HENDRA WIJAYA

Praise the Lord!

Infusing Values and Emotions into Neo-Institutional Theory

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Prijs de Heer!
Waarden en emoties infuseren in de neo-institutionele theorie

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
Rector Magnificus

Prof. dr. R.C.M.E. Engels

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board.

The public defence shall be held on
Thursday, 4 April 2019 at 11:30 hrs

by

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Erasmus Research Institute of Management – ERIM
The joint research institute of the Rotterdam School of Management (RSM)
and the Erasmus School of Economics (ESE) at the Erasmus University Rotterdam
Internet: www.erim.eur.nl

ERIM Electronic Series Portal: repub.eur.nl/

ERIM PhD Series in Research in Management, 450
ERIM reference number: EPS-2019-450-S&E
ISBN 978-90-5892-537-4

Design: PanArt, www.panart.nl

This publication (cover and interior) is printed by Tuijtel on recycled paper, BalanceSilk®
The ink used is produced from renewable resources and alcohol free fountain solution.
Certifications for the paper and the printing production process: Recycle, EU Ecolabel, FSC®, ISO14001.
More info: www.tuijtel.com

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FOREWORD

Kediri, March 7, 2019

Growing up in a small Javanese town of a little over 200,000 people did not keep me from dreaming that one day I would experience and do great things in life. When I was 12 and on my own, I moved to the nation's second largest city to go to junior high school because "the schools in Kediri weren't good enough," as I remember bragging to friends on what I once thought of as an adventurous journey. I missed being close to my family, but as the schoolwork increased, the frequency of returning to my hometown decreased from once a week to every second month by the time my 10 years in the big city came to an end. The hard work paid off as I was among the top five academic achievers awarded a double-degree program to the Netherlands. At first, there was joy and excitement, then confusion started to creep in when I realized that Dutch culture was different than what I'd seen in Hollywood movies. Over the next 10 years living in Leiden (with Rotterdam as my second home), I began to appreciate the nation's secular society, egalitarian culture, progressive thinking, advanced social system, healthy lifestyle, and passport power (yes, I love travelling!). However, I was less thrilled with their weather and monarchy (otherwise it's a perfect country). As I look back today, the Netherlands has become an academic and adulthood pitstop for me. On the one hand, Erasmus University has been kind enough to have awarded me with two Master's degrees and I will be soon getting my last–and the most prestigious and hard-fought one. On the other hand, it has opened my eyes to seeing and accepting things and people as what they are, which is not easy to do in such a noisy and superficial world. But I have come to believe it is the right way. As my story goes on in the *novum caput mundi*, I will continue to follow the good words of the unconventional reformist/feminist Virginia Woolf, "I am rooted, but I flow."

This dissertation has been reviewed, revised, and pondered upon for more than five years and I present it here with great pride. Thank you to the following people for their all-around support and invaluable contributions.

First and foremost, Pursey, thank you for taking me under your wing and for being the best possible promotor that one could ever find. Over the years you have encouraged autonomy and provided me with expert guidance and instrumental/moral support. These gifts have transformed me into a more refined academic and a mature person. Thank you for having taken a chance on me back in 2012, as it has changed my life for the better. Oh, and on a side note, if there is one person who helped me significantly with my spoken Dutch, it's you!

Joep, thank you for agreeing to act as my second promotor at the last moment. I have always appreciated your kindness and constructive feedback, especially on the theoretical contributions.

To my parents, mama Yuvita and papa Danny, thank you for giving me the freedom to choose a life path I desire. Growing up in a traditional Chinese culture, I consider this an honor that I will not take for granted. Thank you for the sacrifices you've made for all of us. I'm so happy that you will be with me at my graduation ceremony. For my little sister Monica, my brother-in-law Nico, and my little brother Bobby, thank you for taking care of mama and papa. I will always be grateful to you all.

