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Trenton Alma Williams, Dean A. Shepherd

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Bounding and Binding: Trajectories of Community-Organization Emergence Following a Major Disruption

Trenton Alma Williams,^a Dean A. Shepherd^b

^aKelley School of Business, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405; ^bMendoza College of Business, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Contact: trenwill@iu.edu, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1419-573X> (TAW); dshepherd@nd.edu, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4269-1826> (DAS)

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Abstract. An important and underexamined topic in the growing literature on community-embedded organizing concerns situations in which dramatic shifts in the environment require the time-sensitive re-establishment of both communities and organizations to address urgent needs. We conduct a qualitative study of emergent community-organization trajectories in the aftermath of the 2010 Haiti earthquake and explore differences in the processes and interactions between emerging organizations and communities. Despite all organizations in our data facing the same external shock, they differed in how they interpreted the nature of crisis-induced voids, established boundaries to build and organize communities, and created connections to bind themselves to their communities. We compare and contrast these differences to reveal three trajectories of community-organization emergence, explain why these trajectories initially formed in the ways they did, and identify unique mechanisms that led to these trajectories' divergence. Our findings contribute to the literature on community-embedded organizing by demonstrating how organizations re-establish communities while simultaneously emerging within those communities.

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Keywords: [community-embedded organizing](#) • [community-organizational emergence](#) • [entrepreneurship](#) • [postdisaster organizing](#)

In 2010, the Republic of Haiti was rocked by a massive earthquake, which has been labeled “one of the most catastrophic episodes in history” (Shultz et al. 2011, p. 353). The destruction was swift and extensive as a country already beset by inadequate infrastructure experienced almost complete collapse—millions were left homeless; the central government complex was almost entirely destroyed; prisons were ruined, enabling the escape of prisoners; hospitals were rendered useless and became impromptu graveyards; the electric grid was failing and roads were destroyed or blocked by debris; and hundreds of thousands perished (Zanotti 2010, Katz 2013). Furthermore, Haiti faced follow-on challenges, such as food and water crises, a cholera epidemic, and increased threats of human trafficking (Zanotti 2010). Despite the near complete destruction of key institutional and community building blocks, some Haitians saw an opportunity to *build back better* (Katz 2013) by orchestrating the emergence of communities and organizations.

Community organizing in this highly disruptive context provides a unique opportunity to advance theory on the processes by which *both* communities and organizations emerge. Communities are “collections of actors whose membership in the collective

provides social and cultural resources that shape their action” (Marquis et al. 2011, p. xvi). There has been a recent resurgence of research on communities and their relationship to organizing—primarily rooted in sociology (Audia et al. 2006, Marquis and Battilana 2009, Almandoz 2012, Marquis et al. 2013)—which emphasizes how communities provide structural order and a normative framework for action, resources, and opportunities that new organizations need to grow (Marquis et al. 2007, Almandoz 2012). Indeed, the bulk of community-organization scholarship focuses on how organizations create value *from* the communities in which they operate (Fligstein 2001, Marti et al. 2013) and how communities bound *and* enable organizations’ entrepreneurial activity (George et al. 2016). In contrast, however, there is a small stream of research exploring how *established* organizations can influence communities by, for example, facilitating community renewal (McKeever et al. 2015) and collaborative activities for technological innovation (Autio et al. 2013, Seyb et al. 2019). Despite these advancements, the extant literature emphasizes either how *established* communities influence organizations *or* how *established* organizations shape communities.

Therefore, there is a gap in our knowledge of how new organizations and new communities emerge.

This scholarly gap is especially evident in the increasingly frequent situations in which established communities and established organizations are substantially (and suddenly) disrupted by crises (Tilcsik and Marquis 2013), such as natural disasters (van Der Vegt et al. 2015). As highlighted in the opening paragraph, natural disasters can potentially disassemble communities, creating voids in available resources, shared meaning, and structure at the very time there is an urgent need to provide a rapid and customized response to address widespread suffering (Bonanno et al. 2011). While some scholars explore how organizations form to address such major disruptions (Majchrzak et al. 2007; Majchrzak and More 2011; Shepherd and Williams 2014; Williams and Shepherd 2016a, b, 2018), they emphasize how new organizations address the needs of established communities rather than how emergent organizations rebuild disrupted communities and the impact of these community-rebuilding efforts on the emergent organizing. Therefore, explaining the different processes by which new communities and new organizations emerge is both practically and theoretically important. Thus, we ask: *When communities have been substantially disrupted, how do organizations emerge while building the communities in which they operate?*

To address our research question, we conducted a qualitative study to examine the emergence trajectories of seven organizations and communities following the 2010 Haiti earthquake. We chose this context because the disaster (the earthquake) provided a unique opportunity to explore how emergent organizations differed in organizing and rebuilding their communities to alleviate victims' suffering in response to this major disruption. Our study culminates in a model of community-organization emergence; the model contributes to earlier work focusing on established communities influencing organizations (Marquis and Battilana 2009), established organizations reshaping communities (Autio et al. 2013), and organization designing (Yoo et al. 2006, Garud et al. 2008, Jelinek et al. 2008). Before discussing our model, we highlight three contributions we make to our understanding of the emergence of communities and organizations.

First, our theorizing explains how organizations and communities coestablish meaning, scope, and collective goals. Traditionally, scholarship has assumed that organizations' goals reflect established communities' expectations and principles of its established community (Lounsbury 2007, Marquis et al. 2007, Almandoz et al. 2016), yet we find that emergent organizations also fundamentally shape emerging communities' expectations and principles. Second,

our findings reveal that organizations follow different patterns in rapidly emerging to reshape the societal building blocks that undergird communities. We use the notion of emergence trajectories to theorize differences in the processes by which both communities and organizations emerge. Extant theory assumes a new organization is embedded in a community-based context (Almandoz 2012, Marquis et al. 2013) but largely ignores (because it was not the purpose/context) the need for the organization to re-establish its community's building blocks while simultaneously organizing within the boundary of this emerging community. Thus, we provide insights into how emergent organizations rebuild communities while embedded in those communities. Finally, we find differences in trajectories in that emergent organizations differ in the degree to which they embed themselves in the new communities they are rebuilding, and these differences explain emergent organizations' varying influence on their communities and the scale and scope of resources made available to organizations by their communities. While the extant literature generally assumes communities provide boundaries and binding features for organizations (Audia et al. 2006, Almandoz 2012, Deephouse et al. 2016, Dufays 2016), we provide insights into how community-organization emergence trajectories reflect dynamic community-organization interactions.

Theoretical Background

We explore three primary bodies of scholarship that are most relevant to our investigation of differences in the trajectories of community-organization emergence in the aftermath of a major disruption: the literatures on community-embedded organizing, organization designing, and postdisaster organizing.

Community-Embedded Organizing

Recent years have seen a growing body of scholarship on community-embedded organizing (Nason et al. 2018). For example, scholars have explored how communities influence organizational founding (Marquis and Lounsbury 2007), innovation (Garud et al. 2013), differentiation (Marquis et al. 2007, Almandoz 2012), and corporate strategies (Lounsbury 2007). Driving the resurgent interest in community-organization relationships are new community forms, such as online communities, communities of inquiry, and other affiliation-based groups that are not necessarily bound by geography (O'Mahony and Ferraro 2007, O'Mahony and Lakhani 2011, Autio et al. 2013). Furthermore, recent research focuses on communities as institutional features that bind and bind communities largely based on the degree of community and organizational nesting in communities.

Degree of Community and Organizing. Regardless of community form (geographic, affiliation, or a hybrid of the two), community-level features represent important “institutional orders” that have previously been subsumed in broader institutional systems of meaning (Marquis et al. 2011, Thornton et al. 2012, Almandoz et al. 2016). The perspective that communities differ as institutional orders suggests that there is variance in the degree of community—that is, some communities have stronger community features than others—and this difference impacts organizations and organizing (Thornton et al. 2012, George et al. 2016). For example, communities may differ in the degree to which a collective body of actors (1) identify as community members (Dentoni et al. 2018), (2) provide sociocultural resources for other members (Marquis and Battilana 2009), and (3) pursue a common goal (Seyb et al. 2019). That is, independent of how connected organizations are to communities, communities vary in their degree of connectedness (Marquis et al. 2011), which likely influences the quality and/or quantity of opportunities and resources available to organizations. While scholarship generally assumes variance in the degree of community, we know little about how different degrees of community emerge and then shape organizations. We build on the resurgent community-organization scholarship to explore how both communities and organizations coemerge.

Community-Nested Organizations. While communities vary in degree, organizations also differ in the extent to which they embed in communities. For example, some organizations may be fully subsumed in communities (Marquis and Battilana 2009), whereas others may simply seek to apply a community logic for the instrumental purpose of accessing certain customer segments (Marquis and Lounsbury 2007). More broadly, organizations seek to nest themselves in communities to acquire legitimacy, coordinate activities, find customers, and access resources (Marquis et al. 2007, Thornton et al. 2012). Over time, organizations can shape their positions within their communities by challenging, reimagining, adjusting, and/or altering their attention or strategy (McKeever et al. 2015, Dentoni et al. 2018). For this reason, there have been calls to better understand *how* organizations connect more deeply with communities to effectively draw upon and deploy community support (Almandoz et al. 2016).

Embedding more deeply in a community can help (or inhibit) organizational efforts to engage in entrepreneurial activity, align with community needs and capabilities, and extract value from the environment by providing strategic options (Marquis et al. 2007, Marquis and Battilana 2009, Marquis et al. 2013).

Traditionally, scholarship on community-embedded organizing has focused primarily on social capital (Granovetter 1985, Uzzi 1997), with a particular emphasis on how overlapping organizational-community ties provide organizations with community-based advantages (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986, Burt 2004). However, more recent research highlights the variety of shared features organizations might have with communities beyond simply geographic network connections, such as common affiliation; unity of goals, values, and/or beliefs; shared identity; and shared strategy (for a review, see Almandoz et al. 2016). With this literature as the background, we explore differences in how organizations embed themselves within emerging communities in mutually reinforcing ways. We anticipate that differences in embedding processes shape community-organization emergence.

Organization Designing

The destruction in the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake created problems for Haitians—problems that were ill-defined and still emerging. The earthquake destroyed resources, organizations, and institutions that made previous solutions to problems largely unavailable and, if available, mostly ill-suited to this new and continuously changing environment. The literature on organization designing provides a theoretical background for taking actions in situations where there are ill-defined problems, fluid preferences, and emergent solutions (Garud et al. 2008) as an ongoing activity (Yoo et al. 2006). As Hedberg et al. (1976, p. 43) point out, “Designs can themselves be conceived as processes—as generators of dynamic solutions in which attempted solutions induce new solutions and attempted designs trigger new designs.” Organization designing involves processes of envisioning “systems that do not yet exist—either completely new systems or new states of existing systems” (Jelinek et al. 2008, p. 317) and helps explain how actors operate “‘betwixt and between’ the organizational core and its external environment(s), populating a liminal space located at the organization’s boundary in which activities take place according to non-proprietary and non-employment logics” (Giustiniano et al. 2019, p. 271). As a result, organizations emerge without full “static completeness” but are instead dynamic and even transient (Jelinek 2004, p. 115). For example, in a study of Infosys in India, Garud et al. (2006) found that Infosys could transform itself as an organization while still engaged in routine operations. They explain (p. 277): “Our study of Infosys Technologies reveals that the company has seeded each design element with generative properties so that their routine application for day-to-day performance also generates new possibilities. These elements reinforce and dynamically balance

one another resulting in the emergence of an overall organizational platform of resources, capabilities, and options. The company draws on this emergent organizational platform to ensure day-to-day performance even as it stitches together just-in-time responses to opportunities and threats. Thereby, it also transforms itself over time.”

Therefore, rather than focus on organizations as having clear boundaries, stable preferences, and fixed goals, the organization designing literature highlights how organizations operate without a clear separation between internal (organization) and external (e.g., community) boundaries (Garud et al. 2008). Furthermore, theory on organization designing explains how “liminal” organizations exhibit fluid preferences, evolving networks, and organizational systems that emerge from exploratory actions (Barry and Rerup 2006, Garud et al. 2008). For example, in a study of Frank O. Gehry’s architectural firm Gehry Partners LLC, Yoo et al. (2006) found that organization designing involved a dynamic, collaborative effort involving both a variety of stakeholders and emerging products or outputs of the firm—that is, physical buildings. Specifically, Yoo and colleagues argue that the unique, unchartered design outputs of Gehry’s architectural firm were the result of what they call a “design gestalt,” that served as “a primary source of their organization designing and is composed of an architectural vision, the tight coupling of multiple representation technologies, and a commitment to a collaborative process of design and construction. These elements of design together form a holistic, organizing pattern—their design gestalt—that is evident in all of Gehry Partners projects, both their buildings and their organizational forms” (p. 215). Yoo and colleagues go on to explain that organizational designing has at least three characteristics: form giving, temporality, and a relationship to the environment. This is consistent with Garud et al. (2006), who suggest that organizational designing is an ongoing process that seeks to address both present and future needs in relationship environmental cues. Indeed, in organization designing, goals are often a moving target (Rindova and Kotha 2001) resulting from interactions (Garud et al. 2008) and collaborations (Yoo et al. 2006).

The research on organization designing starts with an organization (that may be transforming itself), and while there is a blurring of the boundary between producers and users, the focus is on the creation and evolution of a new product or service or platform by an existing organization. However, left unaddressed (because it was not the purpose of the papers in this stream of research) is how new organizations are created and evolve (rather than the creation of new products or services and the evolution of existing organizations)

and how the creation and evolution of new organizations influence the creation and evolution of new communities and vice versa (rather than the cocreation of a new product or service or platform by the organizations and potential users). Therefore, there is still much to be learned regarding how community and organization designs coemerge (Majchrzak and Malhotra 2020). In particular, there could be great benefit in understanding how organization and community designs are created, whether there are differences between these designs, and whether/how these designs trigger new or evolving designs.

