

# CONSTRUCTING A SHARED GOVERNANCE LOGIC: THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS IN ENABLING DUALY EMBEDDED AGENCY

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**In a longitudinal qualitative study of a water stewardship council, we build theory about how and why actors embedded in disparate logics across multiple fields can overcome the constraints of their home logics to construct a new, shared governance logic together. Our findings suggest a recursive model of new logic construction in which council members mobilize three emotional facilitators (*social emotions, moral emotions, and emotional energy*) to affect three logic-construction cycles (*agreeing on values, shared learning, and enacting shared values*). Emotional facilitators work through three agentic mechanisms: enabling actors to become *open and reflexive* about their home logics and simultaneously increase their *commitment* to and *engagement* in constructing a shared governance logic. Ongoing interactions involving emotional facilitators, agentic mechanisms, and logic-construction cycles are essential in sustaining the new logic. The process model foregrounds the role of emotions in enabling dually embedded agency, thereby extending extant theory that has tended to focus narrowly on cognitive dynamics. We discuss implications for our understanding of institutional agency, the role of emotions in new logic construction, and the role of microlevel interactions in the formation of macrolevel structures.**

When you can get experts from the private sector and government discussing water with user groups, non-profits, professional groups, and First Nations, sometimes sparks fly. Those sparks cause an idea or a concept to catch fire. This Council has run with some of those, creating a wildfire of knowledge and thoughts that has

galvanized the community into thinking differently about what they take for granted—water. (Council member)

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Water is critically important in creating, sustaining, and enriching life. It connects communities in unique ways because the impacts of water use—both positive and negative—are felt far downstream, in other communities (Bakker, 2007). Water is subject to competing demands from agriculture, fisheries, energy production, urban water supply, recreation, tourism, and ecosystems. Water sustainability, like other important and complex environmental sustainability problems, involves interdependence among the environment, societal interests, and multiple private interests, and thus it sits at the intersection of multiple institutional domains. Actors dealing with water issues are confronted with institutional complexity on the ground (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011) on a permanent basis. Research on institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) and institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) has typically examined the institutional complexity within fields or resolutions between just two logics (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2010), with limited attention to the existence

of multiple logics on a permanent basis (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, & Spee, 2015). Tensions arising from conflicting prescriptions from multiple institutional logics are often reflected in the diverse expectations of different constituents (Reay & Hinings, 2009) and varied understandings of organizational members (Zilber, 2002). To achieve water sustainability, actors must often work together to establish a common language and build shared understandings, including constructing new logics to govern interactions across multiple fields.

The need for governing across multiple fields is important for many institutions. When addressing important social issues, such as environmental sustainability (Jay, 2013), global financial crisis, and disease pandemics, effective cooperation usually involves actions and interactions of the interdependent actors across multiple institutional fields, with each field having its own logic (Ansari, Wijen & Gray, 2013; Lubell, Robins, & Wang, 2014; Ostrom, 2005). It thus becomes more relevant to study how shared understandings can be built across these disparate social groups, with important implications for academics, practitioners, policy makers, and citizens (Ansari et al., 2013). Because such issues prompt the formation of “bridging issue fields,” or fields formed around issues that are inherently cross-jurisdictional and will remain so over time (Zietsma, Groenewegen, Logue, & Hinings, 2017), it becomes necessary for disparate groups to discuss and negotiate in order to build shared understandings. Sometimes such understandings come to form new logics, often embedded in boundary organizations, which align disparate groups on issues that concern them while preserving group differences (O’Mahony & Bechky, 2008). Members of the issue field remain embedded in, and represent, their “home” fields and logics.<sup>1</sup> Although we have limited knowledge of the process through which a new logic is constructed (Lounsbury & Boxenbaum, 2013), we suspect it is likely to involve discussions and negotiations through which a shift in understandings takes place. Yet the process mechanisms through which

shifts in cognitive understandings take place remain under-examined (Ansari et al., 2013; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). This thus presents a core puzzle—how do actors embedded in disparate logics construct a new logic that builds shared understandings and governs interactions across multiple fields?

As actors are usually emotionally invested in the fields and logics in which they are embedded (Bourdieu, 1998, 2000; Friedland, 2013; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Voronov & Vince, 2012), their struggles for building shared understandings across multiple fields are likely to involve emotions that influence change, reproduction or resistance. Yet the role of emotions among socially embedded actors has been largely absent in logic theorization (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Friedland, 2013). Importantly, this deficiency is reflective of institutional scholarship in general (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017). As emotions are recognized “as the crucial link between micro and macro levels of social reality” (Turner & Stets, 2005: 1), attention to how emotions affect and are affected by institutional processes may reveal hidden mechanisms lurking beneath cognitive and structural processes that we have so far taken for granted (Jasper, 2011).

It is thus of both theoretical and practical significance that we gain a systematic understanding of how actors embedded in disparate logics can construct a new logic that governs relationships at the intersection of multiple fields. We address this puzzle by drawing on an archival and ethnographic study of the Okanagan Water Stewardship Council (hereinafter “the Council”). Our theorizing reveals emotional facilitators (social emotions, moral emotions, and emotional energy) working through agentic mechanisms (openness and reflexivity, commitment, and engagement) to influence logic-construction cycles (agreeing on values, shared learning, enacting shared values). The new logic changed water management in the Okanagan, the only desert, and one of the driest inhabited regions, in Canada, from a fragmented to a coordinated basin-wide approach.

This study makes the following key contributions. First, we develop a multilevel process model of new logic construction that can be generalized to a variety of situations that involve creating shared understandings and governing interactions across multiple institutional fields. Our process model demonstrates that the same recursive cycles among emotional facilitators, agentic mechanisms, and logic construction that aided the building of a new logic also led to its weakening when those cycles

<sup>1</sup> By home logic, we mean the logic in which actors are primarily embedded. While other authors have argued that organizations may comply with dominant logics or minority (Durand & Jourdan, 2012) or alternate logics (Quirke, 2013) *within* fields, actors in bridging issue fields come from a variety of fields, with a variety of logics. Thus, we refer to their home logic as the one from the field they are most closely associated with, while the bridging issue field may develop its own logic over time.

turned negative. New logic construction in bridging issue fields thus requires continuous effort. Second, we foreground the role of emotions, arguing that social emotions of respect, trust, and liking; moral emotions of pride, satisfaction, and doing the right thing; and emotional energy are central to new logic construction. Emotions advance our comprehension of the processes through which shifts in understandings take place by moving beyond the existing focus on cognitive and structural mechanisms. Third, this study offers new insight by shedding light on how emotions affect embedded agency, an enduring theme in institutional research. Specifically, social emotions and the openness and reflexivity they facilitate motivate actors to engage in practical-evaluative agency that focuses on solving current problems, while moral emotions and the commitments they facilitate motivate actors to engage in projective agency that focuses on taking collective action in anticipation of a potentially better future. Finally, we provide rare insight into the bottom-up and top-down dynamics associated with logic construction processes, identifying microlevel interaction processes and how they are initiated and disturbed by macrolevel influences.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Institutional logics are the “set of material practices and symbolic constructions” which constitute the “organizing principles” (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 248) or “rules of the game” (Thornton et al., 2012) that guide and prescribe individual and organizational behavior within specific social settings, such as institutional fields. They are “socially shared, deeply held assumptions and values that form a framework for reasoning, provide criteria for legitimacy, and help organize time and space” (Dunn & Jones, 2010: 114). While Friedland and Alford (1991) emphasized societal logics (e.g., family, state, market, corporate, religion), studies in institutional theory have tended to focus on field level logics, such as “medical professionalism” versus “business-like health care” logics (Reay & Hinings, 2005). Drawing on societal logics, field-level logics comprise a more elaborated set of meanings and practices that apply to specific institutional fields. Actors embedded in an institutional logic share logic elements including a root metaphor, sources of legitimacy, and shared understandings of the basis of norms, attention, and strategy (Thornton et al., 2012: 73). Different field logics may present incompatible prescriptions for actors—a situation defined as institutional complexity

(Greenwood et al., 2011: 317). The presence of multiple logics affecting organizations has been noted within a variety of fields, including cultural industries (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), banking (Lounsbury, 2007), life sciences (Murray, 2010), professional services (Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012), and social enterprises (Dacin, Dacin, & Tracey, 2011). Such institutional complexity often presents serious challenges for organizations, since different constituents are guided by different logics, creating conflicts both internally and externally (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013; Raaijmakers, Vermeulen, Meeus, & Zietsma, 2015). It may also encourage innovation and adaptation in organizing models and practices (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008; Pache & Santos, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2009).

One particularly interesting context for institutional complexity is that of the shared governance of common resources such as water, timber, or grazing land (Olsen, 1965; Ostrom, 2000). Organizations tasked with establishing shared governance arrangements frequently sit at the intersection of multiple institutional fields and are peopled with members that straddle these fields. While Ostrom (2005) called these settings polycentric institutional orders, in the institutional theory of organizations we say these organizations face permanent institutional complexity: members are permanently embedded in multiple fields with disparate logics. While also identifying community norms, shared learning effects, and public sector intervention as possible solutions to governance challenges (Vinke-de Kruijf, Bressers, & Augustijn, 2014), Ostrom and colleagues' work on collective governance has focused significantly on design principles to align instrumental incentives in collective governance situations (e.g., Ostrom, 2000).

The institutional theory of organizations extends this perspective by calling attention to the sometimes competing, sometimes aligned norms and taken-for-granted assumptions associated with disparate institutional logics that guide actors' behavior beyond instrumental calculativeness (Thornton et al., 2012). Actors often identify strongly with the logics they are embedded within (Creed et al., 2014; Friedland, 2013; Voronov & Vince, 2012), which may make them resistant to changes in logic-governed behavior. On the other hand, recent work at both the organizational (Pache & Santos, 2013) and individual level (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smets et al., 2015) has suggested that actors may draw on different logics and invoke the logic that best meets their needs at any given time. These studies, however, have assumed a cognitive flexibility that is somehow at odds with the

normative, cognitive, and regulative constraints usually ascribed to institutions. Although McPherson and Sauder (2013) and Smets et al. (2015) speculated that actors' relatively flexible use of logics was motivated by their desire to maintain goodwill and collegial friendship, these studies stopped short of exploring other mechanisms, in addition to the cognitive ones, that may deepen our understanding of when logics are constraining and when they can be used more flexibly by institutional actors.

A blind spot affecting both the institutional theory of collective governance and the institutional logics perspective is the emotional attachment that actors feel toward the logics they are embedded within. For example, members of a disease advocacy foundation felt violated when the organization used only a research logic, instead of the care logic that members prioritized (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). Emergency specialists studied by Wright and colleagues (2017) were stimulated by the moral emotions of their professional logic to engage in institutional maintenance work. The social versus economic logic adherents within the micro-finance organization studied by Battilana and Dorado (2010) could not easily discard one logic and adopt another, leading to conflict. In contexts where actors embedded in disparate institutional logics must build cooperative agreements and shared understandings among them, it is likely that their emotional attachment to their home logics will get in the way, creating conflict and communication challenges. Emotions may be especially important in new logic construction because norms are not established, and shared understandings have yet to be built (Friedland, 2013).

The few extant studies on new logic construction have tended to focus on cognitive mechanisms, such as theorization and sense-making (Ansari et al., 2013; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Nigam and Ocasio (2010) investigated the emergence of a new logic (the managed care logic) over a relatively short period of time. They found that the interplay among theorization, representation, and ongoing sensemaking led to the label of "managed care" taking on a new meaning to symbolize the organizing principles of relationships in the hospitals' organizational field. However, their study stopped short of exploring new logic construction across multiple fields and involving diverse actors. Ansari and colleagues (2013) identified three conditions for the emergence of a commons logic among diverse actors embedded in multiple fields: recognition of an interconnected fate, acceptance of responsibility by all, and collective commitment to act (Ansari et al., 2013: 1028). They highlighted, however,

that the collective commitment to act has not yet been met in the transnational arena of climate change. Further, the emergence of a commons logic is socially constructed by various actors, and the meaning of the new logic is subject to change as actors discuss, negotiate, and compromise in order to reach shared understandings and consensus. There is, however, very little theorization about what processes enable actors to change their views and develop shared understandings and consensus, which is critical for new logic construction across multiple fields (Ansari et al., 2013; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Understanding the process by which this shift occurs is central to advance theorization about institutions (Davis & Marquis, 2005). Just as recent scholarship has called for treating sensemaking as potentially infused with emotions (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005), early indicators suggest that institutional processes may also contain emotional aspects that affect agency and shifts in understanding (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright et al., 2017). We thus explore in this research how actors embedded in disparate logics construct a new logic that builds shared understandings and governs interactions across multiple fields.

## METHODS

### Research Context: Water Management in the Okanagan Watershed, British Columbia

In British Columbia (BC), water is a public good managed by three provincial ministries and over 30 different regulations (Jatel, 2013). Water rights legislation has generally emphasized economic development rather than sustainable water management (Sam, 2008). Institutional complexity in water management is common in Canada and globally (Wagner & White, 2009).

