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Social Movement Events as Organizational "Path-Blazers"

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An Empirical Analysis of the Kinsale Community Events and their Influence on the Organizational Structure of Transition Town Kinsale

B.A. - Arbeit

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1. Introduction

Permaculture is an agricultural approach trying to design its landscapes by starting to look at the bigger picture – the wider context and surrounding environment - and only then approaching the landscape itself in its specific characteristics and problems (Hopkins 2008: 138). Similarly, most of the international researchers, students and other visitors approaching Transition Town Kinsale (TTK), a permaculture-inspired environmental Social Movement Organization (SMO) from the Irish sea-side town Kinsale, view it as only one of many parts of the global Transition Town movement. For them, Kinsale represents a curious puzzle piece in the emergence of the movement - the town where founder Rob Hopkins tried out the ideas, processes and events that would later define it. Still, subsequent environmental efforts by Transition Town Kinsale are said to be outshone by the work set out by Transition Town initiatives elsewhere, most prominently Hopkins´ following success in Totnes, England, widely considered to be the *real* starting point of the Transition movement (cf. Hopkins 2017).

However, Transition Town Kinsale is more than a tiny piece in a much larger puzzle, the starting point of a movement that would only thrive elsewhere. After all, I only found out about the wider movement through TTK, because I was about to visit Kinsale and was searching for interesting environmental initiatives in the region, for the sake of this bachelor thesis. What I discovered in Kinsale, then, was an environmental SMO well worth researching as an integral whole. Predominantly independent from the processes that were shaping the movement elsewhere and the influences that would subsequently mainstream the development of Transition initiatives and their internal workings, TTK developed its structures and processes very much on its own. Within the unique process shaping the organizational structures of TTK, as well as the final structure itself, two aspects stand out in particular.

First of all, the community-based organization TTK started out as a simple college project, led by Rob Hopkins at Kinsale´s Further Education College from 2004 to 2005. What, at least in the analysis of this thesis, marked the beginning of the transition from college to community, were two singular and unusual events Hopkins and his students organized in the first half of 2005. In these events, they presented the environmental issues they were dealing with – and the possible solutions they had found with regards to these problems – to the wider community of Kinsale and its surroundings, integrating the participants into the workings of their college project. The Kinsale Community Events (KCE), whose particularities in the shape of an Open Space Event and a Peak Oil Conference will be dealt with in the further course of this thesis, significantly impacted Hopkins in his later endeavors. More importantly for the sake of this thesis, they also catalyzed the emergence of the community-based TTK out of the college project. TTK formalized in its eventual form by the end of 2006.

Second of all, not only were the events unusual for a college project, but the eventual organizational structure of TTK was also uncommon for an environmental SMO. While the core

members of TTK organized themselves in a formal steering committee including some formalized roles, the eventual projects, events and overall workings of the SMO were all decided and organized in lower hierarchical levels, the working groups. TTK set itself up in an extremely decentralized network structure. This way, a high percentage of the projects that were realized under the umbrella of TTK was actually steered – or at least strongly influenced - by individuals and other civic organizations in Kinsale, that were not part of the SMO itself. These actors linked and formed relations within TTK´s independent working groups.

Hence, in the case of Transition Town Kinsale, two rare events mark the beginning of its foundational process – and at the other end of this process, a similarly peculiar structure can be noted. This bachelor thesis will now investigate in how far the KCE impacted the eventual structure of the SMO in its distinct characteristics. Underlying sociological mechanisms of the events and their aftermath, leading all the way to the implementation and rigidification of TTK´s structure, will be analyzed in order to achieve this. Above all, thus, this thesis will be a valuable addition to current social movement (SM) research regarding the structuration of SMOs. As it will be detailed later, SMOs are mostly said to organize due to market structures of the society-wide social movement sector, due to political opportunity structures, as well as, on a meso- and micro-level, institutional pressures and a SMO´s own identity and goals (cf., e.g. McCarthy/ Zald 2009, Clemens 2009). SM research on social movement events, on the other hand, has pointed out the role of these events in shaping a movement´s mobilization opportunities due to the opening of the above-mentioned macro-structures (cf. McAdam/ Sewell 2001), as well as their transformative effects on a movement´s collective identity, and (to a certain degree) organizational structure (cf. Della Porta 2008). This thesis will now investigate the effects of social movement events – defined here as ´the events a SMO organizes for the wider community to partake in´ – on the distinct organizational structure of the SMO itself. For this aim, two concepts from organizational sociology dealing with the processes and mechanisms behind the structuration of organizations will be used: namely, neoinstitutional theory and path dependence. Reasons for this choice will be given later on.

In the next chapter, a detailed account of Transition Town Kinsale, the KCE, and the process of the organizational foundation will be given, followed by the research question relating to the same aspects. After a summary of the state of research regarding the structuration of SMOs, transformative events within SMOs, as well as insights from organizational sociology (among them, neoinstitutionalism and path dependence), the research hypotheses will be presented in the light of the preceding theory. Chapter three will introduce the research method – the study design and methodical approach - as well as document data acquisition and analysis. Chapter four will then present the research findings regarding the transformation of structure within TTK, the eventfulness of the KCE, as well as the path dependent and neoinstitutional mechanisms in and after the events, leading to TTK´s final structure. In the conclusion, the findings will be summarized, and further research topics proposed.

2. The research matter

This chapter will introduce the research matter of the study. In the first subchapter, the development of the SMO Transition Town Kinsale, the Kinsale Community Events and the research question relating to the SMO and the events will be dealt with. The following part will focus on the theoretical framework of the study, while the last subchapter lays out the research hypotheses linking research object and theoretical insights in detail.

2.1 Transition Town Kinsale and the Kinsale Community Events

"Vision without action is merely a dream", it says on an anniversary plaque of the environmental SMO Transition Town Kinsale, which is nailed on a bench in their community garden in Kinsale, West Cork. The quote by Joel Barker goes on: "Action without vision only passes the time, vision with action can change the world." For TTK, vision surely came first.

In 1996, Rob Hopkins, an environmentalist from England, moved to the West Cork region in southern Ireland to build a sustainable village based on the principles of permaculture (Hopkins 2009). Together with his German friend Thomas Riedmüller, he bought a piece of land called ´The Hollies´ in 1997 and worked on his dream for the next eight years (ibid.). Simultaneously, in 2001, he set up the first ever year-long permaculture course at nearby Kinsale Further Education College (with the help of college principle John Thuillier), which became very successful in the following years (Int5: ll. 66-71). When, in 2004, a personal tragedy at ´The Hollies´ forced Hopkins to reconsider his future, and he learned about Peak Oil, a thesis warning about the impending end of oil and other natural resources, at about the same time (Int1: ll. 39-52), he started a new project with his college students. With the help of community leaders and environmental experts from the area, they set up a plan describing how to make Kinsale, the small sea-side town where the college is based, into a resilient and sustainable community independent from oil, within the next fifteen years (Hopkins 2006b). In the final, printed version of this Energy Descent Action Plan (EDAP), the student project looks at such distinct areas as food, education, housing, health, transport and energy and what would need to happen in order to make each area energy-sufficient by 2021 (cf. Hopkins 2005a). This was the vision, but there was no action yet – up until the end of the year, there was not even a formal organization.

The roots of the transition from a simple, visionary college project to an active community organization, the environmental SMO Transition Town Kinsale, can be traced back to two events that were organized by Hopkins and (former) students in 2005. The events – from here on called Kinsale Community Events (KCE) – included, at first, an Open Space Event (OSE) on February 21st. The OSE took place in the Town Hall of Kinsale, was called "Kinsale in 2021 – Towards a Prosperous, Sustainable Future Together" and was attended by roughly forty people (Hopkins 2006b). Its main aim was the integration of more community members into

the planning of the EDAP (Int7: ll. 31f, 66f). This was facilitated by an open debate forum, the essence of open space events. After a speech by the mayor of Kinsale and a screening of the Peak Oil film *The End of Suburbia*, the participants were put into groups, each looking at a distinct issue the film had raised for them, e.g. food, tourism and renewable energy (Hopkins 2006b). The results in the form of flip chart write-ups were afterwards used by the college group in the completion of the EDAP (Int1: ll. 88-90; Int7: ll. 33f, 43f).

The next important step in the history of what would become TTK, then, was a Peak Oil Conference (POC) held in Kinsale on the 18th and 19th of June 2005 (Hopkins 2008: 127). It was organized by Hopkins and some of his (former) students (Global Public Media 2005). Under the heading of "Fuelling the Future - The Challenge and Opportunity of Peak Oil", around 175 people converged in the car park of Kinsale College (ibid.). With Peak Oil advocate Richard Heinberg and Permaculture leader David Holmgren, as well as Irish Green Party politician Eamonn Ryan (Int4: ll. 18-21), these participants included important members of the wider field of environmentalism but also many interested citizens from Kinsale and all around the country (ibid.). Apart from the speeches of Heinberg, Holmgren, Hopkins at others, there were also breakout sessions (Hopkins 2006b), as well as a final discussion event (Int4: ll. 57f).

Both OSE and POC were considered a success by Hopkins and his students (Int7: ll. 33f, 133-138; Int4: ll. 17f, 46-48) and while Hopkins left Kinsale soon after the events, two of the students involved in the planning of the POC, Louise Rooney and Catherine Dunne, went to Kinsale Town Council off the heels of the event and proposed working with the town to try and put the visionary EDAP into action (Global Public Media 2005). Together with Hopkins´ successor as Permaculture teacher in Kinsale, Graham Strouts, the two founded the direct organizational forerunner to TTK, the non-profit facilitator *Transition Design.* Their organization was subsequently embraced in their efforts by Kinsale Town Council (making Kinsale the first *Transition Town* worldwide) in December 2005 (O.V. 2006, Rooney 2006) and was granted five thousand euro by the same institution in February 2006 (Rooney 2006).

Further personal shifts saw both Dunne and Rooney leave Kinsale and the newly-founded organization behind during 2006. In the following process, various new members from the community of Kinsale stepped in, and with their establishment of the final organization *Transition Town Kinsale* – including an own bank account and tax status in October 2006 (Elizabeth Creed, personal communication, July 27th 2018, appendix), the installment of roles like chairman, treasurer and secretary, and, in December, a steering committee and various working groups (ibid.) – the vision could now be put into practice under the realm of a formal SMO. In 2007, TTK set up their first community garden (ibid.) and established a Fifty Mile Meal Award for regional cuisine at the local Gourmet Festival (Slater 2015). Since then, successful projects have included the annual Spring Fair and Autumn Food Fest in the center of Kinsale (ibid.), a community-supported agriculture scheme and ´Education for Sustainability´, a national educational program started by students of Kinsale College, aimed at establishing organic gardens

at various schools throughout Ireland (Transition Town Kinsale 2012). Many of TTK´s projects have not been led by core members of TTK but were established in working groups, which were supervised by the steering committee but very independent in their resources and decision competences (Int3: ll. 84-100). The organizational structure of TTK can, in a nutshell, be described as decentralized and network-like, while also being formalized to a certain degree.

In conclusion, the Kinsale Community Events constituted the first step leading from college project to community organization and, eventually, to the establishment of the environmental SMO Transition Town Kinsale. This bachelor thesis will now investigate in how far not only its very existence but more specifically the *organizational structure* of TTK – its flexibility and network-structure, as well as its more formal elements - can be traced back to the Kinsale Community Events. The thesis proposes that the KCE served as organizational "path-blazers" in that they significantly shaped the eventual structure of the SMO. Following path dependence theory, the KCE consisted of first prototypes of the later structural elements of TTK; through their success and following feedback mechanisms, the events subsequently favorized and manifested these structural principles until the point of a *lock-in* and, thus, are vital parts of a path dependence this bachelor thesis will demonstrate with regards to the organizational structure of TTK. Apart from this, neoinstitutional influences before, in and after the events, shaping organizational structures through neoinstitutional mechanisms - or accelerating and further directing the path dependence - are additional important parts of the proposed "path-blazing" effects of the KCE. Further implications for the framework of this thesis can be found under 2.3. – before that, however, a theoretical look at SMOs, their structures, as well as reasons for their structuration (also using insights from organizational sociology), is necessary.

2.2 Current state of research

Due to the multitude of theoretical angles of the research thesis, the current state of research will be dealt with in four parts. The first part will introduce social movement research regarding the forces behind the structuration of SMOs. The second subchapter focuses on the concept of transformative events within SM research, including recent developments. In the third and fourth part, insights from organizational sociology regarding organizational structures and their evolvement, as well as the interplay between organizational and SM research will be given, followed by an introduction of the theories of neoinstitutionalism and path dependence.