Postcrisis Emergent Organizing: Rebuilding in Response to a Major Disruption

In parallel to research on community-organization relationships and organization designing, another body of research explores how major disruptions like natural disasters influence communities and organizations (Tilcsik and Marquis 2013, van Der Vegt et al. 2015). Disasters can disable or completely destroy community infrastructure but can also trigger localized organizing efforts to alleviate suffering and create both community resilience and solidarity (see Williams et al. 2017, Hällgren et al. 2018 for reviews). Research exploring this localized organizing phenomenon describes it as a ubiquitous form of organizing following all types of crises, highlighting the “convergence” of individuals and groups at the scene of natural . . . disasters to care for and assist the physically injured and emotionally distraught” (Drabek and McEntire 2003, p. 98). This “convergence” of individuals and groups following crises is needed as the environment becomes “loosely connected, broken down in bits and pieces . . . and organization structure [can] become fragmented and erratic” (Lanzara 1983, p. 76). Given the fragmented and disrupted environment following crises, established organizations often struggle to cope with the new environment as norms, procedures, and community boundaries are “vulnerable to metamorphoses” (Lanzara 1983, p. 72). Indeed, given the magnitude of disruption, bureaucratic organizations are often unable to effectively respond to needs on the ground because they find it difficult to coordinate across diverse actor groups (Waugh and Streib 2006) and face substantial challenges in identifying and organizing various stakeholders (Lanzara 1983, Drabek and McEntire 2003).

While disasters can result in the major disruption of resources and meaning by breaking the environment into “bits and pieces” (Lanzara 1983, p. 76), crises can also initiate sensemaking (Turner 1976, Roux-Dufort 2007) such that the situation triggers change through emergent initiatives (Hällgren et al. 2018). While specific features of emergent organizations vary

(for a review, see Drabek and McEntire 2003), they are often characterized as “collectives of individuals who use nonroutine resources and activities to apply to nonroutine domains and tasks, using nonroutine organizational arrangements” (Majchrzak et al. 2007, p. 150). Similarly, emergent organizations are characterized by their ability to draw together multiple and diverse community actors for a shared purpose; introduce symbolic actions, trust, and coordination within communities; ease physical, psychological, and financial suffering; and offer both flexible and customized solutions despite the disrupted, dynamic, and uncertain environment (Drabek and McEntire 2003, Majchrzak et al. 2007, Christianson and Sutcliffe. 2009, Shepherd and Williams 2014).

While prevalent in sociological studies, research on emergent organizations is not well represented in the management literature (Hällgren et al. 2018), and “much remains to be learned about the internal dynamics” of these groups (Majchrzak et al. 2007, p. 147; van Der Vegt et al. 2015). In particular, there have been calls to better explain how emergent organizations “rely on the social fabric of society,” including “the groups and communities related to an organization” (Hällgren et al. 2018, pp. 136, 115), to respond to the rupture in normal life created by societal tragedies.

In summary, there appears to be an important and pressing need to better understand community-organization emergence, especially in terms of the *trajectories of emergence* that shape the design of new community/organization boundaries and binding features. We examine such trajectories within an extreme postcrisis context as this extreme context is likely to be highly revelatory.

Research Method

To explore our research question, we selected a multicase design, which is well suited for building theory about complex processes (Miles and Huberman 1994). The aftermath of a disaster provides a unique context in which we can explore how community boundaries and binding features influence community-organization emergence trajectories, providing us with an opportunity to gain “unusually revelatory” theoretical insights that may not be as accessible in more traditional empirical settings. Following the 2010 Haiti earthquake, actors and communities faced an environment in which national institutions were substantially disabled—the earthquake debilitated the already weak institutional structures that held the country together (Zanotti 2010, Katz 2013), destroyed 70% of buildings in Port-au-Prince (the nation’s capital), killed hundreds of thousands of people, and displaced more than 300,000 individuals (Shultz et al. 2011). From the rubble of the earthquake, however, emerged communities and actors seeking to build back better and

alleviate suffering. Given this general context, we developed a data set consisting of locals (founders and early employees) who were themselves victims of the earthquake yet created organizations and communities in response to the disaster. As we identified cases for analysis, we noticed differences in how these organizations emerged, which served as the general phenomenological context for this study (see Appendix A for case summaries and Appendix B for case timelines).

Case Study Method and Selection

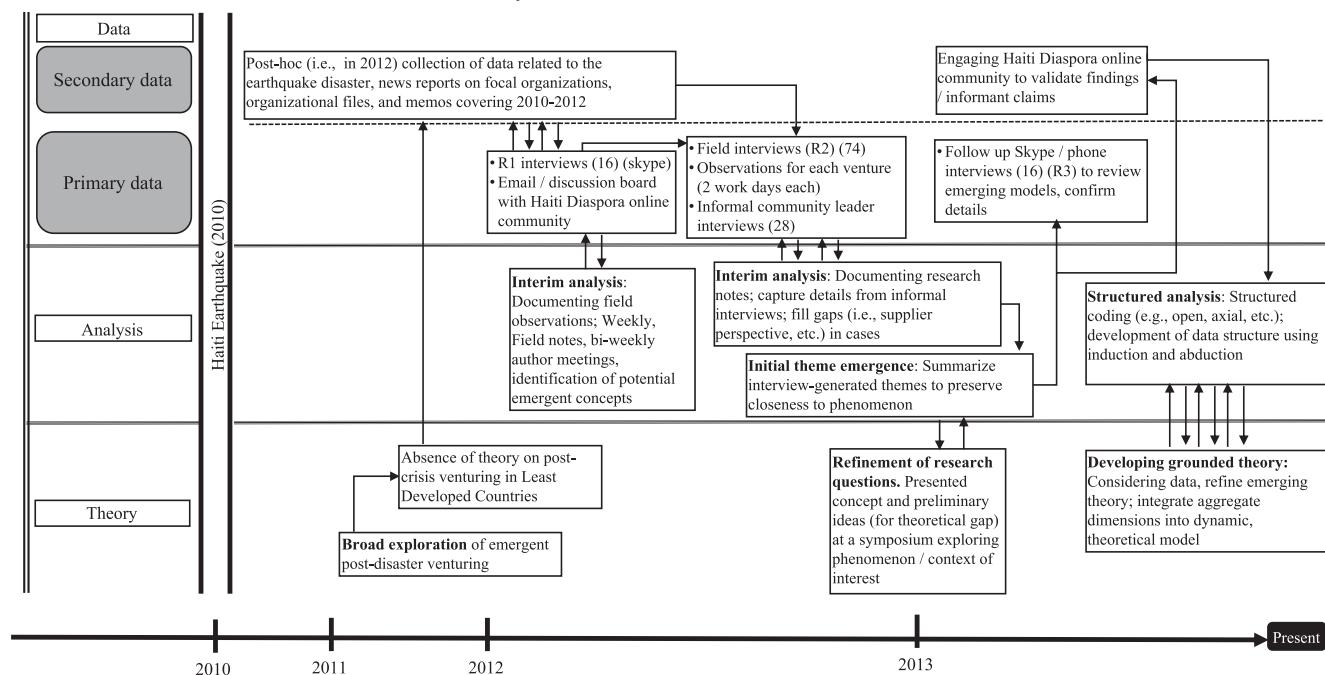
We identified cases for analysis consistent with established practices in qualitative research (Eisenhardt et al. 2016, Murphy et al. 2017). First, guided by our research question, we drew upon personal contacts in both Haiti and the Haitian diaspora to find potential cases for inquiry. Second, we studied academic and media reports, conducted exploratory Skype interviews with informants, and compiled an initial list of potential organizations (and associated communities) to explore. To be considered, potential organizations had to be (1) new organizations led by Haitians as a source of income and suffering alleviation following the disaster and (2) recognized as organizations by suppliers and customers.

After developing an initial list of potential organizations for the study, the first author (fluent in French) and a research assistant (fluent in French and Haitian-Creole [a French-based creole language spoken by the majority of Haitians]) traveled to the most heavily impacted regions in and around Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to conduct interviews with the organizations’ founders and employees. As we conducted interviews, we identified additional informants (e.g., suppliers, customers, partners, and other community members) to triangulate the information we obtained from the organizational members as well as provide information from the community perspective. As a result of this process (Lincoln and Guba 1985), we identified seven organizations and associated communities to evaluate in greater detail. To protect the organizations’ anonymity, we created a name for each: *Islande, Isaac, Sidney, Selvandieu, Shamah, Cristel, and Cassanne*. In Figure 1, we outline our methodological process, beginning with our research question, early interest in the phenomenon, data collection, and the iteration between data and theory in arriving at a model.

Data Collection

Our primary data came from interviews. We collected additional materials for triangulation, contextualization, validation, and corroboration. We summarize the data sources for each case in Table 1.

Figure 1. Timeline of Data Collection and Analysis Process



Semistructured Interviews and Informal Conversations. We conducted 74 interviews with the organizations' founders, employees, customers, business partners, suppliers, and associated community members to analyze community-organization emergence. The interviews involved multiple rounds, including preinterviews (Skype), site-visit interviews, and follow-up discussions (Skype/telephone). The interviews were semistructured and lasted 90 minutes on average. We followed a narrative protocol that covered a range of topics, including the informants' general background and perspective on organizational and community emergence stages and development, community-embedded organizing, and plans for their organizations and communities. We conducted all interviews in the informants' preferred language (Haitian-Creole), which we audio-recorded and later transcribed and translated into English for analysis. We also conducted 93 informal conversations (and follow-up conversations) with interviewees, including founders as well as community members in an effort to document key timelines and validate trajectory models. In total, our transcribed data resulted in 415 single-spaced pages of text.

The interviews (formal and informal) unfolded in a way that allowed us to iterate between emerging data and theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998). That is, before conducting site-visit interviews, we spoke with the founders over the phone or via Skype to ask our initial set of questions. After the initial round of interviews, we met as a research team to discuss the results of the early interviews, consider extant theory, and then

revise our questions for subsequent interviews. We worked together to make sense of the emerging data and identify broad conceptual themes. Specifically, it was at this point that we acknowledged the different ways the emergent organizations described their relationships with their communities (e.g., "just us locally," "Haiti is my community," "my community is those suffering from the same situation") and explained their processes of organizing. We also noticed differences in how the founders and their organizations conceived of their business focus and their businesses' anticipated role in rebuilding their respective communities. These initial responses prompted us to ask more directed questions about the role of community building as it related to initiating organizing processes, which we captured using open coding. We then began grouping cases that expressed similar perspectives together to allow for cross-case comparison. This process continued, allowing us to build interim theoretical models and data tables to make sense of the data and their (potential) relationship to theory. As we progressed, we frequently discussed emerging findings as a research team and documented our impressions.

Observation Data. We directly observed the organizations and communities in action and documented these observations following a strict "same day" protocol. We visited each organization's primary place of business; observed its operations; sat in on organizational meetings; and then "rode along" as the founders and employees introduced us to community

Table 1. Cases Data: Informant Inventory

Venture	Interview data (number of interviews, 74 total)				Informal conversations and follow-up	Observational data	Archival data**
	Founder(s)	Employees	Customers				
Selvandieu (SE)	SE-F1 (3) SE-F2 (2)	SE-E1 (1) SE-E2 (1)	SE-C1 (1) SE-C2 (1) SE-C3 (1) SE-C4 (1)	- Community leader informal interviews (28)*	Field notes (~65 pages, single spaced)	News articles: 6 Venture files / reports: 4 Business plan: NA	
	SI-F1 (2) SI-F2 (3)	SI-E1 (1) SI-E2 (1)	SI-C1 (1) SI-C2 (1)	- Skype / phone interviews (32)*			
	SH-F1 (3) SH-F2 (1)	SH-E1 (2)	SH-C1 (1) SH-C2 (1) SH-C3 (1) SH-C4 (1)	- Email exchanges, follow up Q&A, and discussion (35 pages, single spaced)			
Islande (IS)	IS-F1 (3)	IS-E1 (1) IS-E2 (1)	IS-C1 (1) IS-C2 (1) IS-C3 (1) IS-C4 (1)			News articles: NA Venture files / reports: 4 Business plan: 1	
	IA-F1 (3)	IA-E1 (1) IA-E2 (1)	IA-C1 (1) IA-C2 (1)				
	CR-F1 (3)	CR-E1 (1)	IA-C3 (1) CR-C1 (1) CR-C2 (1) CR-C3 (1) CR-C4 (1) CR-C5 (1)				
Cassanne (CA)	CA-F1 (3)	CA-E1 (1) CA-E2 (1)	CA-C1 (1) CA-C2 (1) CA-C3 (1)			News articles: 3 Venture files / reports: 1 Business plan: NA	

Notes. Given the retrospective nature of the interview data, we validated subjective accounts with archival sources wherever possible. That is, we reviewed real-time news reports, articles, internal publications and PowerPoint presentations, and venture notes. We used this data to corroborate our findings from the interviews.

*While not recorded, detailed notes were taken following informal interviews to capture the data

members, customers, and suppliers. For example, when spending a day with one founder, we observed her interactions with her community as she determined what new products to sell. We watched as she negotiated to find a fit between community requests and the products she could offer. Similarly, we spent a day with another entrepreneur visiting suppliers. We rode along on the back of motorcycles until arriving at a food depot guarded by several armed men. After a light pat down, we observed as the founder negotiated for supplies on behalf of her community and then continued our ride along as the individual returned to her place of business with the supplies. These (and many other observations) helped clarify how the organizations and communities emerged despite the unique challenges presented in post-earthquake Haiti. We summarized our observations

through audio-recorded and written field notes at the end of each day. These field notes informed our initial interpretations of the data and follow-up interview questions. In total, we had 13 hours of audio-recorded field notes and 40 single-spaced pages of written observations.

Archival Data. We collected additional data, including real-time data generated during community-organization emergence, to triangulate our primary data sources (Miles and Huberman 1994) and provide additional contextual details of postdisaster Haiti. These data included news articles, videos, and audio files created in the aftermath of the disaster as well as academic articles summarizing the postdisaster environment. We also gathered and analyzed other data, including organizations' marketing materials,

business plans, organizational charts, and so forth. For example, one founder shared business plan materials she had submitted to a local charity during a case competition, including a summary of her work to date as well as her specific business objectives. Another founder showed us letters and other documents he had received from various charitable organizations. He shared many email exchanges highlighting his daily challenge of identifying potential donors to support his organization's efforts. We used these archival data primarily to corroborate our interview data and field notes.

Data Analysis

Our analysis involved multiple iterations within the data and between the data and the literature (see Figure 1). While this process began during data collection (Strauss and Corbin 1998), as time progressed, we increasingly focused our analysis on explaining community-organization emergence, including shared activities, stages of development, and (eventual) solidification.