The 8,000 km<sup>2</sup> Okanagan watershed in central BC is a north-south valley wherein the Okanagan River connects four lakes before flowing into the Columbia River in the United States. The Okanagan is the driest watershed in Canada, and water supply is highly unpredictable, exacerbated by climate change (Cohen, Neilsen, & Welbourn, 2004). The basin is home to more endangered species than any other region in BC (Ministry of Environment). Forestry, cattle grazing, mining, farming, and recreation occur in areas that provide drinking water, posing potential risks to water quality, yet there is no legislation to protect source water. Water purveyors supply water to agricultural, industrial, and domestic users, but they are not required to coordinate their management approaches or steward the watershed. Hence

water management involves conflicts among urban water users, farmers, ranchers, fisheries, industrial users, developers, First Nations<sup>2</sup> users, and recreational users, and the meaning of water management to each of these groups is different. Sustainable water management poses substantial challenges, as it entails crafting shared understandings and agreements among actors across multiple fields. And for some agriculture groups and First Nations, water management can be “a highly emotionally charged affair,” because their livelihood and means of spiritual living depend on water.

The Okanagan Basin Water Board (OBWB) was instituted in 1968 to provide leadership on valley-wide water issues, yet it was given a limited mandate due to three regional districts being “fearful of the OBWB taking power away from them.” It was placed under the joint authority of the three regional districts, which funded it through taxes on land. Elected politicians self-nominated to be on the boards of regional districts, and then each regional district board appointed three members to the OBWB board for one-year terms. Local elections added another layer of complexity since only elected politicians could be appointed as OBWB directors. For the first 35 years, the OBWB carried out just two programs: sewage infrastructure and milfoil control.

In late 2005, the three regional districts approved additional funding for the OBWB to launch the Water Management Program, which aimed to find co-operative solutions to water sustainability issues and bridge the interests of all Okanagan stakeholders, communities, and senior governments. A Council was formed by the OBWB to act as a technical advisory body. Composed of 25 to 27 voluntary water experts from various levels of government, water suppliers, agricultural communities, professional associations, and water interest groups, the Council has been viewed as a good model of cooperative water management in Canada. It makes an excellent setting for deepening our understanding of how actors embedded in disparate logics build a new logic that creates common understandings and governs interactions across multiple fields (see Appendix A and B for chronologies of the OBWB and the Council, respectively).

## Data Collection

Data included naturalist observations, semi-structured interviews, and archival data (see Table 1).

<sup>2</sup> First Nations is the term used to describe Canada's aboriginal peoples.

The naturalist observations, lasting 18 months from 2012–2014, provided the first author direct experience of the context at its later stages, and enabled trust building with Council members. Interviews and archives provided data covering the remainder of the study period.

**Naturalist observation.** The executive director of the OBWB introduced the first author as a researcher seeking a deeper understanding of how the Council worked. People cooperated generously. The first author attended 32 monthly OBWB and Council meetings, two annual general meetings of the OBWB, 12 water-related conferences, and six social gatherings. OBWB meetings (16) and Council meetings (16) were each four hours in length. Detailed notes were taken during all but the social events, and audio recordings were made for 24 monthly meetings and six conferences. During the social gatherings, the first author carried out dozens of informal conversations with Council members and water professionals, and later recorded field notes.

**Semi-structured interviews.** Using theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), we conducted 46 interviews (lasting 30–120 minutes each) with Council members representing the agriculture community, water purveyors, ranchers, federal and provincial governments, regional and local governments, First Nations, scientists, and the OBWB directors. Questions focused on informants' professional backgrounds, events triggering introduction of the Water Management Program, the development of the Council, and their views on success factors. As themes emerged from the data, we conducted follow-up interviews with 12 founding members who are still actively involved with the Council. These subsequent interviews focused on emerging categories and themes, and allowed for targeted data collection in an attempt to validate or challenge patterns, consistencies, and inconsistencies across informants and time, and tentative relations among concepts. To minimize the possibility that questions in follow-up interviews with the same informant might bias their responses toward our evolving interpretations, questions were framed using issues and terms identified by other informants. The length of time between interviews (from four months to 10 months) also served to reduce bias (Corley & Gioia, 2004).

**Archival data.** Data included meeting minutes of the Council (2006–2012) and the OBWB (2003–2012); newspaper clippings and archives that were publicly available on the OBWB's website, including Council presentations; and OBWB workshops, annual reports, videos, and audio clips. All communications

**TABLE 1**  
**Data Sources and Their Uses in the Analysis**

Source of data	Type of data	Use in the analysis
Naturalist observations	Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014 32 monthly meetings of the OBWB and the Council (128 hrs) 12 workshops, conferences, seminars related to water (over 80 hrs) 6 social gatherings (around 20 hrs)	Observe the interactions during the monthly meetings of the OBWB and the Council. Learn the important issues in water management and how actors relate to each other, experience their emotions.
Semi-structured Interviews	Oct. 2012–June 2014 45 interviews (from 40 to 120 minutes in length) Dozens of informal unstructured interviews during breaks at the monthly meetings of the OBWB and the Council, workshops, and seminars, and social gatherings (from 5 to 15 minutes in length)	Gather detailed information on (1) how the change was initiated, the actors involved, and (2) the process of building a shared governance logic, and (3) how a shared governance logic was weakened. Discuss emergent themes with informants to ensure that the interpretations stayed true to their experiences.
Archives	Archived presentations (2006–2011): 46 presentations OBWB meeting minutes (2003–2014): over 2,500 pages Workshop and conferences archives (2004–2011) Council meeting minutes (2006–2014): over 2,000 pages Videos: over 12 videos (total over 2 hrs) + 2 feature documentaries (1 hr and 30 minutes, and 45 minutes in length, respectively)	Gain detailed contextual understanding of the work of the Council. Compare and contrast with the interview transcripts and field notes to identify patterns, consistency and inconsistency across informants and time. Gain deeper understanding of the types of emotions involved.

regarding meetings, workshops, and reports were sent to the first author during the research period, including internal exchanges and personal memos. Archives provided us with an extensive real-time record of actors, actions, interactions, and outcomes.

## Data Analysis

We used an inductive theory-building approach, moving iteratively between the different data sources, and between the data and themes generated (Locke, 2001; Locke, Golden-Biddle, & Feldman, 2008). We considered the data with various theories to explore which creative insights would best explain the data (Boje, 2001), and to generate new insights from the interplay between emergent themes and the literature until the “uncodified creative leaps” were achieved (Langley, 1999: 691). Emotions were an early “surprising fact” (Hanson, 1958: 86) gained from observations and the unexpected depth of emotional content in informants’ responses to factual questions. We noted the prominence of emotions in constructing a new logic accordingly.

To deepen our understanding and probe initial hunches (Locke, 2001; Locke et al., 2008), we coded all interview transcripts, archival data and field notes, applying temporal bracketing and visual mapping

techniques to theoretically frame and organize the data (Langley, 1999). We discerned a precursor period that set the context for constructing a shared governance logic; and two distinct phases in new logic construction—a building phase, in which the shared governance logic was built; and a weakening phase, in which the shared governance logic was sometimes violated, and was less strongly adhered to by members. We coded data within the two phases.

**Open coding of emotions.** The prominence of emotions in the data led us to focus our analysis on capturing specific emotions within each phase, using in vivo (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), or first-order (Van Maanen, 1979) codes. In the building phase, for instance, emotional codes included “trust,” “respect,” “bonding,” “feel threatened,” “pride,” “doing the right thing,” “passion(ate),” “energetic,” and “enthusiastic,” etc. In the weakening phase, emotional codes included “fear(ful),” “concerned,” “trust was reduced,” “frustrated,” “outrage,” “indignation,” “feel violated,” “disappointed,” “low energy,” “loss of momentum,” and “boring,” etc.

Iterating with literature, we then clustered similar codes together, searched for relationships among these codes, and assembled them into higher-order categories. Our analysis revealed three higher-order categories: “moral emotions,” “social emotions,”

and “*emotional energy*,” each with positive valences in the building phase and negative valences in the weakening phase (see Table 2 for illustrative quotes). For instance, “doing the right thing,” “pride,” “out-rage,” and “indignation” were clustered under the category of “moral emotions.” *Moral emotions* are “feelings of approval and disapproval based on moral intuitions and principles...the satisfactions we feel when we do *and* feel the right (or wrong) thing, such as compassion for the unfortunate or indignation over injustice” (Jasper, 2011: 287). Haidt (2003: 853) referred to them as “emotions that are linked to the interests or welfare either of society as a whole or at least of persons other than the judge or the agent.” They are connected to the desire to impact the world (Jasper, 2006, 2011). The moral emotions of pride and satisfaction and their negative counterparts, specify what is right or wrong, good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable based on values. Their negative counterparts can include shame, indignation when values are violated, dissatisfaction when not doing or feeling the right thing, or feelings of moral ambiguity when values conflict, or when one is not sure what is right. In a similar vein, “trust,” “respect,” “bonded,” “feel supported,” “mistrust,” and “fear(ful)” were grouped under the category of “social emotions.” *Social emotions* refer to relatively stable feelings such as trust, respect, and liking, or their opposites, that members have toward each other. They “help social bonds develop and endure” (Creed et al., 2014: 279). Social emotions overlap with the notion of affective loyalties and link to the need for belonging (Jasper, 2011). In our case, the social emotions of respect, trust, and liking were directed toward other members of the council; e.g., “I respect Anna” or “[the agricultural community] feel supported.” Both moral and social emotions are “relatively stable, long-term emotions” (Jasper, 2011: 287). Similarly, emotional codes such as “passion,” “caring,” “animated,” “enthusiastic,” “energetic,” “frustrated,” and “disappointed” were grouped under the category of “emotional energy.” *Emotional energy* refers to emotions of excitement, enthusiasm, passion, and gushing of energy felt toward a target or, in a low state, to the opposite (frustration, disappointment, disinterest, and a sense of boredom). Defined by Quinn and Dutton (2005: 36) as “feeling that one is eager to act and capable of acting,” emotional energy can “build up in social situations” (Collins, 2004: 125) through social interactions, and persist across situations.

**Concurrent open coding of evidence for new logic construction.** Logics “are revealed through language [and] practices, and manifested in symbols

and materials” and thus can be captured through “quotes, observations, and thick description” (Reay & Jones, 2016: 2). Consistent with the institutional logics literature (Thornton et al., 2012), we used in vivo (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), or first-order (Van Maanen, 1979) codes along with observations and thick descriptions to discern patterns involved in constructing a new logic. Since logics elements are based on shared understandings of sources of legitimacy, and bases of norms, strategy, and attention (Thornton et al., 2012), we coded data to discern indicators of the discussion, agreement, or enactment of these elements. It is important to note that the dynamics we observed were related to *new logic construction*, not a preexisting logic. New logic construction involves negotiation of logic elements, which may be agreed upon but which remain somewhat tentative as they are subject to renewal and revision over time. In the building phase, we discerned codes such as “listen first,” “not voting down,” “consensus approach,” “a basin hat,” “the bigger picture,” “learning together,” “discussing controversial issues,” “creating a working model,” “working on identified projects together,” etc., which as a whole reflect sources of legitimacy, and bases of norms, strategy, and attention. In the weakening phase, we discerned codes such as “sweeping under the carpet,” “suppressing discussions,” “not drilling down deep enough,” “no debates,” “deviating from agreed-upon priorities,” “no consultation,” “not doing enough,” etc. We define the new logic as a “shared governance logic.” As a logic governing a group of constituents’ use and access to a shared resource, it is a commons logic (Ansari et al., 2013), but we emphasize that it is constructed and shared by the constituents it governs.

