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Fabio Rojas

INTRODUCTION

Race is a core sociological topic and institutionalism is a core paradigm in organizational theory. Surprisingly, there are relatively few attempts to explore the connections between race and institutional processes. A casual perusal of classic texts in neo-institutional theory reveals a genuine scarcity of research on how race and institutions interact. None of the early classic articles of institutional theory mention race, such as Stinchcombe's (1965) article on environmental imprinting, Meyer and Rowan's (1977) discussion of myth and ceremony, or DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) iron cage article. The edited volumes defining early neo-institutionalism, such as *The New Institutional Analysis* (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991), exhibit a similar lack of attention given to race. Even recent anthologies, such as *Institutional Work: Actors and Agency in Institutional Studies of Organization* (Lawrence et al., 2011), do not have sustained discussions of race.

This situation is starting to change. In the last ten years, a number of scholars in sociology, management and related areas have begun an earnest effort to integrate the study of race and institutional analysis. There are a number of motivating factors behind this new scholarship. Some scholars are interested in race as an issue of contention within organizations. These scholars use concepts from the study of social movements to formulate questions about the impact of race within organizational settings (Binder, 2002; Rojas, 2007, 2010). Social movement scholar Doug McAdam and organizational theorist Neil Fligstein used the Civil Rights movement to illustrate contention within organizational fields (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Other scholars are interested in race as an example of the regulating forces that shape organizations (Shiao, 2005). Diversity policies, employment law and other policies are all aimed at trying to force organizations to provide a public accounting for how they hire and manage employees (e.g., Dobbin, 2009; Skrentny, 1996, 2014). Still other scholars are interested in race because social categories are basic ingredients to organizational fields (Wooten, 2015). As various actors strive to build and develop organizational fields, they react to the basic categories of the social world, which influence their decision making.

The chapter introduces the reader to the intersection between institutional analysis and the sociology of race. First, this chapter will provide a brief summary of what sociologists understand race to mean and why it is important for the study of organizations. Second, the chapter will review the emerging literature that illustrates the role of race in shaping organizations and institution. In the conclusion, I will present a synthesis and outline a series of open questions about how race affects institutional processes.

RACE AS A SUBJECT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The definition of race is one of the most contentious topics in the social sciences (see Morning, 2011 for a review). The debate focuses on whether race refers to a social convention or whether human beings can be classified into subgroups based on shared ancestry and physical traits. Those who argue that race is a social convention are often called ‘constructivists’ because they believe that terms like ‘Black’ or ‘White’ are historically specific categories. On this point, constructivists note that the definition of a racial group varies greatly over time, racial definitions vary across cultures, the boundaries of racial groups are vague, and they claim that the evidence for biologically defined racial groups is weak or inconclusive. In contrast, there is also a tradition of social science that asserts that ‘race is real'. Scholars in this tradition point to the fact that there is detectable genetic drift within the human population. As people migrated out of East Africa, they became geographically distant, which allowed there to be differences between communities. Scholars in this tradition usually rely on studies of human genes collected from populations across the world and they try to establish that there is non-random clustering of genetic markers. For a recent review of this literature, see Shiao et al. (2011).

In general, most scholars in management, sociology, economics and related areas focus on the social dimensions of race and treat race as a socially constructed category guiding action. For example, in Gary Becker's (1957) economic analysis of employment discrimination, race acts as a proxy for people's beliefs about workers. As people interact, they must establish formal, and informal, criteria for who belongs in a specific category and what the categories mean. For example, in the United States, many people employ the 'one drop rule' to define 'Black' – a person with a single ancestor who was Black is also Black. In other contexts, race is very strictly defined. In the United States, membership in an indigenous tribe, such as the Cherokee, requires that a person have an ancestor on a government enumeration of tribe members called the 'Dawes Roll', which was finalized in 1907 (Cherokee Nation, 2015). Other tribes, such as the Navajo, require both ancestry and participation in a tribal community (Bardill, 2015).

Thus, for students of institutional theory, the social and behavioral aspects of race are very important. If the core insight of institutional theory is that organizations are subject to the pressures of their social and political environments, then it is extremely important to know that an organization's audience, workers and regulators have racial identities. These racial identities affect organizational behavior from the ground up. Workers might be separated based on racial groups. The government may create policies to protect, or harm, specific groups. Regulators may demand an explanation of the demography of their workforce. Thus, race should be a central concern for institutional scholars.

A FIELD-CENTRIC APPROACH TO RACE

Contemporary institutional analysis, often dated to Stinchcombe's (1965) article, is now approximately fifty years old and has resulted in many competing versions of the theory. In this section, I focus on a version of institutional theory that is useful for taking about race in the context of organizational studies and management. I start with field theory, as presented in Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam's *A Theory of Fields* (2012), and then move on to describe the more interactional processes described by scholars working in the traditions of inhabited institutions, institutional work and institutional logics.

Fligstein and McAdam define a 'strategic action field' as a 'meso-level social order where actors interact with each other based shared understandings'. This definition speaks to multiple approaches to institutional theory that focus on specific industries or sectors. The definition is expansive in that interaction may be defined broadly – through interpersonal contact, organizational behavior, or state policy. Within a field, there may be all manner of social structures emerging. Formally, we might expect a wide range of coercive forces reflecting regulation by the state or accreditation agencies. Inter-personal and inter-organizational networks may appear to coordinate action within fields, and organizations may be created to pursue goals within a social domain. Thus, the theory of fields depicts social domains as having the following components: a population of organizations that are 'about' a specific type of activity (e.g., education); a cognitive dimension of the field such as beliefs about legitimate or illegitimate behavior; forms of status where participants can judge who is influential; relations between groups; and relationships, or lack of relationships, between the field and the state.

In initially describing fields, it may appear that fields are domains of action that uniformly affect their participants. Indeed, in reading Bourdieu or Fligstein and McAdam's treatment of fields, there is relatively little attention given to the heterogeneity present in social fields. In fact, a number of institutional scholars have argued that their work has been misread. DiMaggio, for example, argued that too many readers were quick to focus on pressure for conformity within organizational communities and few remembered that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) concluded with a list of hypotheses that explained when organizations were subject to the 'iron cage'. Similarly, many have noted that readers often overlook the features of fields that may permit, or encourage, disruption and change. Here, I briefly review more of the complexities of fields that have been discussed in the literature with an emphasis on how they relate to race. For a more systematic exploration of this issue, readers should consult the chapter of this handbook dedicated to fields, which delves into the concept of fields

as it has appeared in the history of institutionalist scholarship (Wooten and Hoffman, Chapter 2 this Volume).

Heterogeneity: Initially, it may appear as if fields are homogeneous entities. The organizations and actors within a field share behavioral scripts and structural templates. Instead, fields vary in how much organizations and actors are subject to these social pressures. The sources of variation are many. A young field may simply not have an established rule for behavior. The sector may be 'pre-institutional'. Consider the case of auto manufacturing. When automobiles were invented, there were few norms that needed to be obeyed. As the industry aged, activists entered the field to legitimize some types of automobiles while delegitimizing others (Rao, 2009).

Another process that contributes to field heterogeneity is uneven exposure to the actors and institutions that encourage order and uniformity (Lounsbury, 2001; Quirke, 2013). That is, not all organizations are routinely policed or inspected at the same rate. For example, it has often been noted by organizational scholars that high and low status organizations do not appear to be subject to the same pressures as those with intermediate status. According to the 'middle class conformity' hypothesis, low-status organizations have little to lose through deviance and high-status groups can afford to suffer criticism when they violate norms (Phillips and Zuckerman, 2001). The result is that institutional pressures are felt most strongly by organizations that are 'middle class' in their field.