First-Order Concept Identification. We started with an "open coding" approach (Strauss and Corbin 1998) by analyzing the data in search of informant terms, concepts, and themes. For this initial stage, our primary objective was to document information expressed by the informants. This process involved reading each transcript and ascribing a "code" to specific units of text to capture higher levels of meaning. As this process was emergent (Murphy et al. 2017), we reread and recoded our data multiple times following a recursive process (Lincoln and Guba 1985) that ensured we had adequately accounted for the presence of certain concepts across all the data. The first author documented the codes in an Excel table, in which the interviewees represented columns and the initial list of first-order codes represented rows. We identified more than 100 initial concepts in the first round of coding, with the goal being to cast a wide net to identify the emergent concepts. These initial concepts covered different topics, such as "rationale for product/service offering" and "perceived contribution to the community." We labeled these codes, which served as an initial classification system to facilitate additional analysis. As this process progressed, we revisited our field notes, constructed research memos, and identified informant statements that—while not identical—were similar enough to allow us to consolidate the codes.

Second-Order Theoretical Theme Development. As we progressed in our analysis, we sought to identify higher-level similarities and differences among the

many identified concepts, moving beyond differences in terminology (i.e., "axial coding" (Strauss and Corbin 1998)). We grouped concepts and assigned them theoretical labels while attempting to maintain informant terminology. At this stage, we began transitioning from analyzing raw data to identifying theoretical insights by asking what was going on in relation to theory on organization and community emergence. This transition allowed us to identify insights that could inform follow-up interviews and subsequent analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1998). As we iterated between analysis and theorizing, several initial concepts emerged, which we documented in our field notes. First, the founders described starkly different perspectives regarding perceived membership in communities and the boundaries of different communities following the earthquake. Some identified strictly as "Haitians," whereas others had a narrower community identification (e.g., "my local area of about half a square mile"). Second, the founders expressed different views regarding the binding features of their communities and how these features influenced organizing. That is, for some, a community was a shared affiliation (e.g., helping those most vulnerable), whereas for others, it was a shared geographic market space. Taken together, perceptions of community boundaries and the binding features appeared to influence community-organization emergence trajectories. Finally, when asking about performance in terms of the informants' desired outcomes for their organizations and communities, we realized that the answer to this question produced substantively different responses: the entrepreneurs and their emerging organizations differed in how they conceived of their communities and, seemingly as a result, the role and impact their organizations were meant to have in relation to those communities. It was this final observation that led us to begin grouping our sample of emergent organizations into three sets of cases, each comprising a different trajectory of community-organization emergence.

Furthermore, the above observations led us to refine our coding procedure (Strauss and Corbin 1998) with a particular focus on the *mechanisms* that explain differences between the trajectories. First, we refined and grouped our first-order codes into a more manageable number of categories that we could compare across cases and then displayed those refined codes in updated data tables for systematic comparison. We compared and contrasted ventures based on how their founders attended to the voids created by the disruption, how they attempted to rebuild community boundaries, and how those attempts bound communities and organizations, which allowed us to "arrange [the data] in appropriate classifications" so

we could “systematically [identify] the full range of variation in the phenomena under scrutiny” (Corbin and Strauss 1990, p. 13). In particular, we were looking for mechanisms that could explain *differences in the trajectories*—the paths the organizations and communities followed on their journey from development to established operations. In comparing the data in this way, we sought to determine similarities and differences across cases that might enhance our understanding (Langley 1999) of community-embedded organizing. As we systematically coded the data, we documented the evolution of the trajectories over time. For example, the informants’ initial responses to the disaster differed from their perspectives after they had engaged in organizing efforts. To try to capture these differences, we included “temporal bracketing” (Langley 1999) to separate statements into different stages: (1) how the destruction of societal building blocks and the categorization of disaster-created voids launched emergence trajectories, (2) how the postdisaster liminal construction of communities and organizations entrenched emergence trajectories, and (3) how ongoing community-organization interactions solidified emergence trajectories. This approach allowed us to code both *what* content themes emerged and *how* they were expressed within the broader context of organizing. Finally, we began developing visual

theoretical maps of the various relationships emerging from the data as a way to organize and express the themes and connections.

Aggregate Dimensions and Theoretical Model Development. We concluded data gathering when we achieved theoretical saturation—that is, when we were no longer gaining new insights and when no new patterns or dimensions were emerging, suggesting “conceptual density” (Glaser 2001, p. 191). The final step of our analysis focused on distilling the second-order themes into aggregate dimensions and then developing a theoretical model to show “the dynamic relationships among the emergent concepts . . . making relevant data-to-theory connections” (Gioia et al. 2013, p. 22). This analytical process included identifying sequences of events that appeared to be related in explaining different trajectories. Next, we systematically compared and contrasted our cases across the common aggregate dimensions to try to explain how and why differences in the trajectories occurred. In addition, we revisited the literature to identify potential mechanisms that could explain the connections between concepts. We then repeatedly iterated between our emergent model and theory, which was a dynamic process resulting in multiple working models that facilitated our iteration between the data and theory and helped solidify the

Figure 2. Code Aggregation Diagram

1st-Order Concepts (Empirical Themes)

- Literal destruction of government buildings, loss of security force, and “re-setting” of environment
- Calls to “build back better” (basic institutional infrastructure) from the raw materials remaining after the earthquake. Including security, legal structure, formalizing land ownership policy, etc.
- Challenges at national (economic), community (destroyed villages), and interest group (e.g., orphans) levels
- Flood of external resources (~\$9.5 billion in cash, other aid) available to construct “new forms of organizing”
- Exposure to ideas, methods, raw materials, and human capital from outside donors / volunteers
- Emergence of temporary, alternative institutional structures (mostly from outside): Clinics, schools, etc.

- Economic-oriented community frame—Scope of focus is as a member of Haitian (at large) community of suffering, need to rebound by capturing basic economic gaps and establishing community of customers
- Creating community of customers who can purchase isolated, stop-gap market products. Cultivate “captive customers” in tent cities
- Stakeholder-oriented community frame: Building connectivity within *specific* local communities where people interact with one another, share goals and resources, and pursue collective interests
- Cultivating a community (and associated resources) for input to organizing and the creation of a local market
- Market-/self-associated community frame—Self-identifies as a caretaker of a community of “high priority” social challenges—such as the disabled, orphans, and homeless.
- Identifying members of a specific niche community experiencing social issues that “plague all of Haiti—or perpetuate social opportunities.”

- Community is a “captive, resource constrained” customer: recipient of services / products from the venture
- Community as a “sub-economy”—an immediate source of a “captive” customer base
- Community, despite being shattered, is a *source of* organizational innovation, development, knowledge and product feedback; organizing must be community embedded.
- Community as a supplier (of raw materials and human capital), collaborator, source of innovation, and driving force behind organizational evolution.
- Community is a niche beneficiary: recipient of services, information, and resources from the venture; venture goals are singularly focused on providing resources to the “most vulnerable.”
- Community is shattered and in need of rescue, and rehabilitation; The venture *is* the community—focused on addressing needs of “shared suffering.”

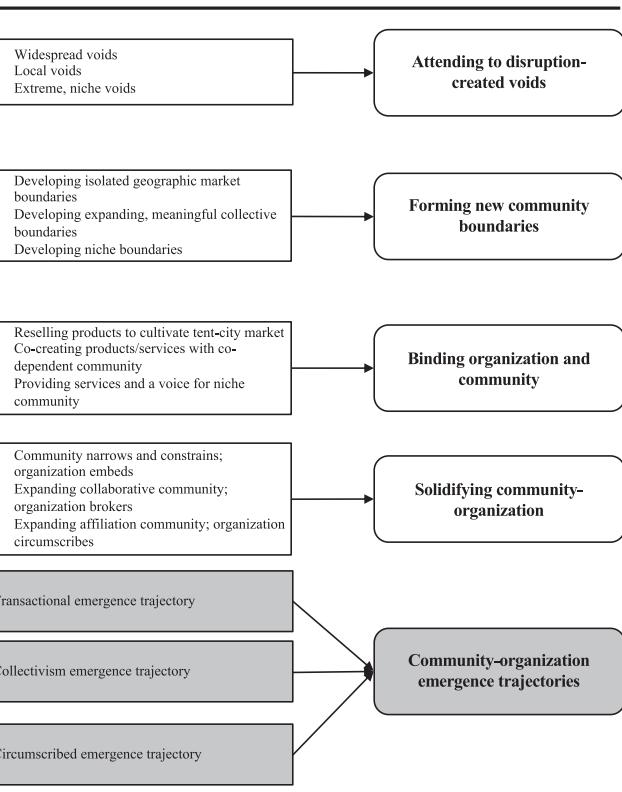
- Community forms narrowing, constrained market in tent city (market nested) geographic boundary
- Organization embeds in (and services) narrowing, shared physical market
- Bi-directional community expands and deepens in local (geographic) area with and shared purpose (community)
- Organization brokers between expanding number of community stakeholders with shared interest in local community building
- Expanding membership of special interest (specific social need) affiliation community
- Emergent organization circumscribes expanding community, caring for special interest group (community)

- Provide products and services (at lower transaction costs) capitalizing on market failure
- Cultivating a small-scale “mini economy” focusing on reducing costs and providing basic needs to tent city residents
- Organization emphasizes shared suffering with community and offers an “escape” from stressful environment
- Operations focus on “economy of re-sell”; focused on narrow geographic distribution to tent city members

- Offer services and products that enhance well-being for community—provide jobs, cultivate suppliers, and provide health
- Integrate social-economic tensions through community engagement, and integration
- Business operations focus on growth, co-innovation and co-evolution (with community)
- Organization model involves supply, production, distribution, and marketing—managing the whole process with community

- Organization orients itself to community; addresses social-failures such as addressing housing, orphan, and disabled person needs
- Manage social-economic tensions by “keeping ‘straight’” on the mission; core activities involve protecting a niche community
- Financing involves communicating “justice” mission to donors and other facilitators of mission
- Leaders describe organizational model as distributing goods / services and marketing

2nd-Order Categories (Conceptual)



concepts. In Figure 2, we offer a simplified visual representation (i.e., data structure) of how our analysis led to theoretical abstractions from the raw data.

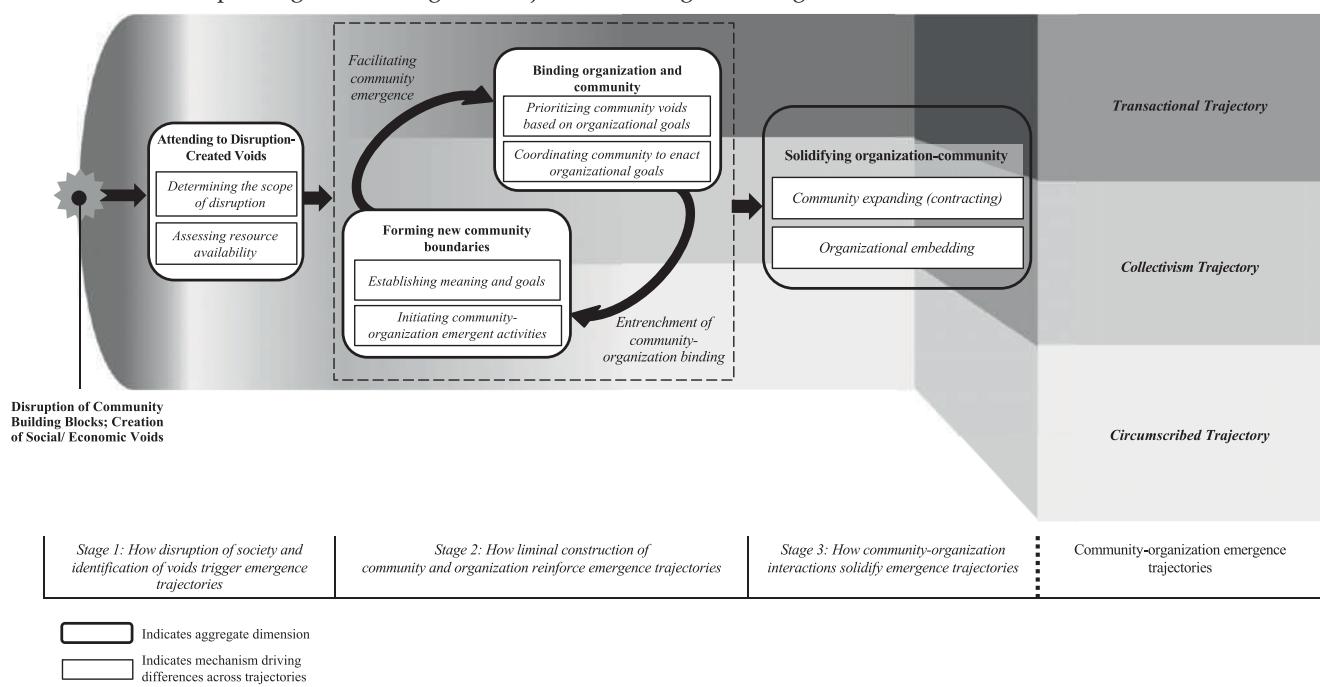
Trustworthiness of Data Analysis. We took a number of steps to ensure the trustworthiness of our data analysis (Lincoln and Guba 1985). First, we regularly checked, or “validated” (Lincoln and Guba 1985), our emergent findings with relevant stakeholders (e.g., organization and community informants) to enhance reliability and credibility. Second, we undertook a number of steps to ensure the dependability of our data. For example, we took steps to reduce the risk of ex post rationalization. We asked the informants to verify the timeline of events and then compared responses to identify gaps or clear up differences in interpretation. Furthermore, we compared founder statements with statements from employees, suppliers, and customers, searching for gaps, incongruities, exaggerations, and so forth. In addition, when questioning the informants, we asked them to provide concrete examples and descriptions of events to enhance accuracy (Fisher et al. 2010), and we validated statements by acquiring other informant accounts and by using multiple sources of data. Finally, we coded the interview data in a rigorous and systematic fashion (Lincoln and Guba 1985): (1) the first author coded a sample of interviews from each of the three different case sets that emerged from the data to identify key concepts; (2) the author team met to discuss these initial codes, identify redundant codes,

and explore concepts that may have been missed; (3) the first author coded the full range of interviews, further assessing the initial concepts and identifying broader themes; (4) the author team met again to identify inconsistencies and discrepancies in the coding until a final list of codes was agreed upon; and (5) the author team met frequently as they systematically iterated between memo writing (Strauss and Corbin 1998), exploring the literature, and re-evaluating the aggregation of codes until the data were consolidated. We employed this process for each stage of analysis.