2.2.1 Structuration of Social Movement Organizations

Half a century ago, American scholars and students of social movements first embraced a more structural view of their research objects and coined the term Social Movement Organizations (cf. Zald/ Ash 1966). Deriving from earlier approaches of the study field, which focused

on psychological factors like leadership and deprivation in accounting for the emergence of social movements (McCarthy/ Zald 2009: 193), on "irrational behavior" (McAdam/ Scott 2005: 6), they shifted the focus to the structures and processes of the organizations within a given movement (ibid.). In the view of these resource mobilization scholars, a SMO as "a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy/Zald 2009: 197) is like any formal organization in that it rationally implements an increasingly bureaucratic form over time to get the resources – mostly, members and money – it needs to implement its goals (McAdam/ Scott 2005: 6). Any society consists of enough mobilizing structures – "all those meso-level groups, organizations and informal networks that comprise the collective building blocks of social movements" (ibid.: 16) – to support a SMO, but only under the condition that the SMO is well-organized (McCarthy/ Zald 2009: 195). As part of a wider Social Movement Industry (SMI) including all the organizations within a social movement (the SMI Civil Rights Movement would have consisted of SMOs like SNCC, NAACP and SLCC) and even the whole Social Movement Sector including every SMO within a given society (ibid.: 197), SMOs have to fight for their resources - hence, their survival – and they do so by increased formalization and centralization (Kriesi 1996: 155). For half a century, this view of participation pressure and resource acquisition – market structures - as main factors for the *structuration* (defined here as ´development of structures´) of SMOs has been the most prominent in SM studies.

In recent years, however, the resource mobilization approach – and the accompanying political process theory, which accounts for the success of social movements by the opening of political opportunity structures (POS) (McAdam/ Scott 2005: 6) – have been criticized most sharply for denying the human agency of SMOs, e.g. in crafting their own organizational structure (cf. Morris 2000). Focusing only on macro structures like the aforementioned POS and market structures, these theories also over-emphasize major, national and already developed SMOs to the neglect of smaller, local and emerging ones. As Edwards (1994) stresses in his analysis of the formalization of American Peace Movement Organizations (PMOs),

[b]eyond the threshold of minimally formal structure, PMOs may indeed adopt even more formalized structures in response to increased participation pressures. Beneath that threshold, however, financial accountability or other influences related to the handling of larger amounts of money predict more formality in SMO structure. (328)

Thus, the forces of macro structures only begin to further formalize SMOs who have already taken on a formalized form, while their first step towards acquiring an organizational structure is influenced by other causes.

Which factors could help explain the initial (and further) structuration of SMOs, instead? Going away from macro-level approaches, SM scholars have come up with a number of micro- and meso-structural explanations: Edwards´ study finds the amount of money a SMO handles to correlate with formalization (ibid.: 327); furthermore, he stresses that the aim of a SMO is a similarly important factor – the more instrumental it is, the more the SMO formalizes (ibid.:

329). The role of the organizational field (other organizational actors in the environment of a SMO), as well as the cultural background of a SMO, has been stressed by Clemens (2009) in her work on the Women´s Movement. She finds both human agency and institutional pressures, "logics of appropriateness" (213), were working in the decision process of the movement to opt against a hierarchical, centralized form. In her reading, these SMOs *actively* took on a decentral, flat form to signal their anti-patriarchal identity to their members and other organizations – but they were also influenced in that decision by legitimacy-based expectations within their organizational field (ibid.: 220). Similarly, the common network structure of European *New Social Movements* (cf. Rucht 1991) has also been explained by institutional structures outside (cf. Klandermans 1986) and collective identities within a SMO (cf. Inglehart 1990).

Hence, the initial and further structuration of SMOs can be explained in between human agency (through active decisions by SMO members in order to fit their structure to their aims, identity and wanted mobilization of participants and financial resources) on the one hand, and more institutional, inter-organizational demands that revolve around legitimacy and expectations, on the other hand. In the same vein, another part of SMO everyday life, the events a SMO organizes, can have similarly significant structural effects on the SMO. Here, both human agency and institutional pressures can prevail, as well. Even though event-focused research has taken on an increasingly influential role in the SM studies of recent years, the influence of movement events on the structure of SMOs has not been duly analyzed yet.

2.2.2 Transformative events in social movement research

William H. Sewell, an American scholar of historical sociology, a discipline focusing on the power of past events on the present, describes events as "that relatively rare subclass of happenings that significantly transforms structures" (Sewell 2005: 100). In popular sociological theory, thus, events have already been treated as transformative elements of human life. Also following Sahlins (1991), Sewell sees events as the sole force shaking up the routine practices governing social life, and focuses on events, the uncertainty and, following this uncertainty, the creativity, which go along with them, in his explanations of social change (cf. Sewell 1996).

Of course, social movements as major forces of social change also rely on the power of events in the protests and movement events they organize. In the article "It's about Time: Temporality in the Study of Social Movements and Revolutions", McAdam and Sewell (2001) first apply Sewell´s notion of events to social movement events. Taking the example of the Montgomery Bus Boycott as an event of the Civil Rights Movement, they conceptualize the term *transformative event* as SM events which "become turning points in structural change, concentrated moments of political and cultural creativity when the logic of historical development is reconfigured by human action" (McAdam/ Sewell 2001: 102). Later on, the

transformative event has also been described as "a crucial turning point for a social movement that dramatically increases or decreases the level of mobilization" (Hess/ Martin 2006: 249).

If one takes a look at these definitions, once more, structuration or structural transformation refers only to the macro structures of the Social Movement Sector or the political sector. As much as the resource mobilization approach focuses on large SMOs and their structuration by macro-level forces, these conceptions of events describe how large-scale events by already-formalized SMOs influence the society-wide political structure and/or mobilization structure. In recent years, this focus has been countered by several SM scholars.

In one of the first major critiques of Sewell´s conception of events, Patterson has pointed out how "minor, unnoticed events" (Patterson 2007: 1288) can lead to changes in social structure over time (ibid.) – but again, he only thinks of the macro-structural changes accounted for by events. Lately, Della Porta (2008) and Meyer and Kimeldorf (2015) have begun to look at the effects of social movement events on the SMOs themselves. In what they term *eventful subjectivity*, Meyer and Kimeldorf (2015) focus on the effect of smaller movement events on their participants, especially in the way this sort of collective action can, on an individual level, lead to changes in world views and self-perception (433). Closest to the subject of this thesis, however, is Donatella Della Porta´s analysis of European protest events (2008). Here, she widens the scope of the transformative event and finds that in it, "new tactics are experimented with, signals about the possibility of collective action are sent […] [and] organizational networks consolidate" (4). Other than McAdam and Sewell, who focus on the transformative potential of social movement events on macro structures, and Meyer and Kimeldorf, who focus on individual micro-level transformations, Della Porta looks at changes within the social movement itself, at protest events transforming organizational structures of SMOs. Müller (2017) also combines several of these approaches in her book about the 2011 Durban Climate Conference.

At this point, it is also necessary to discuss some characteristics of events that make them particularly *eventful* in the sense that they are at least potentially able to transform structures. In Sewell´s point of view, what makes events transformative is their "surprising break with routine practices" (Sewell 2005: 227) – they are, essentially, singular and unprecedented. A similar conception of the event has been voiced by Sahlins (1991). Apart from this unexpectedness, Della Porta also finds other traits of transformative events to be relevant: They are connective in the sense that they bring together individuals or groups who have not converged before but experience a sudden sense of collective identity in the event (Della Porta 2008: 4). This community-aspect is also coupled with a focus on communication and emotionality during the event (ibid.: 23). Hitzler (2012), although no social movement scholar, has fittingly brought these distinct elements of transformative social movement events together in his conception of the *mega-event* as "*aus unserem Alltag herausgehobene […], raumzeitlich-verdichtete, performativ-interaktive Ereignisse mit hoher Anziehungskraft und oft auch einiger Erinnerungsträchtigkeit für relativ viele Menschen*" (77f).

However, while events and the structures they transform have been described in SM research, no research exists dealing with the question of *how exactly* organizational events shape the structure of SMOs in the long term. Della Porta describes some features of protest events that make them transformative and addresses some of the structural changes caused by these events, but she does not explain the relationship of event on the one and change in structure on the other hand by its underlying mechanisms, "the nuts, bolts, cogs, and wheels that link causes with effects" (Campbell 2005: 42). This bachelor thesis will look more closely at how SM events change the organizational structure of SMOs – and it will do so by using concepts of organizational theory, since this sociological branch has dealt with the processes and mechanisms behind the structuration of organizations long before SM studies has.

2.2.3 Insights from organizational sociology

Before looking at how structures and processes form and change in an organization, it is worth noting how organizational studies (and SM scholars influenced by it) describe these structures in the first place. Commonly seen as the development and relation of hierarchical positions and roles in an organization (Abraham/ Büschges 2009: 131), organizational structure consists of five main dimensions: a) the degree of *specialization*, the division of labor into a finite amount of different positions within an organization (Kieser/ Walgenbach 2010: 73), b) the degree of *coordination* between these positions, e.g. via command chains, programs, plans or organizational culture (ibid.: 100), c) the degree of *configuration*, the amount of hierarchical levels and their relationship towards one another (ibid.: 127f) going together with d) the *degree to which decisions are delegated*, the allocation of competences to make decisions or command other members of the organization throughout the hierarchical levels (ibid.: 151-155) and e) the degree of *formalization*, the written specification of organizational processes e.g. through job descriptions and organigrams (ibid.: 157). Building up on such insights from organizational theory, one of the most accurate accounts of the organizational structures of SMOs, in particular, has been given by Kriesi (1996). Here, SMO structuration is divided into *internal structuration* as those parts of an organization governing internal dynamics – "formal membership criteria, […] formal statutes, […] formal leadership, […] paid staff members who make careers out of movement work" (154) – and *external structuration* as those parts governing external dynamics – "the SMO´s relation with its constituency, its allies, and the authorities" (ibid.: 155).

Now, how do organizational structures form and change? One of the most popular sociological answers to the general question of how *social* structures change has been given by Giddens as part of his structuration theory (cf. Giddens 1984). Without going into too much detail deriving from the topic of this thesis, Giddens´ main argument can be summarized as follows: Social actors are as much passively produced by the structures and institutions within their society as they themselves produce and reproduce them in an active manner. Giddens calls

this *duality of structure* (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Türk 2000: 19). Even though Giddens is no organizational sociologist, his theories have been pointed out and applied by many actual exponents of the discipline. Ortmann, Sydow and Türk (2000) argue that most organizational theories see organizations either as totally dependent on the macro-level structures forming them (e.g. in institutional theory) or as similarly *in*dependent (e.g. in rational choice theory) (17). The authors criticize a paradigm-pluralism in organizational theory, where such divergent theories are all seen as equally essential but deny each other´s relevance and never include both views into one coherent concept (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Türk 2000: 21f). They pledge for theories combining the two views, describing organizations as both formed by supra-organizational forces and expectations, and creatively re-shaping these expectations – in their view, organizations are part of both social stability and social change (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Winkeler 2000: 334).

It comes as no surprise that in *Social Movements and Organization Theory* (2005), a book very relevant to this bachelor thesis as it investigates how organizational theory can help SM studies and vice versa, similar notions of institutionalism vs. human agency are also debated. While both Campbell (Ch. 2) and Armstrong (Ch. 6) explore the creativity expressed by organizations and SMOs in shaping their own, and also broader, supra-organizational structures, Scully and Creed (Ch. 11) warn that while "´[b]ringing agents back in´ was a needed corrective […] the pendulum can swing too far toward an account of agents inventing completely new repertoires" (Scully/ Creed 2005: 321). They insist that "original insights of institutional theory remain relevant" (ibid.). Where both approaches meet - and where McAdam and Scott (Ch. 1), as well as Davis and Zald (Ch. 12), also find the most "important benefits […] reaped by SM and OS scholars" (McAdam/ Scott 2005: 38) when working together – is in a focus on structures and processes (ibid.), as well as on a "field-level perspective on organizations and movements, and the centrality of social mechanisms to the types of theoretical explanations that are produced" (Davis/ Zald 2005: 348). SM studies (and this thesis) can only benefit from recent organizational theories that fulfill the abovementioned criteria while also following Ortmann, Sydow and Türk´s plea for theories seeing organizations as both acting and acted-upon.