Riny, you were there from the beginning and witnessed the dynamics of my PhD, thank you for being as caring and patient as anyone could be. I will fondly remember all the grocery shopping, cooked meals and brewed teas that enabled me to work a hundred hours per week. Your listening ears, consoling words, pleasant company, and worldly wisdom will always be cherished. I wouldn't be where I am today, if it weren't for you and your love. Thank you for literally everything you've done for me!

Michael, thank you for elevating my level of courage and confidence. You have sparked something that I had been yearning to develop: to be brave in life and to believe in myself. As cliché as it may sound, your presence in my life has truly been transformative.

To my horror film partner Hesam and grapevine pal Omar, thank you for all of the good and fun times we had together! But most importantly, thank you for accepting me for who I am and for being your true selves in return. I couldn't ask for more genuine friendships. I already miss the chats, teasing, and the many laughs of my good buddies.

My appreciation as well, to all of my other RSM colleagues who have shaped the *scholar* in me. You have made me a more critical thinker and a more rigorous researcher. I always looked forward to our conversations and to learning more about (the drama of) academia, new management ideas, and the things that really matter in life, such as your adventures and aspirations.

To all my students who have helped me become a more empathetic educator and articulate speaker, thank you! I love to teach and the time spent with you was filled with much needed moments of sanity and reassurance.

Last but not least, my entire PhD trajectory has benefited from the operational assistance and support offered by the administrative crew at both RSM and ERIM–especially Carolien–who made the whole process run smoothly.

Finally, I truly hope that my work on the normative and the affective will inspire others to care about humanity and to advance it in a more genuine sense. I believe we should continuously reflect on the good and dare to challenge the evil. In other words, as the Dutch proverb says, *het moet zoden aan de dijk zetten* (we should put sod on the dike), or, let's build a better world!

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

VALUES AND EMOTIONS IN NEO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Values and emotions are immanent human components that affect the behaviors of actors in their everyday social lives. While values normatively direct actors to desire and pursue the *right* things (Kraatz & Flores, 2015), emotions make them heavily invested in particular institutions and defend them (Friedland, 2013). Together, values and emotions serve as a social-symbolic engine that propels institutional work, defined as "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). Despite its potentially profound importance and relevance for organizations and societies (Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence, & Meyer, 2017), neo-institutional theory has been relatively slow in truly incorporating these fundamental concepts into institutional analyses, thereby harboring the risk of perpetuating the misconceptions of actors as rational agents or cognitive misers (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). When inhabiting and navigating institutions through social interactions (Hallet & Ventresca, 2006), actors rely not only on their reasoning capabilities, but also on their deeply rooted moral beliefs and multiple, sometimes paradoxical emotions (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Joas, 2000; Selznick, 1957; Vince & Voronov, 2012). Attending to the normative and the affective shifts institutional theorists' attention considerably, from the purely macro-level focus on environmental pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977) to the more micro-level foundations of institutions (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Powell & Colyvas, 2008). Consequently, scholars have more ability to offer a much-needed multi-level paradigm, develop a more comprehensive theory, and provide practical contributions to society at large (Gehman, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2016; Schilke, forthcoming; Zilber, 2016).

Values are an essential backbone of civilization (Rokeach, 1973). While in the early 1950s they were a focal point of discussion in old institutional theory, from the 1970s onward, this crucial element has been somewhat overlooked in the development of neo-institutional theory (Kraatz & Flores, 2015). As a normative component of institutional orders, values are actors' beliefs about what they desire and what they consider worth being and pursuing (Kluckhohn, 1951; Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017). Normatively cherished as the true ends in themselves, values equip actors with moral judgments and directions toward which institutions should aspire. Because values orient actors' engagement in purposeful institutional work, they are not only infused into the high-level institutional arrangements, but also enacted on the ground (Selznick, 1957). It should be noted however, that while values are experienced at an individual level, actors *pluck* these fundamental beliefs from their root residing in an institutional field (Selznick, 1922). Furthermore, values have both cognitive and affective features attached to them. With regard to the latter, actors are subject to anchoring their emotional investment on values and animating a vast array of distinct emotions that shape their work activities (Hitlin, 2003; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Kraatz & Block, 2017; Marini, 2000).