Findings

Even though our informants experienced the same disruption, we found three different emergence trajectories that communities and organizations took following the 2010 Haiti earthquake. We labeled these emergence trajectories transactional, collectivism, and circumscribed. *Community-organization emergence trajectories* (hereafter, *emergence trajectories*) refer to the *coevolution of the community and service organizations*. As displayed in Figure 3(a), we found a number of core theoretical dimensions that served as key factors shaping the three different emergence trajectories. First, the emergence trajectories were triggered by actors attending to disruption-created voids—namely, the lack of institutions and organizations providing basic social and economic stability (Luo and Chung 2013). Second, the emergence trajectories were influenced by two subprocesses: (a) *community boundary*

Figure 3a. (Color online) (a) General Process Model of Community-Organization Trajectory Emergence; (b) Process Model of the Mechanisms Explaining How Emergence Trajectories Emerged/Diverged



formation, which occurred through the establishment of community meaning and goals (Marquis et al. 2013) and through the availability of community-based resources (Marquis and Battilana 2009), and (b) *community-organization binding*, which occurred through the establishment of features that connected actors (i.e., a shared collective purpose) and through action to enact the community's purpose (i.e., coordination of actors). Finally, the emergence trajectories were solidified based on *community expanding (contracting)* and *organizational embedding*. We briefly describe these emergence trajectories before detailing the mechanisms underlying how the different emergence trajectories formed.

We label the first emergence trajectory *transactional* (Cristel and Cassanne¹) to represent the path of organizations that functioned as *community resellers* by providing "relief, escape, and comfort" (CR-F1) through basic goods to *narrow market-based communities* living in tent cities. We label the second emergence trajectory *collectivism* (Islande and Isaac) to represent the path of organizations that functioned as *community brokers* by engaging local community stakeholders participating in key organizational activities (e.g., generating new ideas, testing products, serving as human capital) to offer goods and services geared toward the long-term development of *expanding, local, and purpose-driven communities*. We label the

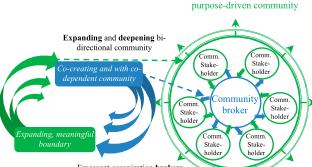
third emergence trajectory *circumscribed* (Selvandieu, Sidney, and Shamah) to represent the path of organizations that functioned as *community caretakers* by offering specialized services and products that allowed them to "watch over" (SI-F1) and "care for" (SE-F1) members of *niche communities of suffering* (i.e., those impacted by the orphan, housing, and people-with-disabilities crises) who did "not have a voice" (field notes).

In the sections that follow, we assess differences across the three emergence trajectories by comparing and contrasting common dimensions identified in our qualitative data analysis (Figure 3(a)) and by examining the underlying mechanisms that explain how these trajectories arose (Figure 3(b)). To organize our presentation of the findings, we progress across three distinct stages (Stages 1–3). Consistent with the respondents' emphases, we provide the greatest detail about Stage 2 of each emergence trajectory.

Stage 1: How Disruption of Society and the Identification of Voids Trigger Emergence Trajectories

Major disruptions disable societal building blocks, meaning that the core features of society, such as economic exchange, community connectivity, government, healthcare, and social activities, are either inhibited

Figure 3b. (Color online)

Emergence process Mechanisms explaining how divergent processes occurred	Process model of the mechanisms explaining how emergence trajectories emerged/diverged		
	Transactional emergence trajectory	Collectivism emergence trajectory	Circumscribed emergence trajectory
<i>Stage 1: How destruction of society and identification of voids trigger emergence trajectories</i>			
Attending to disruption-created voids	Wide-spread voids	Local voids	Extreme, niche voids
Determining the scope of disruption	Scope of needs at the national level	Localized and shared scope of needs	More vulnerable "victims" merit greatest attention
Assessing resource availability	General resources are largely unavailable	Abundance of locally viable resources	Special-interest resources accessible via lobbying
<i>Stage 2: How liminal construction of community-organization reinforce emergence trajectories</i>			
Forming new community boundaries	Developing isolated geographic market boundaries	Developing expanding, meaningful collective boundaries	Developing niche boundaries
Establishing meaning and goals	Transacting with a 'captive' community of customers	Developing shared community meaning and goals	Addressing the needs of community's most vulnerable
Initiating community-organization emergent activities	Establishing a narrow-economic boundary	Cultivating a broad and diverse economic boundary	Isolating a narrow social community boundary
Facilitating community emergence	Geography (tent city) and low homogeneity—shared market, disaster victim, and little else	Local (geographic) and shared meaning/goals (affiliated), with moderate homogeneity—localness	Special-interest need affiliation, extensive community homogeneity—serving special interest
Binding organization and community	Reselling products to cultivate tent-city market	Co-creating products/services with co-dependent community	Providing services and a voice for niche community
Prioritizing community voids based on organizational goals	Organizing activities that offered bare-minimum products for community members with little novelty	Expanding value to a wide range of community actors	Focusing all attention on addressing niche-community needs
Coordinating communities to enact organizational goals	Loosely coordinating with community members as customers	Tight binding through coordination—community as collaborator	Circumscribing customers into organizational orbit
Entrenchment of community-organization binding	Low and unidirectional: (reseller→community)	High and bidirectional: (Broker↔Community)	Low and unidirectional: Values-based (caretaker→community)
<i>Stage 3: How ongoing organization and community interactions solidify emergence trajectories</i>			
Solidifying community-organization			
Community expanding (contracting)			
Organizational embedding			

or completely disabled (Bonanno et al. 2011). The disruption of societal building blocks causes confusion and can therefore trigger efforts to explain things that do not fit with one's previous worldview (Weick 1995, Williams et al. 2017). Thus, disruptive experiences can lead to subjective conclusions about "what is going on here" and "what [one] should do about it next" (Maitlis and Christianson 2014, p. 70). The 2010 earthquake in Haiti exemplifies the challenges caused by a major disruption of societal building blocks: it caused an economic and humanitarian crisis, resulting in both substantial losses and destruction but also in a surge of donations. As a result, those in Haiti underwent a process of trying to find a way to function in the new context in which meaning was ambiguous and outcomes were uncertain. Our data reveal that, in the early stages following the disaster, differences in how those local to the disaster made sense of disruption-created voids were shaped by two key mechanisms: determining the scope of disruption and assessing resource availability.

First, locals differed in their determinations of the scope of disruption. As it relates to our context, we operationalized *determining the scope of disruption* as an actor's frame of reference for attending to the destruction in the aftermath of the disaster, with which he or she puts environmental "stimuli into frameworks" to "comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict" (Starbuck and Milliken 1988, p. 51). Disasters are extreme disruptions that impact people in different ways, largely depending on how they interpret and then respond to suffering. For some, disaster-induced suffering provides opportunities to launch new ventures (Williams and Shepherd 2016a,b) or take action that promotes a more positive reputation (Madsen and Rodgers 2015); for others, suffering can result in exit from the disaster-struck area (Dai et al. 2017). While the disruption following the 2010 earthquake was extreme, our informants differed in their primary referent for making sense of the crisis—*internally directed*, *community directed*, and *nationally directed*. These differences resulted in emergence trajectories that diverged from a common origin (i.e., the natural disaster as a major disruption).

Second, locals differed in their *assessments of resource availability*. Despite the obvious focus on resource loss as an implication of disasters, disasters also trigger humanitarian efforts that bring new resources to the affected areas (Quarantelli 2005). While resource surges are normal following a disaster (Roux-Dufort 2007), so too is the challenge of delivering the right resources to the right places and the right actors at the right time (Williams and Shepherd 2018). We found that some locals perceived resources to be abundant while others felt helpless in their attempts

to access resources. In the following sections, we illustrate key differences across the emergence trajectories in this first stage of our model, explaining how locals differed in how they made sense of their situation—that is, in their determinations of the scope of disruption and their assessments of resource availability.

Stage One of the Transactional Emergence Trajectory—Widespread Voids

Determining the Scope of Disruption. The first mechanism triggering the transactional emergence trajectory involved the *determination that the scope of needs was at the national level*. The individuals involved in these ventures described the suffering experienced following the disaster as a dismantling of institutional order in Haitian society at large. They perceived that the disaster had disrupted "all Haitians" and that "all that was previously 'normal' was now disassembled" (CA-F2). By this, they meant that basic features of life, such as transportation, access to food, access to healthcare, government institutions, and so forth, were now unreliable—a view that persisted over time (field notes). This view that all of Haiti had been disrupted influenced how these individuals perceived a potential organization and community role. Specifically, it drove individuals to fill basic needs in the Haitian economy that they believed they could fill with a new organization that targeted "captive" microeconomic community (i.e., those displaced from the disruption). When asked about their experience immediately after the disaster, these informants repeatedly emphasized being "Haitian" and "part of Haiti's history of suffering [and perseverance]" (CA-F1), indicating that the disaster was simply another (albeit extreme) data point in Haitians' history of suffering. This perception that Haitian society was dismantled appeared to influence individuals' decisions about how communities could be rebuilt. One informant (CR-F1) explained,

We don't have the capacity to do anything about the situation [institutional dysfunction]. We just have to wait here and rely on God; if God speaks to them [the government, etc.] and softens their heart, they will come and help us. . . . This is how it is in Haiti; this is what it is like being Haitian. . . . We wait, and while we wait, I do my thing [resell].

While these locals may have seemed despondent, "waiting" did not imply doing nothing. On the contrary, one informant (CA-F1) explained how Haitians (identifying within a broad community of sufferers) found a way to create economic activity among themselves despite extreme suffering: "We are Haitian; that's who we are. You know how Haitians are; we find a way to make it no matter what." This perspective of

“battling on” even when Haiti’s infrastructure had been completely destroyed appeared to be crucial in shaping how initial organizing efforts began to build “economic communities.” For example, despite the perception that they were isolated from key societal institutions, these local actors felt there were numerous opportunities to endure by “filling some of the many gaps” caused by the disaster while “hanging on” for something better (field notes). One informant (CA-F1) summarized it this way:

We, as Haitians, are a different people. We have a different tolerance for pain as we have suffered very much.... We have been suffering since we were in our mother’s stomachs; we have suffered in every sense of the word and throughout our entire lives.... After the earthquake, I lost all my possessions, and all we saw before our eyes was death—we thought everyone had died; all was destroyed.... But, as a Haitian, you do whatever it takes [resell, meet customer needs] to survive.

Assessing Resource Availability. The second mechanism shaping Stage 1 of the transactional emergence trajectory involved the *assessment that general resources were largely unavailable*. Specifically, having determined the scope of disruption as a Haiti-wide challenge, locals on the transactional trajectory interpreted the surge of resources as general (i.e., not necessarily fitting their needs) and largely difficult to access despite the sheer volume of donated items. For example, one informant (CA-E1) explained that she and others from neighboring areas lived and “slept in the underbrush” of an open field after the earthquake with only “bed sheets to give us privacy . . . until we received tents from USAID.” She went on to explain that despite receiving tents, “when organizations [NGOs, Red Cross] would come to distribute supplies, it was a fight; it was very difficult to access them.” Others explained that they could not access outside resources due to corruption and too many obstacles (field notes), which is why they sought to sell goods on the market to meet this immense need. For example, one informant (CA-F1) explained,

Where did we find food? Those living in the field supported each other.... We were not about to sit back and let people die of starvation—it was a crisis situation. For example, you might give a friend or an acquaintance a meal for fifty gourdes [~\$0.50], or they could sell you a can full of dry rice on credit with the understanding that you would pay them back when you were able.

Another informant (CR-E1) confirmed this approach: “Organizations were hard to find to get aid, and the government did not help us.... We just did the best with what we had—we had to—and the best way

was to buy some item and then sell it for a profit.” Taken together, the determination that Haiti as a whole was suffering and the assessment that the surge in resources was irrelevant for the average person were the key mechanisms that triggered the transactional emergence trajectory.

Stage 1 of the Collectivism Emergence Trajectory—Local Voids

Determining the Scope of Disruption. The first mechanism triggering the collectivism emergence trajectory involved the *determination that needs were localized and shared*. Locals on the collectivism trajectory (Islande and Isaac) explained that, while the earthquake had impacted Haiti at large, they were more attuned to the shared suffering within more geographically proximal communities. One informant (IA-F1) described her experience following the earthquake in this way:

I crawled out of the rubble.... My sister had died; she was sitting right next to me.... I heard voices of people buried under the building screaming and calling to be rescued; it was sadness, sorrow, and agony. Everything had been destroyed. But, we as a local community came together because we were afraid and didn’t know what was happening because the earth was still trembling with aftershocks from time to time. So, everyone grouped together in a field, in an area that didn’t have any buildings. After that, we began working together and cooked food together for everyone to eat.... I know everyone here. This is my hometown; we need to rebuild together here.... My original plans [before the earthquake] were to make a business in Port-au-Prince [about two hours away], but after? My focus was on my people here.

Similarly, another informant (IS-F1) explained that in the moments after the earthquake, she could “hear [her neighbors] screaming and yelling all around [her].” Shocked by the destruction of her local community and hearing her neighbors scream in pain, she set out on foot to assess the situation. She explained,

I was very agitated and troubled due to the things I saw. I love children very much—and especially those in my neighborhood! So, I helped some children along the way who were injured—some had stomach or torso wounds, while others had head injuries. This made me cry very much.... These were the helpless who needed care.

This informant (IS-F1) went on to explain how her initial experiences motivated her to care for the needs of her community. She said,

When the disaster hit, my first focus was my neighbors and friends. . . . We gathered at my local church, where I led them in prayer and singing of hymns to try and calm people down. People saw that we were not afraid, and they realized that if we were not fearful,

they did not need to fear either. . . . People knew us in the community and knew that we could be trusted—we seemed to be the only people who could help [at that time].

The orientation toward disruption at a narrow neighborhood level appeared to direct attention to locally driven organizing activities to alleviate the focal community's challenges.

Assessing Resource Availability. The second mechanism triggering the collectivism emergence trajectory was the assessment that there was an *abundance of locally viable resources* that could be deployed for organization and community building. While orienting toward the disaster-created voids of their neighborhood communities, locals on this path identified resources made available *within* and *through* these neighborhood communities. For example, our informants repeatedly emphasized how their communities could serve as the primary source of problem solving, claiming that nationwide (but community-driven) changes could result if their approach was replicated “across Haiti” (IA-E1). Specifically, our informants emphasized that neighborhood communities were more than capable of “addressing their own needs” (IS-E2), which had “to start with people taking responsibility for their own people [i.e., neighbors]” (IS-F2).

How is it possible to arrive at an assessment of resource availability in neighborhoods that were nearly completely destroyed by a disaster? First, the community members “created an inventory of what [they] had, including skills or access to outsiders” and then determined how to coordinate these resources (IS-C1). For example, one community member (IA-F2, emphasis original) explained,

I had the chance to help in whatever way I could. . . . First, I would take people to the hospital. . . . Then, I would find doctors and bring them to our community. . . . I met some students from a university in the USA. . . . I asked them to help us with agricultural techniques, business, and health as well as English classes—this is how I rallied to help *my* people.

