director, and the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive) who were all visionaries, fundraisers, and connectors, but who would likely not be involved in the daily operations of the

organization (field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; program founder, personal communication, February 2018; weekly conference call, May 2018). The family logic, which had dominated the organization, now seemed to become incompatible with the western development logic that called for formalized structures. Thus, although appreciating the value of relationships, the founding members seemed willing to replace the family logic with the western development logic (as reflected in the operational capabilities statement above), adopt formalized structures, and incorporate them with existing community, social welfare, and bureaucratic logics. The mission, which was agreed upon by all partners, remained unaltered, but the fundamental structure and goals of the organization were now more oriented toward defining and measuring outcomes, so that external funding could be obtained. As the program founder suggested,

The decision to partner with Leadership Foundations made perfect sense. It was good to be organized and have direction and [US Leadership Foundations executive] had a great model and plan. At the same time, I wondered how the community members in Kibera would see it. (field notes, strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017)

At this stage, it was important to the Kenyan founders that the new logic (western development) did not challenge the core mission, but only how it could be carried out.

In terms of the community and social welfare logics, these also remained dominant at this point. As seen in the quote above, the Leadership Foundations introduction was largely viewed as compatible with those logics. The U.S. Leadership Foundations executive initially took an advisory and supportive stance, whereby the control of the direction and operations of the organization remained in the hands of the original community members and founders. Thus, there seemed to be no need to contest or alter the community logic. The social welfare logic also remained dominant. In fact, there was an explicit discussion at this stage that external funding would be sought to fulfill the needs of the program toward helping youth, but that the project would never be about making money from basketball or from the young people who participated in the Highway of Hope program—both of which are consistent with the social welfare logic. As the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive said, “We are all in agreement that this is for kids. This is about a vital work in transforming the community. And we need quality basketball and quality courts—but these are just the tools. We need to be careful not to become like many of the youth basketball programs in the United States that are money focused and use kids for the coaches’ own profit and promotion” (U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, informal phone interview, May 2017).

In total, the Kenyan founders appeared to adopt the western development logic by agreeing to embrace potential requirements or restrictions for organizational structure and reporting. This decision seemed similar to that of adopting the bureaucratic logic in that both were seen as “operational shifts in order to get things done” and as “no problem” (interview with the program founder, November 2018), rather than as alterations to the core mission or direction of the organization. The existing social welfare and community logics, however, remained largely unchanged, especially as they seemed to the founders to be closely tied to the organizational mission of developing youth in their own community. With newly adopted logics and forms, the nascent organization continued moving forward with the necessary next step of building the operations team and developing the systematic goals and measures to guide their progress.

Decision Point 3: Kenyan Programming Partners

Main activities and stakeholders. The first step of this phase was an attempt to identify what work needed to be done and in what order, who would actually do the work, and how the work would be funded. On the U.S. side, the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive promoted the building of the basketball courts as being of primary importance. He explained that there were no existing facilities in Kibera, and without courts, there could be no programming on the courts (field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April, 2017). Although the other leaders fundamentally agreed, their expertise was not in facilities, but in people. Thus, the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive took the lead role in fundraising for the facilities, whereas the program founder and director worked to build the programming for the courts (interview with the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, April 2017; field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; journal notes from the visit to Kenya, June 2017). Interestingly, this sharing of tasks also seemed to introduce a subtle shift to greater shared power and responsibility in the organization. As both “sides” (United States and Kenyan) of executive leadership took on roles and responsibilities for tasks, the organization increased its level of operational hybridity, becoming more of an integrated United States–Kenyan organization in actual operations than in name only.

The U.S. leader tapped his networks in search of organizations and individuals who would understand and value the vision of Highway of Hope and want to contribute financially to its development. The leader was not seeking to add stakeholders, per se, but simply to garner funding for the courts. In his words, he was “careful to approach” only those organizations “that would understand what we are trying to do here” (field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017).