2.2.4 Neoinstitutionalism and path dependence

This thesis will investigate the effects of events on the organizational structure of a SMO by adopting two concepts from organizational sociology which best resemble the focus set by the research question and the demands of a work situated between SM and organizational studies. The first of these concepts is neoinstitutional theory, which has been popularized in the US by scholars like Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1991). In short, this theory counters efficiency-based explanations of organizational structures (as in rational choice theory) by arguing that organizations adopt structures from other actors of the wider organizational field to accelerate their legitimacy (McAdam/ Scott 2005: 8) – hence, organizational structures

are not based on individual, rational decisions but on irrational, unquestioned inputs and expectations of the socio-political environment of the organization (Kieser/ Walgenbach 2010: 44). The power of institutions is stressed, but other than in former institutional theory, there is an element of human agency attached to it, in that organizations can also change the institutions that shape them (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Türk 2000: 31).

The second concept to be applied in this thesis is that of path dependence, which describes the influence of earlier events and decisions on later organizational structures. According to Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch (2009), a path for this kind of organizational structuration develops during a phase characterized by a "broad scope of action […] [and] options" (691) for the organizational structure. Almost randomly, a decision for one of these options is made and "amount[s] to a small event" (ibid.), which, by showcasing a first form of the structure and some of the benefits that go along with it, limits the choice of options for the future – Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch speak of a *critical juncture* (ibid.). The new structure manifests itself in a following process of "positive, self-reinforcing feedback" (ibid.: 696) until it becomes the only possible structure and is *locked in* in the sense that more efficient structural solutions in the future are not even considered (ibid.). Some necessary characteristics of a path dependent development include the non-predictability of outcome in early phases of the process, as well as inflexibility and inefficiency of the eventual structure in subsequent phases (ibid.: 691).

What makes both concepts applicable for a thesis analyzing the influence of events on the organizational form of a SMO is, first of all, that they offer concrete explanations for the development of organizational structures. Moreover, as Ortmann, Sydow and Türk argue when naming both theories as coming closest to Giddens´ structural theory, both neoinstitutionalism (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Türk 2000: 29ff) and path dependence (Ortmann/ Sydow/ Winkeler 2000: 335) account for the duality of active production and passive re-production of structure by organizations - as well as, in the case of path-dependence, a duality of coincidence and necessity.

The concepts also meet the demands Davis and Zald (2005) set for SM research based on organizational studies. For one, the organizational field is integrated into the explanation, especially in neoinstitutionalism. Furthermore, both neoinstitutional theory and the concept of path dependence contain special mechanisms linking causes and effects of the structuration they describe. In the case of neoinstitutionalism, apart from the simple adoption of structures, *bricolage* is one of the most poignant mechanisms: It describes how organizational actors, while interacting with the organizational field, get to know a (limited) set of structural principles out of which they can build their own structures and processes, and do not simply adopt them but creatively recombine the elements, coming up with something entirely new (Campbell 1997: 22). Again, here, actors are constrained by the institutions surrounding them (as only some structural principles are available), but they also actively shape their own structure, showcasing human agency (ibid.: 26). The concept of path dependence also entails significant mechanisms, the feedback mechanisms, that feed the success of a certain structural path.

Such a path is manifested, mostly, because it brings certain benefits which make actors decide for its structures and processes time and time again (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 696). The repetition in itself also leads to further feedback mechanisms such as learning and coordination effects (Schützeichel 2015: 104f).

Last but not least, both concepts also make possible a focus on events as structure-altering elements. Events are crucial building blocks for any path dependence, as they constitute the realm for initial decisions and/or critical junctures (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 691). Like McAdam and Sewell (2001) in their conception of transformative events, path dependence theory holds that events at one stage significantly transform structures at a later stage. Neoinstitutional theory, too, can encompass events as scenes where expectations are imposed on organizations by actors of the organizational field that are participating in the events. Moreover, neoinstitutionalism might also further enrich path dependent explanations. Mahoney (2004) has noted how organizations which are part of strong networks with other actors from the organizational field experience stronger feedback mechanisms of new structures, hastening their path dependence. Additionally, neoinstitutional influences on significant phases of the path dependence, like the initial decision and the critical juncture, are also conceivable.

2.3 Research hypotheses

Following the state of research, various hypotheses now become essential in order to prove the thesis that the Kinsale Community Events indeed served as organizational "path-blazers" with regards to the eventual organizational structure of TTK. *Initially*, a (trans-)formation of the structure of TTK needs to be established. Working with insights from organizational theory and SM research (cf. chapter 2.2.3), organizational structure will be broken down into two categories: formalization and centralization. While *formalization* describes the degree to which TTK has a formal structure, a hierarchy, a tax status and a president (to name a few examples), *centralization* refers to the distribution of competences across the organization: Are TTK-related decisions made and resources spent only by the core members or also by members outside of the steering committee - or does TTK even allow actors outside of the organization altogether to have such competences? The first hypothesis of this bachelor thesis holds that the college project and related proceedings, up until TTK´s official foundation by the end of 2006, were formalized only to a small degree and centralized to a much higher one. With the formation and foundation of the SMO, however, a quick formalization and decentralization – including a flexible network structure - happened, which defined the SMO from there on. Thus, the Kinsale Community Events stand in the middle of a radical (trans-)formation process with regards to the organizational structure of the emerging TTK.

Secondly, the Kinsale Community Events – the Open Space Event as well as the Peak Oil Conference – need to be analyzed regarding their eventfulness. Taking up Sewell´s and

Sahlin´s conceptions of events, a transformation of structures is only caused by significant events; following Hitzler´s definition (cf. chapter 2.2.2), this thesis needs to prove three aspects of the eventfulness and significance of the KCE in particular: a) the community involvement happening during the events – both as a felt sense of integration and a practical performance aspect of the participants, b) the attraction of the events with regards to their overall success and c) their singularity, their non-routine character and memorability. The second hypothesis holds that the KCE were indeed community-involving through various performative elements and the evocation of a sort of collective identity of their participants; the events moreover attracted many people and had high attendance figures; lastly, they were also very singular – therefore, the events were eventful and at least potentially transformative.

Thirdly, the (trans-)formation of TTK structures could have originated in the events due to the neoinstitutional influences they included. The KCE could have been the space in which legitimacy-based expectations of actors (cf. DiMaggio/ Powell 1991) from the organizational field attending the events culminated and were adopted by TTK as a direct effect of this. The third hypothesis holds that the KCE were a culmination of a neoinstitutional structuration, as actors from the wider environmental field, for the first and most pressing time, voiced their expectations regarding a needed structuration, formalization and decentralization of what would become TTK; it also implicates that these expectations were met in a following process of either simple adoption of the structural principles suggested in the events, or by means of a *bricolage*, where the principles were re-combined in a creative way.

Fourthly, the (trans-)formation of TTK structures could also have originated as part of a path dependent structuration that included the KCE as a key element. Following path dependence theory, the events could have constituted a critical juncture funneling the choice of paths for the future organizational structure of TTK to a minimum – ultimately leading to the lock-in of a potentially inefficient structure. The fourth hypothesis holds that the events directly followed Hopkins´ decision to start a new project bringing together permaculture principles and the needs of the wider community, as a starting point for the path dependent process; that the events established a prototype of the eventual *decentralization* of TTK, and by its subsequent success and feedback mechanisms, directly led to the lock-in of this decentral network structure; that the events also directly influenced the decision to bring the Energy Descent Action Plan to the town council, which again established a first prototype of the later *formalization* of TTK, and by its success and feedback mechanisms, also led to the lock-in of this formalized structure; and that these structural elements were at least potentially inefficient.

Lastly, neoinstitutional processes and mechanisms could also have influenced the above-mentioned path dependent development of TTK structures. The fifth hypothesis holds that Hopkins´ first decision to conceptualize a college project for the community of Kinsale, and the decision to organize the KCE in their exact form, as well as the decision to bring the EDAP to the council, were influenced by expectations and structural principles of the wider

organizational field; it also holds that the decisions formed by either adopting or creatively combining - in the form of a *bricolage* - these principles and expectations.

3 The research methods

This chapter will take a brief look at the research methods used in this study. Initially, the study design and methodical approach - more specifically the qualitative methods of qualitative, semi-structured interviews, their selective transcription and their interpretation via qualitative content analysis - will be introduced and justified. In the second subchapter, the eventual process of data acquisition and analysis prior to the writing of the final thesis will be detailed.

3.1 Study design and methodical approach

An empirical study looking at distinct events and processes requires a methodical approach allowing it to look at details and specifics, not at general tendencies or universal causal relations. Therefore, a qualitative approach is necessary, because it is able to study social phenomena from the inside, taking a look at individuals and their interaction (Brinkmann/ Kvale 2018: *ix-x*). As a way of data acquisition and analysis which focuses on understanding singular proceedings and coherences (Mayring 2010: 17-25), it is perfect for the kind of research question and hypotheses this bachelor thesis deals with.

As a first part of the qualitative approach, I made use of qualitative interviews as means of data acquisition. The interviews were necessary, because only limited information existed regarding the early events and goings-on of Hopkins´ college project, the Kinsale Community Events and, especially, the structure and structuration of the SMO Transition Town Kinsale as a result of that. This thesis draws from existing sources – especially Rob Hopkins´ book *The Transition Handbook* (2008) and early entries from his blog *transitionculture.org* – for the general description of TTK, its background and development, e.g. in chapter 2.1. However, the actual analysis in the following chapters will be almost exclusively based on the interviews, as they provide a much denser description of the experiences of key protagonists regarding the events, the organizational structure of the college project and the later SMO, as well as the processes behind the structuration. As Atkinson (2017) writes with regards to the benefits of qualitative interviews dealing with activist events, they "allow for the activists to describe tactics, relationships, group dynamics, and performances associated with the event; interviews also give activists the opportunity to assess the impact of the events on their community, a social movement, or society" (161).

The interviews were semi-structured (cf. Helfferich 2014). As their goal was to assess facts and test loose hypotheses that were already established prior to the interviews, based on the

state of research, this structure made possible a clear focus for the interview – the guideline included questions on the structure and structuration of TTK and the early events and proceedings in the development of the SMO – while also allowing new insights to be gained.

After the completion of the interviews, a structuring, selective transcription was used. A verbatim transcription was not necessary, as the research question focused the interview on a phenomenological level, on facts, and not on discourse and rhetorical issues. The selective transcription was mainly due to time restrictions, as it proved to be an efficient way to cut parts of the interview answers that steered away too far from the questions and theoretical framework of the thesis, without having to transcribe them first.

Another key part of the methodology of this research paper was the application of qualitative content analysis (QCA) as a qualitative tool to analyze the interview data. In the conception of Mayring (2010) and Schreier (2012), this technique focuses on clear-set codes and categories for the interview data to be analyzed with, as well as a very thorough and detailed record-keeping of the analytical process. Thereby, the data analysis becomes comprehensible; the coding frame as analytical tool can be tested and re-tested by a number of various coders and, thus, scientific quality criteria like objectivity, reliability and validity can be assured as part of the qualitative process (Mayring 2010: 29, 123-127). The coding frame is also valuable as it, in the ideal case, is both concept-driven (codes based on theoretical assumptions) and, during the process of the QCA, data-driven (enhancement of codes and establishment of new codes due to new insights from the data). Hence, the frame can also be improved before the final coding analysis (Schreier 2012: 87ff). Like the semi-structured interview, QCA makes possible an analytical focus based on the state of research while allowing new insights to be integrated into the theory, as well.

3.2 Documentation of data acquisition and data analysis

During a six-week stay in Kinsale, Ireland, in March and April 2018, I conducted the first six interviews with people associated with TTK in various ways: With Alan Clayton, Elizabeth Creed and Klaus Harvey[1], I spoke to three members of the first official steering committee of TTK, formed in December 2006. All three of them had only gotten involved with the project in the summer and autumn of that year, but they stayed vital to the organization during the next years that saw TTK´s structure formalize and some of its greatest successes accomplished. Further interviews with Thomas Riedmüller (owner of ´The Hollies´ and close friend of Hopkins during his years in Kinsale), Catherine Dunne (one of the main organizers of the POC and one of the two students bringing the EDAP to the town council) and John Thuillier (principle of Kinsale College during TTK´s foundational years) helped highlight the early phases of TTK´s

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[1] All seven interviewees agreed to be referred to by their real name.

development and, especially, the shape and role of the KCE. On July 26th, I additionally conducted, as the seventh and final interview, a video interview with Rob Hopkins, who was at his office in Totnes, England, at the time. All interviewees were recruited by means of contacting current members of TTK and following recommendations for people particularly close to the foundational years of TTK. Hence, recent members of TTK, who would also have been available during my stay, were not chosen as the recruitment process focused on persons closely associated to TTK by the end of 2006, at the latest. The duration of the interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to one and a half hours.