Similarly, another local (IS-E1) explained, “We solve problems [food, resources, etc.] for the community, but we do so *with* the community—they are part of what we do . . . like part of our team.” The perception that one’s community could be a resource (rather than simply a collection of victims) was critical for explaining how the collectivism emergence trajectory was initiated. For example, another informant (IS-C1) said,

Like I told you, our community has the spirit of brotherhood and family. . . . Why turn outside [for

resources]? We have so many resources here. . . . I believe we are all brothers and sisters [in the neighborhood] and that we should be unified in making sure that everyone [in the neighborhood] is safe and sound.

Eventually, locals on this trajectory created broker organizations to draw upon the local resources and combine and invest these resources to create value for their neighborhood communities. One founder (IA-E1) explained, “Our goal is to create something, not to just sit around and wait for aid . . . or function as a ‘Madame Sara’ [reselling items]. This will help me, but it will also help our community as well” (IA-E1).

Stage 1 of the Circumscribed Emergence Trajectory—Extreme Niche Voids

Determining the Scope of Disruption. The first mechanism triggering the circumscribed emergence trajectory was the *determination that there were more vulnerable “victims” who merited greater attention than others*. Locals on the circumscribed trajectory (Selvan, Sidney, and Shamah) believed the disaster created extreme voids for specific “high-priority” (SI-F1) niche groups of sufferers. These groups of sufferers included individuals with disabilities (focus of Selvan), orphans (focus of Sidney), and victims of the housing crisis in Haiti (focus of Shamah). Indeed, the disaster served to heighten the salience of what some believed were “central issues facing Haiti” (SH-F2) that were present before the earthquake but were exacerbated by the disaster. For example, one local (SE-F2) explained that the disaster caused housing issues for “my community of the homeless, and now the problem of housing is larger than ever!” To emphasize his point, this informant (SE-F2) explained, “After the earthquake, my house was falling down around me. . . . We were afraid to sleep inside, so we slept on the streets with many, many others [hundreds of thousands of people were displaced]—this is not right!” Similarly, another local (SH-F2) said, “I focus on the needs and situation of handicapped people—we stick together and will never stop working for solutions!” She saw herself as a member of this “sisterhood of suffering” and therefore framed her response to the crisis within that context. In elaborating on this point, another informant (SH-F1) asked us the following:

[Have] you taken a Tap Tap [Haitian taxi, which is usually a flatbed pickup truck]? How was that; hard to stay in while it drove? Well, imagine you had no arm, or no leg . . . how could you function as a member of society? I have lived this. . . . These people need help. They need to be brought out of the shadows. . . . It is worse now more than ever as there were so many injuries and amputations.

Indeed, when asked directly if she felt she was interpreting the disaster-created voids as “Haitian challenges” (transactional trajectory) or community challenges (collectivism trajectory), she emphatically said, “We don’t function this way because we’re Haitian. . . . I act because of my God-given responsibility to the handicapped people!” This perspective was affirmed by other locals on this trajectory, such as one founder (SI-F1) who explained that he would always “think of the orphans . . . while people are thinking of other things in Haiti. This is who I am; it is my mission and calling.” When we asked him to elaborate, he explained that he was an orphan and knows many orphans end up “on the streets, sold as slaves, or end up taken away by human traffickers. . . . It is horrible!” Another local (SI-F2) said, “There are so many orphans now . . . more than we can count. What else should I do? Can I live with them being sold to the traffickers? People are starving; they do what they have to do.”

Assessing Resource Availability. The second mechanism triggering the circumscribed emergence trajectory was the *assessment that special interest resources could only be accessed through lobbying external (to Haiti) actors*. Having interpreted the disaster-created voids to be affecting specific groups of “the most vulnerable” of sufferers, locals involved with the circumscribed trajectory assessed the surge of outside resources as a unique opportunity to mobilize the massive influx of external resources—such as those from nongovernment organizations (NGOs), foreign governments, and so forth—to solve problems (e.g., the homelessness, orphan, and disability crises) in ways not previously possible. Indeed, these locals believed they could “finally capture outsiders’ attention on what is going on in Haiti . . . and what has been going on for years” (SE-F1). For example, one local (SH-F1) explained that the disaster “drew attention to the housing crisis . . . resulting in interest from hundreds of NGOs, the World Bank . . . USAID, and so many more—this was a perhaps once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to access so many resources!” Similarly, other locals were amazed by the sheer number of external organizations and volunteers drawn to the disaster recovery (Sidney, Selvandieu) with explicit mandates to address the focal issues (e.g., volunteer doctors providing amputations, orphanage construction efforts, temporary and permanent housing solution providers; field notes). In many ways, they viewed the situation as a “gold rush” of sorts, in which there was a high quantity of available resources that just needed to be directed toward a shared cause (field notes). Emboldened, locals working to address the needs of the most vulnerable engaged more freely and aggressively in

activities like government protests (Selvandieu) and lobbying (Shamah, Sidney) that would have previously been shut down (in many cases violently (SE-F1)) and in lobbying those (e.g., NGOs, foreign governments, volunteers) coming to provide aid (SH-F1, SI-F1).

Taken together, our data suggest that differences in locals’ interpretations of disaster-created voids (widespread, local, or extreme niche) and resource availability (general, localized, and special interest) served as the primary mechanisms in explaining how the divergent trajectories emerged, which laid the foundation for differing attempts to form new community boundaries and initiate community-organization binding, to which we now turn.

Stage 2: How the Liminal Construction of Communities and Organizations Reinforce Emergence Trajectories

The second stage of community-organization emergence trajectories involves a period of liminality, in which communities and organizations begin to re-establish fundamental building blocks of society to create “order” and “a sense of normalcy” (field notes). Liminality refers to “moments or periods of transition during which the normal limits of thought, self-understanding and behavior are relaxed, opening the way to novelty and imagination, construction and destruction” (Thomassen 2016, p. 1). For our purposes, liminality following a major disruption is the period when a new possible future for organizations and communities is not yet established but is beginning to emerge and is on a path to eventual solidification (consistent with Turner 1976). The liminal period (Stage 2) is the gap between societal disruption (Stage 1) and solidification—namely, when community building blocks and associated organizations have been re-established (Stage 3).

In this section, we detail the core process underlying the liminal construction of communities and organizations, compare and contrast differences in this core process across the three emergence trajectories, and discuss the mechanisms explaining *how* the different trajectories took shape and solidified. First, we report findings on the *formation of new community boundaries* across trajectories. We define *forming community boundaries* as establishing community meaning and goals (i.e., community form) and making community-based resources available for organizing (i.e., function). We explain the mechanisms of (a) establishing meaning and goals, (b) initiating community-organization emergent activities, and (c) facilitating community emergence. Second, we report findings on community-organization *binding*. *Binding* refers to the features that connect actors (i.e., a shared collective purpose) and the actions taken to

enact the focal community's purpose (i.e., coordination of actors). We explain how the mechanisms of (d) prioritizing community voids based on organizational goals and (e) coordinating with community to enact organizational goals led to (f) the entrenchment of community-organization binding.

Stage 2 of the Transactional Emergence Trajectory

Establishing Meaning and Goals. The first mechanism influencing the formation of community boundaries for the transactional emergence trajectory was *transacting with a “captive” community of customers* to fill general market voids. These individuals sought to establish meaning among those around them as they believed that the disruption of the disaster was the “end of time” for the previous status quo (field notes). As locals gathered in open fields in search of shelter, the founders of these organizations began organizing previously disconnected people for a collective effort to attract resources (NGO donations, government aid) and to create communities of captive customers—communities for economic transactional activity. As one founder (CA-F2) explained, “We had to support one another [in the tent-city community]. . . . I didn’t know these people [in the tent-city community] before, but now we survive together.” The founder went on to explain how people in her emerging community made sense of their situation by focusing on “survival by trading goods,” buying and reselling things to one another, and otherwise finding ways to create a community of transactions in which members could find customers. We confirmed these statements as we walked through the community and observed how locals created a “micro-economy” in the tent city so they could survive (field notes).

Initiating Community-Organization Emergent Activities.

The second mechanism influencing the formation of new community boundaries for the second stage of the transactional emergence trajectory was *establishing narrow economic boundaries for organizational operations*. Establishing narrow economic community boundaries involved organizing economic activities within the “captive geographic context” of tent-city customers (field notes)—an observation we confirmed with our informants. In addition, actors on this trajectory sought to create a gathering place where they could provide a mental reprieve to those enduring the “shared suffering” of being Haitian. One founder (CR-F1) explained (referring to those gathered), “What we hoped to do was at least offer people some relaxation. And it allows us to get a little profit so we can eat. . . . We are in survival mode. . . . [doing what we can] until the day the government gives us

what we need.” Similarly, while acknowledging that she offered those around her a “gathering place” and access to food they otherwise could not afford or produce, the Cassanne founder (F1) stated, “At this point, I am just trying to get by for my family. . . . [That is] my biggest obstacle and therefore my main focus. . . . but I also offer nourishing products for a lower price—it helps others too.” Interestingly, when asking those in different locations if they were aware of other communities, they said, “Yes, but we are not part of that community” (field notes). Similarly, when asked if they sought to do business in other locations, those on the transactional emergence trajectory explained that “this is where we are [referencing her/his immediate geographic surrounding]” (CA-C1) and “this is our group we survive with—we cannot worry about other locations” (CR-E1).

Facilitating Community Emergence. As indicated in our main model (Figure 3(a)), attempts to form community boundaries shaped efforts for community-organization binding. For those on the transactional trajectory, community boundaries were defined in terms of geography (i.e., tent cities) and low homogeneity (i.e., shared market, disaster victim, and little else). These community boundaries provided a number of ideal conditions for community-organization binding: both of the organizations on the transactional trajectory emphasized the benefits of paying no rent (living on borrowed land) and “going to the source” of suffering (i.e., the tent cities) to provide for their customer base (field notes). That is, despite the massive destruction, they saw an opportunity to insert themselves as valued providers of goods and services who offered just a little more than what was being offered by relief agencies and government organizations. Indeed, the tent-city community boundaries appeared to be relatively stable for organizing as all of our informants explained that their situation within these communities was “inevitable” and “long term,” or as one informant (CR-E1) explained, “It is who we are; that just is what it is.”

Prioritizing Community Voids Based on Organizational Goals. The first mechanism influencing the *binding* features for those on the transactional emergence trajectory involved *organizing activities to offer bare-minimum products for community members with little novelty*; products they could begin selling immediately as a way of creating organizational value by addressing market failures. For this reason, we labeled organizations on the transactional trajectory *resellers*, whose ventures involved “reselling goods. . . . or finding something to sell that others made nearby”

(CR-F2). This transactional mindset was best suited for Haiti's vast resale economy (Gros 2000, Dupuy 2014), in which product quality was not a major concern. The resellers sought to offer low-cost (and low-quality) products, such as food, alcohol, and other necessities (CR-F1, CA-F1), that offered some reprieve for victims. To bind themselves to their communities, the resellers colocated with their customers, who were "fellow Haitians, victims of the disaster" (CA-E1), setting up their small businesses in highly populated tent cities to offer customers "ease of access" (CR-E1). As we observed, these organizations quickly became "social hubs" inside the tent-city communities, and their customers unanimously approved of their products and services, which served both physical (by providing food, alcohol, and small items) and social (by providing places to interact and connect) community purposes. The desire to rapidly begin selling products to their "captive" communities resulted in these organizations serving more as passthrough vendors for others' products. For example, Cristel offered alcohol that was purchased from local distilleries and dispensed in old antifreeze bottles, and Cassanne provided food that was prepared and distributed out in the open for a neighboring refugee camp. Given the passthrough resale nature of these opportunities, the resellers generated just enough profit for organizational survival. As the Cristel founder (F1) explained,

We don't run a distillery. If I had a distillery, I wouldn't have to live here, man [laughs]. Do you know what a distillery is? If I had a distillery, I wouldn't be living here in this camp because you can make lots of money if you have one! If we did, I wouldn't be here! We go out and search for liquor, which we then pass on to people here [gestures toward three antifreeze jugs full of alcohol].

Coordinating Communities to Enact Organizational Goals. The second mechanism influencing the binding features of those on the transactional emergence trajectory involved *loosely coordinating with community members as customers*. The resellers saw their communities as recipients of services, so they did not coordinate their organizational goals with their communities. Therefore, despite being geographically embedded in "communit[ies] of sufferers" (field notes) by operating in the tent cities, both Cassanne and Cristel sought little to no input from those communities to help further develop either their organizations or their communities. That is, these organizations only engaged with their communities through mutually beneficial transactional exchanges in which community members served solely the role of customers (i.e., not resource providers or innovators) who enjoyed an "escape" (e.g., via alcohol) and

paid a small fee (or a promise of payment). Resellers' relationships with suppliers were market based (field notes) and reinforced a bootstrapping approach for organizational survival. For example, one founder (CR-F1) explained the following:

I got the idea for the business when I and some other guys were sitting here playing dominoes. The guys said that they wanted some liquor to drink, and so I bought some liquor for them to drink. It didn't really start out as a business idea. . . . After that, I had the idea to create a business. . . . That's what I continue doing today.

Another founder (CA-F1) explained, "We don't have much interaction here in the camp—it is mostly transactional. . . . However, we're all just trying to get by; I'm helping with that."

The Entrenchment of Community-Organization Binding. As the reseller organizations emerged and advanced toward addressing a market failure, they reinforced their perception of community as simply a transaction market. Therefore, the community-organization relationships became entrenched (albeit to a lower degree than other trajectories in our sample) in a unidirectional focus: organization providing resources for a 'captive' community." What bound these organizations and their communities continued to be a sense of shared suffering such that the organizations provided goods and services in ways that were uncoordinated with community members. That is, there was little to no community input (i.e., low community entrenchment) as organizations resold goods to community members at a low price. Despite this lack of community-organizational coordination, the organizations and communities continued to co-exist for mutually beneficial purposes: the communities relied on the resellers for basic goods, and the resellers provided goods to a "captive" set of customers in the tent cities for a small profit.