We then searched for relationships between and among these codes, and assembled them into higher-order categories. Iterating with literature on institutional logics, we identified three higher-order interaction cycles (in two states each) that each corresponded with the development of shared understandings of sources of legitimacy, and bases of norms, strategy, and attention, or institutional logic elements (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Reay & Jones, 2016; Smets et al., 2012; Thornton et al., 2012). We labeled these interaction cycles “logic-construction cycles” and their negative states “logic-weakening cycles.” We demarcated each cycle by examining the primary focus or nature of interactions, noting that for each cycle, interactions changed in some meaningful way. These cycles included “*agreeing on values*,” “*shared learning*,” and “*enacting shared values*” or their negative states “*violating shared*

**TABLE 2**  
**Representative Examples of Emotional Codes and Categories across Two Phases**

<b>Social Emotions</b>	
Positive codes	Positive categories—Illustrative quotes in building a shared governance logic (2006–2008)
<u>Respect:</u>	<i>“Part of what we are trying to accomplish is to continue to build that trust and respect. So that when you do have points of contention or conflict, people aren’t just completely dismissive and walk away. They say, ‘look, I respect the person across the table . . . They just happen to not share my opinion about this issue.’”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Respectful, Mutual respect</i>	
<u>Trust:</u>	<i>“One of the intentions of the Council is to break down barriers between different elements of the water sector.</i>
<i>Trust building</i>	<i>I would call this a process-based deliverable or result. Just the meeting every month, have a room full of people that know each other, and trust each other.”</i> (Staff member, interview)
<i>Safe to share strong feelings</i>	<i>“We were all brutally honest with each other. At the table, one speaks at a time. Around lunchtime, you discuss[ed] the subject at hand, and talk[ed] to as many people as you could. It was another really good way of sharing.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Bridge building</i>	
<u>Liking:</u>	Negative categories—Illustrative quotes in weakening a shared governance logic (2009–2013)
<i>Bonded over time</i>	<i>“We need to spend more time at the beginning of each term doing things to build a stronger, unified Council, build trust and respect around the room, so there is less positioning.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Feel supported</i>	<i>“. . . we have this incident where there is no consultation. . . . I will say, ‘I am sorry, but I don’t trust you, because you don’t have a clue about stakeholder involvement. I can’t trust you to actually do it.’ What you end up doing is creating a very complex scientific model that may or may not work, but that I have no input into.”</i> (Council member, interview)
Negative codes	<i>“We felt that the staff member disrespected the process of the Council.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<u>Mistrust:</u>	
<i>Trust was reduced</i>	
<i>I don’t trust you</i>	
<i>Fear (fearful), Uneasy</i>	
<i>Concerned</i>	
<i>Feel marginalized</i>	
<i>Feel threatened</i>	
<b>Moral Emotions</b>	
Positive codes	Positive categories—Illustrative quotes in building a shared governance logic (2006–2008)
<u>Pride:</u>	<i>“I take pride in knowing that we played a part in the process. You know that your voice is making a difference.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Proud to be part of this</i>	<i>“Basically, we created agreement with everybody to do the right thing. . . . We showed the whole Valley that this is a great project. We are doing the right thing, and [are] very proud of being part of this.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>“The satisfaction comes from integrated conversations involving different sectors and different interests discussing ways in which our watersheds should be managed. . . . some understanding of moving towards sustainability.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<u>Moral rightness:</u>	Negative categories—Illustrative quotes in weakening a shared governance logic (2009–2013)
<i>Do the right thing.</i>	<i>“. . . I hope not, otherwise I will be screaming about it. I wouldn’t mind if we can all sit down and figure out something that we all had a hand in creating.”</i> (Council member and OBWB director, interview)
<i>Making an impact.</i>	<i>“Sometimes staff tried to sweep important yet controversial things under the carpet, wishing that it would go away. But it would not. That was not morally right.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<i>Morally right.</i>	<i>“We have to stop screwing the environment. . . . what the hell [are we] doing wasting our time talking?”</i> (Council member, interview)
Negative codes	<i>“This is not morally right. . . . We don’t talk about this anymore, and there is no clarity.”</i> (Council member, interview)
<u>Moral outrage:</u>	
<i>Incensed, angry, outrage</i>	
<i>Annoyed, indignation</i>	
<u>Moral ambiguity:</u>	
<i>Not morally right</i>	
<i>Too many voices, not enough focus</i>	



**TABLE 2**  
**(Continued)**

<b>Emotional Energy</b>	
Positive codes	Positive categories—Illustrative quotes in building phase: Building a shared governance logic (2006–2008)
<u>Moral energy:</u>	
<i>Passion (passionate about)</i>	“On the first meeting of the Council. . . it generated a lot of heated discussions about water quality, and everybody got steamed up.” (Council member and OBWB director, interview)
<i>Care (caring)</i>	“One function of the Council is to stoke the passion. . . . The Council members represent the community as a whole. They are passionate. As volunteers, they can say anything and feel free to have any ideas that they want. It is a safe place to share their strong feelings.” (Staff member, interview)
<u>Emotional energy:</u>	
<i>Enthusiastic (enthusiasm)</i>	“Most of us went into these meetings with enthusiasm, confidence and optimism of working something out.” (Council member, interview)
<i>High energy, animated</i>	“One highlight was the Strategy document when we finally got it done. The people from the province said, ‘we were short on source protection. You guys got it better.’ That really galvanized us. The Council was buzzing with confidence and enthusiasm.” (Council member, interview)
<i>Galvanized</i>	
<u>Task energy:</u>	
<i>Momentum</i>	
<i>Cannot let go</i>	
<i>Blown away</i>	
Negative codes	Negative categories—Illustrative quotes in weakening phase: Weakening a shared governance logic (2009–2013)
<i>Frustrated (frustration)</i>	“Just because the political climate is not right, it doesn’t mean that the work should not be done. . . . We have been calling again and again for going back to the subcommittee structure. I hope that the staff will eventually hear the message. . . . Work in a concentrated way, and that will give us momentum, and we have lost a bit of direction in the past.” (Council member, interview)
<i>Deeply frustrated</i>	“We went into a low period after the publication of the strategy document, partly because we could not carry out all the action items recommended. . . . We weren’t sure how we [could] get this done. . . . You are stuck in limbo a little bit, because you don’t have any authority or money to make the actions happen. . . . I am not sure that we came out of that low yet.” (Council member, interview)
<i>A great disappointment</i>	“I am glad that I am not going to the Council meetings, because my blood pressure just hits the roof. I am so annoyed about it. The meetings lately have gone beyond boring, the content has not been very important. . . . We haven’t had any arguments or discussion. The last 10 meetings that I went to, we probably did not have any discussion.” (Council member, interview)
<i>Meetings boring</i>	“At the end of the day, I felt that staff was driving it too much. . . . For the first three years, I attended every meeting. . . . After completing the Strategy [document], we kind of went into a funk, not sure what to do. . . . I am not sure we have come out of the funk.” (OBWB director, interview)
<i>Took energy away</i>	
<i>Momentum lost</i>	
<i>Initiatives slowed down</i>	
<i>Not enough activity</i>	
<i>Stuck in limbo</i>	
<i>Low energy; tough to keep the energy high</i>	

values,” “reduction in shared learning” and “limited enactment of shared values” (see Table 3 for evidence of the shared governance logic elements). *Agreeing on values* refers to members embedded in disparate logics reaching an agreement on the guiding principles and the terms of reference (e.g., goals, mission) for the new logic. Its negative state, *violating shared values*, involves instances in which agreed-upon values are violated or disregarded. Codes such as “listen first,” “consensus approach,” and “not voting down” were grouped under the category of “agreeing on values,” while “violating values,” and “deviating from agreed-upon values” illustrated its negative state. The meaning associated with the values and the practices involved in reaching that agreement represent the symbolic and material aspects of the shared governance logic, respectively (Reay & Hinings, 2005; Reay & Jones, 2016; Thornton et al., 2012). *Shared learning* refers to

finding a common language and establishing shared understandings on which issues related to water sustainability require attention through intense discussions and joint learning. In its negative state, *reduction in shared learning* occurs when members are less certain about their agreement on common issues (e.g., priority on work plans) because discussions are suppressed. Codes such as “discussing controversial issues,” “having a common language” and “developing work plans” were clustered under the category of “shared learning,” while codes such as “suppressing discussions” and “not drilling down deep enough” signified reduction in shared learning, and corresponding reductions in shared meanings and practices associated with the logic. *Enacting shared values* refers to members’ joint efforts in carrying out projects identified and agreed upon by the Council, such as “creating a working model” and “working on identified projects together.” In its negative state, *limited enactment of*

**TABLE 3**  
**Empirical Indicators for a Shared Governance Logic within Each of the Three Logic-Construction Cycles**

	Building Phase (2006–2008)	Weakening Phase (2009–2013)
	Agreeing on Values	Violating Shared Values
Empirical indicators of logic (sources of legitimacy, basis of norms, attention, and strategy)	<p>“Think regionally and think long-term; protect nature for the benefit of all; anticipate change—plan accordingly; balance multiple priorities; practice clear and open communication.” (guiding values of the Council, Strategy document, 2008)</p> <p><i>“Everybody has to recognize everybody else’s point of view. . . . If an idea is thrown in the middle of the table, then we will discuss and debate until there is consensus. Sometimes it takes a long time to reach that consensus. . . . [I] try to be as flexible as I can and try to work with people.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>“Every organization [has] their own perspectives, and they are all legitimate, but they are not all the same. . . . People sitting at a table, discussing issues and understanding the interests of others, thinking about it not just from what’s important to me, but what’s important for us to live and work in this Valley, and making sure that we make decisions that aren’t in my or my organization’s best interest, but the best interest of all.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p>	<p>New Council members were not formally inducted into the guiding values of the Council. Existing members were not reminded of the values. (Obs. Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014). The five values have disappeared from Council literature (archives).</p> <p><i>“I don’t think that the staff is kept in check in terms of pursuing personal interest or pursuing projects that run counter to . . . what is best for Okanagan water resource management. That was a proposal of \$1.5m for agriculture study . . . I had a very strong reaction to it. There were a number of others who had very strong reaction to that. Staff ended up withdrawing from it. . . . there are lots of activities behind the scene[s].”</i> (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p><i>“Everybody was just incensed that they made this application. . . . Because the Council has priorities, and this [water market pricing] was not a priority. . . . the Council felt that if it happened, it would undo all the work that [had] been done before. It is just not worth risking the Council for this grant.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p>
	Building Phase (2006–2008)	Weakening Phase (2009–2013)
	Shared Learning	Reduction in Shared Learning
Empirical indicators of logic (sources of legitimacy, basis of norms, attention and strategy)	<p><i>“We agreed to learn all interrelated topics on water first, develop a common language and vocabulary through joint learning, and not rushing to make decisions through voting.”</i> (Staff, interview)</p> <p>“By systematically discussing the breadth of Okanagan water issues, the Council will be prepared to produce informed and nuanced technical and policy recommendations” (Council archives)</p> <p><i>“The first few years were really spent talking about what they could and should do, getting to know different points of view on water. They all learned a huge amount.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>“From people talking about things . . . came a lot of things that they found they could agree on . . . People change their minds too, and compromises are made.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p>	<p>The specific phrases on discussion structure and mode of action disappeared from the work plans. (archives, Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 14)</p> <p>Members were less certain about agreed priorities, because there were many issues, but no consensus. (Obs. Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014)</p> <p><i>“We seem to talk about the same thing, but we never get anywhere. We don’t seem to make any progress. . . . because we have avoided discussing certain controversial yet important issues. . . . people will stop coming to the meetings. It is already happening now.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>“The conversation never drills down far enough.”</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>“This is a conflict we are not addressing. . . the really important issues got lost along the way.”</i> (Council member, OBWB director, interview)</p>

**TABLE 3**  
**(Continued)**

	Building Phase (2006–2008)	Weakening Phase (2009–2013)
	Enacting Shared Values	Limited Enactment of Shared Values
Empirical indicators of logic (sources of legitimacy, basis of norms, attention and strategy)	<p>“... working on the Strategy document. There was a lot of meeting and discussing and working to get the wording that all Council members were able to agree with. It is still the best that has ever come out of the Council.” (OBWB director and Council member, interview)</p> <p>“There were four to five players in the smaller group. ... ‘can we come up with some collective idea from this group?’ And then can you take that idea and apply it to other sub-committees? ... That gave us more time to interact and discuss things, therefore [we were] more productive.” (Council member, interview)</p> <p>“If you have a smaller group [the sub-committee], there is opportunity for people to [be] more engaged in the process, which is what happened with the Okanagan Sustainable Water Strategy document.” (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p>“I am seeing some really neat partnerships between different groups and organizations. I have seen proactive management approaches between different stakeholders that probably 10 years ago ... were literally adversaries.” (OBWB director and Council member, interview)</p>	<p>“I don’t think it [the Council] is doing much anymore.” (Council member, interview)</p> <p>Opportunities to renew understandings of projects yet to be implemented were lost because repeated appeals for updating the Strategy document were turned down. (interviews, Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014)</p> <p>“We realized that the strategy document could get stale over time, and needed to be revised. It is time to update and get version 2.0 out. This is what the Council is ideal for ... frustrated that this has not been updated.” (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p>Council members expressed frustration about the lack of progress in implementing action items in the Strategy document. Several informants recommended forming sub-committees to update the Strategy document. But these initiatives were discouraged by staff, because the document contained “politically sensitive issues.” (Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014)</p> <p>“Sustainable strategy existed in 2008, and yet from my perspective, no work has been done yet. You got the position, the person has been funded, and there have been no results from the work. What is the important work [that] needs doing?” (Council member, interview)</p>

*Notes:* Processes are derived from empirical data consisting of observational notes, interview transcripts, and archives, as stated in Table 1, and capturing logics from empirical data are based on extant literature (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Reay & Hinings, 2005; Reay & Jones, 2016; Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Thornton et al., 2012).

*shared values* refers to a reduction in members’ joint initiatives with codes such as “not doing anything” and “nonproductive.” The symbolic meanings associated with the various completed projects (e.g., the Strategy document) that informants constantly referred to, and the practices of carrying out the identified projects, are manifestations of the shared governance logic (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Reay & Jones, 2016).