Emotions, in spite of their vital role in institutional processes, were operating only in the background (Creed et al., 2014; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). Only recently have emotions become a topic of burgeoning interest among institutional scholars who have begun to acknowledge their importance and relevance, while seeking to rectify the cognitive bias that has both muddled and sustained past theorizing (Lok, Creed, DeJordy, & Voronov, 2017; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). In examining the microfoundations of institutions, emotions are ontologically conceptualized as a collective and relational human element that ties together heterogeneous social

constituents engaging in work activities (Fineman, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009). When in the field, actors anchor their emotional investment on institutional arrangements (Friedland, 2013). Such an investment has been found to activate actors' distinct emotions (e.g., anger, fear, guilt, pride, shame, etc.), mobilizing them to create new institutional arrangements or reproduce/change the existing ones (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014; Gill & Burrow, 2018; Ruebottom & Auster; 2018; Voronov & Vince, 2012). Furthermore, emotionally invested and competent actors not only experience, but also employ emotions as a strategic tool to gain resonance with their audience, for instance by leaders to their followers (Giorgi, 2017; Massa, Helms, Voronov, & Wang, 2017; Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018).

To date, neo-institutional studies that empirically take values and emotions to center stage have documented only one side of the story: how actors *successfully* convert their values and emotions into work activities to attain their objectives (e.g., Gehman, Trevino, & Garud, 2013; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright et al., 2017). Studies that can paint a more complete picture by disclosing the boundary conditions for both values and emotions are acutely called for. This dissertation responds to this call by delving into the literature on systemic power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lawrence, 2008) and institutional contexts (de Rond & Lok, 2016; Lawrence & Dover, 2015). Regarding the former, it investigates how actors' values and emotions are influenced when they are confronted with power that acts as a stabilizer of institutional processes, and how actors' institutional work will evolve. As to the latter, contexts that are not conducive to or at odds with values are explored in conjunction with how these situations affect actors' emotions and their work activities carried out to enact their espoused values. Bringing in concepts from disparate literature, this dissertation not only offers a clearer understanding of the role of values and

emotions in neo-institutional theory, but also sheds some light on their limits, hence reevaluating their powerful allure.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consists of four main parts. Following this introduction, the empirical context of this study is discussed in Chapter 2. Given that the context of Pentecostalism in Indonesia is relatively unique and unheard of–at least for organization and management scholars–this chapter requires more than just a brief one-page section as in a typical academic journal paper in order to expose its richness and provide a whole picture to the readers. In this chapter, readers will be familiarized with Indonesia and its religious pluralism, despite being the world's largest Muslim country. Provided is a comprehensive chronology on how each of the six recognized religions came to Indonesia and how they (dis)harmoniously interact with each other, taking the readers on a dynamic journey stretching from the 2nd century AD until the present day. This chapter progressively zooms in on the global phenomenon of Pentecostalism, how it emerged in the beginning of the 20th century, and how it has been gaining dominance as the world's fastest-growing Christian denomination. Concluding with a narrower focus on Pentecostalism in Indonesia and its complex relationship with the other religions (Islam in particular), this chapter aims to give readers a better contextual understanding and to help them make sense of the findings that follow.

While Chapter 2 contextualizes the field, Chapter 3 narrates the activities that the author undertook while in the field for 212 days. This chapter opens with a case that neo-institutional theorists need to truly embrace the microfoundations of institutions in their analyses before they can make any significant impact for organizations and society. Attending to a different ontological perspective that treats structure and actors in a more balanced way (instead of seeing the former as overly deterministic or the latter as overly

agentic), institutional scholars will benefit from an all-around paradigm that seamlessly connects both institutions and individuals when they recursively shape each other. However, institutional theorists are still relatively uninformed about how to empirically capture the microfoundations of institutions. They ought to be equipped with a suitable methodology that can effectively capture the mundane intricacies of organizational life and the rich experiences of organizational members. The author argues that ethnography serves this purpose well, as it has the capability to reveal what actors cannot or will not share in a standard interview setting, making it among the most powerful inductive methods. Finally, the author closes this chapter with some hands-on recommendations with regard to the planning and execution of ethnography in a field characterized by a high degree of exclusivity and confidentiality. Through a more confessional style of narration, the author discloses not only the actual processes of ethnography, but also his thoughts, feelings, and reflections of successes and low moments.