The selective transcription was conducted between the 16th and 23rd of July, with the eventual transcriptions ranging from two to four pages in length. Beginning on the 24th, the QCA was prepared by producing a coding frame as analytical tool for the interviews. The coding frame was mainly concept-driven, based on the theoretical hypotheses I had already established. However, it also became data-driven after a test coding of the first version of the coding frame. The test especially showed that neoinstitutional influences were not covered enough by the frame and that the town council decision needed to be included into the path dependence, as well. The final coding frame consisted of the five main dimensions "Structure of TTK", "Eventfulness of the Kinsale Community Events", "Events as culmination of neoinstitutional structuration", "Events as part of a path dependent structuration" and "Neoinstitutional influences on path dependent structuration" (for more detail cf. the attached coding frame). The QCA was completed on August 3rd. Its results serve as the basis for the following analysis of the influence of the Kinsale Community Events on the organizational structure of TTK. The structure of the coding frame has also been re-used for the sub-chapters. The following findings will mainly consist of the results of the QCA[2]. It must also be noted that for some specific details, I relied on internal documents of TTK (cf. Creed, appendix), outlining the first steering committee meetings from December 2006 onwards.

4 The Kinsale Community Events as organizational "path-blazers"

In the course of this chapter, the findings of the study will be presented. Following the research hypotheses, as well as the coding frame of the QCA, there will be a thematic division into four parts. First of all, the findings regarding a proposed (trans-)formation of TTK´s organizational structure from informal, centralized college project to formalized and decentralized SMO will be detailed. The second subchapter will deal with the eventfulness of the Kinsale Community Event – justifying their possibly transformative impact on TTK. In the third subchapter, the processes and mechanisms of neoinstitutionalism and path dependence will be

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[2] The interview findings will be referenced by the number of the coding units they come from (cf. also coding sheet, appendix). 3.20, e.g., means the 20th coding unit extracted from interview 3.

applied to TTK´s foundational process, in order to account for a de-facto transformative, or "path-blazing", impact of the Kinsale Community Events on TTK´s organizational structure.

4.1 The (trans-)formation of TTK´s organizational structure

The focus of this study – investigating the effects of an event on the organizational structure of a SMO – necessarily requires that there was a transformation of structure to begin with. In the case of TTK, of course, the difference in structure before and after the events is quite clear as it was not only a transformation but rather a formation: Out of a simple college project a community organization in the shape of a small SMO developed. Dividing its eventual structure into the two parts *formalization* and *decentralization*, the organizational shifts the college project witnessed following the KCE, up until TTK´s finalized structure, will be dealt with in the course of this chapter.

Formalization

Not any group of people working together for some greater good can be considered a SMO, even if its goals are closely aligned to a social movement: According to McCarthy and Zald, above all, it needs to take the form of a "complex, or formal, organization" (McCarthy/ Zald 2009: 197). Therefore, it needs to have the components of any formal organization: Most importantly, it needs to be set up on purpose and needs to have some sort of hierarchy with a center of power at the top end. Additionally, the organization should have resources and a relatively permanent structure based on the division of labor (Abraham/ Büschges 2009: 57). Some more specific components considered important by Edwards (1994) and Kriesi (1996) with regards to the features of a formal SMO are a legal status, membership criteria, the differentiation of formal functions like president, secretary or treasurer (Kriesi 1996: 172), as well as a board, a federal tax status and a formalized annual budget (Edwards 1994: 321). Developing such features will be considered a *formalization of structure* in this study.

When Hopkins and his students started conceiving the Energy Descent Action Plan and the KCE, of course, nearly none of the abovementioned features existed. Although the typical college situation involved a teacher-student hierarchy (cf. *Int7:* 7.7) and a division of labor in the form of student groups, each researching one aspect considered in the plan – "two people would look at food, two at energy and so on" (7.5) – there was neither a permanent structure nor the more specific elements like president, treasurer or a federal tax status within the college project group. This informality of structure – while undergoing a slight formalizing shift due to the town council meeting (cf. chapter 4.3.2) – still persisted in the summer and autumn of 2006, before citizens like Alan Clayton and Elizabeth Creed first got involved. While interviewee (Int) 4 noted that "Transition Town wasn´t that coherently born yet" (*Int4*: 4.28), Int2 insisted more clearly that there was still no real structure (*Int2*: 2.4). Even though a sort of committee had

been established as part of the non-profit company *Transition Design*, no specific roles were formalized, nor a hierarchy or an official bank account (Creed, appendix).

When Klaus Harvey joined in November 2006, there was already a chair person (*Int6*: 6.12) – this was after the foundation of the finalized organization Transition Town Kinsale took place in October 2006, with the opening of a bank account and a federal tax status (Creed, appendix). Quickly, that winter, a more hierarchical structure developed with the establishment of a steering committee, a chairperson, treasurer, secretary and public relation officer (ibid.), as well as several subgroups (*Int3*: 3.15). The interviewees described the quick formation process of the committee and subcommittees "looking at the things that were talked about in the plan, things like energy, transport, food, schools and education" (2.3) – and even "an art subgroup linking with the local art-festival" (6.3). The steering committee met once a month and included about a dozen people from the subgroups (2.5) including the chairman, treasurer and secretary (2.12). Transition Town Kinsale had become a formal organization. As a group whose goal – trying to put the matters of the EDAP into practice in Kinsale (2.3), making the town more sustainable – is compatible with the preferences of the larger environmental social movement (and, later, also the global Transition Town movement), TTK can, since its final inception by the end of 2006, be considered a small but formal SMO.

Decentralization

A second important part of the structural change/formation of TTK is the degree to which decision and command competences, as well as resources, are decentralized within the organization. A centralized SMO would have a central committee at the top of the hierarchy, pooling resources and competences and thereby being the only central controlling and coordinating organ in the entire organization. A decentralized SMO, on the other hand, distributes resources and competences more equally, e.g. by a decentralization of decisions, where decision power is relegated to the lower hierarchical levels, or by high participation of all levels within a consensus decision-making process (Kieser/ Walgenbach 2010: 155f).

An extremely decentralized organizational form is the sort of network organization Castells (2000) describes: In his analysis, due to improved electronic communication, organizations tend to form network structures– as "Reihe[n] miteinander verknüpfter Knoten" (431) – more and more frequently (ibid.: 423), and they do so both internally and with other organizations (ibid.: 427). In the case of internal organizational networks, lower organizational levels are both autonomous from the higher levels and, also, dependent on them. They are independent, because they have their own resources and total decision control over their part of the network, but they are also restricted because coordinated communication and a common aim are still an important part of organizations who have a network structure (ibid.: 432). Taking a look at the *(de)centralization of structure* within TTK, both the way in which resources and decision

powers are distributed within the organization and the degree to which TTK also gives some of these powers to actors outside of its body now become important.

In the Energy Descent project of Hopkins and his students at Kinsale College, the structure was neither especially centralized nor decentralized. While Hopkins placed value on participation in the process of researching for and writing the EDAP (7.12) – and, significantly, gave away many decision competences in the planning of the Peak Oil Conference (4.2, 4.13) – the final EDAP was mainly conceived by Hopkins himself (*Int1*: 1.13). Similarly, investigating the way the project incorporated the wider environment (namely, the community of Kinsale), first attempts to integrate this community can be noted - but it was "in no way like the community involvement that would come later" (7.13). The students went around town in researching their projects and important politicians and business owners from Kinsale were invited into class (ibid.), but after all, as Int3 notes, the final plan was "written by students, you know, with their own bias, without engaging effectively with the town" (3.10). Thus, the EDAP was the vision of the students, not that of the wider community (3.25).

As soon as TTK had formalized by the end of 2006, it also embraced a very decentral approach in the delegation of resources and its decision-making processes. Within TTK´s core (the steering committee), consensus decision making became the rule: "We had roles – we had a chair person, a secretary, a treasurer – but none of them were in charge" (6.9). Nowadays, decisions which have consequences for the entire organization have to be agreed upon by all members of TTK´s core. An example for this was given by Int3: A new community group called *Plastic Free Kinsale* asked TTK to help them apply for funding under their umbrella. As this concerned TTK as a whole, the decision to help was only made after an email consultation of all core members of the SMO (3.28).

TTK´s steering committee does not organize any projects on its own. The various events and projects that TTK has arranged over the years have all been organized in sub-committees and working groups. Approaching a network structure similar to Castells´ conception of network organizations, the steering committee quickly saw itself as merely "the glue of it all" (3.17), a group of people at the center of various, highly independent projects (ibid.). Thus, the core of TTK acted as a facilitator providing resources, taking care of funding and insurance, and giving input regarding political, socio-economic and technical implications of a project, but the power to decide and to spend those resources lay entirely in the lower hierarchical levels, the working groups organizing the projects (3.16, 3.19). That way, not only action but also vision was given into the hands of the community: "It was not about ´come and fix that for me´, but about you coming with an idea and this network will support you to do it. ´What would you like to do?´ That´s how we did things" (3.26). For example, the ´Education for Sustainability´ project mentioned in chapter 2.1 was set up by people outside of TTK´s core who applied for funding under the umbrella of TTK and set the project up as part of the food working group (3.19). Of course,

TTK´s original members also came up with their own project ideas, but these were planned in the same way, being channeled through one of the sub-committees (2.11, 3.26).

As part of an active participation process, TTK also tried to get input for future projects as much as possible through consulting the local population: There was a monthly meeting open to all citizens (3.30), as well as open space events trying to work out some of the points of the original EDAP more closely with the community from Kinsale (3.12). Furthermore, TTK organized several events aimed at creating a conversation with local business, church and other community leaders about the topics TTK dealt with (local food, sustainable tourism, energy or transport), deliberately outsourcing some of the intra-organizational decision processes. In conclusion, the two most important elements of TTK´s (trans-)formation from college project to formalized community organization are a shift from informal to formal organization and an accompanying decentralization of resources and decision competences.

4.2 The eventfulness of the Kinsale Community Events

Building up on research concerning transformative (social movement) events (cf., e.g., Sewell 2005, Della Porta 2008), as well as Hitzler´s definition of the *mega-event* (cf. chapter 2.2.2), the eventfulness of the KCE – and therefore, following Sahlins (1991) and Sewell (2005), their transformative potential – can be analyzed using three characteristics. First of all, the attraction of the events, the amount of people participating in them (also in relation to the expected number of participants). Secondly, the community-integrative aspect of the events, encompassing on the one hand the *means* of integration, such as communicative and performative elements (do participants actively perform, are they given a forum for discussions in the events?), and, on the other hand, the *sense* of integration, some sort of collective identity felt by the participants of the KCE. Thirdly, the singularity of the events, containing all the elements making them unique – their non-routineness (cf. Sahlins 1991, Sewell 2005), emotionality (cf. Della Porta 2008) or their memorability (cf. Hitzler 2012). Certainly, the Peak Oil Conference was the more eventful of the two KCE – but still, the Open Space Event also incorporated all of these elements to a certain degree.

Beginning with the attraction of the events, both events were considered a success by Hopkins and his students. Especially the Peak Oil Conference was attended by a high number of people – "it was packed" (7.26). Hopkins was especially surprised by the amount of attendees coming from Kinsale, because in his former experience, Kinsale´s rather conservative population had usually viewed the college as a curious, quite radical place and considered it separate from their own life (7.24). Apart from these participants outside of the normal target audience, many people from within the Peak Oil and environmental movement also attended the event, arriving from a number of different Irish places, and even other countries (4.10, 4.23). On the other hand, regarding the attraction of the Open Space Event, Int1 criticized that most

participants were from the college, anyway (1.9), while Int3, then a simple participant (and one of those not associated with the college), experienced the OSE as a successful event attracting a relatively high number of people from town (3.1).

Now how were those attending the events integrated into the proceedings? For one, both POC and OSE were open for the general public and were promoted in town (7.23). The OSE, then, through its very structure, involved the participants to a high degree. With no speakers interrupting the discussions among all attendees, the communicative and performative aspect was, of course, very high among the participants (cf. 1.17). While the POC, on the other hand, was mainly based around speeches by Richard Heinberg, David Holmgren or Hopkins himself, it also included communal tea breaks and lunchtime (4.19), as well as a discussion-based event, where participants told stories and sang together (4.20). Participation of community members during the event also included the volunteers from town and from the college (7.28). Another important aspect was the compactness of the event space (mainly, a big tent in the car park of the college): According to Int4, "[i]t was small enough that when people spoke, the conversations were happening and emerging in the space" (4.19).