The Kenyan leaders tapped their networks in search of individuals who might be the right “fit” in terms of vision, skills, capacity to contribute, and desire to contribute to the welfare of youth in the community (especially as many of the original people were asked to contribute to the project on a volunteer basis). Unlike the U.S. funders, these were partners who would likely become organizational members.

The first considerations for these new members centered around “who could do basketball?” and “who could do development?” (field notes from the visit to Kibera, June 2017). For basketball, they identified a group of men in Kibera who had created a local basketball academy and were in the process of expanding that to the Kibera Basketball Association. These men also shared the vision of wanting to “do something with basketball” to help youth in Kibera have a better life. Thus, on the surface, they appeared to be an excellent fit, both with the existing logics and organizational mission. The Kenyan Highway of Hope leaders approached them with the idea of building courts for Highway of Hope that could also be shared by the Kibera Basketball Association (field notes from the visit to Kibera, June 2017).

On the development side, a staff member at CTM Nairobi was passionate about and developing initial curriculum/guidelines for a mentoring program among girls in Kibera. She felt that the girls in Kibera were not only the most vulnerable and exploited, but also that they had the greatest capacity to affect change in their community (interview with the Kenyan mentoring director, June 2017). In her words, “I guess the best way to say it is this: it’s tough to be a girl in Kibera,” (interview with the Kenyan mentoring director, June 2017). Because of her leadership in this area, the organization decided to direct the Highway of Hope program

toward adolescent girls, with the explicit understanding that the program would also be eventually extended to boys (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, November 2017).

Logics and tensions. These stakeholders appeared to be strongly aligned with the community and social welfare logics and willing to work within the ramifications of the bureaucratic and western development logics. The Kenyan mentoring director, with her emphasis on girls, introduced the notion that the program should be directed toward girls, either in total, or at least as a first priority. At the same time, the potential partnership with the Kenyan basketball stakeholders introduced an elite sport logic, whereby the development of basketball skills and talent is seen as paramount to individual personal development (i.e., the tension of development of sport vs. development through sport).

The competing logics manifested in both learning and performing types of tensions (Smith & Lewis, 2011). The learning tensions revolved around questions such as *How should the organization evolve and meet both basketball and development goals?*, *Where should courts be located?*, and *How many should we build and in what order?* The performing tensions revolved around questions such as *Is this program about basketball or development and what takes precedence?* In addition, the lack of initial financial resources also introduced organizing tensions in terms of how the organization should be structured to deliver both basketball and development, if both aspects would be equal in terms of structure, and who would be paid versus volunteer.

Outcomes of the decision point. After much discussion among the U.S. and Kenyan organizational leaders (interview with the program founder, November 2017), the organization decided to orient around the developmental aspects rather than the sport aspects of the program. The leaders, although embracing the notion that the basketball programs would need to be quality such that youth would want to belong to them, agreed the organization was not really basketball-talent focused. They did not have the expertise, networks, or desire to develop basketball talent. They were wary of potential corruption and exploitation of youth that might come with an elite focus or a focus on commercialization of sport. They also felt that only a few players from Kibera would experience life change through their basketball talent, whereas many would benefit from mentoring (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017). The idea of prioritizing girls was discussed, yet no decision or change to the organizational mission was made at this time. This kind of decision making and confirmation of a commitment to more holistic development of youth through basketball signals a rejection of the elite sport logic and a choice to continue with the core community and social welfare logics underpinning local operations in Kenya.

In terms of structure, the organization grew to essentially three layers—the organizational executive leadership (three people with shared power and responsibility), the program director, and then the program leaders—a Kenyan basketball director and a Kenyan mentoring director—with shared power and responsibility. Consistent with the western development logic, the job descriptions for these positions were defined, and organizational goals began to form. At the same time, this logic, with its heavy emphasis on quantifiable results and a top-down approach, presented potentially contradictory prescriptions for how to operate the organization compared with the community and social welfare logics.