After gaining some contextual and methodological understanding, readers will embark on an empirical journey in Chapter 4, in which they will find an answer to the puzzling question of *how do actors continue to contribute to the reproduction of extant institutional arrangements, even after they have become morally perturbed by these arrangements?* When actors first joined an organization, they entered with their own preconceptions of what was good, right, or proper about the world around them, and they were emotionally invested in their own moral values. But over time they started to realize that there were certain organizational practices that violated their moral values, causing moral perturbation and evoking their moral emotions of guilt and anger. However eager they were to disrupt and change the extant institutional arrangements they disapproved of, their leaders exerted fear and respect-eliciting systemic power that forced these actors to discontinue their disrupting activities, engendering their feelings

of helplessness. Rather than exiting the field, these actors engaged in reconciling activities by shifting the anchor of their emotional investment from the idealized institutional arrangements to a more spiritual meaning system. Highlighting the dark side of systemic power and the limit of moral emotions, this study carries relevant and far-reaching implications, especially for organizations that possess a great deal of (financial) resources, because irrespective of their for- or not-for-profit orientation, they are susceptible to breaching moral codes. Within these organizations reside actors who feel morally urged to shake up the system, but are unable to defy the leader whom they fear and respect. While this type of leader has (almost) absolute power over the entire organization, the followers–if they decide to stay–can still deal with the morally perturbing situation by relocating the anchor of their emotional investment.

Finally, examining further the role of values and emotions in neo-institutional theory, Chapter 5 seeks to empirically explore the question of *what role do contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as actors seek to enact values?* Organizations were sites strongly imbued with values that supplied actors with emotional energy to enact those values. However, during this enactment process, such energy did not translate directly into institutional work. When actors were in a context that activated the positive emotion of excitement, their emotional energy expanded, further engendering a type of work that truthfully fulfilled their espoused values. Yet when they inhabited a context that animated the negative emotion of fear, their emotional energy contracted. As a result, actors carried out work that was merely symbolic to justify their inability to enact values according to the original meaning. Finally, in a context that triggered the paradoxical emotions of fearful excitement, actors' emotional energy expanded and contracted simultaneously. Trying to deal with this contradiction, actors heightened their emotional investment in their close-knit community. Once their fear was decreased

and their excitement increased, their emotional energy started to expand, encouraging them to engage in a form of work that would carefully and slowly enact their upheld values. Overall, this study suggests that values and emotions are not limitless. While actors always desire to enact their espoused values, the successful enactment of such values hinges on the functioning of endogenous emotions and exogenous contexts. Moreover, emotional energy is elastic in that it can expand and contract bi-directionally, and paradoxical emotions need to be settled before actors can perform their work effectively. Finally, values are so constant that they can compel actors to justify work that does not perfectly adhere to the *authentic* enactment of their espoused values.

DECLARATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS

I (hereafter "the author") declare my contributions to all the chapters comprised in this dissertation and acknowledge additional contributors as noted in the following.

Chapters 1–3: Written by the author with feedback provided by the members of the supervisory team, Prof. Pursey Heugens and Prof. Joep Cornelissen. A revised version of chapter 3 was accepted for a single-authored book chapter and will be published at *The Routledge Companion to Anthropology in Management* in 2019.

Chapter 4: Written by the author (first author) in collaboration with Prof. Pursey Heugens. A revised version of this chapter was published at *Organization Studies*, Special Themed Section: Emotions and Institutions in 2018.