As a result of the integrative and performative elements of the events, the participants were drawn into the world of Hopkins and his students, a world full of Peak Oil fears but also hope in the future of environmental action - a collective identity developed. In the OSE, the community members contributed extensively in the discussions, leading to flip chart write-ups of topics the participants had identified (1.10). At the end of the POC, similarly, Int4 described some emotional moments where several attendees "asked what they were going to do" and gave standing ovations (4.16). As they felt part of the community facing the dangers of a Peak Oil world, preparing to act against it, several participants also started environmental projects on their own, being inspired by the event. Int4 described the energy in the POC as "good and positive and looking-forward" (4.23) and gave an example of the activism sparked by it: An attendee from the United States, once back home, started a permaculture project called *The Resilience Hub* in New England, ultimately gaining about 17000 members (4.23).

Finally, some of the elements of the KCE explaining their singularity will be discussed. The OSE was the first time Rob Hopkins tried out the open space technology (7.9) – thus, it was definitely non-routine. Int3 also described the event as interesting and insightful (3.2). The POC, then, was unique and peculiar for a number of reasons. First of all, for most participants, the speeches were shocking in their new insights regarding the dangers of Peak Oil (4.3, 4.5, 4.9) and the radical suggestions the speakers offered in order to survive it:

> I remember [Heinberg] speaking very strongly about our need for population control. At one stage he talked about how yeast multiply and he asked: ´Are we more intelligent than yeast?´ […] On stage, Rob recommended that the best thing you could do was throw out the TV. (4.5, 4.17)

Then again, the POC was also described as "really, really lovely" (7.27) and "stand[ing] out as a moment in time" (4.15) because of the emotional moments, especially due to the collective identity evoked by the conference. Last but not least, as Int4 described, the event also took on

a particular tone and very emotional singularity as it was following a tragedy in Hopkins´ life: By the end of 2004 (1.4), shortly before Hopkins could complete the first wood cabin in ´The Hollies´, the designated family home had been destroyed in a deliberate fire, leaving Hopkins and his family with little money, no place to sleep and the sense that they were not wanted by their immediate community (4.21, 4.22). Organizing and following through with the POC, then, had "a sense of rising from the ashes […] [and] had a very personal element to it: a group of friends coming together in the aftermath of a tragedy to try and do something positive" (4.21).

The KCE, it follows, were certainly eventful for both the participants and the organizers, Hopkins and his (former) students. Both event forms were the first of their kind for everyone involved and significantly disrupted the routines and structures of the college project. Their singularity, their focus on community involvement, and their overall success – signaled by the high attendance – paved the way for a possible (trans-)formation of structure in their aftermath, which, in the detailed processes and mechanisms of neoinstitutionalism and path dependence theory, will be set forth in the following chapter.

4.3 The influence of the KCE on TTK´s organizational structure

This subchapter will look at the distinct processes and mechanisms, by which the Kinsale Community Events impacted TTK´s organizational structure. At first, the research hypothesis of a neoinstitutional culmination of legitimacy-based expectations in the KCE, leading to increased structuration pressure, will be tested. The second part investigates in how far the events, as critical junctures, could have been a vital part of a path dependent structuration process – and it will depict the distinct phases of this path dependence in detail. In the end, possible neoinstitutional influences on the path dependent process will be brought forward.

4.3.1 KCE as culmination of neoinstitutional structuration

An organization´s environment is the key element of its survival. Without the wider community - its individuals, groups or political entities - especially local organizations would have no personal, material or financial resources to work with (Abraham/ Büschges 2009: 242). It is in its environment that organizations find money and members, as well as consumers of their services (ibid.: 348). Therefore, it is only natural that the decisions an organization makes will rely on its wider environment, first and foremost. Neoinstitutional theory, brought forward by Meyer and Rowan (1977), as well as DiMaggio and Powell (1991), now holds that the influences of the wider environment are bundled in its institutions – "[n]ot norms and values but taken-for-granted scripts, rules and classifications […] independent of any particular entity to which moral allegiance might be owed" (DiMaggio/ Powell 1991: 15). The institutions encompass all the specific social expectations of what an organization should act like, and how it

should be formed. Neoinstitutional scholars believe that these expectations impact any or-organizational decision, not only the characteristics directly concerning the consumers but also intra-organizational procedures (Kieser/ Walgenbach 2010: 44). In order to raise their legitimacy and survive, organizations - and the same goes for SMOs (Edwards 1994: 328) - act accordingly to these expectations, no matter how inefficient the thus-developed structures and processes may be.

As this thesis now takes a look at the impact of the KCE on the eventual structure of TTK, one working hypothesis is that in the events, TTK´s environment, more specifically the institutions surrounding TTK in Kinsale and the wider environmental movement, raised some expectations of how the college project should continue, how it should act or formalize in the future – and that TTK set these expectations into practice in order to increase its legitimacy. As the most visible and influential institutional actors (DiMaggio/ Powell 1991: 13), representatives of the larger organizational – in TTK´s case, environmental – field will be taken into account most prominently.

The Open Space Event was mainly aimed at the community of Kinsale. Hopkins and his students invited "all our contacts and connections, everybody we knew in Kinsale" (7.23). However, most of them were private persons and neither them nor the more institutional actors – e.g. the mayor of Kinsale who held an opening speech (Hopkins 2006b) – raised any specific expectations of the project beyond the limits of the EDAP.

The Peak Oil Conference, on the other hand, involved many actors from the wider environmental field: Peak Oil scholars Richard Heinberg and Colin Campbell, permaculture teacher David Holmgren, Eamonn Ryan from the Irish Green Party, as well as a number of environmental engineers (1.12, 4.5). Especially Heinberg and Holmgren were huge influences for Hopkins, and the POC constituted the first time he met either of them (7.25). On the one hand, Heinberg did raise some expectations during the event: According to Hopkins, he saw the EDAP and its "historic opportunity" (7.32) and suggested to Hopkins and his students to do something more with it than just leaving it be as a successful college project. He wondered if Kinsale could not aim at implementing it (ibid.) and therefore, his expectations as a member of the wider environmental field were a "big factor" (7.34) in the decision of Rooney and Dunne to bring the plan before the town council (ibid.), leading to TTK´s formalization.

Thus, a certain degree of neoinstitutional influences cannot be denied during the events. On the other hand, however, nothing entirely new came out of the interaction with people like Holmgren and Heinberg, as Int1 stated: "Es war schön, dass […] man die Leute mal kennenlernt […] das hat aber nichts Neues in die beginnende Bewegung gebracht" (1.16). The prime reason for that is that the events did not constitute Hopkins´ first encounter with the ideas of permaculture and Peak Oil, as they had influenced him ever since the beginning of the project (7.1, 7.25). Secondly, the final outcome, the community organization TTK and its structure, derived heavily from permaculture principles and had a much wider conception of

sustainability and the elements involving it as the very agriculture-centric permaculture approach (*Int5*, 5.7). The structure was also not adopted from the Peak Oil movement, which had never birthed a community project before (7.11, 7.35). All in all, the impact of the KCE on the organizational structure of TTK cannot be sufficiently explained by neoinstitutional processes and mechanisms alone.

4.3.2 KCE as critical junctures of a path dependent structuration

The second structuration concept from organizational sociology, which will be applied in this study to account for the impact of the KCE on TTK´s organizational structure, is that of path dependence. Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch (2009) define organizational path dependence as "a rigidified, potentially inefficient action pattern built up by the unintended consequences of former decisions and positive feedback processes" (696). What this means in particular will be explained during the chapter. In short, the working hypothesis holds that the KCE as organizational "path-blazers" constituted a key element (a critical juncture) of the structural path dependence of TTK, because they were the first time the action pattern of *decentralization* emerged. Furthermore, they directly led to the solidification of the pattern through feedback processes in and after the events. By contributing to the decision to go to Kinsale Town Council, the events also led to a second critical juncture, where the dominant action pattern of *formalization* emerged and got rigidified by further feedback mechanisms. The path dependence will now be presented in its three phases (cf. ibid.): the Preformation Phase, the Formation Phase, and the Lock-in Phase.

Phase 1: Preformation

Any organizational path dependence starts with a "broad scope of action" (ibid.: 691), an open situation without dominant action pattern, where future structures and processes of an organization are completely unknown (Schützeichel 2015: 93, 98). Marking the day of the incendiary attack at ´The Hollies´ as the beginning of TTK´s path dependent structuration, several reasons for why the weeks following the fire were characterized by nearly unlimited possibilities will be shown here (while the particularities of the attack have already been named in chapter 4.2). Firstly, the incident was described as "traumatic" by Int4 (4.22) as well as Hopkins himself (7.3), whose "biggest dream" (4.22), the handmade, permacultural family home, had been destroyed. The effect of that was described by Hopkins as follows:

> Then we had the fire, which completely destroyed any sense of certainty that we had in life. It was all very certain before the fire. We were building ´The Hollies´, we were going to live in ´The Hollies´ forever, that was it. After the fire, then, anything was possible again. (7.15)

The only certainty left, for Hopkins, was that a new project was necessary, leaving ´The Hollies´ behind for "the next big thing" (1.4), out of responsibility for his family (ibid.). What form this project would take, was initially unclear (1.5).

As Hopkins, at this point, already taught the permaculture course at Kinsale College, it was only natural for him to start a new project there. The college situation, too, provided him with plenty of possibilities due to two factors. For one, college principle John Thuillier was completely engrossed by Hopkins and his ideas (5.4) and gave him a free hand for all the projects he wanted to realize with his students (5.5, 7.30). In 2004, Hopkins and his permaculture class had built an amphitheater for the drama students, without any architect plans, engineers or risk assessments (7.18) – and in the same way, Thuillier would let Hopkins away with whatever ambitious college project came up next for him. Secondly, the fact that 2004/2005 marked the first year the permaculture course would have a second-year program meant that Hopkins was in the process of designing another course year "from scratch" (7.2) – at that point, with absolutely no interference by the Irish Ministry of Education (ibid.).

Now, following path dependence theory, a crucial first decision happens in this open situation (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 691). For Hopkins, this decision was to start the Energy Descent project with his permaculture students – and at the basis of the decision was the realization that ´The Hollies´ were not including the local community enough. As a typical ecovillage, the project was based on the principle of independence and seclusion from the rest of society surrounding it (7.14). Set up in a region of West Cork characterized by a very traditional, Irish population (2.15), the Briton Hopkins and the German Riedmüller were therefore immediately met with negative reactions from their neighbors (1.2, 2.15) - culminating, in the end, in the incendiary attack. As Int4 said, "the fire absolutely clarified the fact that ´The Hollies´ were not bridging to the local community" (4.14).

Hopkins was not alone in this problem: "There was a lot of us in those days who were just doing it pretty much for ourselves" (4.30), was how Int4 described it. The fire, however, led Hopkins to the conclusion that this was not enough:

> If we´re sitting here in ´The Hollies´ and have three years´ worth of firewood and five years´ worth of food and everybody in the village up the road are all starving and cold, what are we gonna do: Are we gonna share or are we gonna sit here with a gun? (7.14)

Hopkins realized that he wanted to "go back to where more people were and bring some of this [permaculture] stuff to more people" (7.16) - and he realized that in order to involve the local community in his next environmental project, he needed to locate its goals closer to the citizens´ needs and include them into its processes (4.30).

Only by coincidence, Hopkins had learned about Peak Oil that same winter (1.6), and quickly realized that the depletion of resources was a problem of the larger community that he, as a permaculture teacher, could help fix not only for himself but also for the greater good. Hence, in his new second-year permaculture class, he created the Energy Descent project as an "explor[ation] of the question of what it would look like if we saw Peak Oil as an opportunity […] and designed our way through it" (7.4). Other than in ´The Hollies´, the project transferred the permacultural, agriculture-based principles of sustainability and resilience to a larger realm, namely, that of community-building and urban planning (5.7). Starting this project was the

decision that stood at the beginning of the preformation phase of TTK´s path dependence, and the project quickly led to the KCE, where the formation of TTK´s organizational structure, through the first emergence of an action pattern of decentralization truly began.