Network structures: Social networks are an important element of field theory and institutionalism more generally. Throughout scholarly writings on fields, it has been noted that actors in fields can use social ties to their advantage and that larger patterns of relationships can structure and channel action within fields. Neil Fligstein (2001) includes the strategic employment of social ties in his broader concept of social skill, which denotes the strategic manipulation of an individual's social environment. The classic example in economic sociology is James Coleman's (1988) treatment of social capital – features of social relationships that facilitate the achievement of strategic goals. He uses the example of people from the same ethnic group: membership in the same community increases trust and boosts cooperation.

The work of Podolny and colleagues indicates the ways in which networks shape fields by concentrating attention, information and resources. In a classic article on how social actors employ networks, Podolny (2001) argues that networks may be interpreted as signals of status, which he calls 'prisms', or quality and networks are 'pipelines' for scarce information. This has suggested to many readers that fields and networks are endogenous. As fields develop, elites emerge and ties with these elites disproportionately attract resources, which then perpetuates inequality in fields.

The main question for this section is how race should be included in institutional analysis. One intuitive approach is to treat race as a basic ingredient for all the field-level processes that I have just described. For example, a great deal of the literature in institutional analysis addresses coordination processes where organizations adopt similar forms, or policies, as a response to environmental pressures (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Rogers, 2003; Scott, 2001; Scott et al., 2000). Race, then, can be a factor that causes some organizational forms to be adopted over others, or causes policies to become the standard within a field. Similarly, another tradition within institutional analysis examines the creation of status within fields. This research literature describes the different ways that actors try to create forms of status or acquire status within fields (Bourdieu, 1977; Dezalay and Garth, 1996; Fligstein, 2001). Similarly, a race-based approach to institutionalism might ask how race shapes these status orders (Chiang, 2009; Wooten, 2015). Are forms of status within a field giving advantage to some groups? Do forms of capital take the characteristics of certain groups for granted? That is to say, are the 'right behaviors' the behaviors of dominant racial groups?

A second approach to race and institutionalism is to ask how institutional processes affect race. That is, how do environmental pressures, regulatory processes and institutional logics affect or change the classification of people into different ethnic groups? For example, if a political group lobbies the state to mandate ethnic diversity in firms, one can ask how this new rule changes racial attitudes or boundaries between racial or cul-

tural groups. Thus, race can be an outcome of an institutional process, not just the cause.

These two broad approaches to race and institutions reflect an understanding that race and organizational processes co-evolve. However, one can move from this broad observation to a more specific understanding of the relationship. First, fields can be viewed from an interactional perspective (Emirbayer and Desmond, 2015). As many organizational theorists have pointed out, organizations are just places where organizing happens. Perhaps the classic expression of this view comes from the Carnegie School of organizational analysis, which focused on the routines and procedures that define organizations (March and Simon, 1958). The field-centric approach to race would amend this view and point out that an organization's routines and policies are responses to race or inevitably are shaped by their racial context. The people who design the routine and implement it take their views of race into account and the internal politics of firms.

An informative example comes from the study of higher education and elite universities. At first, it might appear that college admissions policies do not reflect race. For example, many universities state that they accept students with specific credentials, such as a high school diploma, or a level of performance on a standardized test. These admissions policies are often developed by administrators that are trying to bolster or undermine racial barriers in the university system. Karabel's (2005) historical study of the admissions policies of Harvard, Yale and Princeton details how policies focusing on ‘well-rounded’ students and geographic diversity were attempts to limit Jewish and Asian applicants, who tended to score well on standardized tests but not have the resources needed to pursue extracurricular activities and who lived in large urban centers on the East and West Coasts. Earlier higher education leaders, ironically, promoted standardized tests to counter the anti-Semitism that prevented many qualified Jewish students from entering the university.

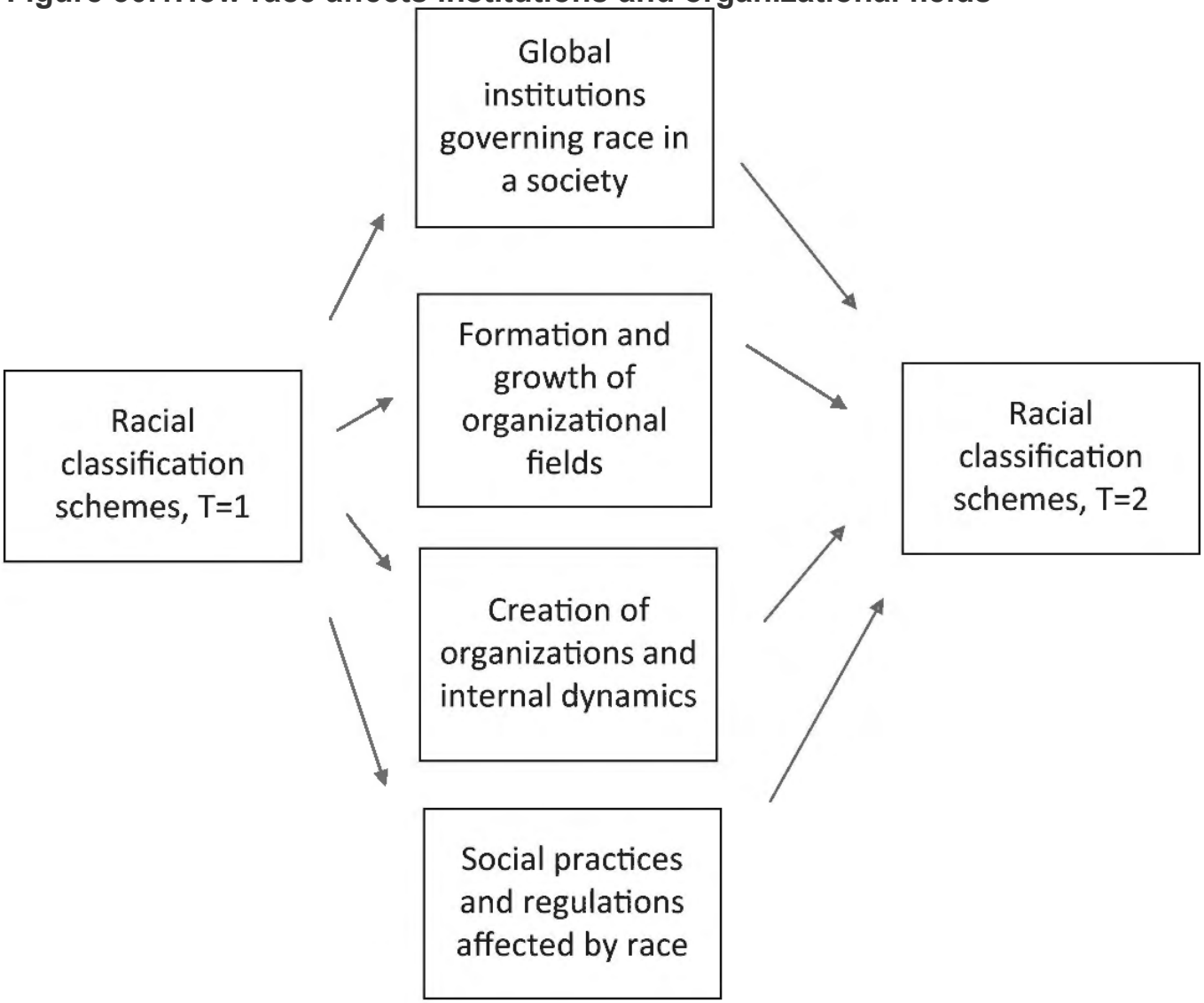
The interaction of race and institutional pressures can also be seen in recent studies of graduate education in the arts and sciences. Posselt's (2015) ethnographic study of graduate admissions committees shows how doctoral program admissions committees are struggling to reconcile different institutional imperatives. They experience normative pressures; their discipline has norms for what constitutes a qualified candidate. But there are also university-level concerns about equity. This indicates the importance of ‘inhabited institutions’ for the study of race (Hallett, 2010). While universities may experience environmental pressures for racial diversity, they are mitigated by a myriad of organizational processes, such as disciplinary standards and department committees.