Highway of Hope appeared to incorporate some practices from the western development logic, such as the wording of job

descriptions and an increased focus on monitoring and evaluation, and bureaucratic protocols were implemented for dealing with schools or court building. However, the organization seemed to remain strongly guided in its overall goals and its daily operations by community and social welfare logics (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017). That is, the new members not only agreed to work on a voluntary basis, but also shared a vision for developing youth and were from the community. In this case, the new members appeared to adopt the dominant logics of the organization, as the organization clearly set boundaries on the areas it was willing and not willing to change. In particular, the basketball director agreed to accept the terms of the Highway of Hope social welfare logic and set aside his desire for elite sport, at least as it pertained to this project (field notes from the onsite visit, Nairobi, Kenya, March 2018).

Decision Point 4: U.S. Programming Partners

Main activities and stakeholders. At the suggestion of the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, the organization began searching for U.S. partners that could not only help financially with building the courts, but also might have expertise in basketball, mentoring, and evaluation (interview with the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, April 2017). Like the Kenyan members in these roles, the leadership was seeking new organizational members who would understand and value the existing organizational mission, yet bring new capacities to the organization.

With respect to basketball objectives, they sought relationships with U.S. partners who could help to create quality basketball programs (training coaches, designing practice and game plans, and developing operational manuals). Ideally, they also sought U.S. partners who might help them to build basketball development networks for promising players. They identified a Leadership Foundations partner in Atlanta, GA, in the United States, with the requisite expertise and shared vision of the program. The U.S. basketball director, therefore, was added to the program team (field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017; weekly conference call, January 2018).

On the developmental side, the team was searching for people who had expertise in “youth development,” understanding that such a concept is broadly defined and that development programs can take many shapes and forms (interview with the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, April 2017). U.S. Leadership Foundations already had in place a program in several cities funded by the U.S. Department of Justice aimed at mentoring youth who were in the juvenile system. The mentoring was proving successful for increasing life skills and improving recidivism. Thus, the director of that program was asked if she could create a mentoring program that would be directed at the Highway of Hope’s development goals for youth participants in Kibera. In choosing this person, there was an extended phone conversation about the “fit” of the current program in the Kenyan context and about the need for understanding what is meant by “development” in this context, with a strong desire to develop something that would be contextually appropriate, yet generalizable to other communities in and beyond Kenya (field notes from the initial scoping meeting, Dallas, TX, April 2017; weekly conference call, July 2017; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Minneapolis, MN, October 2017).

Logics and tensions. The U.S. partners expressed support for the existing logics, yet seemed to introduce an even stronger market logic. That is, these partners pressed for an increased focus on

business formalization, efficiency, and documentation of results. This is similar to the western development logic not only with its focus on “proven results” but also with a strong emphasis on formalization, process efficiencies, and accountability. The market logic reintroduced learning tensions in the organization about how many partners should be included and how fast and how large the organization should grow. In terms of belonging, the introduction of more international partners presented questions such as *Who guides the program and how will we identify ourselves to others?* and *Is this a Kenyan, American, or shared program?* Performing tensions included explicitly identifying goals of the organization and how to measure them, as well as pressure for the formalization and standardization of the basketball and mentoring curriculum and alignment with outcomes.

The strong U.S. basketball partner, with his focus and network in elite basketball development, also reintroduced tensions regarding the elite sport development logic, and where the emphasis of the program should sit, which likely created the strongest learning tensions to date in the program, focused on the following questions: *How should the organization meet both basketball and development goals?* and *Are we a community development agency, competitive sport organization, or both?* These tensions surrounded, in particular, the suggestion by this partner that the courts be leveraged toward revenue generation from camps, clinics, tournaments, and academy memberships. He saw it as a way for the organization to be self-sustaining, but the organizational founders saw it as a conflict with the social welfare orientation of the organization (field notes from the visit to Kenya, March 2018).

Finally, the competing logics introduced tensions about organizing practices, including pressure for formal structures and processes, such as policy and procedure manuals for all operational elements. The social welfare and community logics prescribed the importance of local ownership and mechanisms for engaging community members throughout decision-making processes. The market logic, on the other hand, demanded a more managerial-focused structure and increased formalization, whereas the elite sport logic prescribed structures and processes centered around talent development systems. All of these had to be negotiated through the weekly conference calls, conversations between individual members, and face-to-face strategic meetings, which, throughout the program, were the ongoing spaces for deliberation (Battilana et al., 2014; Canales, 2014).