Both OSE and POC were deliberate attempts to make true the core of Hopkins´ decision and not only *create* a project for the wider community but also *integrate* the wider community into it (7.8, 7.17; 4.11). Following path dependence theory (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 693), the events were also quite random, as they constituted experiments. The whole period – the first decision as well as the following Energy Descent project and KCE – was characterized by flexibility and willingness to experiment, with uncertain outcome (ibid.: 691). For Hopkins, who described the college as a "laboratory" (7.30), it "was a lot of just trying things" (7.9). Both OSE and POC were organized rather spontaneously (ibid., 7.25), and while Int4 stressed the passion behind the organization of the POC, she also noted that there was no masterplan: "[W]e were just trying to make the next logical step. We had no notion of ´That´s gonna lead to a worldwide movement´ at all" (4.26). When the POC happened in June 2005, the foundation of a community organization clearly had not been planned yet. However, TTK was founded in its final form only little over a year later – and for the organizational structure of TTK, the KCE eventually did act as "path-blazers", as a critical juncture. In the next part of the chapter, the mechanism behind this structuration will be explored.

Phase 2: Formation

In Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch´s (2009) conception of organizational path dependence, events as critical junctures mark the official start of structural formation (693). By *critical juncture*, they mean a point in time when the initially broad scope of possibilities regarding the future structure of an organization is narrowed down (ibid.: 691). The path on which the organization becomes dependent begins here – but for the path to officially begin, there needs to be a first version of the structure, a first "action pattern" (ibid.), in the events. In the case of the KCE, the events resembled the first time that the rather centralized Energy Descent project decentralized some of its resources and decision-making processes and thus made for the first emergence of the action pattern of decentralization. In the planning of the POC, other than in the Energy Descent project itself, Hopkins and his co-organizers made all important decisions together (4.2), and the tasks were distributed on several shoulders rather than one, with Dunne playing a huge part (4.13). The consensus decision making and the distribution of tasks were subsequently reflected in TTK´s steering committee – by a similar decision process and the appointment of different roles, e.g., a secretary and a press officer.

Another aspect of TTK´s eventual decentral approach – the deliberate inclusion of the wider community into the workings of the organization – was first brought up by the promotion of the events around town, and the fact that they were open to the general public. The KCE were the first and only project-related events that actively invited people (1.12, 7.23). Later on, the public

meetings of TTK and its several community events also tried to actively engage citizens from Kinsale. Similarly, attempts of the KCE organizers to get institutional actors like business leaders and environmental engineers to partake in the events (1.12, 4.13, 7.23) were reflected by later TTK events inviting local business and church leaders.

Most importantly, however, the events themselves were decentral in various ways. While the OSE was organized by the project group, the topics and flip chart write-ups were mainly produced by the participants, community members from Kinsale. The POC, too, relied heavily on the help of volunteers from town, on participants´ feedback, and had as its emotional highpoint a participatory evening session, where people "shared stories and songs and commitments" to live more environment-friendly (4.20). While the EDAP still lacked communal input – being, essentially, the vision of the students and not of the wider community whose task it would one day be to set it into practice (3.25) – the KCE first decentralized decision-making processes and resources to reach a broader audience, as had been the goal behind the creation of the entire project. Eventually, the same action pattern of decentralization led to TTK´s project-oriented network structure. There again, the organizational side of things – the funding, distribution of resources, taxation – was left to the steering committee, while decision making and the usage of resources happened in the working groups at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Furthermore, for an event to turn into a critical juncture, the action pattern it develops needs to already be accompanied by some mechanisms of the self-reinforcing process that will later lock the pattern in (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 691, 704). Simply said, the structure tested in the events should prove to be successful. In the case of the KCE, accordingly, the high attendance numbers of both events (cf. chapter 4.2) showed Hopkins and his students that they could indeed bridge the issues of permaculture and Peak Oil to a broader audience, which had previously been outside of the conversation. Significantly, this had been the goal of both the project itself and the events. Moreover, the involvement of the community proved to be valuable apart from the simple fact of successful integration: The ideas raised in the OSE found their way into the EDAP, and participants of the POC already committed to becoming more eco-sensitive at its final evening session (ibid.). Most importantly, the communal spirit already described in chapter 4.2 was at the heart of the events´ success for the organizers, especially at the POC. The forward-looking energy (4.23), "moving moments" (4.15) and loveliness (7.27) of random Kinsale citizens meeting at the college, "wander[ing] around the garden" (7.28) and "prying together [in the tent] […] hoping the weather wouldn´t be too bad" (4.19), inspired both Int4 (4.23) and Hopkins who, other than in his secluded ecovillage project, now got to know "the power of […] doing something together, creating something together" (7.29).

After the POC, because of the success of the decentral action pattern in the KCE, it was clearer that, *if* a more community-based organization should come out of the Energy Descent project – following Heinberg´s suggestion to really put the EDAP into practice in Kinsale (7.32) – it would need to be decentrally organized. Before the aforementioned decentral structures of

TTK were locked in in the long run (by a number of feedback mechanisms dealt with in *phase 3*), Heinberg´s suggestion (7.33, 7.34) and the success of the KCE (3.13) also led to another attempt at decentralization of the project: the decision of Rooney and Dunne to bring the EDAP before Kinsale Town Council.

The town council meeting did not constitute an eventful or transformative event in the sense presented in this study. Neither did the meeting involve community-building aspects, nor did it shape a structural path on its own. However, the decision to go to the council and the eventual success there – a grant of 5000 Euro (3.3) – are an important part of the path formation that was started in the KCE. The decision was heavily influenced by the events (3.13) and the decentralization process turning the centralized college project into a community organization (3.7). Because of the demands raised by the decision to cooperate with official governmental institutions, the same process now also included the action pattern of formalization.

When Louise Rooney and Catherine Dunne presented the EDAP before Kinsale Town Council in December 2005, nearly six months after the POC, the college project had already undergone a formalization process. Rooney had come up with the name *Transition Town (7.22),* a label derived from the famous *Fair Trade Town* concept (4.25) to make the town´s transition to a more sustainable and resilient future official. Additionally, Rooney, Dunne and Graham Strouts, who had by then replaced Hopkins as Kinsale College´s permaculture teacher, had founded the non-profit company *Transition Design* (Global Public Media 2005) as an official organization being susceptible to municipal funding (3.8). With the embracement of the company and its efforts by the town council in December, declaring Kinsale the first Transition Town in the world (Hopkins 2005b), a "sense of great excitement" (4.29) re-assured the students that they were on the right path in the decentralization of their college project and the formalization of a community organization. The eventual grant approved by the council in April 2006 (Rooney 2006) continued that trend. After all, like Int3 suggested, "if you go to the town council, apply for funding and say, ´this is what we´ll do´ and then you get the money, you kind of have to do it then. It´s almost like a contract" (3.9).

Thus, when the money of the town council grant was finally placed on the bank account of the then-renamed Transition Town Kinsale in October 2006 (Creed, appendix), the formalization of TTK as part of its structural path dependence fully unfolded. As Edwards (1994) has pointed out in his analysis of the reasons for the formalization of SMOs (325, 327), the money itself led to further formalization processes, as it necessitated the opening of a bank account and a tax status (Creed, appendix), as well as the steering committee, chairman, treasurer and secretary (2.12). Moreover, the fact that Rooney had presented the EDAP in its distinct categories (food, energy, transport etc.) to the council also meant that the emerging SMO had to build its working groups around those exact same topics (ibid.), rather than focusing on only one or two of them. With TTK having formalized itself into a formal SMO including all needed attributes, with steering committee and working groups formed and their cooperation handled

via the principles of consensus decision making and decentralization of resources, TTK had established its organizational structure by 2007. In the following months and years, the structure was then locked-in via several feedback mechanisms – also resulting in some potential inefficiencies – which will be described in the next part of this chapter.

Phase 3: Lock-in

The final phase of organizational path dependence, according to Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch (2009), is the Lock-in phase during which the action pattern developed in the critical juncture becomes dominant, the range of options for the future of the organizational structure narrows down to one and thus, "the shift to another option is impossible" (691), even though it might be inefficient (ibid.). This process of rigidification and path evolvement is led by self-reinforcing dynamics (the structure reinforces itself every time it is applied) in the form of feedback mechanisms (ibid.: 691, 704). While Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch see the self-reinforcing dynamics as part of the formation process, for the sake of this study they will be considered as part of the lock-in, since they constitute the mechanism directly leading to one. After a description of these positive feedback mechanisms and the way in which they increasingly made TTK´s decentralization and formalization seem like the only possible choice, an analysis of the possible downsides TTK witnessed, as the structure locked in and increasing inflexibility made organizational change impossible, will follow.

What exactly are these feedback mechanisms that rigidify organizational structures every time they are applied? Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch as well as Schützeichel (2015) bring up several distinct economical and sociological mechanisms like *learning effects* – the more an operation is used, the more the organizational skills required to do so grow (Schützeichel 2015: 104) – *expectation effects* – the more an operation is used by an organization, the more other actors expect it to be used again (ibid.) - or *economics of scale* – the more an operation is used, the more efficient it is to reproduce it due to sunk costs (ibid). However, at the basis of the self-reinforcing process, the new structures and action patterns simply need to prove themselves increasingly valuable (Sydow/ Schreyogg/ Koch 2009: 693f).

The number one goal for any SMO is the redistribution of power and resources (Scully/ Creed 2005: 328) and in order to reach that goal, the organization needs to get these resources, to get money and participants, in the first place. Therefore, other than simple expectation and learning effects that surely play a role in the later phase of the lock-in, the dominant action pattern needs to be valuable to an emerging SMO insofar that it accumulates the resources the SMO needs. As Int2 noted, apart from the town council grant, "Transition set itself up with a small group of visionary people – and nothing else […] [It] was set up with no resources whatsoever" (2.20). The dominant action patterns of formalization and, even more so, decentralization helped TTK gain some of these resources – but how exactly was this achieved?

Above all, as Kieser and Walgenbach (2010) note, in diverse and unstable environments, organizations need to adapt to their surroundings as well as possible (389). Flexibility and innovational strength are considered to be the most important elements of an organization in order for it to do so (ibid.: 390f). Likewise, organizational structures focusing on little specialization and a high autonomy of each hierarchical level, a high degree of decentralization, as well as flexibility to form temporary teams and projects, are thought to be the key structural elements to achieve both flexibility and bring forward innovations (ibid.: 394ff). Apart from that, the adaptation to their environment is also fostered by organizations that raise their legitimacy in the local institutional field by cooperating with other organizations (Vermeulen/ Minkoff/ van der Meer 2016: 27) and represent "a diverse constituency [...] in terms of ethnicity, class, gender, or ideology" (ibid.: 28). Additionally, especially network structures have flexibility and adaptation as their two key elements (Castells 2000: 431f) and are able to raise an organization´s legitimacy through their clearly communicable flexibility and openness for external influences (Apitzsch 2006: 17). TTK´s organizational network structure developed in 2007, as a result of the action pattern of decentralization that had first emerged in the KCE. Once used, it quickly demonstrated all of the abovementioned benefits to the members of TTK.

Apart from being an emerging environmental SMO in a fairly conservative town (7.24), TTK had the additional baggage of stemming from a college course which was said to attract "alternative, youngish, Hippie types" (4.27) who would come to Kinsale, collect unemployment benefits and then leave again (2.2). The EDAP, thus, had been visionary but had failed to integrate the community more intensely (3.10). The members of TTK knew that they had to come closer to the values of Kinsale´s citizens, both in their overall goals and in their specific projects (2.10, 3.5). As Int2 framed it,

> Even for our point of view as the Transition Town group, we´re guilty of thinking that the community should do more. Why don´t they get it? The fact is: If it´s us that wants to change the world, it´s our responsibility to figure out how to make that happen [...] [T]he local church, which has like a 1000 members, if we can´t persuade them that it´s a great idea, then they´re probably never interested in giving us support. (2.16)

The foundational members of TTK now directly attributed a better embeddedness into the community on their decentralized network structure (3.18). Primarily, for them, creating projects with a diverse number of people quickly led to connections outside of the normal target group of an environmental SMO (3.20) – and out of these connections, other projects thrived. For example, in one of their projects, the TTK Food Group set up allotments with the help of local farmers. Later on, one of the same farmers was then involved in another TTK project, the ´Community Supported Agriculture´ (ibid.), where "members of the community [would] link with the farmers and get the food straight from them" (6.14). Int6 described this wealth of projects and "offshoots [...] [as] one of the most interesting things that happened" (ibid.). Int2, who sees the ultimate aim of TTK as creating a "tribe called Kinsale" (2.18), saw the various connections TTK formed through the project network as an excellent way to bring Kinsale´s disparate groups of people, "priests, [...] bank managers... hippies" (2.18), together through the means

of ongoing communication (ibid.). The decentralized action pattern became more and more dominant as it proved its worth by making TTK more flexible, more innovative and, thus, more embedded into the community, steadily gaining members and participants.