Stage 2 of the Collectivism Emergence Trajectory

Establishing Meaning and Goals. The first mechanism (of Stage 2) influencing the formation of new community boundaries for those on the collectivism emergence trajectory involved efforts to *develop shared community meaning* (e.g., viewing community members as stakeholders) and *goals* (e.g., helping their local communities develop, rebuild, and become self-sufficient). For example, the founders of these organizations emphasized the importance of being "change agents" (field notes) for their communities, so they organized actions to make incremental improvements (e.g., improve nutrition, provide jobs) to their local neighborhood communities—groups of individuals and families living within a one- to two-mile radius of these

community brokers. Importantly, making improvements in their local neighborhood communities started with shaping collective meaning such that individuals in these neighborhoods saw themselves as community stakeholders, with the focal founders acting as “facilitators [i.e., brokers] of community exchanges” (IS-F1) among qualified community actors. This shared sense of meaning appeared to allow emerging organizations on the collectivism trajectory to engage and deploy community support for shared goals. Specifically, these founders sought to develop vibrant communities of stakeholders who worked and collaborated together to achieve big goals—addressing neighborhood housing, food, and employment issues—while also developing new community capabilities. Indeed, these local founders were eager to help their neighborhood communities advance toward self-reliance by addressing collective voids created by the disaster. As one founder (IA-F1) explained, “I am the business owner who helps people and builds a community.”

Initiating Community-Organization Emergent Activities. The second mechanism influencing the formation of new boundaries (Stage 2) for those on the collectivism emergence trajectory involved *cultivating broad and diverse economic boundaries*. Beyond the basic meaning of community as “stakeholders” and the shared goal of advancing their neighborhood communities after the disaster, these organizations pursued shared activities that involved *cocreating* products and services (field notes). For example, one informant (IS-F1) explained that communities in Haiti could innovate—something others may not believe in. She exclaimed, “Haitians can make it; we too have good ideas!” Similarly, another organizational founder (IA-F1) said, “Progress comes by *creating*; in this [rural spot]—and doing so as a community.... Other entrepreneurs like me can do the same, and it will benefit the entire community.” For these emerging organizations, cultivating broad economic community boundaries meant developing new ways of doing things that harnessed the power of the collective—this was their “community ideal” (field notes). Indeed, individuals on this trajectory believed that community-based creations would benefit all, as one founder (IS-F1) explained: “My [orientation] was both... to support community health and well-being and also to make money to support our family.”

Facilitating Community Emergence. Those on the collectivism emergence trajectory viewed community as constituting members who both lived in their local geographic area and were interested in solving critical local problems, such as malnutrition and community

well-being. In this way, community was defined in terms of geographic localness (those in a nearby neighborhood) and shared meaning/goals (affiliated) with moderate local homogeneity. Specifically, the objective of these communities was to enable their members to solve problems and develop in positive ways. For example, one informant (IS-F1) explained,

Everything I do is tied up in the community—both in giving and receiving: getting [raw materials], finding out needs, and spreading the word about my product. People help me [like IS-F2, IS-C1] because they believe in connecting the community to make the community better. I rely on people from church, the market, and the village to move things forward—it’s how things work. I am a member of this community, and I want to be part of its improvement.

Therefore, community needs bounded the scope of organizing activities, which entailed “doing what is immediately feasible” in these neighborhoods to rebuild and help develop a sustainable future for the locals (IS-F1). For instance, one founder (IS-F2) stated, “We want to help people sustain themselves—this begins with daily nutrition. If people are malnourished, they cannot do other things. While our efforts are small, they make a difference in our community. People can get basic nourishment at an affordable price.” In addition, the notion that these neighborhood communities possessed shared meaning and goals influenced the formation of clear boundaries for emergent communities.

Prioritizing Community Voids Based on Organizational Goals. The first mechanism (of Stage 2) influencing the *binding* of organization and community involved *expanding value to a wide range of community actors*. The ventures framed their ongoing scope by searching for community-embedded opportunities to generate economic benefits as well as develop their communities; they filled a critical local void (found all over communities in Haiti) in which people lacked access to even the most basic nutrients primarily due to the cost of procuring and processing the various ingredients. In addressing this void, these ventures sought to create new products while engaging local actors as much as possible in their organizational value chain (e.g., raw materials, production, distribution, marketing) and thus providing the potential for future growth. One founder (IA-F1) explained how creating new products was what her neighborhood community needed from organizations, not reselling:

I realized that I believe more in something that I am creating or fabricating, a product that I have power to control. I realized that if I go buy something to resell in Haiti, the product has been made already, and the price is calculated, and the profit would hence be too small. I thought that if I produced something, I will be in

control of the product. It's true that I would have to buy the raw materials to make the product, but after that, I would have the ability to set the price at which I want to sell it in such a way as it benefits my local community.

Similarly, another founder (IS-F1) explained,

My idea was to build a business offering local produce, such as grapefruits, guavas, cherries, breadfruit, [and] passion fruit, and [making] other fruits, such as pineapple, tomatoes, and limes, into jams and preserves. I also took peanuts, corn, and coconut and made chanm [a dessert food], peanut butter, and nonalcoholic krèmas [a sweet drink]. I wanted to make these products from local produce so that the population [can] benefit as providers and [the community benefits from] having more energy and well-being—benefit[ing] the community's overall health.

One of Islande's customers (IS-C1) confirmed the value of this approach, saying that "Many people cannot afford food that provides daily nutrition. Islande's nut butter and other concoctions provide that nutrition in a combination that you cannot find on the street."

Coordinating Communities to Enact Organizational Goals.

The second mechanism influencing organizational and community binding on the collectivism emergence trajectory (Stage 2) involved *tight binding through coordination*. The perspective that communities could solve their own problems as "stakeholders" encouraged organizing activities in which these emerging organizations brokered relationships between community stakeholders to achieve common goals. For this reason, we labeled these organizations *brokers*. The brokers coordinated extensively with their communities as collaborators to enact their organizational goals. Specifically, the brokers emphasized growth, coinnovation, and coconstruction *through their communities* and sought to expand their businesses, with one organization (Isaac) even planning on expanding "to the Dominican Republic, the United States... and beyond!" (IA-F1). Furthermore, the brokers sought continuous improvement and development—something that further drove them back to their communities for ideas, resources, feedback, and customers. As a result of these community-related interactions, the brokers achieved relatively high financial performance while also providing the desired social benefits for their neighborhood communities. For example, an employee of Islande (E2) explained the following:

In our community, we all have different roles. Ours is important but is part of a broader set of activities. As we say in a Haitian proverb, "A goat with too many owners will die out in the sun." We take charge of nutrition, so it doesn't die and kill the community. But,

our role is part of a broader set of activities [in the community]. . . . We divide up the roles by using logic and drawing on each other's strengths and available resources.

As this quote suggests, the brokers viewed their communities as sources of resources despite the widespread destruction their neighborhoods had experienced. Furthermore, the brokers were connected to their neighborhood communities and deemed their role as "fundamental to positive development and recovery" (IS-C4; confirmed by customers of both ventures). Therefore, for the brokers, the notion of shared community involved facilitating interactions (IS-F1, IA-F1). As one Isaac employee (IA-E2) explained, "[I] am known in the community. . . . My goal has always been to help people come and have social exchanges to achieve our goals." Indeed, these organizations looked to create systems that could lead to positive change:

Building the business was about an opportunity to develop a better life for the community. For example, I could hire people who were in need of money who could help me out. Even simple things: people could help me clean, peel, and otherwise prepare fruits while I do the rest of the work. From the start, that is what I wanted to do—to give hope to the community and to launch and own my products. (IS-F1)

The Entrenchment of Community-Organization Binding.

The brokers interacted with their communities not as economic exchange partners but as collaborators in the process of growing self-sustaining economies within their neighborhoods. Therefore, their entrenchment in the community was high, and the community-organization relationship was bidirectional and collaborative. This collaboration and reciprocity facilitated development and growth for both the emerging communities and the organizations. For example, after the launch of their organizations, the brokers used their neighborhood communities as testing grounds for new ideas such that new products could be rapidly identified and deployed at the suggestion of community members (IS-F1). One organizational employee (IA-E1) described the process by which a broker tested new product offerings in his community: "How do we decide what to sell? Sometimes, the item people ask for has already been prepared and is ready for sale, and on other occasions, it is not yet available. . . . When the community is frequently asking for something, we get the ingredients and sell it." Indeed, bidirectional interactions with their highly entrenched neighborhood communities were central to a full range of business activities and, most importantly, for providing ongoing innovation to accommodate the communities' changing needs. As a

result of engaging with their neighborhood communities, the brokers rapidly evolved as they gained new insights from community members and then updated their operations, products/services, and activities based on this information. For example, one founder (IS-F2) explained the following:

At first, I wanted to set up a permanent location to drive business. But this evolved. I wanted to access people in different locations who were in need [but who could not make it to the central market]. . . So, I would let my community members taste some of my products, and then they would, in turn, tell their friends and let them taste them too. These people would ask their friends where they could buy the products, and so I gave my friends business cards that they could pass out to their friends. Then, people would call me and order certain products, and I would prepare them for them. As a result of these interactions, I established the business where I am today—something I would not have initially considered [without the community interaction].

As illustrated in this example, Islande emerged in phases as a direct result of interactions with the neighborhood community. As time progressed, these repeated interactions between the organizations and their neighborhood communities helped the emergence of both the brokers and their neighborhood communities.

Stage 2 of the Circumscribed Emergence Trajectory

Establishing Meaning and Goals. The first mechanism influencing the development of community boundaries for those on the circumscribed emergence trajectory (Stage 2) involved *addressing the needs of communities' most vulnerable*—what these emergent organizations deemed “critical challenges facing Haiti,” including the orphan, housing, and people-with-disabilities crises (SE-E2, SE-C4, SI-E2, SH-F1). These emergent organizations felt an “unbreakable bond” with specific “communities of suffering” (SH-F2) and therefore determined their sense of meaning and goals as caretakers focused on alleviating the suffering of these niche groups. Niche community members included both potential advocates and resource providers who sympathized with “the cause” as well as individuals in the groups being helped (e.g., the homeless [AB], orphan [AC], and handicapped [AS] communities). The caretakers explained their dedication to taking actions to provide for (i.e., alleviate the suffering of) their niche groups’ members. For example, one founder (SI-F1) stated, “If it was for me [benefited me personally in financial ways], I would not make such a sacrifice . . . but I am willing to go through anything [for] the orphan children.” Another founder (SH-F1) explained, “Individuals with disabilities need a voice to survive and thrive in Haitian society. I am that

voice. . . We help them find their voices to overcome the harsh environment they live in.” The objective to help others shaped how those on this trajectory established community meaning (i.e., “we are the most vulnerable”) and the goals they sought to accomplish (i.e., “we must eradicate these societal problems”). For instance, one informant (SE-F2) said,

I want to add my opinion about my objective. I am always thinking of how to help and what projects to start. Working with [NGOs and other volunteers] has opened my eyes to the idea of doing a lot without having to spend a lot of money. In my mind, if I had the means, I would work on helping the people who are still living in the tents in any way possible. Like instead of buying materials to build a house out of plywood, I would work on building homes out of [other materials] and save a lot of money while improving their situation. That is what I have in mind; I want to help get these people out of the tents.

Initiating Community-Organization Emergent Activities.

The second mechanism influencing the development of community boundaries for those on the circumscribed emergence trajectory (Stage 2) involved *isolating narrow social community boundaries* to increase their focus on solving specific types of problems. Indeed, the caretakers’ focus on addressing suffering for their niche communities of sufferers appeared to be all consuming in motivating organizing activities, crowding out alternative (i.e., economic) considerations. This dominant “single-issue, grand-challenge, mission-first” boundary condition heavily influenced the caretakers’ organizing activities, including raising funds (i.e., lobbying as opposed to generating operating funds) and interacting with members of their niche communities. One founder (SI-F1) explained,

This work I am doing is my mission and my life, and I will fight for it with what little resources I have until the day I die. . . I don’t do any other activities—this is who I am. It is my daily struggle to find and help disabled people and bring them to the light. I don’t need money; I do need to accomplish this work!

Facilitating Community Emergence. The emerging community boundaries for these caretakers were distinct—they involved specific groups of sufferers. Importantly, these sufferers were viewed as the most highly impacted by the disaster in that they were victims who needed rescuing because they were the most vulnerable of society (field notes). The caretakers’ perceptions of members of these niche communities as victims shaped their interactions with their communities. Furthermore, while seemingly narrow and focused, these niche communities (orphans, individuals with disabilities, and those impacted by the housing crisis) were not bound

geographically, presenting a substantial challenge for the caretakers who sought to organize for these communities. For example, one founder (SE-F2) explained, "Our idea with the organization was to offer a social movement . . . where we try to engage locals all over Port-au-Prince and other impacted areas, who are very disenchanted as a result of experiences with the government over housing." Another informant (SE-E2) explained, "We are trying to hold rallies on homelessness. . . . There are many different groups we try to reach [NGOs, government bodies], and people are starting to stand up for their right to housing." Similarly, those focused on helping individuals with disabilities and orphaned communities (Shamah, Sidney) expressed their desire to touch all people in these categories "across Haiti" (field notes). By bounding their communities around those who were suffering the most, the caretakers believed there were few to no resources that could be accessed from within their niche communities to address these communities' needs. That is, they saw their communities as groups of sufferers—victims who needed to be cared for by a caretaker organization.

Prioritizing Community Voids Based on Organizational Goals. The first mechanism influencing community-organization *binding* for the caretakers of Stage 2 involved focusing all of their attention on addressing their niche communities' needs. For example, one founder (SE-F1) explained, "I am a victim of the housing crisis myself. . . . I haven't been able to rebuild yet, which is ironic given that I am working on a housing initiative for others. . . . I am so busy as this is all I do. I give no time to any other activities." Similarly, one cofounder (SE-F2) said that like the community he sought to serve, "I [too] am a displaced person—what we do here is *what I live every day*" (emphasis added). We confirmed this statement by spending several days with him (SE-F2), conducting site visits with the core focus of finding housing solutions—an activity he did seven days a week (field notes). Given their central focus on benefiting their niche communities, we found that caretakers often failed to mobilize adequate resources to fund their ambitious goals (e.g., eliminating the housing problem in all of Haiti). For example, one organizational employee (SI-E2) stated,

We seek what we can from outsiders. However, we see many organizations that come and go and do nothing. For example, one group told us their funds ran out, but that wasn't true. . . . Some people have conned us and abused us as well. For example, people have come here announcing themselves as journalists wanting to film the children to raise money for us. . . . But they never got back in contact with me. . . . I just tell myself that these

were not the people that God has chosen to help us and that the true helpers will come.