Outcomes of the decision point. This life stage was probably the most difficult and tenuous because many of the initial tensions that were never explicitly acknowledged or negotiated finally manifested in necessary decisions about the direction and organization of the program that must be worked through by organizational members to move forward. In fact, given the many tensions and competing logics, for the first time, many organizational members on both sides questioned if this organization *could* move forward (field notes from weekly conference calls, August 2018, September 2018). The tensions had to be fully embraced and resolved if the hybrid was to continue to thrive or, members suggested, the organization would become dysfunctional.

In terms of mission, due to the pressure for external funding and measures that could be utilized to “prove performance,” the organization shifted its overall mission to focus on girls and on individual development (as it was perceived that community development was difficult to measure and was a lengthier process). In essence, it was seen as a strategic move toward long-term funding. As explained by the program founder,

Although we want to strengthen the capacity of all the youth in Kibera, we see the most energy and funding around programs for girls. So, we felt if we started with girls, and we could prove we were helping girls, we could find funding for everyone. (interview with the program founder, November 2018)

This shift, for the program founder, was one that he embraced only for the short-term success of the program; it did not fundamentally alter his overall vision. In his words,

We need to focus on girls, but we need to lift up boys, too. This program started with boys, and it needs to eventually land there. I want to develop girls, but whatever we do for girls to improve their lives, we also eventually need to do for boys. (interview with the program founder, November 2018)

Thus, although a short-term mission shift seemed to embrace the western development and market logics, the local leaders’ long-term vision and sustainability of the organization seemed to largely follow the community and social welfare logics.

The elite sport logic was once again rejected, at least as it was expressed in the mission, vision, and general organization. However, given the need for sustained revenue and the high profile of potential partners like the NBA, it is likely that the tension between sport development and sport for development will persist in this organization.

Several aspects of a market logic were adopted, which is demonstrated in one way in the organization in the forms of formal agreements (i.e., Memorandi of Understanding) between the U.S. and Kenyan partners and between Highway of Hope and the partner schools in Kibera. These documents detailed responsibilities, timelines, and resource allocations, yet were crafted by local leaders to maintain the core focus on the community and social welfare logics. According to the U.S. Leadership Foundations executive, “These MOUs help guide us and give accountability. Although we know that relationships are key, we cannot simply shake hands and the program will get done. We have to have direction and clear lines of communication and responsibility” (field notes from weekly conference calls, September and October, 2018; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018).

In addition, a formal curriculum for both basketball and mentoring was jointly developed between the Kenyan and U.S. partners. The curriculum followed a U.S.-based youth development theoretical model, with culturally relevant lessons and examples. Outcome measures and procedures for data collection were developed by the U.S. partners with input from the Kenyan partners. Operationally, the program was implemented by Kenyans with ongoing U.S. support, which is the current status of the organization.

In total, the founding members of Highway of Hope made several compromises in response to the increased institutional complexity for the short-term survival of the organization, although they remain committed to reinforcing the community and social welfare logics over time for the long-term sustainability of the SDP organization (Informal Interviews with the program founder and director, Nairobi, Kenya November 2018; field notes from the strategic planning meeting, Nairobi, November 2018).