In the third step, we went further and reflected on the relationships between emotional facilitators and logic-construction cycles. It became apparent that the three emotional facilitators (each in positive or negative valences) influenced the three logic-construction cycles (in two states each) in building and weakening the shared governance logic. Further, emotions worked through three agentic mechanisms, which we define as cognitive stances or intentions that facilitate agency. These included *openness and reflexivity*, *commitment*, and *engagement*, and they affected the

three logic-construction cycles. *Openness and reflexivity*, fueled by social emotions, refer to a willingness to share one’s own concerns, emotions, and interests with others; listen to and reflect on others’ concerns, emotions, and interests; and adjust one’s own assumptions and take a wider perspective in logic-construction cycles. *Commitment*, fueled by moral emotions, motivates people to take action. It involves an intention to work toward the objectives of the Council based on moral emotions. A high level of emotional energy not only amplifies and is amplified by social emotions and moral emotions, it also encourages *engagement* in logic-construction cycles. *Engagement* involves showing up to meetings and participating actively in logic-construction cycles. In summary, we converged on an emerging process model that depicts how a shared governance logic is built and weakened through three logic-construction cycles (or their negative states) involving three agentic

mechanisms fueled by three emotional facilitators. In the final step, we returned to our data to examine how the facilitators, mechanisms, and cycles in our model had been enacted during the building and weakening phases in new logic construction. This analytic process went through many rounds of iterations between the two authors as we discussed disagreements and adjusted the categories accordingly.

We ensured our analysis met Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for trustworthiness through the following steps. First, the 18-month engagement with the research site enabled the first author to observe emotional displays and build social emotions with informants. Second, we maintained a systematic audit trail of all observations, interviews, documents, and video and audio clips, along with a record of emerging understandings, categories, and themes. We organized the data in Atlas.ti software to allow tagging, searching, coding, theorizing, querying, collapsing codes, and recoding as patterns and themes emerged. Third, we performed formal "member checks" (Nag, Corley, & Gioia, 2007) and peer debriefing several times during the analysis and throughout the writing process. These conversations provided valuable feedback on the emerging themes and helped ensure our interpretations stayed true to the informants' experiences.

### EMOTIONAL FACILITATORS AND AGENTIC MECHANISMS INFLUENCING NEW LOGIC CONSTRUCTION

Below, we first describe a precursor period that set the conditions for constructing a shared governance logic, then present our findings in a building and a weakening phase. Table 4 shows evidence of Council members' initial entrenchment in their home logics, and the broader insights they developed as they constructed the shared governance logic. Representative quotes corroborating the three agentic mechanisms linking emotional facilitators with logic-construction cycles are provided in Table 5. We identify interview quotes using standard quotation marks and label verbatim quotes observed in the field as "Obs." to differentiate from interview quotes.

#### Precursor Period: Creating the Context for Constructing a New Logic (2003–2005)

Prior to 2005, the OBWB had a very limited water management mandate. In 2003, an extreme drought raised the profile of water issues. The Okanagan Lake level was visibly low. The Summerland Council was charged with damaging fish habitat by the Department of

Fisheries and Oceans when Trout Creek ran out of water. The Okanagan Mountain Park fire devastated nearly 26,000 hectares of forest, consuming 239 homes in the city of Kelowna, with estimated losses over \$100 million. Emotions were running high among the public (archival videos). "Not wishing to waste a good crisis," the OBWB directors leveraged the emotions by theorizing water as a collective problem, linking it to "what is important for us to live and work in this valley," and making the case for doing things differently "on behalf of our children, and our children's children" (OBWB archives, 2003–05). To maintain momentum, the OBWB organized two conferences linking diverse water issues by bringing water experts, policy makers, and community members together, effectively creating a new bridging issue field (Zietsma et al., 2017). The directors changed the title of one conference from "The State of the Basin" to "Running on Empty" to increase emotional resonance (Feb., 2004). Recognition of the need to do things differently emerged from conference discussions.

Around the same time, the OBWB received an unsolicited white paper on Okanagan water management from the Okanagan Partnership, a society led by people with strong political ties. The paper, written by Tom Siddon (hereinafter referred to as Tom), identified water as the overriding theme impacting every economic sector in the valley. All informants acknowledged the paper's significance (OBWB archives, 2004–05). The paper proposed the notion of an advisory council and recommended changes to the structure of the OBWB. After lengthy discussions, the directors agreed that the future of water sustainability in the Okanagan depended on a united voice for the basin, and a collaborative approach incorporating broader representation of water users with a long-term view (OBWB archives, 2003–05). They used other watershed models to legitimate their proposed structural change (OBWB archives, 2004–05). All three regional districts approved the Water Management Program, which involved a tax allocation and budget changes to establish the Council; adding three nonvoting members to the Board; hiring one additional staff member; and initiating a new small grant program for basin-wide community water projects (OBWB archives, Apr. 2005).

This precursor period involved top-down moves by the OBWB to establish the structure and funding, and acknowledge that water was a legitimate collective concern, setting the stage for constructing a shared governance logic. The Council was formed, involving water specialists representing diverse groups and

**TABLE 4**  
**Representative Quotes for Actors Changing from “Home Logics” to a Shared Governance Logic**

Shackled to “home” logics	Become engaged and committed to the shared governance logic
<p><i>“There was definitely conflict during the initial meetings. The conflicts ranged everywhere from First Nations to fisheries, to agriculture, to municipalities, and water purveyors, to cattlemen’s groups. They really spoke different languages, but also had very different needs. There was animosity. The fish people and the agriculturists were definitely butting heads.” (Staff, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“Initially there was finger pointing going on, and people were saying ‘the biggest problem was agriculture.’ This mindset of ‘development first, agriculture and conversation second or third’ really bothered me. . . . Water purveyors at the table saying ‘we need this water for the developers and all that stuff.’ It kind of scared me that that [was the] direction that some of the people were looking at [regarding] how we should be managing our water resources around the Council table.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“[Previously] there were no ways for all stakeholders and community groups to have conversations about ways in which our watershed ought to be managed. Different sectors which have activities around water, such as agriculture, energy and tourism, etc., are split up between different levels of governments and different departments of the government, and they are not having any meaningful conversations.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“The first meeting [of the Council], everybody staked out a position. . . . The farming groups and the BC Fruit Growers Association and BC Agricultural Council would say, ‘. . . I am going to promote agriculture at this Council, because this is whom I represent.’ And the next guy would say, ‘I am with Fish and Wildlife branch of the Ministry of Environment. I am here to protect fish. I am here to create big riparian zones on your farms so that you cannot farm so much, and I can protect my fish.’ That’s how it would go around the table. Everybody was staking out his or her positions at the very first meeting.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p>	<p><i>“Initially people were very entrenched in their perspectives, so farmers were anti-fish, fish people were anti-farming. Now, you have farmers advocating for fish, and you have got a fishery biologist advocating for agriculture. That never happened when it [The Council] first started. This is one significant change that has occurred.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“I think if you ask the Council today whether fish flows are important, they would say yes. But I don’t know that they would have then [at the beginning of the Council]. Some people had to change their minds in order for that accommodation to come about.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“. . . resolving conflicts in a more relational way. Everybody understands each other’s perspective; that changes the way that we resolve problems in the Valley. . . . Philosophical underpinning of not dividing people into bad and good, and the whole principles of working together.” (Staff, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“People began to have conversations like ‘let’s figure out a way to save your interest and get my interest. I need to understand your perspective better before I can figure out how I can change my perspective around for the collective good.’ This change happened gradually over time.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“I have seen proactive management approaches between different stakeholders that probably years ago . . . were literally adversaries. . . . this would not have happened without [the] Council. The process is there for the dialogue and discussion to happen.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p> <p><i>“Now there is less positioning and more trust, and more respect and more thinking about the big objectives of the Council, not just your organization.” (Council member, interviews)</i></p>

various levels of governments. Tom was elected as the chair of the Council, and Anna Warwick-Sears (hereinafter referred to as Anna) was hired initially as the water stewardship director and later promoted to be the executive director of the OBWB. However, concerns persisted among some OBWB directors, represented by heated discussions about “how much authority the Council should have? Are they going to go over our heads? Who should be on it? Should they be appointees of various sectors? Should these appointees be balanced between different interests?” In summary, this precursor period included collective theorizing, issue linking and legitimacy seeking, and some active learning through the conferences. Two of Ansari et al.’s (2013) conditions—recognition of an interconnected fate and acceptance of responsibility

by all—for the emergence of a commons logic were met. The third condition, the collective commitment to act, was partially met in that the Council was formed. Yet, there were no shared understandings of meanings and practices associated with the new logic, and the basis of norms, attention, and strategy remained to be worked out.

### **Phase 1: Building a Shared Governance Logic (2006–2008)**

In the building phase, the Council built a shared governance logic through three logic-construction cycles affected by three emotional facilitators working through three agentic mechanisms. Tom summarized the importance of the interactions,

**TABLE 5**  
**Representative Quotes for the Three Agentic Mechanisms**

Interactions	Positive examples	Negative examples
Social emotions and openness and reflexivity	<p><i>"Respect allows them to really delve into issues . . . there is trust and respect . . . people hear each other out, consider, and go from there."</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>"Dialogues change my ideas and attitudes as well. . . . It is the trust built up over the years. Once you understand that we are all stakeholders, it is far better for us to make things work, and the camaraderie that you get."</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>" . . . if people stop, and reflect and listen . . . It is harder to be viciously divisive if you know the people you are dealing with on a regular basis."</i> (Council member, interview)</p>	<p><i>"There was lots of talking going on [about the staff proposal], and this was all off-stage. Not everybody at the Council knew about it. It was never brought fully into the open, because the Council members who were involved in the discussion really didn't want to disturb the equilibrium."</i> (Council member, interview).</p> <p><i>"By focusing on 'thinking' and ignoring 'feeling,' we are not engaging our capacity to work together and come up with innovative solutions."</i> (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p><i>"We are not getting very far because we no longer discuss these any more. We really need to."</i> (Council member, interview)</p>
Moral emotions and commitment	<p><i>"I think it is animation of personalities and dedication to a common cause. . . . sincerity of their commitment to do the right thing. Their commitment in the common cause outweighs any difference."</i> (OBWB director and Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>"They are all committed to do the right thing for our children and our children's children."</i> (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p><i>"If there wasn't mutual respect and long-term commitment to common objectives, the whole thing could come apart."</i> (Council member and OBWB director, interview)</p>	<p><i>"One of the subcommittee worked on water economics, pricing. We tried to work on it, but we never got anywhere . . . that's not the right change. We don't need it. People were not committed."</i> (OBWB director and Council member)</p> <p><i>" . . . it will become a nonproductive, non-representative Council. . . . If they are being dominated by staff presenting proposals, I don't think that is a good way."</i> (Council member, interview)</p> <p><i>"I don't see it yet. I haven't figured out where and how the water management plan could be used and applied. People don't understand what a water management plan is. . . . They didn't talk about it at the last meeting."</i> (Council member, interview)</p>
Interactions	Positive examples	Negative examples
Emotional energy and engagement	<p><i>"Even if they aren't able to reach consensus, they get a feeling for each other's viewpoints. This is important. I really enjoyed attending these meetings."</i> (OBWB director, interview)</p> <p><i>"In the first three years, the Council did really good work. It was very energetic. There [were] a lot of meetings, discussing and working on the strategy document to get the wording so that all members were able to agree with."</i> (Council member interview)</p> <p><i>"We [have] a group of volunteers here. They would attend meetings month after month. . . . They are doing it because they are passionate about water."</i> (Staff, interview)</p>	<p><i>"I think the Council has sledded into significant disrepair. I don't think it is doing much anymore."</i> (Council member interview)</p> <p><i>"I used to be more involved . . . Now I am not sure to what degree the best interest of water can be carried forward from that group, because a lot them don't have deep knowledge of water, but the core group of people do. . . . There is no real back and forth in terms of debating important aspects of water sustainability. . . . I don't spend a lot of time at Council meetings anymore."</i> (OBWB director and Council member, interview)</p>

If this had not been motivated and animated by so many very capable and passionate people who come from different perspectives and backgrounds, and if they hadn't devoted enthusiasm for what they were doing, this whole thing could have been an abysmal failure. . . . At the heart of it is the interrelationship of people who trust and enjoy working with each other. You don't want to waste, on a voluntary basis, if you feel that you are not producing something that you are. . . proud to be part of.

**Logic-construction cycle 1: Agreeing on values.**

Council members (volunteers) representing diverse sectors, including hydrologists, fishery experts, agriculturalists, water suppliers, scientists, conservationists, and various governments including the First Nations, had very different views of what water sustainability should be, anchored in the organizations they represented and their associated logics. People initially stuck to their narrow perspectives, as one informant recounted in the experience of the first Council meeting,

Everybody staked out a position. The farming groups would say, "I am here to represent and support agriculture. I am going to promote agriculture at this Council." And the next guy would say, "I am with the Fish and Wildlife branch of the Ministry of Environment. I am here to create big riparian zones on your farms so you cannot farm so much, and I can protect my fish." That's how it would go around the table.