Second, the macro-level field-level dynamics described affect how race and institutions interact. For example, the ‘patchiness’ of institutions makes it possible for individuals to experiment with new meanings of race (Quirke, 2013). One example comes from the study of urban economies. In urban centers that are on the decline, there are fewer and fewer traditional retailers for food and many resort to low-quality food. In response to this, there are movements of Black ‘urban farmers’ who are using racial inequality as a framing for their agricultural work (White, 2011b). The crumbling and disintegration of urban economies has allowed race to become an important factor in reorganizing food production in some inner city neighborhoods. Disruptions in fields can also destabilize racial orders and undermine institutions. Foston's (2015) recent dissertation on the effects of segregation on organizational fields shows how the end of Jim Crow led to the vast reduction of all-Black high schools in the American South. The political disruption of Civil Rights meant that mono-racial schools were less legitimate and possibly illegal, even if they served students who might not otherwise obtain a quality high school education.

The preceding discussion draws attention to a very important aspect of race. It is something that is pervasive in social life. It is a cause and an outcome of other important processes. Thus, it is not something within a specific field, like the state or the non-profit sector, nor is there a distinct ‘racial field'. Race is a sorting of people, a social classification, whose presence can be felt in nearly all social contexts and itself can be changed by external events. Race is a system of meaning that is recursive in that its current definition relies on how race was articulated in previous eras and interacted with other economic and social orders.

Figure 30.1 presents a simplified version of this argument. The purpose is not to document all the ways that race shapes organizational fields and, in turn, might be shaped by institutional processes. The intuition is that race is a factor in the creation of fields and an outcome of fields. Furthermore, race and institutions exist in a dynamic relationship that institutional analysis must recognize.

Figure 30.1How race affects institutions and organizational fields



In the next section, I will illustrate the general approach to how one might incorporate race into the study of institutions. The subsequent sections will explore different aspects of fields, such as institutional logics, contentious politics and the creation of organizational status orders.

RIVAL ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS IN FIELDS: THE FAILURE OF BLACK STUDIES COLLEGES AND THE SUCCESS OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

This section uses as an example recent scholarship on Black Power and student protest to examine the push and pull between race and organizations (Biondi, 2014; Kendi, 2012; Rojas, 2007). In the late 1960s, a number of students, educators and Civil Rights activists asserted that college curricula needed to change. They

argued that college curricula were flawed because they excluded meaningful discussions of the African or African American experience. They also claimed that colleges were intentionally, or unintentionally, racist. The solution to this problem, in their view, was to create a new area of scholarly inquiry called ‘Black Studies’ and use activism to promote it on college campuses. From the 1960s to the 2000s, over 200 degree-granting programs were created at American campuses.

The evolution of Black Studies is a decades-long process that defies brief summary, but here I will focus on aspects that are relevant to the study of institutions. First, the victory of the Civil Rights movement entailed the de-institutionalization of many educational norms. For example, prior to Black Studies, the study of Black history was relegated to a few specialists and was considered to be a very low status type of scholarly activity. The desegregation of colleges meant that there was an influx of students into predominantly White campuses. Upon arrival, many students believed that Black topics were unfairly excluded from classes and that there were few faculty who conducted research in this area. In 1968, there was an important student strike at San Francisco State College where activists demanded the creation of multiple ethnic studies programs, such as Black Studies.

Second, the Black Studies movement generated a wide range of organizational forms that were designed to implement the new Black Studies curriculum. There were proposals for Black Studies courses, Black Studies interdisciplinary undergraduate programs, Black Studies doctoral programs, Black Studies research institutes, Black Studies colleges and independent Black Studies colleges. In other words, changes in the American racial order prompted new social practices, like desegregation, and the emergence of entirely new organizational fields. Activists created new organizations that re-appropriated existing forms and combined them with new educational practices.

Third, the higher education environment strongly affected the survival of organizations. Forms of Black Studies that were seen as consistent with the pre-existing logic of higher education were more likely to survive. A common theme from scholarship on these units is that administrators could accept them as long as they justified themselves by appealing to academic norms and the logic of interdisciplinary academic work. In other words, Black Studies activists had to assure administrators that the program would not be a haven for political radicals. Instructors would teach courses that bore a strong resemblance to those taught in existing history, humanities and social science programs.

The strategy of isomorphism with the rest of academia worked. Even though Black Studies programs in universities are often harshly criticized, there have been very few closures, most occurring very early in the history of the field. In recent years, there has been an expansion of doctoral programs. The first doctoral program was founded at Temple University in the 1980s and now twelve programs offer doctoral degrees. These programs can be found at the most elite institutions, such as Harvard University, Yale University and the University of California, Berkeley. Perhaps the most popular form of Black Studies is the courses that focuses on African American history and culture. Such courses can be found in nearly all comprehensive institutions of higher education in the United States.

In contrast, forms of Black Studies that rejected the logic of de-politicized teaching and interdisciplinary academic organization often failed. For example, there was, at one time, a proposal that the University of Chicago establish a Black Studies institute that would reach out and help poor urban communities in Chicago. Almost at the same time, nearby University of Illinois at Chicago was presented with a similar proposal for an Ethnic Studies program that would be supervised by ‘community members'. Both proposals were rejected. At the University of Chicago administrators felt that community outreach was simply incompatible with elite education, while at the University of Illinois administrators thought it was simply not appropriate for non-scholarly outsiders to have power over an academic unit.

Perhaps the most instructive failure in the history of Black Studies was the attempt to build freestanding colleges. At least two were built in 1969 and each operated for a few years. One was Malcolm X University in

North Carolina and the other was Nairobi College in East Palo Alto, California (Belvin, 2004; Hoover, 1992). They were established by activists associated with Duke University and Stanford University. In each case, activists wanted an institution that would be completely free from the institutional pressures of higher education. Specifically, they did not want Black Studies to be forced into an interdisciplinary stance where students and faculty needed to justify their activities to White audiences. Rather, they wanted colleges that were free to develop courses suited for African American students. Instructors at Malcolm X College believed that they could train people who could help America's urban poor and countries in Africa develop stronger economies.

Malcom X University shut down by 1972 and Nairobi College persisted for a few more years. These educational organizations were undermined by a predictable set of factors. Both suffered from internal conflict. The more interesting observation is that freestanding Black Studies colleges were subject to harsh criticism in the media. This led to an abrupt drop in funding. Since there were few students, and facilities were expensive, even a modest decline in donations could force the collapse of these schools. What is important to note is that Black Studies degree programs were not immune to the same criticisms and they also suffered from internal conflict. The difference between independent Black Studies colleges and Black Studies degree programs is that the latter were integrated into larger universities and colleges, thus insulating them from turbulence. This was made possible by conforming to the institutional logics of higher education. By insisting on a community focus and thus obtaining independence, schools like Nairobi College and Malcolm X University exposed themselves to great risk.