Discussion

Eisenhardt (1989) argued that case studies can be helpful for extending theory because they can highlight ways that lived reality

differs from theoretical predictions and where organizations within themselves can be “conflicting realities” (p. 546). Such is the case in this investigation. The findings, combined with recent studies in other disciplines, suggest that organizational hybridity is a dynamic process through which organizations evolve over time. As such, we need to move beyond simply describing the presence of hybridity and the static management practices of hybrid leaders at a particular point in time. Patricia Thornton and William Ocasio, two of the leading scholars on institutional logics, have emphasized the importance of examining both societal level and field-specific logics (e.g., Ocasio et al., 2017; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 2008). In this study, we identified both societal-level and field-level logics during the formative stages of an SDP agency. Specifically, our case study highlighted pivotal decision points and their implications for a nascent SDP organization responding to institutional complexity through the process of organizational hybridity to become a symbolic hybrid, similar to one of the types proposed by Svensson (2017). In doing so, the local Kenyan founders engaged in what Perkmann et al. (2018, p. 308) called “hybridizing the dominant logic.” The founders of Highway of Hope hybridized the dominant community and social welfare logics of the organization by incorporating elements of western development, bureaucratic, and market logics, while rejecting the elite sport logic introduced by a group of sport stakeholders.

Four major discussion points arise from this case that unpack the nexus between theory and practice and provide future insights for understanding the following: (a) the importance of formative stages, (b) the significance of spaces for the deliberation of tensions, (c) the balance of structure and flexibility, and (d) the influence of context. Each of these is discussed below.

First, this study underscores the need for additional attention to be focused on how SDP organizations are formed and to the level of awareness of SDP within local communities and broader development efforts. The formative stage of organizations is an area that has been underinvestigated, both theoretically and in the field. Yet, the decisions made during this formative stage can have significant implications for an SDP organization, as in this case study. In this case, all of the hybridization processes were formulated and manifest in the organization in tangible ways prior to and within the first year of program implementation. Thus, one can see the tensions and shifts in the mission, structure, process, and identity playing out while the organization is in its formative stages.

From a practical standpoint, this suggests the need for organizations to clearly define their mission and to think carefully through interactions with potential stakeholders in meeting organizational needs for human and financial resources. As seen in this case, each interaction represents an early-stage decision point that will likely have a long-term impact on the organization.

From a theoretical perspective, researchers could draw on Andersson’s (2016, 2017) work on nascent nonprofit entrepreneurs and the process of organizational emergence to further advance our knowledge of the early stages in the life course of SDP organizations. In addition, the concept of social bricolage (cf. Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010) provides another valuable framework to examine during the formative stage of new SDP organizations, which could be instrumental for making the best use of the resources at hand and overcoming existing capacity challenges (see also Svensson, Andersson, & Faulk, 2018).

Second, given the growing institutional complexity leaders faced as Highway of Hope began to take form, our findings also indicate the importance of leveraging both ongoing discussion

and face-to-face leadership summits as spaces for deliberation regarding emerging tensions in the hybridization process within a nascent SDP organization. Battilana et al. (2014) and Canales (2014) suggested the importance of spaces, and our findings identify some specific crucial spaces, as well as their roles in shaping hybridity. Both of these spaces played an integral role in facilitating organizational settlements among the growing number of core stakeholders involved in the case organization who had divergent ideas on the desired practices, values, goals, and identity of Highway of Hope. The ongoing conference calls provided a forum for introducing ideas and strategies, whereas the extended face-to-face meetings provided a forum for clarification, mutual understanding, and decision making, all of which require time and social cues, especially if working with diverse partners.

These insights provide practical guidance for nascent hybrid organizations in intentionally creating space (in both place and time) for difficult dialogue (e.g., Sandelowski, 2000; Svensson, 2017; Svensson & Seifried, 2017). Significant time and concentrated effort must be given not only toward organizational activities, but also toward negotiating tensions. Our findings are consistent with those of Battilana et al. (2014), who argued that organizational tensions do not simply resolve themselves and that members involved in hybrid organizations must expect and plan to spend time effectively working through them. Although developing trust among internal stakeholders and a shared vision is important for any new organization, such actions are not sufficient for handling organizational tensions. Instead, consistent with some of the suggestions made by other scholars, organizational leaders need to allocate necessary time and effort to creating spaces for involved stakeholders to share their perspectives and negotiate organizational settlements (Battilana et al., 2014; Castellás et al., 2018; Schildt & Perkmann, 2017).