Trust had not been established because members had no prior experience of working together to solve water issues collectively. According to a government representative, the prevailing thought was "we knew better. Talking to other groups would complicate our work." Further, "farmers knew very little how fisherman felt, or how biologists thought, how the hydrology of the watershed worked." Likewise, scientists and representatives from the senior governments did not understand how farmers felt. Some members said, "let's take water from agriculture" because agriculture was the biggest user of water in the Okanagan. Hence, the agriculture group felt threatened at the beginning. The First Nations felt "the need to contribute to the environment (e.g., water) in meaningful ways. A sense of stewardship. In stark contrast to the notion of exploiting the environment, the very basis of western civilization." Attending to feelings became important; as one informant said, "I'll try to tell you how I feel about it, how I feel this may affect me and the things that I know about, and that will help inform you. And I will ask the same from you."

Informants referred to sharing feelings openly and listening to others to reflect on their own and others' assumptions. United under the passion for water, "probably the only thing they [members] have in common initially," along with respect for others' expertise, the Council members agreed to step back from their own perspectives so as to be open-minded and be receptive to diverse views, if guardedly at first. Being "mindful of emotions" made members aware that different experiences and knowledge could affect the interpretation of "facts" (Archives, Feb., 2006; OBWB internal memo), and they became willing to listen and understand the different perspectives on the same issue, thus opening the door for potential innovative solutions. A watershed representative said, "Wow, you feel very strongly about this. Let me understand why, see if I can understand this, and maybe we can come up with something like a dream."

This "dream" included the engagement of members in two subcommittees to discuss values: one in charge of establishing the guiding principles, the other developing the terms of reference including vision, mission and goals. One member described "trust building" in detail,

At each meeting, there is an emphasis being promoted that different people talk to each other. There is a lot learned when people go and ask the other guy, why he feels so strongly about this set of things and that helped. . . . It was a sort of collective consciousness that we developed. . . . and carried on from meetings to meetings. We were all becoming wiser over time. Trust and mutual respect developed. We bonded. And we started to discuss each other's issues, and recognize how to do it better.

The parallel processes lasted eight months, involving back-and-forth dialogues among subcommittee members, and heated discussions at the Council (Archives, 2006). Specifically, members agreed upon a consensus-based decision-making process, discussing each issue until they could reach agreement, "consensus rather than voting you down" (Archives, Feb. 2006). As the chair, Tom modeled and encouraged the active expression of emotions by Council members. The discussions around values made people realize the collective benefits of having diverse experts and viewpoints all in one place. Gradually, members became morally committed to "seeing the big picture," "acting for the greater good." "Think long-term, stick to priorities, keep nature happy, remember all partners, manage changes together" (OBWB internal memos) were the values that Council members constructed for the

shared governance logic. The Council recommended that the OBWB use these values to evaluate all water management decisions, including the allocation of small grants. It began to function more cohesively, “respectful of differences but with a shared purpose.” In the end, people felt moral clarity that “the right thing to do” was to “take a basin-wide approach” and “put on a basin hat;” as one OBWB director noted, “Eventually people said that ‘yes, I represent my people, but we need to represent everybody in the valley.’ We are going to work together to achieve that. That was the greatest coup.” A representative from the agriculture community commented,

Something remarkable has developed over time. . . . Over time, we [the agriculture contingent] have gone from feeling being portrayed as the villain to being very supported. Others have taken up the position on behalf of agriculture . . . Gradually, people are willing to see the thing as a whole.

In summary, the interactions among agreeing on values, three emotional facilitators, and three agentic mechanisms helped to turn Council members from their initial positioning to becoming open and taking a wider perspective; from mistrust to trust, respect and liking; from unsure to committed to the moral purpose, intensified by the emotional energy of enthusiasm and passion for solving water issues on a basin-wide basis. The new logic began to take shape.

**Logic-construction cycle 2: Shared learning.** Discussing and eventually agreeing on values laid the foundation for shared learning, as members became aware of the knowledge gaps that, if not addressed, would hurt their ability to tackle water sustainability issues for the whole basin. Recognizing the importance of establishing “a shared common language” for the Council, Anna organized sessions to build shared understandings about issues that require attention (e.g., the content of “things” in “doing things differently,” guided by the shared governance logic).

. . . We needed to go through a whole set of topics, the biggest topics that people kept bringing up and things that we had to figure out how to resolve. We couldn’t deal with one topic by itself, . . . And after we had gone through all of them and understood how they related to one another, we would have a shared set of information and be able to move forward. . . . Through this . . . [for a year], individuals had bonded with each other because they had a sense of shared learning.

A subcommittee was engaged to discuss agenda items for each meeting. Systematically addressing

different water issues over time helped members to gain increasing moral clarity, and to develop enthusiasm for engaging in deeper dialogue. Archives confirmed that passionate debates followed the presentations, generating high levels of emotional energy. A scientist described his enthusiasm, “These meetings are really enjoyable to go to, in the sense that I wonder what we are going to learn this time.” This shared learning experience helped to build a solid foundation for a shared common language and shared understandings, and reinforced social emotions of respect, trust and liking among members. Informants described the Council as “a safe place to share strong feelings.” Listening and understanding feelings made people reflect upon the implications of decisions made at higher levels. A water purveyor said, “You have federal and provincial bureaucrats responsible for working with the law there, and people who might be affected by these regulations. . . . these decisions [by the bureaucrats] have real consequences for people, [the] watershed, and future generation[s].” Another founding Council member representing the federal government described the depth of emotions,

Witnessing the strong emotions expressed by the people at the Council table brought home for me . . . the impact of our decisions for the folks there. I felt a genuine connection with the people. . . . Now I urge my people to think about the social and emotional consequences of our decisions and how they might impact real lives.

Further, shared discussions around controversial yet important issues also helped to increase moral clarity on the content of the right thing to do for the whole basin. An OBWB director recounted how Tom would direct attention to controversial yet important issues, “He would dig into it a bit more and get everybody really steamed. Stuff would come out of people’s mouth that we needed to hear, and we needed to deal with.” For instance, the intense discussions on local water use plans (to avoid the experience of Trout Creek drying up in Summerland) focused on “where do you draw the line? How much do we have to save for fish? Do we have to save water for fish?” The growing social emotions of respect, trust, and liking made members more willing to listen to diverse and opposing views, discuss, and integrate different views. Members found that although they disagreed on certain things, they could nonetheless find significant moral agreement and a shared commitment to respect the needs of humans and other living things, and what it meant to “do the right thing.” They were proud that “people change their minds too, and compromises are made. In the end, we started to achieve things.”



The “achievement” this informant referred to was the establishment of work plans. One informant described in detail the subcommittee meetings on work plans for the Council,

We put yellow stickers on the wall, and wrote down what we were interested in. Brainstormed competing ideas, generating high energy and enthusiasm and reinforcing trust. . . . the momentum carried from meetings to meetings. Over time, we began to produce fairly cohesive agreement amongst members.

Recognizing the importance of discussing controversial yet important issues, the Council specified the discussion structure and modes of action following the discussion, and identified priorities of deliverables in the work plans (Archives, 2006).

In summary, interactions among shared learning, three emotional facilitators, and three agentic mechanisms helped to reinforce social emotions of respect, trust, and liking; generate and maintain emotional energy; and increase clarity on “the right thing to do,” leading to moral emotions. The shared governance logic became more specific through the recursive interactions between symbolic (“establishing a common language through joint learning”) and material (“identifying issues that require attention and agreeing on priorities through work plans”) aspects.

**Logic-construction cycle 3: Enacting shared values.** Enacting shared values, manifested in this study as the implementation of identified priorities and projects, is critical for shared collective action underpinning a new shared governance logic (Friedland, 2012). It emerged out of the cycles of agreeing on values and shared learning. For example, the Kelowna Joint Water Initiative was enacted based on the Council’s work. Initially, there were a lot of disputes and arguments among the big-five water suppliers in Kelowna. The city would approve a subdivision and expect the water purveyors to provide water without prior coordination or consultation. As the Council started to meet regularly, representatives from the city of Kelowna and other water suppliers got to know each other. A Council member commented,

Initially they were fighting like cats and dogs. As these people meet together around the table, they cannot really fight any more. All of a sudden, the fights go away. They made a number of changes that just made sense. . . . They weren’t forced to do it. It was interesting to see the transition from fighting all the time to working together, and coming up with some neat ideas. . . . Accomplish what is seen as a miracle.

The enactment of shared values was facilitated by the moral and social emotions, and emotional energy built in the prior interaction cycles. Their enactment, in turn, reinforced members’ social emotions of trust, respect, and liking, strengthened their moral emotions, and generated high levels of emotional energy that together encouraged engagement in further projects, such as an endocrine disruptor study, groundwater assessment, and hydrometric monitoring. Tom brought the Council’s position paper on opposing the province’s proposed sale of leased lots on drinking reservoirs to the OBWB meetings; as one director said,

[Tom] certainly knows which parade to jump in front of, and how to advance controversial issues. He would go in and really shake everybody’s tree and make them hang on, and realize that there were significant issues that they had to deal with, and really think about what it was that they were making decisions on.

Some OBWB directors attended Council meetings to deepen their understanding of the impact of their decisions on different water users. They described the Council meetings as “energetic” and “passionate.” They were reminded of their moral obligation to do the right thing for the basin as a whole. Injecting emotions into objective decision making helped to “humanize decisions that have consequences for our children and our children’s children, . . . ultimately, good decisions were made.” The OBWB supported the Council’s position and sent letters to provincial ministers and the Premier (OBWB archives, July 2006). This led to the province eventually agreeing to delay the sale of lease lots pending further investigation (Archives, 2006–09). Council members felt immensely proud of this outcome, because their actions had a real impact. This victory boosted members’ feelings of satisfaction and making an impact, reinforcing their commitment to the new logic. The Council was “buzzing with confidence and enthusiasm,” and people were highly engaged with the Council, wondering “what issues we should tackle next?”

The Okanagan Sustainable Water Strategy document, and the Supply and Demand Study, a comprehensive study on the Okanagan watershed funded by the federal and provincial governments, both epitomized the enactment of shared values across the basin. Many founding members worked closely and intensively on the Study, and they presented various findings back to the Council as

the Study was carried out. One member shared strong emotions,

I cannot let go of the Supply and Demand Study. . . . It is really rare that you feel you are really making an impact in real life. This has been a real connection with reality. It has been really rewarding. It is something I am passionately concerned about, keeping the Okanagan beautiful.

Informants confirmed that developing the Strategy document helped to deepen moral clarity on specific things to accomplish for water sustainability in the basin, and strengthen members' commitment to the Council. The chair of the subcommittee for the Strategy document said,

We need a simple strategy document for what we needed to do in terms of principles. . . . It was solid, a good recommendation that you could not recommend against, because some of it is motherhood. It was the right thing to do.

Archives confirmed that Council members were consulted along the way as the subcommittee developed the Strategy document, reinforcing social emotions among members so that "people are now speaking on behalf of interests that aren't necessarily their own. I think this has happened around the time when the Strategy document was developed." The Okanagan Sustainable Water Strategy Action Plan 1.0 was officially launched at the "One Valley, One Water" (the title deliberately chosen to reflect the symbolic meanings of the shared governance logic) conference in 2008. The Strategy document was widely viewed as exemplary of a basin-wide approach to water sustainability, helping to secure external legitimacy. Further, it acted as a powerful symbol for the shared governance logic because it also specified the content of the material practices (e.g., collective actions) underpinning the shared governance logic. It helped to increase moral clarity for Council members. A government representative said,

I think what really galvanized the Council is the Okanagan Sustainable Water Strategy document. Everybody agreed. . . . these were the things that had to be done.

In summary, the emotional facilitators built in the prior logic-construction cycles motivated openness and engagement in the enactment of shared values, which in turn reinforced members' moral emotions of pride and doing the right thing, and strengthened their commitment to the governance logic. Further, the experience of working on things that members

valued morally, and succeeding in solving a complex problem, contributed to the rush of emotional energy. The new logic was progressively strengthened and widely shared within the Council. It changed how water was managed in the basin.

## **Phase 2: Weakening a Shared Governance Logic (2009–2013)**

In the second phase, the shared governance logic was weakened. It began when top-down pressures on the Council shifted due to elections for the OBWB, to which the Council reported, resulted in eight new board members (out of nine). The new directors questioned the work of the Council, and some felt threatened because the Council's Strategy document was getting media attention. "I am caught blind-sided here because I have got constituents asking me 'what's going on with this issue in water? What are you guys doing?'" The new chair of the Council (elected when Tom returned to politics), Anna, and a second staff member organized briefings for the new directors, justifying the work of the Council. The directors came to acknowledge the importance of retaining the Council's sense of purpose, enthusiasm, and energy (OBWB internal memos), however, the staff members became very sensitized to the OBWB directors' political concerns as a result. They became nervous and sometimes fearful of directors' potential reactions, such as when the directors questioned the value of the small grants program (Obs., Mar. and Apr. 2013). Staff began to curtail the discussion of sensitive issues at the Council. As a result, bottom-up logic-construction cycles changed to logic-weakening cycles, again influenced by the three emotional facilitators and three agentic mechanisms.