This brief overview of the history of Black Studies indicates the different ways that race and fields affect each other. The early history of Black Studies is all about field disruptions. Some disruptions ‘come from above’ and reflect national, or international, political processes. A common observation on the history of Civil Rights and Black Power is that these movements were affected by anti-colonial struggles. Minority groups within Western nations often modeled themselves after groups in African and Asian colonies that fought armed struggles against European powers. Most famously, Black radical groups in the 1960s were inspired by Castro's Cuban revolution and Mao's Chinese communist revolution. The Black Panthers, for example, explicitly claimed to be Maoists at their inception (Rojas, 2007). Thus, there is a ‘trickle’ down process. Larger racialized conflicts disrupt fields and create new models in close-by fields.

The struggle for Black Studies also illustrates the importance of the interactional elements of fields and how disruptions are caused, or altered, by race. For example, much of the conflict around Black Studies focused on the claim that college curricula were biased or intentionally excluded Black contributions. Thus, there was a lot of ‘institutional work’ aimed at persuading students, and sympathetic activists, that college courses needed to be challenged and reformed (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Rojas, 2010). College administrators set the tone of conflict with their responses to protest. When confronted by activists, they could actively resist, appropriate student demands, or capitulate. Resisting students could allow the university administration to prevent curricular change, but exacerbate conflict in the long term. Giving in completely to students could make administrators appear illegitimate. It was common for administrators to attempt to tie in Black Studies protest into their own agendas. For example, Black Studies programs were sometimes used by deans to claim that the campus was successfully recruiting Black Students and faculty.

Black Studies protest also showed how the field of higher education touches and overlaps with ‘close-by’ fields, as suggested by the theory of strategic action fields. It was often the case that demands for Black Studies were bundled with related racial issues. It was not uncommon for activists promoting Black Studies to ask for more affirmative action on campus, or ask for the university to support the nearby Black community or reform ‘town–gown’ relations (Rojas, 2007). Similarly, activists who worked on non-academic issues would sometimes move to college campuses to help Black students mobilize. These two processes show how field-level events shape the outcomes of racial conflicts. Ruptures in close-by fields can be used to motivate political challenges within fields and overlaps can facilitate the transmission of people and resources between fields.

The field-centric approach to race can also help us understand the resolution of conflicts within fields. When incumbents in organizations, and fields, allow challengers to develop alternatives, there are multiple processes that select possible outcome. This section has indicated how this played out in Black Studies. Some activists wanted to institutionalize race inside of existing universities, while other more radical activists wanted completely independent Black Studies organizations, such as think-tanks and Black Studies colleges. Then, the question becomes which cultural and economic processes can support some types of social change while 'weeding out' others. In the case of Black Studies, a strong alignment with the structures and values of higher education, such as race neutrality and interdisciplinary collaboration, allowed Black Studies to survive. The radical audience for autonomous Black Studies did not have the financial resources and academic legitimacy needed to make this form of institutional reform viable.

To summarize, the history of Black Studies shows us how race and field dynamics are intertwined. The gap between stated ideals of equality in education and the situation in colleges promoted grievances. Broader national and international conflicts over race 'spilled over' into the higher education system. The overlap between higher education and city politics helped students come into contact with experienced activists. Then, students developed racialized alternatives to the curriculum of the 1960s and field-level processes 'selected out' those that were culturally or financially incompatible with the rest of the field.

MACRO-LEVEL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE: THE CREATION OF LATINOS AND ASIAN AMERICANS

Here we examine two examples of recent research that explain how race is a factor in macro-institutional change that affects multiple organizational fields. The first is the emergence of the 'Latino' or 'Hispanic' category in the United States. G. Cristina Mora's (2014) recent book, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats & Media Constructed a New American*, explains the political and economic processes that re-articulated the racial order of the United States. This account of a new social and political category has many lessons for institutionalists.

First, there is an institutional dimension of race, a taken-for-granted understanding of race that guides social interaction, organizational behavior and public policy. In the mid-1900s, the United States had White citizens, Black citizens, members of Native American tribes, and people from various other nations (e.g., 'Chinamen' or 'Mexicans'). Over time, those descended from European migrants retained an identity based on their nation of origin, as well as a larger pan-ethnic identity (e.g., Irish Americans were both White and Irish). This earlier classification treated Spanish-speaking people from Mexico, Central America, South America and the Caribbean as a sort of residual category. Pre-1970 censuses allowed people to indicate that they were Mexican or Peruvian, but it was rare for government agencies and private groups to have a larger pan-ethnic category for these people.

The Civil Rights movement created an opportunity for institutional entrepreneurs when it effectively changed race relations in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. By showing that ethnic mobilization worked, other constituencies in the United States copied the style and tactics of the Civil Rights movement in pursuit of their own goals. Not surprisingly, Mexican American activists, and others, used the openness of the late 1960s to pursue a novel idea – Hispanic pan-ethnicity. That is, it was thought by various activists, business leaders and policy-makers that having a broad Hispanic ethnic category was tremendously useful.

Each constituency had a different reason for promoting the Hispanic ethnic category. Political activists found it easier to shape public policy if there was a large unified constituency that needed to be represented. A broadening of social categories increases influence. That is, it is easier to have influence if one represents tens of millions of Hispanics instead of one million Guatemalans. Actors with a cultural or economic interest eventually found that it was also valuable to promote Hispanic pan-ethnicity because it resulted in larger economic opportunities and facilitated marketing. Media, such as Univision, could be reorganized around a Hispanic

market that was much easier to understand than an assembly of specific markets, which vary in their size across the country (e.g., Colombians are well represented in Texas and New York, but less so in San Francisco).

An important element of Mora's account is the focus on organizational processes. For example, much attention is paid to the US Census and its role in creating the policy infrastructure for the new Hispanic identity. The Hispanic identity project would be bolstered if the American government could say, with confidence, that millions of Hispanics did indeed live within the United States. Thus, it was very important for the US Census Bureau to create a Hispanic category and then ensure that people used that category in the decennial Census and other official forms.

The result of this intensive effort by activists, non-profits and the corporate community was the birth of a new racial category in the United States. The Hispanic category is now a standard, if contentious, element of the Census and it is used by policy-makers to describe a significant portion of the population (e.g., the 2010 Census reports that 16.3% of respondents indicated ‘Spanish origin'). It is also a category that has great economic salience. Major media outlets present themselves as broadly oriented toward American Latino. *Hispanic* magazine was published from 1987 to 2010 and had a peak circulation of more than 300,000. *Latina*, which focuses on beauty and lifestyle, has a circulation of over 3 million.

The story I have presented is simplified and elides much of the contention around the Hispanic ethnic category. The Hispanic category was helped by the fact that migrants from South and Central American nations mostly spoke Spanish, were Christian or Catholic, and already recognized a shared Spanish heritage. In contrast, other episodes of macro-institutional racial change in the United States speak to the fact that reforming racial categories is very difficult, often resulting in an incompletely institutionalized racial identity.

The major example of this is the effort to create Asian pan-ethnicity in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Like the case of Hispanics, the Civil Rights movement encouraged activists to promote the idea of a common racial or ethnic group – ‘Asian American.’ This category is meant to include individuals who migrated from, or were descended from migrants from, China, Korea, India, the Philippines, Vietnam, and other parts of Central Asia, East Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific Islands. This discussion of Asian pan-ethnicity is drawn from Dina Okamoto's (2014) *Redefining Race: Asian American Panethnicity and Shifting Ethnic Boundaries*.