With the integration of more and more people from town, TTK increasingly distanced itself from the permaculture course and the baggage attached to it (3.6). Another important step for its increased legitimacy in Kinsale were TTK´s links to other community groups, which also developed as part of the network structure (3.6, 6.4). Over the years, TTK developed joint projects with such distinct groups as the Good Food Circle (a network of restaurants organizing Kinsale´s Gourmet Festival, where TTK hosted its Fifty Mile Meal Award), the Arts´ Week, Tidy Towns (in a beach-clean up) (6.4), as well as, only recently, Plastic Free Kinsale (3.28).

For these reasons – while the coordination in TTK´s core, the consensus decision making in its steering committee, also proved to be valuable for the members as "[p]eople´s voices were heard" (6.11) and more creative solutions could be worked out (ibid.) – the most important elements of TTK´s structural action pattern of decentralization were the network project structure and the deliberate inclusion of outside actors into the workings of the organization. Even though TTK has not gained the world-wide popularity of subsequent Transition Towns like the one Hopkins set up in Totnes (cf. Hopkins 2008), the survival of TTK alone proved the benefits of the chosen structures to its members. In the course of the first years, additionally, successful projects like the ´Community Supported Agriculture´ (6.14), a number of community awards for the group (2.17), as well as the overall "buzz […] of really active people" (6.2) taking part in TTK´s efforts for a sustainable and resilient Kinsale, assured their members that they had chosen the right path with the decentralized network structure, embedding the SMO into its community and raising important conversations (3.22).

Apart from the decentral action pattern, the minimal degree of formalization, which had developed during and after the town council meeting, also helped the young organization get on its feet. Most importantly, it led to the first grant, which proved extremely valuable to TTK as "an amount of money to do things, to start something bigger" (3.3). Int3 emphasized that "if that hadn´t happened, Transition Town wouldn´t have happened (ibid.), because the fund made first steps like advertising or other organizational costs possible without the need for further fundraising efforts in TTK´s foundational years (3.14). In the following phases, too, TTK´s formal structure helped the SMO in various ways. Having a steering committee along with obligate roles like president, treasurer and secretary made additional funding possible (2.12, 6.7). In addition to that, the division of the lower hierarchical structure into groups coherent to the chapters of the EDAP, as it had been suggested by Rooney´s presentation of exactly those categories to the council, made possible a breaking down of the "massive vision" (3.24) of the plan into several pieces that were much easier to handle by the various groups (ibid.).

After all, as this analysis has shown, both formalization and – most of all – decentralization proved to be key to TTK´s success in its first years. That the development of such structures

had happened by way of relatively random decisions and experimental events, had been for-gotten by the members at that point. To them, inner procedural workings like the consensus decision making were simply taken-for-granted: "A lot of people would say [the non-hierarchical structure and consensus process] is too anarchic. To them it must seem crazy, but to us it seemed perfectly normal" (6.10). The action patterns first tried out in the KCE (by then, with a complete indeterminacy of outcome) had, a few years later, locked in, and had concealed the random mechanisms that had shaped them. To the members of TTK, they now seemed like the only possible choices – even though, at a certain point, inefficiencies of TTK´s style of organization, especially of its decentralized network structure, became obvious.

Previously in this chapter, an organization´s need to adapt to its environment has been dis-cussed – as well as the benefits of a flexible and innovative network structure in achieving this. However, networks are only flexible to a certain point. According to Castells (2010), while the outer knots of a network are constantly changing - forming and dissolving around various pro-jects or relationships - the core of the network, its programmed goal, always stays the same (438). Changing the goal of the network, its core structure, is incredibly difficult, because it is the only stagnant variable in the network (ibid.). However, for an organization in an unstable environment, it is necessary to change organizational goals and core structures from time to time, adjusting them to the current needs and expectations of its surroundings (Kieser/ Walgen-bach 2010: 398). For that reason, flexible planning and tight control over the organizational conduct are necessary, but a network structure is not built to meet these needs - also given the fact that it does not contain a center of power (Castells 2000: 435). Because of that, in the case of TTK, the decentralized network structure also resulted in problems.

As a major point of criticism, members of TTK complained about the lack of control they had over some of the projects of the organization. In one instance, after several years of planning an anaerobic digestor with some of the local farmers, turning their livestock´s dung into free electricity, the farmers refused to pay for the costs of a planning application, which TTK needed to get the permission for the digestor – the project came to a sudden end (2.7). The Fifty Mile Meal Award, too, was somehow abruptly ended by the Good Food Circle after seven success-ful years (3.21). As Int3 recalled, TTK´s non-hierarchical way of working with outsider organi-zations was a problem here: "We would always include the [Good Food Circle], but they never quite included us, and we should´ve been more insistent on that" (3.27).

There was a related problem pertained to the organization´s central goals. As the network structure allowed TTK to get involved in a vast amount of projects, they lost focus on the bigger masterplan that had characterized the EDAP. Int3 "would have loved to have had [the plan] rewritten every one or two years" (3.11), to allocate it closer to the community´s current needs, but attempts to do so likely failed because of a lack of organizational power and resources in the steering committee, whose members spent most of the time they could provide for TTK on its various projects, and not the overarching planning. The consensus decision making also

made for a quite difficult process (3.29). Lastly, a lack of revision of the original plan meant that its broad scope of ideas concerning sustainability could not be boiled down to its essentials over the years. Thus, Int6 saw the following problem as one of TTK´s fallacies: "Maybe it was too ambitious. Maybe we wanted too much, food, and energy, and transport. That´s a huge, broad approach" (6.8). However, none of the interviewees mentioned internal discussions about the lack of efficiency of TTK´s network structure. As Sydow, Schreyogg and Koch (2009) write, even though "a more efficient option may emerge […] actors can no longer choose [it] because they are locked in, thus causing inefficiency" (691). The path formation of TTK´s organizational structure, which had begun in the KCE, thus arrived at its final stage: the *lock-in*.

4.3.3 Neoinstitutional influences on path dependent structuration

After the KCE have been analyzed in their role as organizational "path-blazers", impacting TTK´s organizational structure as critical junctures of a path dependent structuration of decentralization and formalization, some further influences on the structuration process will be given in this chapter. After all, neoinstitutional mechanisms can prove to be important additions to path dependence theory. In the case of TTK, the concept of path dependence can account for the overall direction that TTK´s structural decisions were taking (towards increased formalization and decentralization), but it cannot account for the concrete form these decisions took on. Why, for example, did Hopkins decide to make a sustainability project for the whole town, and not just for the college? How did the KCE come about in their eventual form? And why did Rooney and Dunne go to the town council, declaring Kinsale the first *Transition Town*, when they could have just formed a community organization without such efforts? Neoinstitutional insights (cf. chapter 4.3.1) can help answer some of these questions. However, the remarks in this chapter will be kept rather short, as most of the neoinstitutional influences on TTK´s structure did not happen in the KCE and therefore cannot directly account for the events´ influence.

Before anything else, there is the question of how exactly Hopkins came up with the plan to use permacultural principles in order to start a community-based sustainability project. No similar venture had ever come out of the permaculture movement – thus, the decision was not a simple adoption of already existing structural principles but, from a neoinstitutional point of view, can only have happened as a *bricolage*, a creative recombination of structural elements from various sources within the organizational field (cf. Campbell 1997, 2005).

Primarily, Hopkins´ background in permaculture was clearly a huge neoinstitutional influence. Neoinstitutional expectations are not always raised directly, by individuals, but also by the common practices of the wider organizational field of an actor (DiMaggio/ Powell 1991: 27). Following this argumentation, a neoinstitutional impact of permaculture can be seen in various ways: The "bigger picture thinking" (1.7), the community-focus and multi-functionality of the project (ibid., 7.20), as well as the structure of the plan, being divided into several,

separate subdivisions (1.14), and the overall positive thinking and optimism attached to it (3.23), can all be traced back to permaculture principles (cf. Hopkins 2008: 139). In the topic of the project, then, its focus on sustainability and resilience, both permaculture and Peak Oil informed Hopkins´ sense of urgency (3.23, 7.1).

Last but not least, the college situation Hopkins found himself in was also a huge influence. College principle John Thuillier had created the institution as a place where the college´s environment was vital to its processes (5.2). In the college, students are taught based on "what is local to [them], what [they] grew up with" (ibid.) and this holistic approach of teaching in between the individual and his environment also left an impression on Hopkins, who "developed here, much more than the idea of growing your own food, the idea of sustainable and resilient communities" (5.7). Additionally, Thuillier and the college also encouraged the project´s eagerness to experiment (7.18), as well as its openness for the help of political actors like the town council (7.13, 7.31). Allowing experiments, "cherishing divergence" (5.5) and intermediate technology – "You do not get the expert to do everything for you" (5.4) – were also crucial parts of Thuillier´s philosophy and vita, as a proponent of alternative education (5.2) and, significantly, as the former mayor of Kinsale (7.19). Accordingly, in the project, Hopkins creatively recombined the structural elements available to him by his connections to other actors from the larger organizational field, most notably the environmental movement and the college his project took place in. Indeed, the college project was created as a *bricolage*.

The abovementioned example is only the first of many incidents of neoinstitutional impacts on the decisions surrounding the emergence of TTK. The KCE, for one, were conceived as an adoption of similar events within the environmental movement. While Hopkins was suggested the open space technology by Riedmüller, who had read about it in an article and already tried it out as an organizational consultant in Dublin (1.8), the POC was influenced by a similar conference in the US (Hopkins 2006a). A few months later, Louise Rooney only got the idea to bring the EDAP to the council and pronounce Kinsale a *Transition Town*, because, months earlier, a Fair Trade initiative (headed by Alan Clayton) had also gone to the council and pronounced Kinsale a *Fair Trade Town* (2.1, cf. Kinsale Official Website) – "and [Rooney] was in the bath someday and she thought ´Oh, if we can have a *Fair Trade Town*, why can´t we have a *Transition Town*? The model is kind of transferable!´" (4.25).

This small selection of neoinstitutional mechanisms behind TTK´s early decision process only goes to show that a path dependence cannot describe the development of any organizational structure in its entirety. In any given situation, there is an "organizational repertoire" (cf. Clemens 2009) of structural principles and processes commonly used by actors in the wider organizational field of a SMO, and every SMO will use a number of these components to build up legitimacy (Kieser/ Walgenbach 2009: 42) and come up with solutions to their problems (DiMaggio/ Powell 1991: 10). In the further progress of TTK´s structuration, expectations within the organizational field most likely continued to be important in TTK´s decisions, e.g. in their

development of a network structure in its final form. Therefore, of course, the events and the path dependent process containing them, were not the only forces shaping TTK´s organizational structure. However, according to this study, the path dependence was the only *governing* force behind the structuration, as the dominant action patterns of formalization and, most of all, decentralization, predetermined at least the *direction* of all subsequent structural decisions, if not their peculiarities. Thus, while the neoinstitutional influences mentioned here are valuable additions to the path dependent structuration that is depicted in this thesis, the role of the KCE as critical junctures, and the path dependent mechanisms surrounding them, remain the most influential forces behind forming and rigidifying the organizational structure of Transition Town Kinsale. In this vein, in answering the research question of this thesis, the KCE have indeed been organizational "path-blazers" leaving a substantial impact on TTK´s structure.

5. Conclusion

In the conclusion of this study, at first, the research findings, as well as their theoretical implications for social movement research and the inclusion of events therein, will be presented. This will be followed by a quick glance at further interesting research topics and questions – on the one hand, regarding the larger Transition Town movement and its organizational structure, and, on the other hand, regarding the impact of social movement events on the structure of the SMOs organizing them, in the special case of *prefigurative* movement events.

5.1 Organizational Structure, Mobilization, and the Power of Events

Social movements, above anything else, are defined by their goals: the "redistribution of power and resources to create a more just, peaceful, and sustainable society" (Scully/ Creed 2005: 321). For a redistribution of resources, however, a social movement needs to have resources in the first place and, thus, mobilization of members, participants and money is the top priority for the organizations within a movement, the SMOs (cf. McCarthy/Zald 2009). Following Clemens (2009) and other scholars in their critique of common efficiency-based assumptions held by the resource mobilization approach, this thesis claims that hierarchy and centralization are not always the best means for a SMO to achieve this aim. Especially local SMOs have a very distinct and unstable environment to deal with – thus, individualized organizational structures can prove vital to their success as an organization. Because of this, one of the most pressing questions for any SMO is how they can build a structure that best guarantees the mobilization of resources for their own, special case.