Chapter 5: Written by the author (first author) in collaboration with Dr. Madeline Toubiana (second author; a faculty member at the University of Alberta) and Prof. Pursey Heugens, in preparation for submission to a leading management journal.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation aims to advance neo-institutional theory by infusing values and emotions, two of the most fundamental yet neglected human elements in institutional

analyses. The four main chapters altogether seek to make four types of contributions. First, empirically, this dissertation introduces a fascinating context of religion from a geographical setting that is rarely taken up in organization studies. Pentecostalism is widely considered as the world's fastest-growing Christian denomination and it impressively includes a quarter of all Christian believers on the planet. Furthermore, Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country with its rich, diverse cultures and a dynamic yet turbulent religious landscape. Highly charged with values and emotions, this compelling, non-Western context naturally serves as a fertile ground for novel perspectives and important discoveries that will elevate the rigor and relevance of management research, and offer useful and applicable generalization for multiple organizations across different industries.

Second, methodologically, this dissertation accentuates the power of ethnography in capturing the microfoundations of institutions. Organization studies, including neo-institutional theory, have been calling for more adoption of ethnography as an effective qualitative method that is able to unearth how things actually work in real time and in a real setting. However, the inherent strength of ethnography essentially lies in building genuine relationships with actors in the field by winning their trust and creating comfort. As a result, they will naturally reveal things that they will not otherwise do in a standard interview, such as their historical baggage, underlying values, cognitive framing, emotional attachments, social interactions and interpretations, and bottom-up activities that shape institutions. This way, ethnography–compared to other inductive methods–can be substantially instrumental to the development of management research.

Third, theoretically, this dissertation illuminates how values and emotions matter for institutions. Despite their innate nature and salient roles for institutional actors, values and emotions have been relatively overlooked in the neo-institutional tradition

that tends to attribute actors' behaviors to macro exogenous forces. Moving away from this reductionist view, the microfoundations of institutions take actors, their humanizing baggage, and their work seriously and integrally into institutional processes. The studies in this dissertation show that values and emotions are pivotal for actors in shaping institutions while at the same time being shaped by them. While values and emotions supply actors with some galvanizing potential to reproduce, disrupt, or change institutions, systemic power and institutional contexts have the abilities to suppress such institutional work, thus serving as a boundary condition to the two of the most deeply rooted human elements. Values and emotions, together with systemic power and institutional contexts, seem to play inseparable roles in complex institutional processes.

Fourth, and finally, practically, this dissertation demystifies values and emotions for diverse audiences outside academia such as leaders, managers, executives, and policy makers, among others. A pertinent consideration for these institutional constituents, values and emotions are believed to have the power to lead organizations to success or demise. Values are foundational to actors' worldviews of what is good or evil, thereby driving thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that gradually construct ethical or immoral organizational structures and practices. Emotions, on the other hand, are ubiquitous in actors' life and key to their experiences, because these actors become emotionally invested in the institutions they inhabit, animate their emotions as a way of expressing their roles, and elicit emotions of others to pursue their own agenda. Through a critical inquiry into the applicability of values and emotions, institutional theorists are contributing to a more sustainable state of engaged scholarship.