One of the major barriers to the Asian pan-ethnic category is that the cultural divide among Asian migrant populations is much larger than the one separating Latino migrant groups. There is no single language or religion that encompasses the Asian population. Exacerbating these differences, migrants would often carry over regional and national differences to the United States. The national and racial inequalities of Asia were often reconstructed completely in the United States. This is very apparent in the housing market. Rather than settle in majority Asian areas, Japanese would settle in neighborhoods that were separate from Chinese neighborhoods. One important factor that determined this pattern was that early Asian migration was about labor recruitment. Employers tended to draw from specific areas of Asia, which meant that early settlements were drawn from the same communities (e.g., the earliest Japanese settlers in the United States were often from Kumamoto, Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures). The US legal system reinforced these boundaries. Consistently, courts supported laws and regulations that would prohibit Asian migrants from claiming the status of Whites and it was difficult to purchase housing outside of ethnic enclaves. The result is that Asian political and social organization was heavily dependent on Asian migrant communities that were stable and embodied longstanding national divisions.

Like Hispanic activists, Asians in the 1960s challenged this system by promoting the concept of an all-encompassing ‘Asian American’ category. One of the most important challenges was creating narratives that would appeal to a wide range of populations. Why would people in San Francisco's century-old Chinatown be part of an alliance with recent Vietnamese immigrants in Los Angeles? Activists employed multiple strategies.

One was the simple strategy of using bridging ties, which speaks to interplay of structural holes and institutional processes. A Korean activist, for example, might not be able to directly speak to an Indian group, but he might work through mutual friends. Another strategy is to rally around specific events that might threaten a wide range of Asian groups, such as the murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese resident of Detroit who was killed by disgruntled auto-workers. Chin's murder, and the lenient sentencing of the killers, drew together a broad coalition of Asian groups. Other events that helped accelerate pan-ethnic coalition-building is the depiction of Asians in the media. Films or televisions shows that showed denigrating depictions of Asians would draw protest from these Asian American coalitions.

Overcoming these racial divisions required discursive work on the part of activists and a layering of narratives and identities. Activists had to actively fashion a narrative of their activities that would draw attention to commonalities. The murder of Vincent Chin highlighted the fact that people from any Asian nation could be targeted by anti-Asian violence. Presumably, the perpetrators were angry at Japanese firms who competed against Detroit's automakers. Yet, Chin was Chinese American, showing that anti-Japanese prejudice could be directed toward people of any Asian ancestry.

The creation of a broad Asian pan-ethnicity did not mean that people erased identities and categories based on nation of origin. People still identified as Korean or Filipino. What it did mean is that these national or regional identities had to be layered, or merged with, the broader Asian American narratives. Nation of origin categories were salient in some organizational fields (e.g., housing, religion, or labor markets) but pan-ethnic identities could be activated in other fields (e.g., social movement politics or Census politics). In fact, Okamoto presents some evidence about the interaction of traditional ethnic (e.g., Indian) identities and pan-ethnic identities (e.g., Asian American) for political organizations. The presence of ethnic organizations is negatively correlated with pan-Asian mobilization, suggesting that there is competition between ethnic and pan-ethnic identities.

The rise of pan-ethnic Hispanic and Asian categories in the US has multiple lessons for students of institutional theory. First, racial categories are the subject of massive amounts of institutional work. People have to actively make them and re-invent them. This work occurs both at the level of individual interactions and entire fields. The examples just mentioned above indicate the multi-level nature of this process. Latino activists, for example, had to argue to specific power holders in business and government that pan-ethnic categories were needed. This includes lobbying census officials for the right to create a broader Hispanic or Latino category and explaining to media executives that there was in fact a viable pan-ethnic market that could be catered to. Similarly, the renegotiation of pan-ethnic identity occurred at a broader field level. Once activists were able to persuade some elites of the value of pan-ethnic categories, they were able to diffuse throughout various sectors. For example, the spread of the Latino pan-ethnic category occurred in the media when magazines and broadcasters began offering ‘Latino programming', as opposed to content aimed specifically at narrower groups like Mexicans or Puerto Ricans.

The revision of American Latino ethnicity from a collection of unrelated groups to a larger more coherent category entails a wide range of institutional work that has yet to be properly explored by scholars in either management or sociology. For example, much effort was spent deinstitutionalizing racial schema as they existed in the late 1950s. Mora's (2014) book provides an initial examination of this issue, but more can be done. Her analysis focuses mostly on institutional work that occurred within very elite situations – the US Census Bureau, leading Latino media outlets and major advertising agencies. In contrast, there is little literature that delves into how these categories were accepted, or rejected, and renegotiated ‘on the ground'. The institutionalization of ‘Latino’ throughout the United States requires a more thorough account. In Texas, there were pan-Latino political parties that tried to employ the new Hispanic ethnicity and displace the Democratic party. These parties failed and the Democratic party of Texas was able to retain Latino voters. Aside from some historical treatments, there have been few attempts to explain how the new ethnic categories of the 1960s were, or were not, successful in shaping various political organizations. Similarly, there are few treatments of how specific organizations in various fields managed these new categories.

Second, the modification of macro-level racial categories allows for the emergence of new organizations and entire fields, such as pan-ethnic Asian political groups. That is, when there is conflict over ethnicity in a society, some organizations become delegitimized while others are allowed to appear. One very notable feature of pan-ethnic political groups in the United States is that few of them precede the 1960s. There were very few organizations before the 1960s that claimed to represent all Asians. A casual examination of the organizations discussed in Okamoto's book show that many are creations of the 1970s and 1980s. The creation of pan-ethnic organizational fields also reflects events that redefine ethnic politics. As noted above, the killing of Vincent Chin by enraged auto workers motivated the creation of anti-racist organizations that defended Asians of all nationalities, not just Japanese or Chinese Americans. This is why Okamoto notes that there appear to be ‘generations’ of pan-ethnic organizations that reflect shifting conceptions of racial solidarity.

Third, the modification of ethnic categories for economic and political purposes might require that new and old categories exist side-by-side. Thus, there is a possible ‘layering’ or ‘overlapping of institutions'. Here, the example of Black Power organizations is instructive. In the late 1960s, there appeared many organizations that promoted Black independence from White institutions. One such organization was the Institute for the Black World, an independent think-tank and research center (White, 2011). To survive, this organization had to cooperate with organizations that adhered to a more traditional view of race relations, such as the Ford Foundation, which funded the Institute in its earliest years. The interaction and co-existence between Black Power and liberal organizations resulted in persistent conflict. Okamoto's study shows that these identities may compete with each other and new categories may be salient in some cases but not others. For Asian pan-ethnic groups, the major issue that draws groups together is political challenge. When it is perceived that Asians are under threat, there is cooperation. On other issues, such as housing or cultural promotion, there is less cooperation; pan-ethnic and mono-ethnic groups act independently.

RACE AND INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

A powerful new perspective in institutional theory comes from the literature on institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). The basic idea is that people use a shared framework for ‘the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.’ As people operate schools, gas stations, or hedge funds, they employ a system of beliefs that instructs them on how to survive, how to do things in a legally and socially legitimate way, and what the purpose of their actions is.

Race and institutional logic theory come together when scholars study the ideas that shape how organizations hire and promote workers, such as affirmative action, diversity and multiculturalism. J. Lee Shiao's (2005) analysis of diversity rhetoric and policy among philanthropic organizations is an instructive example. Lee situates his analysis in the immediate aftermath of the Civil Rights movement. In the 1970s, Civil Rights advocates found themselves in an unusual position. Even though Civil Rights advocates had won major judicial and legislative victories, desegregation simply did not happen in the way they had anticipated. Civil Rights proponents often thought that the end of legal segregation and racist policies would entail a substantial entry of Blacks into previously White dominated institutions. This did not happen and activists noted the lack of progress. Education is an insightful example. Even though the US Congress banned racial discrimination in education and court cases affirmed it, many schools remained disproportionately White. Many of the education controversial policies of the 1970s were aimed specifically at trying to change this situation, such as busing policies that brought Black children to mainly White schools.