The practice of organizational record keeping provides a useful example. From a community logic, especially in Kenya, there was no motive for keeping records—the local stakeholders were actively involved in programming and had personal relationships with youth participants and their families, which they believed allowed them to personally observe and see program attendance and outcomes. Having to fill out attendance records and similar paperwork was seen as unnecessary and taking away from running the community-based programs. From both a western development logic and a market logic, on the other hand, systematic record keeping is essential, as the long-term operation of a program is seen to be dependent on the ability to track progress and demonstrate the program’s operation and associated outcomes. This situation created increased frustration between the Kenyan and U.S. stakeholders, even with weekly conference calls, until the organizational members all met face-to-face during a leadership summit. This extended space for negotiation created by the local founders provided an opportunity for both groups to share their perspective and engage in extensive and constructive discussions. These conversations resulted in the Kenyan stakeholders recognizing the potential value of some record keeping, whereas the U.S. stakeholders realized the capacity challenges of local staff and the importance of streamlining record keeping to allow the local program staff to operate the core community programs. Without these types of opportunities for internal stakeholders to collectively spend time to work through organizational tensions (cf. Battilana et al., 2014), the process of organizational hybridity in our case study would likely have resulted in a dysfunctional hybrid (Svensson, 2017).

Our findings reinforce Schildt and Perkmann's (2017) argument on the need to explore the nexus of organizational settlements and hybridization to advance both our theoretical and practical understanding of organizational hybridity. When faced with institutional complexity, SDP leaders need to decide or "settle" how the organization will make sense of the divergent demands to move forward as an organization. The nature of such settlements is particularly important to explore when SDP initiatives involve stakeholders from both low- and middle-income countries and partners in high-income countries (see Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012 for a full discussion). Our case study highlighted how a locally developed SDP organization fostered new organizational settlements over time. The agency was able to find ways to manage the inherent power dynamics of engaging Kenyan and U.S. partners by anchoring its dominant core logics and identifying the organization's boundaries, which is another key discussion point from this case study.

Third, the organization's evolution through key points in its early life course provides evidence of the delicate balance needed between structure and flexibility in hybrid organizations. Consistent with Smith and Besharov's (2019) arguments, organizational leaders need to recognize the boundaries or "guard rails" in terms of an organization's orientation to successfully sustain organizational hybridity over time. Although organizational leaders accepted the value in incorporating certain elements of new logics into the organization's dominant community and social welfare logics, the rejection of the elite sport logic was a clear demarcation of the case organization's boundary.

This ability to both structure and flex is likely dependent on the types of leaders in the organization (pluralist and lightning rods) and the managerial skills exhibited by those leaders. Our findings suggested that the leaders of a nascent SDP organization developed accepting and differentiating skills for managing organizational hybridity. However, less prevalent were integrating skills; these were defined by Smith et al. (2012) as the ability of leaders to facilitate synergies between divergent stakeholders and develop creative new responses that minimize conflict. One possible explanation is that such hybrid leadership skills likely take longer to develop than the ability to accept and differentiate the values of conflicting logics, but doing so could help propel a nascent SDP organization to the next stage in its life course. Further, the organization clearly had several lightning rod stakeholders, yet the open-minded and patient pluralism of the Kenyan founders strongly influenced the ability of the organization to embrace competing logics and adapt accordingly to take advantage of opportunities. Leaders of the basketball partner agencies initially served as "lightning rods" through their insistence on the critical importance of elite sport development. At the same time, however, the U.S. leader was adamantly opposed to this idea, serving as a lightning rod on the other end of the spectrum. The Kenyan founders de-emphasized ideological differences while discussing organizational practices and instead emphasized the central purpose of the SDP organization—helping local youth in Kibera. Their purpose-driven approach ultimately led to the identification of the organization's boundaries, or guard rails, yet the local leaders' pluralistic approach also allowed for flexibility within those boundaries for advancing the organization forward. Similarly, Highway of Hope's leaders opposed the profit-driven motive around an earned revenue program model, as their founding vision was not to make money off of a sport or local youth. However, the local leaders also recognized the value of enacting some practices of western development and market

logics in terms of formalizing their evaluation and reporting (i.e., adopting a "symbolic" hybrid model, Svensson, 2017) as a means for generating the resources necessary for enacting their founding vision based in the dominant community and social welfare logics.