**Logic-weakening cycle 1: Reduction in shared learning.** Unlike the past, the Council's meeting agendas in this period came primarily from staff, rather than members. Staff often took their own ideas to Council, and "these ideas were discussed at the Council table, and somehow they became the Council's ideas" (Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014). An agricultural representative said, "... it is different now. It almost feels like we are being told how and what to think." Informants felt that "staff were furthering their own personal careers," and became less enthusiastic in attending meetings. Some long-time members became less engaged in the Council, and often left halfway through the meetings, or stopped attending consistently, stating that "the meetings

lately have gone beyond boring" (Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014). Informants acknowledged the challenge of keeping the upcoming experts on water engaged at the Council meetings and maintaining the energy level. A water expert commented,

It is tough to keep the momentum and energy going. ... the Council has to decide whether it is going to be a think-tank or a facilitating group. If you want to be a think-tank, you need a dozen people and no more. They have to be razor sharp on water.

Further, informants stated that the main difference in this phase was "the absence of genuine debates." Certain issues "went around in circles" on numerous occasions (Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014). One reason for this was that the Council had grown to 40 members, some without basin-wide water knowledge. One founding member expressed frustration: "There are too many voices, not enough focus. Instead of getting the focus where it needs to get to, the conversation never drills down far enough." Another reason was because the staff would steer the discussions away from "politically sensitive" yet important issues; as an agricultural representative said, "The staff tended to sweep things under the carpet, wishing they would somehow go away." Informants were adamant that such discussions were needed to gain a shared understanding of "what is it that we all see in common about this particular issue." Further, an indirect result of absence of in-depth discussions was that members did not reach agreement on priorities: "There are a few priority issues. But what is the top priority, nobody can say for sure." Neither the shared understandings nor the material practices of the shared governance logic were reinforced. Moral clarity regarding the new logic became fuzzy, reducing commitment. Even at the yearly joint OBWB–Council meetings initiated to build social emotions, attempts by Council members to engage in deeper-level discussions with the directors were stopped by the staff, because "this is not the appropriate occasion" (Obs., June 2013). Members expressed negative emotional energy, including frustration, disappointment, and boredom, viewing the meeting as an "opportunity [for shared learning] lost," and "a waste of time." A water engineer said,

We need to talk about troubled stuff. ... There are many troubled issues that we really need to get our teeth into and discuss in detail. This has not happened for quite a while. ... I remember how they [Council meetings] used to be.

In summary, the curtailment of shared learning in the desire to avoid "politically sensitive issues" deprived members of the opportunity to renew "a common language" and "shared understandings," and indirectly reduced clarity over identified priority issues and projects. Accompanied by reduced openness and reflexivity, and reduced trust in staff, moral ambiguity increased as important issues remained undiscussed. Members were less committed to the shared governance logic. The negative states of social and moral emotions took emotional energy away from the Council, and engagement fell. The absence of opportunities to renew both symbolic and material aspects weakened the new, shared governance logic.

**Logic-weakening cycle 2: Violating shared values.** As the "priority list" for the Council contained a number of issues with no agreement on the top priority, staff focused on what funding agencies were seeking. In the spring of 2010, the staff organized a series of presentations on water market pricing, an economic mechanism used elsewhere to address water shortages, because it was favored by various funding agencies. While a few members were open to water market pricing, it was an emotionally charged topic for many around the table. The First Nations and the agricultural community were totally against treating water as a commodity. First Nations viewed water "as a force of nature and spirit, as an entity beyond a 'resource' or 'commodity,'" and we are all connected by water." The agriculture community said, "No, we don't want to go down that path. You cannot put a price on water. We would have failed in this water stewardship exercise if we have to resort to that." Staff received a strongly worded note from the agriculture community, asking them to take the presentations off its website (private letters). They agreed to take down the presentation, hoping the issue might just blow over.

However, staff failed to grasp the magnitude of emotions among members on this issue. When they submitted a grant application for water market pricing in the summer that year, using the name of the Council without prior consultation, it was seen as a particularly egregious violation of shared values (no prior consultation, and water market pricing was not a priority), and a breach of trust. It directly violated the norms (bottom-up consultation, consensus approach, shared values) of the shared governance logic. Informants recalled feelings of moral outrage:

It is extremely annoying because we go to those meetings month after month to try to develop solutions. When they [staff] don't even bring them to us, and later we find out . . . The problem is we are looking at the Council as a model of shared discussion and grass-roots consultation. But this has been absolutely taken out of our hands. . . . you are not going to accomplish anything if you don't have the willing buy-in of all those people whose livelihood depends on this. . . . "I am sorry, but I don't trust you [staff]."

It was an absolute mess. Everybody from the agriculture group on the Council was absolutely against it. They felt that if it happened, it would undo all the work that had been done before. Everybody was just incensed that they [staff] made this application. It was just a feeling that it was sneaky, and sort of underhanded. It was the idea that the staff would have been applying for [a] grant without the approval of the Council, using the name of the Council. Trust and confidence in the staff was reduced.

The resultant reduction in moral emotions and decrease in trust had the potential to unravel the new logic because the agriculture community, the biggest user of water in the valley, was on the verge of "walking away from the table." To resolve the conflict, staff members held "off-stage," "bridge-building" conversations with Council members to restore trust. Staff acknowledged their failure in understanding the emotions, and emphasized their adherence to the values of the Council. While the Council members involved agreed to give the staff another chance, they nonetheless felt that "the right thing" might mean different things for them versus for the staff and some other Council members, increasing moral ambiguity regarding the content of the shared governance logic. One informant said, "I think staff tend to promote their own personal agenda to the Board . . . It is time to review, revise, and reprioritize the Strategy document." Members became less open and less committed to the Council. They had lower levels of enthusiasm for Council activities and attendance became more sporadic.

In summary, when shared values were violated, the negative impact on the symbolic and material aspects of the shared governance logic was direct. In addition to social and moral emotions, and emotional energy turning to negative states, openness and reflexivity were reduced, and commitment and engagement levels fell. The shared governance logic was weakened.

**Logic-weakening cycle 3: Limited enactment of shared values.** The staff's efforts to rebuild legitimacy also negatively impacted the implementation of the Strategy document. Rather than going through items systematically, as agreed during the development of the Strategy document, the staff picked "low-hanging fruit," as a government representative said,

For many of us . . . the strategy document was the first step . . . but somehow it didn't materialize that way. We were not focused enough to go through all these items . . . and try to tackle them one by one. The approach all of a sudden was to tackle the low-hanging fruit . . . For me this is really a great disappointment and deeply frustrating.

Some limited practices were established in this phase, including the publication of toolkits for by-laws on groundwater and topsoil, and position statements on the protection of land around drinking water sources. However, the subcommittees in charge of implementing the strategy document had not been called into action since the end of 2012, despite repeated calls from Council members. The absence of intense collective action deprived members of the opportunity to renew their commitment to and engagement in the shared governance logic. We observed member frustration on several occasions (Obs., Oct. and Nov. 2012, Mar. and May 2013); as a scientist said,

A lot of us feel frustrated. We have the feeling that we could do a lot more . . . there is a bigger role that the Council can play . . . How could we galvanize the Okanagan to make sure that everybody is doing something? That still hasn't happened yet.

Further, the nervousness and sometimes fear over "politically sensitive issues" manifested not only in the reduction in shared learning but also in limited enactment of shared values. For instance, despite the Council's consistent long-term opposition to the sale of leased lots on drinking reservoirs, the province issued licenses on drinking reservoirs in two districts in 2013. Yet rather than discussing the implications of these licenses and agreeing upon joint actions to prevent it from happening again, the chair stopped discussions around this important issue (Obs., May, Sept. and Oct. 2013). We observed people carrying on these discussions in private. Getting the province to agree not to issue licenses on drinking reservoirs was viewed as a major victory in the prior phase. Not discussing this issue nor taking collective action therefore directly undermined the symbolic and material aspects of the shared governance logic.

Moreover, attempts to update the symbolically important Strategy document were stopped by staff because the document included land use planning, a “highly sensitive political issue.” Land use was under the jurisdiction of the local governments, which had bought into the growth model of development, and which were responsible for appointing directors through regional districts to the OBWB. The topic of “how many people can the valley actually support in terms of water?” was studiously avoided at the Council table; as an agricultural representative said,

... this is the one elephant in the room that we never ever talk about. ... If we continue to grow, are we going to be in a situation where we have no slack left when we get into a drought. ... We may have to switch off the environmental flows and agriculture because we need to support our population. ... I would like to see it addressed, but it is such an emotional issue. ... I can see people banging their tables.

On the rare occasions that land use planning was brought up, we observed that staff emphasized scientific measures and objectivity because they wanted to portray the Council as the trusted source of scientific data for decision making (Obs., Sept. 2012, May and Sept. 2013). However, because members did not work together to revise the Strategy document, they were deprived of opportunities to renew shared understandings. It reduced moral clarity and emotional commitment to the shared governance logic; as one member said, “What is the key thing that is really needed in this valley? They [members] are not sure what it is.”

This contrasting view—between the staff who emphasized scientific measures, and the members who believed “the more fully you can clarify your emotions, your understanding, the better for the community to be able to come up with creative solutions”—caused simmering tensions at the Council table. This emphasis on scientific measures was driven by reduced government funding, and external pressures for accountability from government agencies. The unintended consequence was that things that could not easily be priced were deemphasized. A watershed member commented, “We have kind of left the environment out of that, and we need to carefully put it back in, because we are part of the environment. I want my grandchildren and great grandchildren to have the experience I had. How do you place a price on that?” Even the OBWB directors noted, “We lack studies that explore the social impact of these different scientific scenarios, and this

should be our priority” (Obs., Feb. 2014). Yet because these conflicts were not discussed openly, nor debated in subcommittees, interactions around enacting shared values became limited. For instance, efforts for a water management plan for the basin (including updating the Strategy document) did not materialize (Obs., Sept. 2012–Mar. 2014). A water purveyor expressed frustration: “Is this a legislative plan that we will get the province to sign off or a consultative one where we agree this is the right thing to do together? That affects the content and how you write up the plan. We didn’t talk about that. We didn’t get anywhere...”

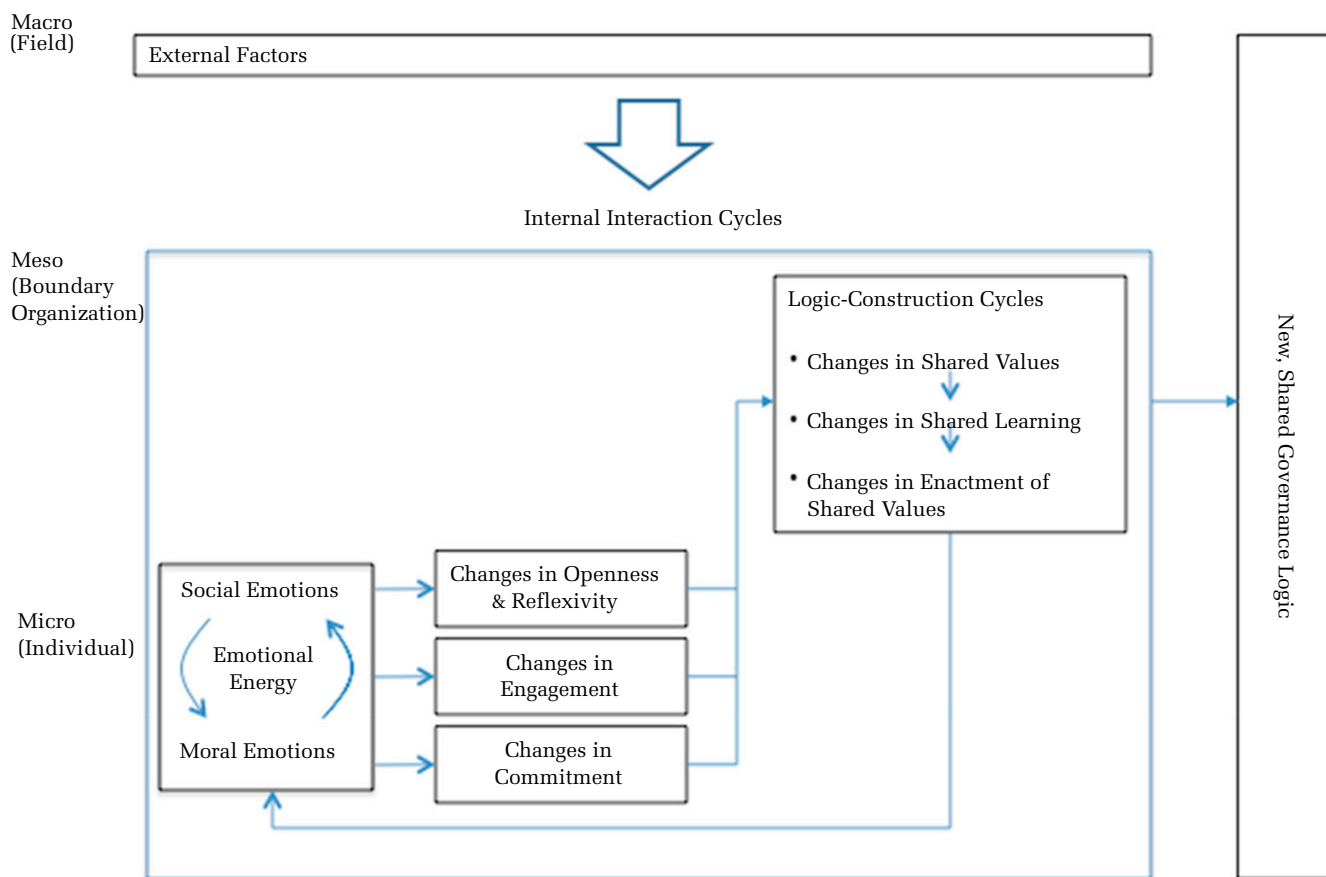
In summary, limited enactment of shared values deprived members of the chance to renew their social emotions through joint work, and increased moral ambiguity, therefore reducing moral emotions and lowering emotional commitment to the shared governance logic. These changes also reduced emotional energy and engagement in the shared governance logic. Cumulatively, limited enactment of shared values undermined both the symbolic meanings and material practices of the new logic. The shared governance logic was weakened.