The institutional logics that guided non-profits in this era were modified to help philanthropic organizations operate in this environment. In the 1960s, the major logic of action was activism aimed at desegregation. The Ford Foundation, for example, set the tone by actively supporting various efforts to desegregate schools and housing. The Ford Foundation's leadership saw themselves as an ally of the social movement sector. The

President of the Ford Foundation, McGeorge Bundy, directed program officers to give aid to groups that were fighting for desegregation (Rojas, 2007: ch. 5). In the 1970s, philanthropists found that an activist framing was no longer helpful. Instead, they found it more effective to shift from ‘good causes’ to ‘good works’ and ‘good strategies’ (e.g., shifting from supporting protest about education to supporting specific people and policies). The shift required that the non-profit sector become concerned with race less as a cause and more as a ‘technical’ issue that could be fruitfully addressed with support for personnel development and policy implementation.

The institutional logic that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s was ‘diversity'. Rather than call for wholesale desegregation and the racial equalization of institutions, the logic of diversity emphasized inclusion (Shiao, 2005). This logic made it easy to justify a series of programs that developed leadership in education, business and politics. Instead of insisting that organizations have proportional racial representation among their leaders, non-profit actors could promote social change through programs aimed at increasing the population of qualified minorities, even if they were few relative to the population. For example, instead of immediately insisting that 14% of professors should be African American, it was more tractable to sponsor programs for minority graduate training. Similarly, a wide range of non-profit organizations began to develop programs that would encourage ethnic minorities to strive for leadership positions in the corporate sector, higher education and public policy. With cohorts of qualified minority professionals, it was possible to request that cultural and political institutions be more diverse in their leadership. Additionally, it was hoped that a diverse leadership would result in different policies.

The logic of diversity, in addition to being easier to implement, was also valuable in an age where countermovement actors tried to roll back, or limit, the gains of the Civil Rights movement. A common theme in historical accounts of public policy in the 1980s is that various actors had effectively resisted the changes brought by Civil Rights. The most famous example is ‘White flight', where White parents moved to racially homogenous neighborhoods so their children would not have to attend racially mixed schools. In such an environment, it would be nearly impossible to desegregate schools since people intentionally resided in places with few minority students or enrolled in all-White academies. Diversity is a logic that by-passed this political reality. Rather than directly confront behaviors that undermined desegregation, diversity initiatives focused on the elements of organizations that were subject to public scrutiny, like leadership.

Diversity and, later, multiculturalism are institutional logics that helped reformist organizations, such as nonprofits and protest groups, develop strategies aimed at the mainstream. There are also institutional logics that emphasize social difference and, in a sense, acted against the mainstream. In American history one of the most famous examples was the Black Power movement, which was motivated by a logic of cultural autonomy. The principal idea behind the Black Power movement was that Black Americans should not have to wait for others in their search for freedom, equality and self-governance. Instead, Black Power activists believed that political, economic and cultural organizations for Blacks should be controlled by Blacks.

There were a wide range of organizations that embodied this basic logic (see Rojas and Carson, 2014 for detailed discussions of these groups). Some organizations, such as the Black Congressional Caucus, tried to create a ‘safe space’ for Blacks within mainstream institutions. Scholars have called such institutional ‘counter-centers’ because they try to coordinate a minority view inside a larger mainstream power center, such as the US Congress (Rojas, 2007: ch. 6). Other Black Power organizations operated on a strategy of parallelism. A group would form a more radical version of an existing group to represent a constituency that would normally be ignored. The Dodge Radical Union Movement was one such example. Created in 1968, DRUM was a Black union that demanded recognition from Detroit auto-makers and the United Auto Workers. There are similar ‘parallel’ groups in education and the professions, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The most radical Black Power groups were revolutionary in nature. For example, the Republic of New Afrika was an armed group and they wanted African Americans to move to the South and form a break-off nation.

The US Organization, based in Southern California, offered a completely different lifestyle for its member that was separate from White society. They had their own residences, cultural traditions and publications. Another group, which slightly preceded the Black Power era, was the Nation of Islam, which also provided an all-Black cultural institution. The most famous of the radical Black Power groups was the Black Panther Party. Initially formed as a defense against police harassment, the group soon adopted a socialist economic ideology. Later, the group provided housing, its own newspaper, social services and nearly won the 1973 mayoral election in Oakland, California.

The contrast between the organizational logic of diversity and cultural autonomy draws attention to a basic choice that all actors must make when dealing with race – do they choose to align, or integrate, themselves with the mainstream or do they opt to exit and manage their own affairs? Recent scholarship on Black Power suggests that it is possible to go quite far using the logic of cultural autonomy. The examples above show the range of possibilities. Some groups, like the Black Panthers or the freestanding Black Studies colleges, were short-lived because they were undermined by internal political conflict as well as institutional pressures. But numerous other 'Black conscious' organizations were successful.

The main difference between Black Power groups that survived and those that did not is that survivors tended to rely not just on a logic of cultural autonomy, but a version of that logic that permitted some flexibility in dealing with the American mainstream. For example, nearly all political groups that embraced political militancy disappeared by the late 1970s. These include the Black Panthers, the Republic of New Afrika, the US Organization and the Black Liberation Army (Bloom and Martin, 2014; Brown, 2003; Davenport, 2014). Educational groups that actively separated themselves from the mainstream also disappeared, such as Nairobi College, Malcolm X University and the Institute for the Black World. In contrast, organizational versions of Black Power that allowed activists to acquire some mainstream support survived, such as Departments of Black Studies, various Black Power professional groups like the Association of Black Psychologists, and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Some of these groups existed within larger organizations, while others were independent. But what they shared was a belief that it was possible to assert Black interests while maintaining cultural autonomy and not completely attacking the mainstream. This allowed some types of Black Power organizations to embed themselves in larger organizations (e.g., Congress or the higher education system) and allowed independent groups to maintain a large enough constituency of Black, and some White, supporters. Through embedding and having a sufficiently large audience, these Black Power organizations were not the subject of repression, did not generate quite the same level of internal conflict, and had enough support so they could survive economic downtowns (e.g., the late 1970s).

To summarize, issues surrounding racial inequality can lead to the creation of institutional logics that framed new organizations, oriented them toward (or against) the mainstream, and gave them resources that facilitated, or undermined, their long term success. The logics can express an attempt to reduce rational inequality through inclusion, such as desegregation in the Civil Rights era, or an attempt to address inequality through ethnic control of organizations. Each has its own distinct collection of advantages and challenges. Those focused on inclusion might be co-opted, or simply work in a marginal way. Those focused on cultural autonomy invite repression and complete exclusion, especially if they adopt an extremely militant stance toward the mainstream.

The logics that emerge from struggles over race are not only about status and inclusion, they are collective judgments about the validity of the mainstream. For example, the institutional logics that motivated the Civil Rights movement and later non-profits articulated the belief that mainstream American society was open to reform and a desirable place for minorities. Racial integration implied that most distinctions between Blacks and Whites would be abandoned. Later, the call for diversity meant that Blacks and Whites would be working together, even though racial difference would be recognized. A similar logic applies to multiculturalism. In contrast, other logics focus on difference, such as Black Power or pan-ethnicity. These logics incorporate the

idea that an organization, such as a school or political group, should resist complete incorporation into the mainstream.