CHAPTER 2. GOD AMONG GODS: THE DYNAMIC CONSTELLATION OF RELIGIONS AND THE PENTECOSTAL LANDSCAPE IN INDONESIA

CHRONOLOGY OF INDONESIA'S RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

Located in Southeast Asia, the Republic of Indonesia has one of the most diverse cultural heritages in contemporary history. Enjoying its status as the world's largest archipelagic country with approximately 17,500 islands that stretch along the equator between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Indonesia is home to 237 million citizens, making it the world's fourth largest country. Due to rapid development in 1970s, migration to urban areas has been rising ninefold since 1960, from 13 to 118 million people in 2010, reaching the highest rate ever (49.79%). Javanese and Sundanese people make up the largest ethnic groups with 40.22% and 15.5% of the total population respectively, most of which reside on Java Island. The remaining groups include Batak (3.58%), Madurese (3.03%), Balinese (1.67%), and Chinese (1.2%). To date, there are approximately 1,400 living ethnic groups (or around 350 ethnolinguistic groups) on record. Java Island, which represents only 6.8% of the total land area (1.92 million km^2), is the most densely populated island inhabited by over 136 million people (57.5%). Scattered in 33 provinces, Indonesians are united by their official language, *Bahasa Indonesia*. In practice, however, only one-fifth of them use *Bahasa Indonesia* as their daily language at home. The majority (80%) speaks their local languages, whose total number amounts to 707 (the world's second highest number of living languages after Papua New Guinea with 839). Indonesia is also the world's largest Muslim country with 207 million adherents (87.18%). Protestantism is the second largest religion with 16.5 million (6.96%), followed by Catholicism (2.91%), Hinduism (1.69%), Buddhism (0.72%), and Confucianism (0.05%) (BPS, 2015).

Indonesia's current religious pluralism dates back to as early as the 2nd century AD when Indian traders, scholars, and missionaries brought and introduced Hinduism

to the predominantly animistic society. In the 4th century, another flow, also from India, arrived carrying another set of beliefs: Buddhism. These two religions spread eastward, starting on the islands of Sumatra and Java. Several kingdoms flourished and then declined across the nation. The most notable ones were Sailendra (Buddhist; built Borobudur in 750 AD) and Mataram/Medang (mixed; built Prambanan in 850 AD). Moreover, the two largest empires were also established during this early historical period: Srivijaya (mixed; ca. 7th–14th century; responsible for the widespread use of Old Malay language, the root of Malaysian and *Bahasa Indonesia*) and Majapahit (Hindu; 1293–1527; considered to have led Indonesia to its golden age under Hayam Wuruk and his prime minister, Gajah Mada). The late 13th century marked the decline of Buddhism as Srivijaya began to falter but it was not until the mid-14th century that the empire fell (Frederick, 2011; Kuipers, 2011). Currently, the biggest Buddhist concentration–whose majority is of ethnic Chinese descent–can be found in the following provinces: Riau Islands (6.65%), West Kalimantan (5.41%), Bangka-Belitung (4.24%), and Jakarta (3.3%) (BPS, 2015). Prehistoric Hindu supremacy was also undermined during the fall of Majapahit and the rise of Islam in the early 16th century. During this decline a great deal of artisans, royal family members, and religious figures relocated to Bali, strengthening the root of Hinduism (Frederick, 2011; Kuipers, 2011). Today, 83.46% of all Balinese practice Hinduism on a daily basis, which is reflected in their caste system, clerical division, rituals, and festivals (BPS, 2015).

The advent of Islam in Indonesia can be traced back to the 8th–9th century when Muslim spice merchants, mainly from the Middle East and India, reached Sumatra and Java. The spread of Islam was characterized by a slow yet peaceful flow. Slow, as it moved gradually from the coastal areas to inland regions, and peaceful, as it was introduced through commercial trade activities as opposed to more coercive and violent

conquests or occupations. In its development, Indonesia's Islam was heavily influenced by the already-institutionalized animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, all of which shaped Islam into a relatively moderate and syncretistic religion. Starting in the 13th century, when Srivijaya's domination subsided, several Islamic sultanates emerged and steadily gained power, signaling the onset of Islamization. By the late 15th–early 16th century, the fall of Majapahit under the Sultanate of Demak had a particularly strong impact on the spread of Islam, which became the predominant religion in Indonesia (Frederick, 2011; Hefner, 2005; Kuipers, 2011).