## A PROCESS MODEL OF LOGIC CONSTRUCTION

We summarize the theoretical insights from the findings in a process model (Figure 1). Our model shifts attention from field-level conditions (e.g., external factors) that provide impetus for change to the processes through which actors initiate change. The model shows that a new shared governance logic is built up gradually at the micro (individual) level, beginning with values alignment, followed by shared learning regarding specific issues and practices of resolving them. Finally, the new shared governance logic becomes more substantive through the enactment of shared values. Through these processes the logic accretes at the mesolevel in a boundary organization (the Council in our case), and affects macrolevel structures. The logic weakens as shared values are violated, shared learning is reduced, and enactment of values is limited. Emotions, operating through agentic mechanisms, are critical in influencing logic construction and weakening cycles.

Our model illustrates that initial positive social emotions of respect are critical in facilitating members’ willingness to be open and reflexive in social interactions, leading to increasing levels of positive social emotions (trust and liking), which, in turn, leads to greater group cohesion. As a result, actors are able to overcome the constraints

**FIGURE 1**  
**A Process Model of New, Shared Governance Logic Construction**



of their home logics and to reach consensus, even when the issues are difficult. Our model thus explicates a new mechanism affecting logic-construction cycles—openness and reflexivity—which is itself affected by positive social emotions.

Our model also highlights that moral emotions are key in motivating commitment to new logic-construction cycles, and increasing embeddedness in the shared governance logic. We extend Jasper's (2011) assertion that enacting shared values collectively builds confidence and further agency. We document the process by which moral commitments are established, shared, and increased over time. Ongoing social interactions in logic-construction cycles increase moral clarity and moral emotions of pride and satisfaction in doing the right thing, which in turn lead to greater commitment to logic enactment. Commitment is key to new logic construction.

Further, our model extends the notion of emotional energy. Emotional energy arises from successful, shared, face-to-face interaction rituals

(Collins, 2004, 2014), attaching shared positive feelings to the activities and ideas involved. It persists (Furnari, 2014), and carries over into subsequent encounters (Gray, Purdy, & Ansari, 2015). Emotional energy in our model arises not only from social interactions and shared experiences, but also from working collaboratively and successfully on practices that enact the shared values of the new logic. This energy surge increases engagement in the shared governance logic, and reinforces social and moral emotions. Consistent with studies that have shown connections between excitement in solving problems and emotional engagement that facilitate interactions and task accomplishment (Grodal, Nelson, & Siino, 2015), our model explicates engagement as a new mechanism through which emotional energy is able to affect new logic construction.

Moreover, our model shows that the same interaction cycles involving emotional facilitators and agentic mechanisms that facilitate logic building also lead to its weakening. When external factors

negatively impact logic-construction cycles, resulting in the violation of values, norms, and practices of the new logic, actors are likely to react emotionally. Their negative emotional reactions have implications for agency directed toward new logic construction and maintenance. Drops in trust and respect reduce openness and reflexivity. As members become less open and reflexive, common understandings in values and shared learning are compromised. Moral ambiguity rises, reducing commitment to the logic and its enactment. Failure to enact values and practices associated with the logic leads to reduced emotional energy and engagement. These mutually influencing factors lead to the weakening of the new logic.

## DISCUSSION

We began this research by studying how actors embedded in disparate logics construct a new logic to build shared understandings and govern interactions across multiple fields. Our findings and the process model foreground emotions as important facilitators of agency in constructing a new logic, addressing a gap in logic theorizing (Friedland, 2013).

### Implications for the Understanding of the Role of Emotions in Institutional Processes

Although scholars in other disciplines have incorporated emotions to explain, for example, moral reasoning (Haidt, 2001; Sonenshein, 2007), work on emotions within institutional theory is relatively recent (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Wright et al., 2017) and in need of further development. We heed Jasper's (2011: 286) warning that "all the cultural models and concepts in use (e.g. frames, identities, narratives) are mis-specified if they do not include explicit emotional causal mechanisms." This study takes research into institutional processes to new frontiers by identifying emotional mechanisms buried beneath cognitive and structural processes.

**Emotions and agency.** Our findings provide a deeper explanation for how emotions affect agency in institutional processes involving negotiations across multiple fields. While logic-construction cycles create a space for embedded actors in complex institutional settings to discuss, negotiate, and integrate their understandings, social emotions make the space relational (Kellogg, 2009), enabling members to

become *reflexive* about their own logics and *open* to the feelings and interests of others they respect, trust, and like who are embedded in other logics. Social emotions take actors out of the day-to-day habitual agency that reproduces past arrangements, and move them into the practical-evaluative agency that focuses on solving current problems (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), and which allow shifts in common understandings to occur. Openness and reflexivity are thus both present-oriented and relational mechanisms for overcoming logic constraints. Further, moral emotions of pride, satisfaction, and doing the right thing reinforce actors' *commitment* to shared logics. Moral emotions are a powerful motivator for taking collective action to create a better future via projective agency, with its future orientation and ability to imagine potentially better futures to a problematic present (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Moreover, social emotions and moral emotions are reinforced and intensified by the emotional energy that comes from achieving important goals when enacting the new logic, motivating continued *engagement*.

**Emotions and the flexible use of logics.** Our study also sheds new insights on how actors can work with and around their "home" institutional programming to construct a new logic. Our findings suggest that the constraints of logics may be unlocked by social and moral emotional connections among actors embedded in diverse logics. Through recursive cycles of emotions working through agentic mechanisms to affect logic-construction cycles, actors become dually embedded—more open and reflexive about their home logics, and more committed to and engaged in the shared governance logic. It is unlikely that actors embedded in diverse logics across multiple fields would have been able to overcome their logic differences without positive social emotions, moral emotions, and emotional energy working in concert. We suggest that emotions, with their effects on agentic mechanisms, enable actors to embed themselves in a new logic while remaining attached to their home logics. Emotions thus offer explanation regarding when actors can use different logics flexibly and when they are constrained by one logic. We suspect, for example, that in studies by Smets and colleagues (2015) and McPherson and Sauder (2013), positive social and moral emotions built through social interactions enabled actors to draw on logics flexibly. Though these studies did not examine emotions, emotional explanations are consistent with the authors' speculations that the desire

to maintain goodwill and collegial friendship may have motivated flexible use of logics.

***Emotions, values, and new logic construction.***

Our findings show that emotions have key implications for the progression of new logic construction. Similar to a commons logic (Ansari et al., 2013), the shared governance logic in our case is a field-level hybrid logic that is socially constructed and shared by the constituents it governs, and the meaning of the new logic is subject to evolve as actors discuss and negotiate in order to reach shared understandings and consensus. The weakening of the logic we observed is part of new logic construction processes, rather than dissolution, because new logic construction involves ongoing negotiations and compromises, which sometimes stall or reverse. Our findings show that in spite of the negative social emotion of distrust toward staff, the positive social emotions of respect and liking, and moral commitment to a basin-wide approach to water management, provided enough agentic capacity so that the new logic was weakened rather than dissolved when emotions negatively affected logic construction. We suggest that actors can revive the new logic by building on positive emotions and addressing negative ones, and increasing agentic capacity to turn logic-weakening cycles to positive states. Although the exact dynamics of reviving logics are outside the scope of this study, we speculate that building positive social and moral emotions may be key to reviving logics and making them more resilient.

Our study also provides rare empirical evidence that values are an important component of new logic construction, advancing prior theoretical elaboration of the relationship between values and logics (Friedland, 2013; Kraatz & Flores, 2015). In contrast to other studies (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright et al., 2017) that have found logic violations lead to attempts to maintain the logic, our case shows that enacting the values of a logic seems to generate moral emotions, which in turn reinforces commitment to that logic, and violating values appears to weaken commitment to the logic. The weakening of the logic in our study versus maintaining the logic in these other studies may relate to the ongoing nature of new logic construction or the dual embeddedness of actors in our case. Although values is a topic of long-standing concern within social theory, moral philosophy, and early institutional studies such as that by Selznick, institutional scholars have only recently renewed their interests in how values are used to initiate change or maintain institutions (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright et al., 2017). Further questions

about values, emotions, and logics, and the dynamics among them, seem an important and promising topic for future theoretical and empirical inquiry.

Taken together, these implications suggest that a theory of action putting emotions at center stage has the potential to enrich existing understandings of agency, the constraints or flexibility of logics, and the dynamics of new logic construction. Emotions not only help to paint a vivid picture of institutional inhabitants (Barley, 2008; Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Powell & Colyvas, 2008), but also deepen our understanding of why and how actors participate in institutional processes. Without emotions, we have no sense of what is at stake for actors. Cognitive understandings alone do not move people to action. Exposure to institutional contradictions and the availability of multiple logics by themselves do not lead to change efforts. Emotions are an integral part of actions and interactions, not just the prior motivators or the outcomes that follow (Grodal et al., 2015). The notion that emotions and cognitions work in parallel challenges the way we think about actions and interactions. We suspect, for instance, that in Ansari et al.'s (2013) study on climate change, the third condition (commitment to act) for the development of a new transnational commons was not met because commitment to act involves both cognitive and emotional components. Social emotions in particular are hard to evoke among transnational actors with limited interaction.

In the case we investigated, social emotions, moral emotions, and emotional energy move in lockstep through positive and negative cycles. When different kinds of emotions are linked in this direct manner, it seems that when one of them turns negative, its negative impact can also spread and become amplified as it does so. We thus speculate that if social emotions are negative at the start of interactions—for example, reducing openness and reflexivity—identifying shared values and interests can be difficult. Yet actors may still be able to work together if they can identify a shared moral purpose, and over time, the emotional energy and moral emotions associated with successfully working toward that purpose can lead to more positive social emotions, which is in line with Collins' (2004, 2014) discussions of interaction rituals and the experiences of social movement members acting collectively together (Jasper, 2011). If common purpose does not exist, however, or if it is ambiguous, we expect interactions to result in conflict, negative moral emotions that would lead to low commitment (because progress toward objectives would be



uncertain and slow), and negative emotional energy that would lead to disengagement over time. On the other hand, if social emotions are positive but moral emotions are negative (say, shame, indignation, or dissatisfaction associated with not doing the right thing), we speculate that emotional energy would also be negative, and that over time, actors would tend to disengage because of the frustration and disappointment associated with not working toward a common purpose (negative emotional energy). Social emotions would likely also turn negative as negative emotional energy amplified in the reverse of the interaction ritual process (Collins, 2004; Gray et al., 2015). Thus, we expect that moral emotions, social emotions, and emotional energy tend to vary together, becoming either all positive or all negative over time. Future research is needed to investigate other combinations of positive and negative emotions that enable or constrain agency, and to thereby refine insights from this study.