The varying logics informing fields of ethnic organizations should have an effect on their organizational networks. Those employing more inclusive logics should become well incorporated into larger organizational networks. For example, educational institutions that try to integrate Black college graduates into the labor market should develop more ties with predominantly White institutions than more Black conscious institutions. An instructive example comes from recent research on historically Black Colleges, which had a strong tradition of sending their athletes to White sports teams, before a wave of anti-Black sentiment in the Depression severed those ties (Foston, 2015).

In contrast, the case of the Institute for the Black World illustrates how a Black Power logic could result in the severing of ties between organizations. As noted earlier, the Institute was a Black Power think-tank in the 1970s. Initially, it was aligned with integrationist organizations, such as the Ford Foundation, which was funding school reform in the United States. Quickly, the Institute's leadership came into conflict with the Ford Foundation over issues of Black autonomy. The Ford Foundation's program officers were very uncomfortable with an organization that openly criticized the Civil Rights movement's goals. Unsurprisingly, the social tie between the Institute and the Ford Foundation frayed and the two organizations ceased cooperating by the early 1970s (Rojas, 2007; White, 2011).

These multiple, competing logics suggest that students and organizations should expend more effort in understanding the sequencing and layering of logics within fields. The history of American organizations shows the wide range of logics that have appeared: segregation, desegregation, Black Power, diversity and multiculturalism. J. Shiao Lee's analysis of philanthropic organizations shows how some of these logics (e.g., diversity) were responses to the failure of earlier logics (e.g., desegregation). Still, more can be done to understand the sequencing, layering and competition of the logics that are created when people reframe and contest existing racial classifications.

RACIALIZED FIELD DYNAMICS

Institutional logics like separatism, diversity and multiculturalism trigger long-term change in organizational fields. This section examines two instances of where institutional processes resulted in profound changes in existing fields. The first example is taken from Joyce Bell's (2014) analysis of the social work profession. The second is Melissa Wooten's (2015) analysis of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). In each case, changing race relations created conflict that disrupted organizational fields and resulted in a readjustment that took decades to occur.

Bell looks at the profession of social work within the era of Black Power. The primary issue was that American social workers tended to see their work in terms that either downplayed or ignored the issues most relevant to Black clients. Activists also critiqued social workers for the tendency to see Black behavior as inherently problematic, and thus playing a role in perpetuating racial inequality. Bell's analysis focuses on a number of processes that are of interest to institutional scholars. When Black Power emerged, it provided a new framework for professionals who were frustrated with White-dominated professions. It allowed Black professionals to question the standards within their field (e.g., social work or the law) and then create alternatives.

In many cases, the result of questioning was a period of conflict, which was then followed by exit. In Bell's account, it was very difficult for Black social workers to have their criticisms taken seriously by their White colleagues. In some cases, claims that White social workers were inadvertently perpetuating Black inequality were immediately rejected and Black social workers became the focus of contention. After a series of events where Black social workers tried to mobilize during meetings of national social work associations, many felt that the White mainstream within their profession was simply not amenable to critique and change. As a re-

sult, the decision was made to form a parallel organization, the National Association of Black Social Workers. The NABSW became an alternative to the White mainstream in social work and it served various functions. One function was simply to provide a place where people with similar backgrounds and similar clienteles could meet. Another function was to be a place where the needs of the African American community could be focused on. A third function was to be an implicit criticism of the mainstream of American social work.

Melissa Wooten's analysis of HBCUs addresses different issues about race and organizational fields. Her story starts with the establishment of the HBCUs in the late 19th and early 20th century. These colleges were created to serve freedmen after the Civil War and to provide an avenue for mobility during the Jim Crow era, and they were often very underdeveloped. Academically, many were not different than high schools. Others did offer post-secondary education, but were severely underfunded. To resolve these problems, the HBCUs created forms of certification that allowed outsiders to judge which schools merited aid for development and improvement. The principal mechanism is an organization known as the United Negro College Fund. In modern times, the UNCF is best known for soliciting donations for scholarships, but it is mainly a certification board within the HBCU field. One of Wooten's main claims about the UNCF was that, in an unintended way, the field of HBCUs became more stratified after the UNCF was established. Since participation required substantial resources, schools that direly needed assistance were not members. This resulted in a situation where most of the funds for HBCU development went to schools who needed it the least and made fund-raising efforts by lesser-status schools less effective.

Wooten also recounts the transformation of the HBCU field after the Civil Rights movement. The primary issue is that the desegregation of higher education removed one of the main reasons for having HBCUs. Black students now had access, in theory, to all institutions of higher education. This meant that HBCUs, as a group, had to adapt in order to survive. The institutional environment triggered a great deal of turbulence within these organizations. Some HBCUs simply did not attract enough students, which triggered automatic funding cuts from state governments. Other schools, ironically, found themselves in jeopardy when they found themselves potentially in violation of federal law. It was no longer permissible to serve students from one racial group. Others simply found that their traditional offerings were no longer sufficient to attract students and donors. Subsequently, HBCUs pursued a number of legal and political strategies to justify themselves. In terms of legal standing, advocates argued that HBCUs provided a method of diversifying higher education that would complement predominantly White institutions. With respect to the market for higher education, efforts were made to make HBCU degree offerings more similar to the rest of the higher education sector.

The examples of Black social workers and HBCUs highlight the way that race can trigger, or modify, the typical social change processes within organizational fields. The social workers case shows how contention over race can promote differentiation within fields, as competing actors struggle with each other. It is an excellent example of ‘voice, then exit’ in an organizational field. The HBCUs example highlights multiple dynamics: the unintentional magnification of status hierarchies and the encouragement of isomorphism following political reform.

CONSEQUENCES FOR INSTITUTIONS

Race is a very basic feature of human interaction because it guides so many of our actions. The most elemental aspect of race from an institutionalist perspective is that it guides and informs how people interact in organizations. Informally, people use race as a factor in deciding to hire and which customers to pursue. For organizations, race is important because it determines who the stakeholders are for an organization and the relationship between the organization and various racial and ethnic groups in society. Thus, all racial classifications will require the creation of formal and informal rules and behavioral patterns that reflect how people in an organizational field understand race.

One should not be surprised when changes in racial classifications erode and transform institutions. This

may be unintentional. When Jewish students began entering competitive colleges in the early 20th century, this prompted administrators to create new rules and understandings of college admissions that excluded these students, which resulted in controversy (e.g., Karabel, 2005). In other cases, the transformation of racial schema can be intentional, with the explicit goal of changing institutions. As noted in the discussion of Latino pan-ethnicity, people can target the state and demand new racial categories with the purpose of encouraging new organizations and institutions to develop. In fact, this would appear to be the necessary consequence of any successful challenge of racial classification schemes. If public opinion shifts and people adopt new ideas about race, organizations created earlier in time will have practices and routines that do not conform to their new environment. For example, in a post-Civil Rights era, White nationalist groups have low legitimacy. Even organizations whose goals might seem appropriate in a new era of racial egalitarianism would face trouble. Numerous scholars have noted that all Black educational institutions, meant to help those excluded from White dominated schools, may seem illegitimate and therefore experience declining enrollments.

Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the relationship between race and institutions is that race is about inequality and institutions, which stabilize and govern behavior, by their nature solidify social inequality. Thus, any change in race is bound to alter institutions and changes in institutions have the potential to revise social inequalities. Throughout this chapter, we have seen this play out. Political challenges to race can trigger the process of de-institutionalization. Conversely, organizations that become institutionalized in society have the power to perpetuate racial inequalities. States can favor some groups over others. Courts and legislatures can be used to smother or bolster challenges to racial hierarchies. Schools, which have the power to award highly prized credentials and access to well-paid professions, can shape racial inequality.

The economist Joseph Schumpeter famously wrote that entrepreneurs were by their nature disruptive. Innovators create better and more efficient firms which bankrupt existing firms. A similar lesson can be applied to race and organizations. When social movements and other political entrepreneurs successfully formulate a new framing of race, good or bad, they can knock out the pillars of resources and legitimacy that allow organizations to survive. The goal for scholars analyzing the interplay of race, organizations and institutions is to use the tools of institutional theory to better understand the different ways that this process plays out.

OPEN QUESTIONS FOR RACE AND INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

This chapter has examined the different ways that race interacts with organizational fields. First, we examined race as a macro-institutional process where activists and political entrepreneurs struggle to preserve, or transform, racial categories that govern entire societies. This sort of process draws together two strands of theory: institutional work and polity theories. The former describes how people attack or maintain institutions, such as racial categories, while the latter discusses how these institutions are then used to create global order. Second, this chapter discussed institutional logics and examined racialized logics that tried to reform the mainstream (e.g., desegregation or diversity) or maintain autonomy (Black Power). Then, there was a discussion of the organizations that were motivated by the different logics. Third, this chapter discussed field dynamics – how specific fields changed in response to changing political or cultural environments. Some fields split (social work associations), while other fields were drawn closer to their ‘mainstream’ (HBCU mimicking predominantly White colleges post-1964).

For each of these processes, we can identify open questions. With respect to macro-institutional processes, one can ask if the processes observed in the United States have any analog elsewhere. For example, there have been pan-ethnic movements in other regions of the world, such as pan-Arabism. In that case, there was a movement in the Middle East to create a larger state, or social unit, from various nationalities and religious subgroups (Dawn, 1988). The movement did have a brief period of success when the states of Egypt and Syria formed a large, single nation in 1958, which then disbanded in 1961. There was also an attempt to merge Egypt, Libya and Syria, which was approved by referenda in each nation, but the final merger did not occur. One can ask if the attempt to create pan-Arabic identity and political institutions affected various

organizational fields.

Conversely, one can ask about variations within a single nation. As people restructure racial categories, which organizations are most likely to resist the new categorization? Already, this chapter encountered two forms resistance to new racial categories. Within the Asian communities of the United States, people often relied on their nation of origin for their identity, which, at times, made it difficult for inter-organizational collaboration to occur (Okamoto, 2014). Another example of resistance is the more militant wing of Black Power. While many scholars have situated Black Power as consistent with the larger Civil Rights movement, my view is that many Black Power organizations, especially the more militant ones, were pursuing a goal substantially different than that promoted by the Civil Rights movements. For example, the King Center in Atlanta, Georgia is a non-profit that was founded after Martin Luther King Jr's murder (Rojas, 2007: ch. 5; White, 2011). The Center's mission is to preserve King's legacy by operating a museum, holding the archive of his personal papers and by sponsoring educational projects. By 1970, the King Center had distanced itself from educators and other professionals who embraced Black Power ideology. The relevant point is that Black Power activists promoted policies that were not immediately focused on racial desegregation, which was the intellectual focal point of decades of Civil Rights actions.

Nationalist movements from the majority are one type of resistance that is infrequently addressed in institutional analysis, but they are attracting more attention in other fields. In this context, majority nationalist movements would include White nationalism in the United States, Hindu nationalism in India, and Arab nationalism in the Middle East. Often, majority nationalists are mobilized by the claiming of rights by minority groups. A research questions for scholars is how organizational fields of nationalists organizations intersect with other fields. In the United States, White nationalists tend to be fairly marginal and, in some cases, have had to modify their rhetoric in order to have influence (Hughey, 2012). In other polities, majority nationalists are the highest-status actors. For example, Hindu nationalists have achieved the highest political office and they define the political landscape in India. A question for research is to identify the conditions under which majority nationalist organizations occupy positions of high status, and when are they marginal.

A related issue regarding organizational fields and macro-level institutional change is which fields are the most likely to accept or resist change. In the US context, for example, one could ask if non-profit fields (like colleges or philanthropic organizations) are more accepting of racial integration or new categories (e.g., ‘Asian American’ or ‘Hispanic') than other fields. The value of the ‘multi-field’ perspective offered by Fligstein and McAdam is that they emphasize that fields exist in relation to each other. They overlap and have avenues of influence and transmission of ideas. Thus, we would expect some fields to be ‘closer’ or ‘farther’ from the fields that define race in a society. A hypothesis for future research is to determine if a field's proximity to the state (or other fields that define race) has an effect on whether new racial categories are institutionalized in that field.

A second avenue of inquiry looks at institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). A simple, but unanswered, question concerns the types of logics that address race and organizations. In this chapter we have encountered desegregation (bringing groups together), segregation (separating groups), diversity (representing groups in important organizations), cultural autonomy (allowing groups to participate in the wider society but allowing them to control the organizations) and multiculturalism (ensuring equal representation of groups in culture). It is probably not the case that this list exhausts the possibilities. Comparative analysis would help researchers discover the range of institutional logics that people use to define and implement race in organizations.

A related question concerns sequencing. A number of scholars have argued that, in the US case, there appears a specific sequence of racialized institutional logics. Originally, segregation is standard in that most ethnic groups, including many of European origin, are physically separated and subject to repression. Then, there is a period of liberalization where ideologies of freedom flourish and, sometimes, there are nationalist logics that appear as counterpoints. It may be the case that this sequencing only is possible in the American

context and that rival logics are more common in other places. Another question about institutional logics is about layering. As racial categories change, and new logics are articulated, they may be merged, combined, or layered in some manner. More research can be done into how institutional logics are combined when people change their ideas about race.

A third sort of open question concerns field dynamics. One might ask if the sort of 'voice, then exit' process, as described by Bell, is common. Is it true that minority groups tend to first rely on asserting themselves within existing organizations before exiting? Not only was this the case for the National Association of Black Social Workers, but a similar pattern was seen in Black Power political groups that broke off from mixed White and Black Civil Rights groups and in Black Studies colleges which emerged from more traditional universities. An important question about exit is survival. Once groups decide to exit, they may not be able to sustain themselves if the larger movement that spawned them goes into abeyance. The two Black Studies colleges I mentioned suffered this fate, as did numerous political groups. The question for research is whether this is common or if fields that bifurcate in this way can find strategies for survival beyond embedding themselves in the mainstream.

CONCLUSION

Institutionalism is a theoretical tradition that is not normally associated with studies of race. However, recent scholarship by social movement researchers, political scientists, historians and others shows that race is a crucial factor influencing many institutional processes. Racial classifications surely are an example of an institution that provides meaning and coordinates behavior. The history of social movements abounds with cases of institutional work where activists, policy entrepreneurs and others actively tried to undermine, or bolster, racial categories. The consequence of racial categorizations is populations of organizations and the logics that guide them. These are extremely diverse, ranging from revolutionary groups to Black librarian associations.

The gap between institutional theory and race research speaks to a general theme in institutionalism. Though it is one of the most popular forms of organizational scholarship in management and sociology, there is relatively little overlap with other core areas of sociology. Hopefully, this survey suggests that institutionalism has a lot to say to studies of race and to other areas of sociology, such as social psychology, gender and inequality.

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