Clearly, this is an area for investigation both practically and theoretically. That is, although the case points out the importance of pluralist managers and their needed skills, it does not provide guidance on how to identify or develop such skills. Targeted inquiry in this specific area of leadership/management would be fruitful for advancing both theory and practice in organizational hybrids.

Fourth, a number of scholars in other disciplines have called for increased attention to the influence of local communities and different geographical contexts on how organizations identify and respond to institutional logics (e.g., Kerlin, 2013; Thornton et al., 2012). In our case study, it appeared that the organization being initiated within the Global South and led by several Kenyan stakeholders who had grown up in Kibera was instrumental in shaping the organization to become an assimilated or symbolic hybrid underpinned by the community and social welfare logics as put forth by Svensson (2017). Their personal experiences and understanding of the community were critical drivers behind the organization's decision to reject the elite sport logic during several key decision points, deciding that a development logic was better suited to the needs of Kibera.

Interestingly, none of the cofounders of the case organization had a background in the SDP space. Nevertheless, similar to many other SDP initiatives, the founders recognized the potential role of sport for engaging youth in various development programs (e.g., Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). According to Svensson and Woods (2017) systematic review of SDP organizations, Kenya has among the most organizations of any country in the world. Yet, we found the case organization did not engage in any partnerships with, or exhibit an awareness of, existing SDP agencies in Nairobi, such as the Mathare Youth Sports Association, Sadili, Kibera Sport for Development, or Futbol Más Kenya, even though several of these agencies operate within the Kibera community. Of particular interest is the fact that some of the cofounders both represented the Kenyan Parliament and local community organizations and were also from the Kibera neighborhood themselves.

From a practical perspective, nascent SDP entrepreneurs and organizations may benefit from an initial local search for SDP partners. These may be more like-minded in mission and logics than partnerships introduced across very different cultures and/or outside the SDP space. These types of local collaborations could help to minimize institutional complexity during the formative stages of SDP organizations and the tensions associated with organizational hybridity. It also speaks to the need to establish clear communications and expectations along cultural lines.

From a theoretical perspective, future research is needed to explore this phenomenon of SDP fragmentation. Is there simply a lack of awareness of existing SDP organizations, or are there barriers to building relationships such that scholars and practitioners could help overcome the fragmentation of the SDP space and duplication of similar efforts? In addition, Kerlin (2013) suggested that context may significantly influence the lived realities of managing organizational hybridity. This study makes a significant contribution to the existing work based largely in western contexts, as it gives voice to local African practitioners' experiences as they work toward individual and social change through sport. Yet, this study does not directly compare and contrast

organizational contexts. Cross-case comparisons that unpack the meaningful differences on hybrid management would be a fruitful area of inquiry for developing theoretical advancements, especially those that speak to boundary conditions on existing SDP hybrid theory (Bacharach, 1989).

Conclusion

In this article, we have presented an in-depth case study of how a nascent SDP organization created from within a local community in Kenya responded to institutional complexity through a process of organizational hybridity. We have unpacked how the case organization navigated through a series of pivotal decision points during its formative years and how those moments shaped the organization. The involvement of stakeholders from the Global North not only brought increased capacity and needed resources, but also created increased institutional complexity for the local founders of the nascent Kenyan SDP organization. The inherent power dynamics of the North–South relationship created clear challenges as new logics were introduced, which prescribed contradictory ways of operating an SDP initiative. However, the founding of the organization from within a Kenyan community played a critical role, as local founders imprinted the community and social welfare logics at the core of the organization and established guiding boundaries. Our findings indicate the potential value of a symbolic hybrid model for developing organizational settlements that maintain dominant core logics, yet how those logics are hybridized to incorporate some elements of other logics introduced by the Global North stakeholders through so-called “structured flexibility” (Smith & Besharov, 2019, p. 24).

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