Coordinating Communities to Enact Organizational Goals. The second mechanism influencing the binding of organization and community for caretakers of Stage 2 involved the caretakers *circumscribing niche community members into their organizational orbit* (i.e., "we serve you") as opposed to taking a more interactive approach. Specifically, rather than seeking to develop more integrated business models (e.g., operations, manufacturing, sales), the caretakers focused "exclusively on helping" the members of their niche communities (SI-F2). This focus resulted in limited power and influence among other actors (e.g., suppliers, aid workers). For example, one organization (SI) did not seek to develop equipment or other solutions to care for disabled people but rather focused on lobbying for resources, filing complaints on behalf of victims, and generally engaging in the narrow activity of resource solicitation. Similarly, one organizational employee (SE-E1, emphasis original) explained, "Our objective—to *inform* the community about their housing rights—was always our sole purpose. We have not shifted to other activities since our initial focus as this problem is ongoing! Building a social movement is a long process." In general, the caretakers emphasized a limited set of activities—submitting grants (SI-F1), soliciting people for funding (SA-F1), and so forth—which further entrenched their identification with their focal niche communities.

The Entrenchment of Community-Organization Binding. The caretakers' identification with circumscribed "communities of suffering" shaped their organizing activities, which further entrenched their community identification. In this way, the interactions between organizations and communities were low and unidirectional as the organizations viewed communities as helpless victims that were circumscribed under the organizational purview. Specifically, as organizing progressed, these organizations solidified their self-view as the caretaker of their respective disadvantaged group. Interestingly, despite identifying with specific communities of suffering (i.e., disadvantaged groups), the caretakers did not seek input from their niche communities of "customers" on different products/services they could offer and did not seek to change their approach even if doing so would result in additional resources (and potentially higher impact). In short, these emergent organizations viewed themselves as "helpers," and they were committed to fulfilling that mission whether they had others' support (field notes).

Table 2. Data Examples and Representative Quotations (Second-Order Themes)

Dimension: Attending to disruption-created voids	Widespread voids	Local voids	Extreme, niche voids	Dimension: Forming new community boundaries	Developing isolated geographic market boundaries	Developing expanding, meaningful collective boundaries	Developing niche boundaries	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "In Haiti, we face such challenges. The earthquake was the worst, but this happens—we just fight as Haitians ... In Haiti, you just have to fight [through the suffering]—after the earthquake was no different, it is who we are as Haitians." (CR-F1) • "At this point, I'm just trying to get by for my family—we are suffering so much ... as are other Haitians. We are simply Haitians doing what we can to live and get ahead by buying and reselling." (CA-F1) • "The earthquake created new chances. For me, it is liquor. I buy the liquor from a supplier who in turn purchases the liquor by the barrel. I buy a couple gallons so that I can sell it in small quantities. After the earthquake, this opportunity was there, so I took it!" (CR-F1) • "I buy food in the market and then cook and sell it right here ... I cook a large quantity of food so I can make more money than it costs to buy the food ... I can cook anything. I can get a hold of, and the NGOs also bring water and food to our tent city—that helps with the business." (CA-F1) • "After the earthquake, our focus was healing our community that was completely devastated—the small steps we do here can [eventually] change Haiti. I guess my [orientation] was ... community health and well-being, and also to make money to support our family." (IS-F1) • "My goal was helping myself and creating a good benefit in our community ... this is how I honor my sister who died and my community." (IA-F1) • "There were so many new resources from the outside (NGOs), but there are also resources here! My idea was to create food choices that were not available in our village. But also, my idea is to bring the community out as a provider." (IS-F1) • "With all of the people from different countries bringing resources, our goal is to create something, not to just sit around and wait ... or function as a 'Madame Sara' [reselling items from the U.S.] this will help us [our organization] but it will also help our community." (IA-F1) • "The earthquake made the housing crisis even worse—that's why we focus on it ... Little camps popped up as people had no choice. . . . We undertook many mobilization efforts, marches, and protests . . . presenting petitions . . . and offering judicial assistance." (SE-F1) • "The earthquake revealed thousands of handicapped people living in the shadows." (SH-F2) • "After the earthquake I knew we needed to help orphans ... We found NGOs looking to get involved from the U.S., and Spain ... we tried to direct resources of any kind—bags of rice, bags of beans, and building materials—from them to achieve our goals of subsistence and education." (SI-F1) • "The earthquake drew attention to the severely handicapped youth ... outsiders (like you!) have taken interest and we try and rally them to our cause ... I bring the youth together to make music together, which helps direct new resources that came from outside." (SH-F1) 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Those in power have total control of resources—the most vulnerable have no voice! This is an extreme crisis after the earthquake. We must call them [the powerful] out for their wrongdoing, even if we're persecuted for it; we're creating a voice and a protection for the vulnerable." (SE-F1) • "I have a handicap myself ... since I was a child I noticed how parents of disabled children hide them from society as if they were ashamed ... The earthquake made this worse! . . . My goal is to help handicapped people become part of society—I am their supporter [champion]". (SH-F1) • "I want to <i>nourish</i> my community—on many levels. I am poor and cannot change the whole world, but I can make this one change. I have the will and hard work—I can do this and make a big impact! I alter the health and wellbeing for my community." (IS-F1) • "Although my sister died in the rubble, I can't sit around—I was raised in this area, we needed to rebuild for ourselves ... continuing [despite the extreme adversity] in the community is a good idea when you want to create something, [Organizing] helps the community and society too." (IA-F1) • "Fundamentally, we are involved in the community. We conduct community seminars to teach about principles of nutrition. People know I care about this and rush to help. When people need help, they call my number . . . We need each other and our role is to connect people—to put suppliers with customers. This is how we work to accomplish our goals." (IS-F1) • "We are known as community members fighting for the community. Not only was I raised in this area, and hence I know everyone in the area, but I also spoke with people and told them what I had to offer them, and that they didn't have to go to [the nearby village] to get food and refreshments anymore, but that they could find it here. And that's how they started supporting my business..." (IA-F1) • "This is what I do—I find ways to purchase liquor by the barrel... I buy a couple of gallons that I can sell in smaller quantities until I make back the money and a little profit ... This is how I am known in this camp [where we sell or products]." (CR-E1) • "Our biggest obstacle is economic difficulty, so we focus on addressing that while trying to help those living in the camp to have good healthy food and a place to get away from sadness. It is better to have hope than nothing at all." (CA-E2) • "The collapse [after the earthquake] meant there was an opportunity to sell to address basic needs in tent cities—we are filling the gap." (CR-E1) • "The earthquake made us come [to our location]. We make the most of our situation—we sell things people need for a lower price, with the small amount of money we have." (CA-E2) 			

Table 2. (Continued)

Dimension: Binding organization and community	
Reselling products to cultivate tent-city market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Plain and simple, we resell alcohol on a smaller scale to those living in tents [gestures to those nearby]. We cannot grow ... so this is what we do." (CR-F1). • "I sell [excess] food on credit, so that even if I don't get paid the same day, the food still doesn't go to waste, you understand?" (CA-F1) • "We're only in the camp because the earthquake made us come here ... we make food we can afford, and hope people will buy it." (CA-F1) • I don't like it here because when it is hot and sunny, we can't stay in our tents. Until then, we'll wait and do our best to survive, what else can I do? This is why I offer a product to those in the tents—they need it and it helps me get ahead." (CR-F1) • "We don't have connections with NGOs ... organizations stopped giving us aid and the government did not do anything to help give us job opportunities or other forms of aid; actually, nobody from the government has ever come by here to see how the people are doing at all—we're totally alone, which is why we fight for ourselves every day." (CR-F1) • "To make a difference in Haiti we need to create things that help the community but also allow us to make a living. While my business is small, I will grow it and hopefully other Haitians do the same thing." (IA-F1) • "I always get creative to find what I need—this is why I am in my local community where everyone needs me. Suppliers aren't reliable, so I get creative in finding what I need—often from the community itself. I also am creative in coming up with new ideas by testing them in the community. They tell me what is good, what we need, and provide many solutions." (IA-F1) • "We have progressed well and are going to continue developing. We want to expand to other parts of Haiti in our next stage, and maybe even internationally. As I have been saying, we interact every day and what we offer changes depending on what our community tell us." (IA-F1) • "Since there are other people making similar products to mine, I wanted to make mine better, and so I would add new ingredients to make my products taste better. I test these ingredients in the community—the customers make the decisions!" (IS-F1) • "... when the community is frequently asking for something, we go get the ingredients and just start selling it—they are part of our process." (IA-E1) • "Current solutions [temporary shelters] are a total waste of time and money... All of us (motions to other organization member in the room) were left homeless by the earthquake—this is our community ... Our role is to call on the NGOs to stop building transitional shelters and invest that money in a government-run social housing program. We need to stand up for the homeless and those with no voice—this is what we do!" (SE-F1) • "If you go to the bureau of the Secretary of State, you will see that all of the organizations and agencies dealing with disabled people know me because I always want to help in this field. I am disabled, I am working for my community!" (SH-F1) • "When we go out into the community, we find out what people need, but also what they have to offer for the cause. Some might share food or provisions, where others share expertise—we tried to tailor our activities to individual and group [different community body's] needs." (SE-F2)
Providing services and a voice for niche community	<p>Dimension: Solidifying community-organization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Why start the business here [in the tent city]? Because this is where I ended up after the earthquake, so why not here? We lost everything and were homeless... I don't have many connections, but I do have means to work to support my children by [reselling to the tent-city inhabitants]." (CA-F1) • "Everyone has to do the best with what they have. If you have fifty Haitian dollars (250 gourdes), you could buy some merchandise to resell in order to come up with the money to eat. Meanwhile, another person in the camp may have 500 gourdes, and they are able to make more money and buy some sweet potatoes or greens to prepare for dinner ... we just make do with whatever we have each and every day—that's how we function." (CR-F1) • "I don't trust anyone, because we are here, and we don't have the capacity to do anything about the situation. We just rely on ourselves ... we don't have power, but we can at least enjoy time together [in social venue I provide to the tent city] and make a salary, which is better than relying on donations!" (CR-F1) • "I manage to obtain a profit here and there ... we survive nonetheless; you know how Haitians are, we find a way to make it through no matter what—that is what I'm doing here for the camp dwellers." (CA-F1)
Community narrows and constrains; organization embeds	

Table 2. (Continued)

Dimension: Solidifying community-organization	
Expanding collaborative community organization brokers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• "While our organization was designed to provide an income, it also was clearly a service to the local community ... they needed this. We are in a rural area and people have to walk very far to get basic goods. We offer an alternative to them here and it helps the community in that way." (IA-F1)• "The money I earn from the business is what enables me to pay my school fees, so I see the business as a way to help me continue going to school so I can advance and be self-sufficient ... it helps the community be self-sufficient too—we as a local group work together in business, that connects us." (IA-F1)• "We are running a business, so we do need an income from this. We just found that if we were honest and worked toward solving a real problem [nutrition] that things would work out... This helps me support my family ... to achieve these we must work with all different members of the community." (IS-F1)• "My experience has been very enriching to me <i>and</i> our local community—both financially and in overcoming the trauma of the earthquake. I hope the majority of Haitians can have the courage to do the same thing [start businesses to build the community], so we can rebuild Haiti community-by-community." (IA-F1)• "I am regularly changing and developing my product. I change things and add new ingredients to test the products [in the community]; if people like them, I incorporate the changes. This is how I develop my product line—we work together as a community [as suppliers, producers, and customers]." (IS-F1)
Expanding affiliation community; organization circumscribes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• "We go into a lot of areas in Haiti where the handicapped are in hiding—We find them because we're part of this group, talk to their parents, and work to help them feel like members of society." (SH-E1)• "Current solutions [temporary shelters] are a total waste of time and money ... Our role is to call on the NGOs to stop building transitional shelters and invest that money in a government-run social housing program. We need to stand up for the homeless and those with no voice—this is what we do!" (SE-F1)• "We are calling on Haitian diaspora and foreign friends and allies to continue to demonstrate solidarity [through donations] with those still living under tents. We don't seek to profit; money just helps us help the millions without housing [which is the target community]." (SE-F2)• "We take care of the most vulnerable—the orphans—that is the [community] we're rebuilding. We take care of them, invite people to come, we feed them with little money we have. We do not do this for money—we care for our community of orphans!" (SI-F1)• "We constructed school buildings giving children a place to learn. We also provide housing to children who were neglected and subjected to hard labor as they have no family ... we try to be self-sufficient through our chicken and fish farm—that helps feed us when we cannot get donations [while providing for orphans]." (SI-F2)

Stage 3: How Community-Organization Interactions Solidify Emergence Trajectories

As the final step in our model of emergence trajectories, we documented differences in the processes of solidifying community-organization bonds—that is, as they became established. Given the primary focus of our findings on emergence trajectories, our analysis in Stage 3 of the model focused primarily on where these trajectories end up in terms of community-organization interactions. In Figure 3(b), we display a detailed comparison of the three trajectories outlined above as well as a visual description of the solidified trajectory trends we observed in our data. In Table 2, we offer additional representative quotations of the second-order themes. For the transactional emergence trajectory, we found that efforts to build isolated geographic community boundaries resulted in narrow, constrained markets for reselling, where the resellers embedded (i.e., loosely bound) themselves in tent cities as transactional communities. For the collectivism emergence trajectory, we found that efforts to develop expanding, meaningful community boundaries (i.e., in neighborhood communities) influenced community emergence. These brokers bound themselves to their communities by establishing connections between a large number of community stakeholders, thereby helping expand both their communities and their organizations. Finally, for the circumscribed emergence trajectory, we found that efforts to develop niche community boundaries to organize to address niche social voids resulted in special-interest community-organization interactions, which the caretakers constricted and bounded into established niche communities that they looked after.

Discussion and Conclusion

We began this paper seeking to understand how community boundaries and binding features influence community-organization emergence trajectories. In doing so, we sought to offer new insights for the scholarly discussion on the relationship between organizations and communities. Traditionally, research has assumed that community boundaries (either geographic or affiliation) and binding features (shared values, motivations, and goals) *and/or* organizations are relatively stable and are therefore taken as given (Fligstein 2001, Marti et al. 2013). However, recent scholarship (Petrigliani et al. 2019, Seyb et al. 2019) has demonstrated how “new forms of work” are completely altering what we know about community-organization interactions. Our study builds on this recent trend by exploring different community-

organization emergence trajectories. To explore this theoretical notion, we focused on community-organizational emergence in the aftermath of a natural disaster, a situation that caused urgency to rebuild communities and launch organizations to address significant societal gaps caused by the disruption (Drabek and McEntire 2003, Williams and Shepherd 2018). Specifically, we analyzed the emergence trajectories of seven organizations and associated communities in the aftermath of the 2010 Haiti earthquake to uncover *how* community-organization trajectories formed.