As Clemens (2009) has shown in her analysis of the Women´s Movement, organizational decisions in SMOs are often made in between institutional pressures and human agency.

SMOs both adopt legitimacy-based expectations into their conduct, and, at the same time, shape their structures and processes to fit their own identity and goals. This view, which is also the assumption taken on by this thesis, comes close to the *duality of structure* proclaimed by Giddens (1984), holding that any social structure is both passively adopted and actively shaped and reproduced by social actors. Hence, SMOs are not entirely free in adjusting their own structure to their environment in order to maximize their mobilization. Still, the question remains, which tools and processes *do* enable SMO actors to actively create their organizational structure for the means of mobilization?

Social movement events – the events a SMO organizes for the wider community to partake in – have long been analyzed as especially important for any social movement. Their best-case scenario, the transformative event, "dramatically increases […] the level of mobilization" (Hess/ Martin 2006: 249) of the whole movement. McAdam and Sewell (2001) have analyzed how particular events of the Civil Rights Movement single-handedly changed society-wide political opportunity structures and, therefore, the mobilization success of the movement. However, not every SMO can hope for the vigorous effects of the Montgomery Bus Boycott when organizing a movement event. Still, as Patterson (2007) and Della Porta (2008), among others, have pointed out, smaller-scale events can have similarly transformative effects, e.g. on a movement´s collective identity and, significantly, its organizational structures. Located in between human agency and institutional pressures, SM events constitute an important realm for a SMO to test out its structure and shape it in conjunction with the organizational environment, potentially leading to improved mobilization. This study has analyzed this potential impact of events, in its distinct characteristics and the mechanisms it involves, in the case of Transition Town Kinsale and the Kinsale Community Events.

First of all, the study has confirmed Davis and Zald´s (2005) proposition to focus any SM theory that investigates elements from organizational sociology, on structures and processes. As the KCE were analyzed in their impact on TTK´s system of organization, a transformation of structure needed to be accounted for – and, indeed, a transition from a rather centralized and informal organization to a highly decentralized and more formalized SMO was detected in the beginning of the analysis (cf. chapter 4.1).

Second of all, this study has named important characteristics a social movement event needs in order to be, at least potentially, transformative or "path-blazing" with regards to the structure of the SMO. The KCE have fulfilled these criteria (cf. chapter 4.2), because they were found to integrate the participants to a high level, leading to a sense of belonging and collective identity felt by the attendees with regards to the events and their organizers. Furthermore, the events were also characterized by attraction – high attendance numbers in relation to the expected number of participants – and, most importantly, by a strong singularity as they were very emotional and disruptive with regards to the routine practices of both organizers and participants, giving way to a lasting impression.

Thirdly, even more important characteristics of "path-blazing" events have been named here as part of a path analysis of TTK´s organizational structure (cf. chapter 4.3.2). Path dependence theory has proven to be an effective way to meet the many demands of this study, as it could account for both human agency (especially in the creation of the first decisions and the KCE) and institutional mechanisms (in all phases of the process, via the demands of the environment and, in the later phases, by the institutionalization of the path itself). In the case of the KCE and their influence on TTK´s structure, before anything else, the events as critical junctures were part of a process that had already begun. As Hopkins had decided to involve the community more in his next project, the integration of participants that happened in the KCE and became important in TTK´s eventual structuration, was a continuation, not a disruption, of the dynamics of the project. Thus, the first demand a social movement event needs to meet in order to become "path-blazing", and turn into a critical juncture, is that it, while being non-routine, nevertheless fits to the overall goal of the movement, or, more specifically, to the first decision made in the beginning of the organizational path dependence. A second prerequisite is that the event includes a first form of the action pattern that will later become dominant and rigidify as part of the SMO´s structure. In the KCE and the following town council decision, thus, first elements of TTK´s eventual central and formalized structure were tested out, e.g. by the consensus decision making with community members in the OSE, or the first formalization of the non-profit organization *Transition Design* prior to the town council meeting.

Having been tested out in the events, the new action pattern must immediately meet some of the expectations set into it – as a third prerequisite for the event´s likelihood to turn into a critical juncture, the pattern instantly needs to bring the SMO closer to the goal of its first decision and be a vital part to the success of the events. In the case of the KCE, the community-involving elements did noticeably integrate new communal members into the workings of the Energy Descent project. Furthermore, the events´ success, especially that of the POC, was much due to the collective identity raised by the decentral elements of the events. Much in the same vein, the formalization of a formal organization made the eventual funding possible.

As a direct effect of these positive feedback effects, the action pattern will be further developed and utilized in the aftermath of the event, as it happened after the official foundation of Transition Town Kinsale, with TTK formalizing its external structure and hierarchy, as well as decentralizing its decision-making process in a network structure. As the fourth element of "path-blazing" events, the action pattern first raised in the events also needs to prove valuable in the long run, at least in the first phase of the formation of the structure going along with it. In the case of TTK, the formalized structure made possible future funding of the SMO´s many projects. Most importantly, the decentralized network structure led to TTK´s embeddedness into the community – the declared goal of most members and Hopkins´ first decision, at the start of the path dependence. It led to a wealth of projects with all kinds of individuals and other community groups, and to many new members joining TTK through one of its projects. The

dominant action pattern of formalization and decentralization, which was first tried out in the KCE, led to an efficient mobilization of members and money for the emerging SMO – even though the final lock-in of this structure went along with efficiency-related problems typical for path dependent processes (in TTK´s case, an inability to execute top-down control over the many projects or adapt its "masterplan" laid out in the EDAP to the shifting needs of Kinsale´s population). Thus, the KCE as organizational "path-blazers", by way of the actively-chosen structures they inhibited and, thus, made dominant in TTK in the long run, significantly impacted the future redistribution of power and resources (Scully/ Creed 2005: 321) of the SMO, and mostly for the better.

At last, this study has also taken a look at neoinstitutional influences and mechanisms before, during and after the KCE (cf. chapters 4.3.1, 4.3.3). Neoinstitutional theory provided another important input from organizational sociology, as the theory deals with the structuration of organizations in between institutional pressures (in this case, an organization´s adoption of expected structural principles from the organizational field or even larger social realms, to increase its legitimacy) and human agency (the creative recombination of these structural principles in a *bricolage*) in much the same way as path dependence theory. However, other than the path dependence hypothesis laid out before, the neoinstitutional hypothesis of the KCE as the place of culminating expectations and, thus, increased structuration pressure on TTK could not be confirmed in this study. Neoinstitutional influences from the wider environmental movement and local institutional background of the Energy Descent project were vital in shaping (via passive adoption *and* active bricolage) the eventual peculiarities of Hopkins´ decision to start the Energy Descent project, of the events, and of the decision to go to Kinsale Town Council. However, the KCE themselves did not confront TTK with any obviously *structural* expectations from neoinstitutional actors that had not already come up prior to the events.

5.2 Open questions and further research

During the course of this thesis, Transition Town Kinsale has been treated like a fully independent SMO. However, it can also be analyzed as part of the Transition Town movement, which has developed on a global scale in the last decade. On the one hand, the wider movement started with Hopkins´ subsequent efforts in Totnes, which, by the end of 2006, resulted in the popular Transition Town Totnes (TTT) and, in the following years, in many successful projects (cf. Hopkins 2008). On the other hand, Hopkins also ran the blog transitionculture.org to distribute his ideas, quickly leading to the establishment of a number of Transition Town initiatives in other parts of England (Hopkins 2017). By 2007, the Transition Network was founded as a network organization to coordinate the initiatives, which were already springing up all around the world (ibid.). The organization is, by now, set up around several hierarchical levels including the community-based initiatives, their network-like

conglomeration in regional Transition Hubs, another level of national Transition Hubs, and, finally, the Transition Network as the main charity and center of funding, based in the UK (Transition Network 2018). By 2017, Transition initiatives existed in over fifty countries, organized in over thirty regional and national Transition Hubs (Hopkins 2017). On its website, the German national Hub currently lists around one hundred initiatives in Germany (Transition Initiativen 2018).

   Two things are worth mentioning here. For one, as Transition Town Kinsale came into full existence at around the same time as Transition Town Totnes – namely, by the end of 2006 – the question could be raised if TTK simply adopted the structure of the much-publicized TTT. Of course, both initiatives were in contact (Int7: ll. 112-115), and especially in the later years of TTK, many ideas from the wider Transition Network – including the initiative in Totnes – almost certainly impacted the decision process within the projects of TTK. However, TTK is different from most other Transition initiatives, because, in the beginning, it developed without the direct influence of Hopkins´ new project and its successes (Int3: ll. 169f). Before handbooks and guidelines, that were later written by Hopkins and other Transition members, would formalize the structural development of emerging Transition initiatives (cf. Hopkins 2008, Hopkins/ Thomas 2016), the members of TTK, according to Hopkins himself, "were finding their own process" (Int7: ll. 116f).

   A second interesting point in question, still, is why the overall Transition Network took on a network structure that was very similar to the network process TTK practiced on a smaller scale. A major reason for that is that the Network emerged out of Totnes (Hopkins 2017), where Hopkins himself had pretty much reproduced, albeit in an improved manner, both the OSE and the POC in TTT´s much-publicized early events, ´The Unleashing of Transition Town Totnes´ in September 2006 and subsequent Open Space Events (Hopkins 2008: 176ff). Thus, TTT developed under much the same circumstances as TTK – including a town council grant (Hopkins 2007). Adding to that the influences Hopkins himself had undergone while still in Kinsale, a similar structural development of TTT, and the Transition Network under Hopkins´ direction, is only natural.

   Moreover, much like it did in TTK, the network structure also fit well to the aims and goals of the wider Transition Network as a transnational movement. As an organization considering its local groups as the "basic building blocks" (Transition Network 2018), aiming to find local solutions to global problems (Hopkins/ Thomas 2016: 8), "subsidiarity […] self-organization and decision making" (ibid.: 9) belong to the organization´s main principles. Here, SM research on transnational SMOs has found that network structures are indeed among the best means to achieve a shared, global agenda while coordinating groups in a number of diverse nations and places, where the local branches must adopt their actions to the needs of their direct environment (cf. Smith 2005, 2009). The path dependent rigidification of an action pattern of decentralization in the Transition Network, similar to the one dealt with in this thesis

regarding TTK, can only be proposed here. However, especially in the light of the increasing popularity of TSMOs in general (ibid.), an analysis of the structural development within such organizations – and the role of events therein – could constitute fruitful further research.

Another aspect worth researching when it comes to the impact of SM events on the movement itself, unrelated to the Transition movement, is the concept of *prefigurative events*. In these events, social movements try to construct social and political realities that are not yet existent but are seen as the ultimate goal of the movement (Knights 2016: 99). An example would be the Greenboro Sit-ins as part of the Civil Rights Movement, during which black students prefigured desegregated restaurants, which were also the goal of their protest. As another, more recent example, the Occupy Wall Street event from 2011 can be named. McCarthy and Zald (2009) have already analyzed how powerful such events can be through the opening of society-wide political opportunity structures. However, prefigurative events might also be particularly (trans-)formative with regards to the organizational structure of the SMO organizing them. If, for example, an anarchic movement were to organize a prefigurative event, it would structure it as a completely non-hierarchic experience. Having tested out a structure like this – and having done so with the required success – would also raise the probability of the SMO itself incorporating non-hierarchical structures as a result of that.

One way or another, this study has shown that event research can constitute an important addition to SM theories looking at the influences behind the organizational structuration of a SMO on the meso-level, in between human agency and institutional pressures. Applying recent, history-conscious processes brought up as part of organizational sociology – namely, neoinstitutional theory and the concept of path dependence - has additionally proven to be an important tool in analyzing the impact of transformative or "path-blazing" events in its mechanisms on the individual, organizational and inter-organizational level.

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7. Appendix[3]

1. Interviews: Interview guideline, General information, Transcripts Int1-7
2. Analysis: Coding frame, Description of codes, Coding sheet
3. Creed, Elizabeth – personal communication, 27th July 2018

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[3] Files are only attached in the digital version of this thesis.

8. Eigenständigkeitserklärung

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die B.A.-Arbeit selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe, alle Ausführungen, die anderen Schriften wörtlich oder sinngemäß entnommen wurden, kenntlich gemacht sind und die Arbeit in gleicher oder ähnlicher Fassung noch nicht Bestandteil einer Prüfungsleistung an dieser oder einer anderen Fakultät oder Prüfungsbehörde war.

Bochum, den 27.08.2018

Felix Stern