### Microlevel Interactions and Macrolevel Structures

In contrast to prior logics literature, which has tended to focus on the macro (field) or meso (organizational) levels, our study explains how micro-level social interactions fueled by emotions can facilitate mesolevel changes in shared values, norms, and practices, and then scale up to create macro-level consequences (e.g., constructing a new logic that essentially changes the way water is managed). While macrolevel “top down” forces play a role in stimulating and disrupting bottom-up processes, it is these latter microlevel interactions that define the shared governance logic. These interactions are greased by social emotions, driven by moral emotions, and reinforced by emotional energy. Emotional effects at the micro level are part of what makes the shared logic durable. This is especially true when actors are actively involved in negotiating the shared logic in the first place, since the process of negotiating, together with pleasant feelings, creates emotional intensification—an amplification mechanism that imbues a negotiated frame (or norms and meanings associated with the logic) with a “normative force” (Gray et al., 2015: 122). Yet when macro-level pressures lead to violations of the logic, the micro-level emotional reactions can result in disengagement and disembedding, particularly in bridging issue fields where actors are simultaneously embedded in multiple fields. While Gray et al. (2015) predicted durability of the frame because of the (positive) emotional amplification mechanism, violation of the logic

in our case leads to its relatively swift weakening, because the negative emotions are also amplified.

Our focus on new logic construction through a recursive process among emotional facilitators, agentic mechanisms, and logic-construction cycles extends prior efforts in theorizing multilevel explanations for institutional sources of change (e.g., Smets et al., 2012; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011) by specifying the processes by which actors change their views and develop shared understandings and consensus. Understanding the process by which cognitive shifts occur is central to explaining change in institutional logics in particular (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010), and advancing theorization about institutions in general (Davis & Marquis, 2005). We suggest that multilevel theorization offers particular insight into how actors embedded in diverse logics at the intersection of multiple fields come to revise their understandings about commons issues in response to others’ views, and how they reach shared understandings through negotiations and compromise. Our efforts in theorizing connections among macrolevel pressures, microlevel processes, and mesolevel changes in values, norms, and practices thus capture more nuance regarding the interdependence among actors embedded in diverse logics, and deepen existing understandings of the sustainability, interruption, and disruption of shared understandings in bridging issue fields. As scholars have repeatedly called for integrating macro structural accounts with micro, interactional explanations of institutional persistence and change, (Barley, 2008; Gray et al., 2015), we hope others will join us in this endeavor.

### Boundary Conditions and Model Extensions

Although we developed our process model by studying a watershed organization, the emotional facilitators we uncovered have implications for scholars whose interests center on building shared understandings and collaborative arrangements among actors embedded in disparate logics across multiple fields. An important boundary condition is that the actors we studied are dually embedded in both their home logics, and the new, shared governance logic. It is likely that the new logic is more prone to weakening than would be the case when actors are predominantly embedded within the new logic. Persistent embeddedness in home logics constrains actors. Building relations to foster social and moral emotions, and emotional energy, can

help to loosen the constraints of logics. It is the recursive links among emotions, agentic mechanisms, and logic-construction cycles, as opposed to rational incentive and monitoring schemes (Ostrom, 2000, 2011) or structural boundaries (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008), that enable actors to become open and reflexive, committed to and engaged in the new logic while embedded in their home logics.

Another boundary condition is that actors embedded in disparate logics across multiple fields have a common interest in the issues at hand. Governing across multiple fields and their associated logics is often fraught with contradictory interests, and reaching agreement on shared values and the right thing to do requires ongoing discussions and negotiations. Actors need to identify and construct convergent interests. Convergent interests alone do not hold actors together. It is the social and moral emotion-laden processes of discussing interests and values that enable them to build a new, shared governance logic. Sonenshein (2007: 1027) argued that prior research focusing on moral issues has overemphasized rational reasoning and underemphasized social construction, and that moral reasoning may in fact be post hoc rationalization when something "feels bad" or good. This emotional dimension of interests and values deserves greater attention, because solving complex problems such as equality, poverty, and climate change almost always involves establishing common interests and values across multiple fields.

Our model thus applies to a variety of settings that fit these boundary conditions, including multi-stakeholder negotiations, cross-sector partnerships (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009; Selsky & Parker, 2005), joint ventures (Inkpen & Currall, 2004), communities of practice (Pyrko, Dörfler, & Eden, 2017), and even different departments of the same organization. For example, our findings suggest theoretical extensions based on emotions to recent findings about the formation and efficacy of communities of practice. Pyrko et al. (2017) identified the importance of "indwelling" and "thinking together" to bring knowledge-sharing communities across boundaries to life. Our model suggests that it is not just thinking but also emoting together that matters. We suggest that actors attempting to bridge multiple logics and boundaries are more likely to think together and develop shared governance logics if members trust, like, and respect each other (facilitating openness and reflexivity), share moral emotions (building commitment), and are engaged by the emotional energy that comes from collectively enacting shared values.

Importantly, simply relying on field-level external conditions, as most extant literature has described (e.g., Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009), is not enough. Deliberately incorporating emotion-building activities can help to loosen the constraints of home logics, and alter the capacity for agency. We expect emotions to play a larger role in the initiation and long-term success of collaborative arrangements. As divergent interests, embeddedness in diverse logics, and power dynamics are rife in these settings, actors need to build up positive emotions to introduce and reinforce the systems and structures that they put in place. Further, as collaborative arrangements do not resolve or simplify complexity in these settings (McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smets et al., 2015), ongoing and continuous investment in positive emotions is needed to help actors navigate the inevitable crests and troughs of the process so they remain committed to and engaged in collaborative arrangements. We suspect that the primary reason that many collaborative arrangements fail or stall is the absence of positive emotions, rather than inadequate incentive schemes or structures as prior research has emphasized.

### Implications for Policy and Practice

This study has important implications for practitioners and policy makers in the field of water sustainability, and multi-field shared governance in general. The building of a shared governance logic is potentially rife with struggles not only because actors are embedded in disparate logics across multiple fields, but also because cognitive processes are reciprocally entangled with emotional facilitators on a continuous basis. Ignoring emotions can result in undesirable outcomes including lack of participation, loss of momentum, deviation from values, internal and external conflict, and moral ambiguity. Practitioners should be aware that seemingly cognitive processes such as agenda setting and decision making contain emotional elements that not only motivate people to participate, but also keep them engaged. This is particularly important for voluntary organizations that depend on members' participation. Social and moral emotions are necessary for cooperation among such organizations, because they usually lack institutionalized sanctions against breaches of trust. Moreover, negative emotions tend to be more easily noticed and remembered than positive emotions, so maintaining positive emotions is critical. This is because the emotional energy generated from shared discussions carries over into

future interactions. Further, policy makers need to consider emotional elements when considering accountability. Trends toward emphasizing scientific measures can have unintended consequences if they inadvertently block relational and emotional processes that embed interrelatedness and reciprocity into collective decision making. Actively considering emotions can ultimately lead to more innovative solutions for complex issues such as sustainability.

## CONCLUSION

We investigated the construction of a cross-field shared governance logic involving interactions among actors embedded in diverse institutional logics. We found that social and moral emotions and emotional energy played key roles in logic-construction cycles, working through the agentic mechanisms of openness and reflexivity, commitment and engagement. When emotions are positive, logic construction processes result in the continued elaboration and enactment of a new shared governance logic. When emotions are negative, the new logic is weakened. Our findings offer new insights into the role of emotions in agency and institutional dynamics, and illustrate how microlevel interactions affect meso- and macrolevel social structures.

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## APPENDIX A

**TABLE A1**  
**Organizational Structure and Function of the OBWB and the Council**

The OBWB (from 1968–2005):	The OBWB (from 2006–present):
<p>Nine appointed directors. The regional districts of North Okanagan, Central Okanagan, and Okanagan-Similkameen each appoint three directors from the Regional Boards, which consist of elected representatives from their respective regions. One-year term. Regional Boards also appoint alternate directors. Both directors and alternate directors are eligible for reappointment for subsequent terms. The directors elect a chair and vice chair from among the membership at the first regular Board meeting of each calendar year, or as necessary in the event of a vacancy.</p> <p>Two programs: funding for upgrading sewage treatment facilities, and Eurasian water milfoil control.</p> <p>Every proposed motion or project needs to be reported back to the Regional Boards and approved. The motion or project cannot go ahead without agreement from all three Regional Boards.</p> <p>One staff member: the general manager. Staff member carries out the work of the OBWB.</p>	<p>12 appointed directors. Three new directors (nonpolitical) are appointed in addition to the nine directors described above—the Okanagan Nation Alliance, the Water Supply Association of BC, and the Chair of the Council. These three directors are appointed for terms set by their parent organizations. Only directors appointed by the Regional Boards may vote on financial decision, but all other matters are decided by the entire Board.</p> <p>Three programs: Water Management Program (the Council, three new nonpolitical directors on the OBWB, small grant program) in addition to the two programs described above. The OBWB has the authority to approve its own budgets. The Water Management Program has a three-year renewal period.</p> <p>Four staff members: executive director, joined June 2006; water stewardship director, joined June 2007; communications director, joined January 2010; office and project manager, joined May 2012. Staff members carry out most of the work on behalf of the OBWB.</p>

The Board Chair and the Executive Director are the primary spokespeople for the OBWB. The Water Stewardship Director is the primary staff member with responsibilities for the Council.

The Council (from 2006–present) consists of 25–27 members (organizations). The OBWB will invite selected organizations to designate a representative to the Council, subject to Board ratification. Eighteen-month terms. The chair and the vice chair are elected among the members. Elections are held for both positions. The chair can speak on behalf of the Council.

Current members: Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Association of Professional Engineers and Geoscientists of BC (since 2012), BC Agriculture Council, BC Cattlemen's Association, BC Fruit Growers Association, BC Groundwater Association, BC Wildlife Federation, Canadian Water Resource Association, City of Kelowna, Environment Canada, Interior Health, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of FLNRO, Okanagan Collaborative Conservation Program (since 2011), Okanagan Chamber of Commerce (since 2013), Okanagan College, Okanagan Real Estate Boards (since 2011), Okanagan Nation Alliance, Regional District of Central Okanagan, Regional District of North Okanagan, Regional District of Okanagan-Similkameen, Shuswap Okanagan Forestry Association, UBC Okanagan, Water Supply Association.

Community Futures, Greater Vernon Water, Ocoola Fish and Game Club, Urban Development Institute, Osoyoos Lake Water Quality Society, and South Okanagan Similkameen Conservation Program ceased to be members of the Council from 2012.

## APPENDIX B1

### Timeline of the OBWB and the Council

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- 1968 First Okanagan Basin Water Board (OBWB) meeting in Penticton (July)
- 1969 MEVA legislation enabled the formation of OBWB and a liaison committee
- 1970 Regional District of Central Okanagan, Regional District of Osoyoos-Similkamean, Regional District of North Okanagan joined OBWB
- 1974 Okanagan Basin Study completed. OBWB appointed to be the regional authority and coordinating agency for implementing recommendations. Letters Patent was updated to reflect this (1975).
- 1976 OBWB given authority to establish sewage grants program
- 1980 Last mention of a liaison committee in OBWB minutes
- 1981 OBWB given authority for milfoil control in Letters Patent
- 1993 Westland report recommended OBWB take greater leadership role
- 2000 Summit Environmental report recommended OBWB take greater leadership role
- 2003 Okanagan Mountain fire, historical drought
- 2004
- White Paper of the Okanagan Partnership presented
  - First assessment of climate change impacts on Okanagan water completed
  - “Running on Empty” conference organized by the OBWB
- 2005
- “Water—Our Limiting Resource” conference organized by the BC Branch of the Canadian Water Resources Association (BC CWRA), and the OBWB
  - OBWB began development of Water Management Program, received approval by regional districts
  - Ministry of Environment initiated Phase One of Okanagan Water Supply and Demand Study
- 2006
- OBWB Water Management Program initiated, OBWB expanded to include the Okanagan Nation Alliance, Okanagan Water Stewardship Council, and Water Supply Association of BC; Council formed; small grant program began
  - Council advocated opposition to the sale of leased lot on drinking reservoir, endorsed by the OBWB
- 2007
- Ministry of Environment and OBWB initiated Phased Two of Okanagan Water Supply and Demand Study; Okanagan Water Demand Modeling began
  - Workshop and recommendations to assess feasibility of hydrometric monitoring
- 2008
- “Okanagan Sustainable Water Strategy (Action Plan 1.0)” published by the Council
  - “One Watershed, One Water” conference organized by BC CWRA and the OBWB
  - Endocrine disrupter study initiated
  - Council published position statements on protection of lands around drinking water sources
- 2009
- “Groundwater Bylaws Toolkit” published
- 2010
- Permanent moratorium on sale of reservoir lots requested, granted by the province
  - Okanagan Water Wise public communication program initiated
- 2011
- Phase Three of Okanagan Water Supply and Demand Project began with new climate scenarios
  - BC Water Use Reporting Centre launched
  - Recommendations to International Joint Commission for renewal of Osoyoos Lake Operating Orders
  - “Slow it, Spread it, Sink it! An Okanagan Homeowners Guide to Stormwater Management” published
  - “Make Water Work” communication and public outreach program launched
  - Groundwater monitoring project initiated, with a goal to drill 15 monitoring wells in at-risk aquifers
- 2012
- Council published position papers on irrigation efficiency in the Okanagan
  - Topsoil Bylaws Toolkit published
- 2013
- Council received Excellence in Water Stewardship Award by the Council of the Federation
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