In Figure 3(a), we detailed a general model of community-organization emergence, in which we identified common dimensions across three trajectories, which we then compared and contrasted using qualitative analyses. In Figure 3(b), we detailed the explicit mechanisms explaining *how* emergence was influenced in each trajectory. First, our study reveals differences in *how* actors interpreted the scope of disaster-created voids *and* available resources. This interpretation then served as a baseline for subsequent action. Second, we found that differences in community meaning, goals, and ideals led to differences in how organizations launched activities and how they articulated the community voids to be filled through organizing. Third, differences in actor’s conceptualizations of community informed reciprocity relationships between emergent organizations and emergent communities. As detailed in Figure 3(b), we found different degrees of reciprocity in community-organization interactions, which resulted in different interpretations of new meaning in terms of *what* communities entailed (i.e., what comprised communities’ boundaries [geographic and/or affiliations] and what bound community members together) and how dynamically (or not) emergent organizations and communities interacted during trajectory emergence. The dynamic process revealed in our model details *how* different degrees of community embeddedness evolved across the three trajectories and also begins to explain why some emergent organizations appear to be more effective in accessing community-based resources to fulfill their goals. Finally, our model describes how the different emergence trajectories impacted the long-term nature of community-organization evolution—whether communities were contracting, expanding geographic and purpose driven, or expanding affiliation based. In the remaining sections, we detail the importance of our model for the growing body of scholarship on community-organization relationships, which are playing an increasingly critical role in organizational theory (Marquis et al. 2013, Almandoz et al. 2016).

Contributions to Research

In reviewing the scholarship on organizational emergence, Gartner and Brush (2016, p. 291) argue that organization emergence is a socially embedded process accomplished by interactions among actors in “a sequence of activities: enactment, selection, and retention.” Similarly, Garud et al. (2013) as well as others (Katz and Gartner 1988, Carter et al. 1996) argue that organization emergence involves a systematic unfolding of activities among actors, including communities, which are critical in explaining (1) if organizations successfully emerge and (2) the degree of success achieved by those organizations (for a review, see Gartner and Brush 2016). Our study extends these arguments by explaining three trajectories of community-organization emergence and highlighting how *new* communities and *new* organizations coemerge, as reflected in the three trajectories. In particular, we make three primary contributions to the literature.

First, our study highlights the importance of broadening the current focus in research on community-organization relationships to *organizations'* role in establishing key societal building blocks. In particular, our study suggests the importance of the dynamics of community-organization emergence for explaining community-based organizing and, more specifically, interactions between organizations and community members such that both become established and solidified. For example, the current literature on community-based organizing focuses on the institution-level influences of communities on organizations (Marquis et al. 2013, Almandoz et al. 2016) and generally assumes an established community context as a pretext to organizing as communities provide necessary resources for entrepreneurial actors (Greve and Yue 2017). As a result, we still know little about both the dynamic, rapid formation of communities in postdisaster contexts and the ways emergent organizations *influence* and are *influenced* by these emergent communities.

Our study addresses these gaps in the literature by building on recent research, which has shown that, due to the introduction of new technologies in post-disaster contexts (Majchrzak et al. 2007), the lines between organizations and communities are becoming blurred. Similarly, many communities are transient in nature as community members' interests in opportunities evolve (Mollick 2014), further suggesting a dynamic relationship between communities and organizations. However, our study highlights situations in which community foundations are disrupted—and even completely destroyed—such that communities need to emerge for corresponding organizations to also emerge; that is, there needs to be coemergence within such a disrupted context. Therefore, we

suggest that the community-organization emergence trajectories we identified help reconceptualize our understanding of the role of community (and organization) in the community-based organizing context—a context that is becoming increasingly important in contemporary organization theory (O'Mahony and Ferraro 2007, Autio et al. 2013). In particular, rather than viewing organizational emergence as a relatively simple and sequential process emerging from communities (or other institutional contexts), we theorize that emergence trajectories evolve in multiple and somewhat unexpected ways.

Despite these advancements, more research is needed to understand the relationship between communities and organizing in emergence trajectories. For example, are there other trajectories in other contexts? Our focus on a devastating event as the trigger for rebuilding communities and organizing is necessarily extreme (for theory building); do these features hold in more resource-abundant contexts? Future research can explore different types of community disruption (e.g., geographic and affiliation communities) as well as different forums for organizing (e.g., online, shared working spaces).

Second, we draw attention to the importance of how community boundaries and binding features influence emergence trajectories. For example, while we revealed some geographical features that provided boundaries for communities, which is consistent with prior research (Audia et al. 2006), we also found that the binding features of shared meaning, goals, and ideals facilitated the solidification of both communities and organizations. Furthermore, actors' interpretations of voids (and their identification of solutions to address those voids) influenced the binding features of communities—for example, strong community-organization affiliations providing for the most vulnerable or creating services and structures that enable community independence. Our exploration of the diverse features that bind communities together (beyond geography) and their interactions with emergent organizations answers calls to explore “other forms of communities” in explaining community-organization dynamics in response to societal tragedies (Greve and Yue 2017, p. 1112).

By comparing and contrasting the different trajectories, we highlight a number of opportunities for future research. For example, our empirical scope was limited to postdisaster organizing. Future research could test differences in the durability of different boundary and binding features for other organizations over time: do strong affiliation features (e.g., filling niche voids for a social group) result in greater community persistence, and do these boundary and binding features have downsides (e.g., limit growth

or performance)? Similarly, future scholarship can explore community boundary and binding durability in online communities: do communities' binding features function in the same way in an online context, and what implications do they have (if any) on organizing?

Finally, our research contributes to the community organizing literature by identifying new ways of exploring organizational embeddedness over time. Although the literature has explained how community (and other institutional) embeddedness occurs through processes of organizing (Almandoz et al. 2016, Dufays 2016), we highlight three distinct perspectives on embeddedness that occur as an output of three distinct trajectories: (1) resellers embedding themselves in narrow transactional communities, (2) brokers interacting with community stakeholders in expanding localized contexts, and (3) community caretakers embedding their target communities within their organizations (an inverted form of embeddedness). Our research indicates important nuances in the ways community-organization embeddedness arises and challenges a number of assumptions in the extant literature. For example, we found that differences in the degree of embeddedness influenced the establishment of communities and organizations, resource availability, and access to customers rather than simply *communities* functioning as the primary conveyors of resources for organizational emergence and eventual establishment (Audia et al. 2006, Almandoz 2012, Deephouse et al. 2016, Dufays 2016). We found that it was through dynamic interactions that organizations conferred resources on and facilitated the emergence of communities and vice versa.

Additional research could help explicate the different consequences (e.g., performance, growth, innovation, long-term survival) associated with our model's various trajectories. Specifically, the different trajectories of community-organization emergence trajectories could help explain different explosions of "meaning" following disasters (Weick 1993, Hällgren et al. 2018). Our findings show that, while a natural disaster can result in the collapse of institutions, norms, and resources, this is only one side of the coin, with the other being an "explosion" of meaning (Roux-Dufort 2007) through the coemergence of organizations and communities—albeit different meanings at different stages with different outcomes. This distinction between how meaning is lost (i.e., the destruction of community building blocks) and how it is regenerated (i.e., interactions between organizations and communities) needs to be explored further.

Concluding Comments

Our study highlights the importance of communities in explaining postdisaster organizing for *victims of disasters*. Our findings demonstrate the importance of viewing victims as a source of solutions rather than groups of hopeless and helpless people needing to be rescued. Similarly, our study shows that community interactions differ substantially and shape different emergence trajectories for organizing disaster responses. These findings can inform how external resource providers approach emergent organizations as they consider what it means to actually be of help. Indeed, it could be that certain efforts could sustain communities and organizations without holding much potential to truly "build back better" by facilitating the coemergence of organizations and communities. Therefore, investments in postdisaster zones that are oriented toward longer-term change should consider supporting locally initiated ventures that seek to build communities. Finally, while "wicked problems" like the orphan and housing crises in Haiti are a source of substantial suffering, addressing them directly comes with considerable challenges. Our data suggest that some organizations avoided addressing these issues altogether (resellers), others took them on directly (caretakers), and still others sought to address them indirectly by first creating small incremental change in their immediate communities (brokers).

In conclusion, while disasters are highly disruptive and impactful, they also trigger the creation of new communities and organizations that seek to rebuild their societal building blocks. Our study reveals different trajectories of the emergence of organizations and communities that contribute to the literatures on community-embedded organizing and organizing in response to disasters.

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Appendix A. Case Descriptions

Venture ¹	Founder background information	Sources of operational funding/resources	Primary economic activities	Primary social activities	Lifespan
Selvandieu	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Male• Lost love one in earthquake? Yes• Destruction of personal property? Yes• Children? Yes• Married / living with partner? No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Donations from international aid procurers, individual donors, local organizers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Legal and lobbying services (for the few who can afford it)• Housing consultations and lobbying	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Offering legal counsel for individuals in housing disputes (with the government)• Organizing protests and rallies• Coordinating temporary housing management• Lobbying for long-term housing solutions in Haiti	Founded in January 2010; all continue in operation (as of June 2019)
Sidney	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Male• Lost love one in earthquake? Yes• Destruction of personal property? Yes• Children? Yes• Married / living with partner? No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Aid from NGOs, individual donors, and self-generated resources (chicken and fish farms)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Raising and selling chicken and fish• Providing for the needs of orphan children	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Housing orphaned children• Providing low-cost educational solutions to impoverished local communities	
Shamah	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Female• Lost love one in earthquake? Yes• Destruction of personal property? Yes• Children? No• Married / living with partner? No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Donations from NGOs and religious institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Put on concert performances by disabled girls to obtain finances• Helping girls make small crafts and jewelry they could sell	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Provide therapy sessions to disabled and severely disfigured girls• Offer a social outlet for disabled girls and “new identity” as a musical performer (despite disabilities)	
Islande	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Female• Lost love one in earthquake? Yes• Destruction of personal property? Yes• Children? Yes• Married / living with partner? Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Enterprise operations, investors, community human capital, and business plan winnings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Developing, packaging, and selling food and beverage products	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Offering products that target widespread malnutrition• Providing consistent work for local community members	

Appendix A. (Continued)

Venture ^a	Founder background information	Sources of operational funding/resources	Primary economic activities	Primary social activities	Lifespan
Isaac	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Female• <i>Lost love one in earthquake?</i> Yes• <i>Destruction of personal property?</i> Yes• Children? No• <i>Married / living with partner?</i> No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Enterprise operations, investors, community human capital, and business plan winnings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Developing and selling food and beverage products, daily essentials, and hygiene products	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Providing nutritious food products in an extremely rural environment.• Offering products that address early spread of disease (cholera)	
Cristel	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Male• <i>Lost love one in earthquake?</i> Yes• <i>Destruction of personal property?</i> Yes• Children? Yes• <i>Married / living with partner?</i> No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Profits from product sales; subsidized living space by NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Distributing alcohol from local distilleries, primarily in tent-city camps• Selling hand-crafted goods and cookies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Providing a social outlet for discouraged tent-city dwellers	
Cassanne	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sex: Female• <i>Lost love one in earthquake?</i> Yes• <i>Destruction of personal property?</i> Yes• Children? Yes• <i>Married / living with partner?</i> No	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Profits from product sales; subsidized living space by NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Developing low cost food and beverage products (primarily) for tent city camp dwellers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Providing food on-credit for those who are starving but cannot afford it	

^aNames have been changed to protect anonymity.

Appendix B. Case Timelines and Milestones

Emergence trajectories and associated mechanisms			
Emergence process: Mechanisms explaining how divergent processes occurred	Transactional emergence trajectory	Collectivism emergence trajectory	Circumscribed emergence trajectory
Stage 1: How destruction of society and identification of voids trigger emergence trajectories			
Attending to disruption-created voids	Widespread voids	Local voids	Extreme, niche voids
Determining the scope of disruption	Scope of needs at the national level	Localized and shared scope of needs	More vulnerable “victims” merit greatest attention
Assessing resource availability	General resources are largely unavailable	Abundance of locally viable resources	Special-interest resources accessible via lobbying
Stage 2: How liminal construction of community-organization reinforce emergence trajectories			
Forming new community boundaries	Developing isolated geographic market boundaries	Developing expanding, meaningful collective boundaries	Developing niche boundaries
Establishing meaning and goals	Transacting with a ‘captive’ community of customers	Developing shared community meaning and goals	Addressing the needs of community’s most vulnerable
Initiating community-organization emergent activities	Establishing a narrow-economic boundary	Cultivating a broad and diverse economic boundary	Isolating a narrow social community boundary
Facilitating community emergence	Geography (tent city) and low homogeneity—shared market, disaster victim, and little else	Local (geographic) and shared meaning/goals (affiliated), with moderate homogeneity—localness	Special-interest need affiliation, extensive community homogeneity—serving special interest
Binding organization and community	Reselling products to cultivate tent-city market	Cocreating products/services with codependent community	Providing services and a voice for niche community
Prioritizing community voids based on organizational goals	Organizing activities that offered bare-minimum products for community members with little novelty	Expanding value to a wide range of community actors	Focusing all attention on addressing niche-community needs
Coordinating communities to enact organizational goals	Loosely coordinating with community members as customers	Tight binding through coordination—community as collaborator	Circumscribing customers into organizational orbit
Entrenchment of community-organization binding	Low and unidirectional: (reseller→community)	High and bidirectional: (broker←→community)	Low and unidirectional: Values-based (caretaker→community)
Stage 3: How ongoing organization and community interactions solidify emergence trajectories			
Solidifying community-organization: Community expanding (contracting) organizational embedding			

Endnote

¹In our findings, we reference informants using codes to indicate the organization (i.e., Cassanne (CA)) and informant (i.e., CA-F1 for the first founders). These codes are detailed in Table 1, and additional descriptive data for the organizational cases can be found in Appendix B.

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Trenton Alma Williams is associate professor of management and entrepreneurship and the William L. Haeberle chair of entrepreneurship at the Kelley School of Business, Indiana University. His research interests include organizational and community emergence, compassion organizing, organizational drift, with particular emphasis on the role of identity (individual and organizational) and crisis response (resilience, resourcefulness) on emergence processes.

Dean Shepherd is the Ray and Milann Siegfried Professor of Entrepreneurship at the Mendoza College of Business, Notre Dame University. His research and teaching is in the field of entrepreneurship; he investigates the decision making involved in leveraging cognitive and other resources to act on opportunities; the processes of learning from experimentation (including failure); and dealing with adversity (e.g., disasters) in ways that reflect resilience and promote both compassion and well-being.