At about the same time, commercially lucrative spices that were grown all over the archipelago attracted the European colonialists–the Portuguese, soon followed by the Dutch–who competed for raw materials and markets. Whilst the Portuguese influence was minimal, the Dutch impact was pervasive thanks to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) based in Batavia (now Jakarta). By the end of the 17th century the Dutch had gained effective control over Java and Sumatra, and over the rest of the islands by the mid-19th century. At first, for economic and political reasons, the Dutch discouraged any attempt to spread Christianity, let alone convert the native Muslim people. But in the mid-19th century they reversed their policy and proceeded with their missionary efforts following several Islamic-inspired revolts against the Dutch rule (e.g., the Diponegoro revolt in Java from 1825–1830 and the Padri revolt in West Sumatra from 1823–1837). This period also coincided with the modernist Muslim clerics' arrival from their studies in the Middle East, who were hoping to purify Indonesian Islam from any syncretistic tradition. They also considered Christianization a serious threat to Islam, leading them to counter the Dutch missionary and colonialism efforts by any means. Accordingly, two Islamic mass organizations were born: Muhammadiyah (1912; more modernist) and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU; 1926; more traditionalist), whose movements are

classified as moderate, oriented toward public health and education/training. They are currently Indonesia's largest Islamic bodies with 29 and 30 million members respectively (Arifianto, 2009; Hefner, 2005; Steenbrink, 1992).

From the early 20th century until Indonesia declared its independence from the Netherlands on 17 August 1945 (acknowledged only on 27 December 1949 by the Dutch), mounting nationalism across the country caused conservative Muslims to become increasingly active in the political arena with an agenda to establish an independent Muslim state. But upon entering the Old Order (*Orde Lama*) regime under president Sukarno (18 August 1945–12 March 1967)–who was a Muslim but shared a secular political orientation–the political situation was characterized by volatility and confusion. The regime was also ill-prepared to set up a new country and this led to power struggles among the nationalists, communists, military, and Islamists (Hefner, 2000). As a result, not only was the conservative Muslims' agenda largely overlooked, the Jakarta Charter (*Piagam Jakarta*) was also removed from the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia, leaving a painful scar among them. The Jakarta Charter was a seven-word clause that read "with the obligation for adherents of Islam to practice *Sharia* (Islamic law)" ("*dengan kewajiban menjalankan Syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*") (Boland, 1971: 26). They believed there had been a coalition between Christians and secular nationalists, creating a fear of Christianization and provoking the growing distrust between Muslims and Christians. In short, Sukarno's all-embracing policies–including his support for the Communist regime–and the spread of religious freedom across the country angered the conservative Muslims, who still hoped and fought for the reinstatement of the *seven words* (Arifianto, 2009; Hefner, 2000).

During the New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime under president Suharto (12 March 1967–21 May 1998), both political order (through government authoritarianism and

military rules) and economic development dominated the national policies. During his first five years of incumbency, Suharto managed to persuade conservative Muslims to join his armed forces to eradicate communism. Enthusiasm and optimism instantly grew among them, as they believed the victory would enhance their bargaining power. Nonetheless, suspicion of an alliance between Christians and the government was getting stronger, as they discovered that many communists who had taken refuge in Christianity were not persecuted. The Muslims were further agitated during this period by the active Christian missionaries, which led to open conflicts between Muslims and Christians (e.g., in Aceh, Java, and Makassar). Finally, Suharto also restricted all types of religious activities, especially those that were considered politically deviant, arousing suspicion of a possible anti-Islamic administration (Boland, 1971; Tamney, 1980).

All of these factors, supported by the development of national education and a more intensively resourceful bond with the Middle East, gave rise to the Islamic revival in the early 1970s, in which many Muslims who formerly practiced Islam only nominally, became more devout and showed piety in their daily lives. More mosques were built, Friday prayer and religious schools saw more attendants, pilgrimage and donation were more frequently made. These changes started to get Suharto's attention and from the mid-1980s until his fall in 1998 he gradually adjusted his policies toward conservative Muslims, moving from oppressive to accommodative. Islamic banks were promoted, Muslim courts were given more power, veils were permitted, Islamic newspapers and television programs were made public, religious schools received more funding, and the ICMI (the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) was founded in December 1990. Suharto's repoliticization of religion clearly favored some groups (the radical Muslims) over others (the moderate/liberal Muslims and the non-Muslims). When it was clear that the latter groups were trying to promote democracy

and more religious freedom, Suharto recruited the more fundamentalist Muslims to curb any deviant action. This marked the beginning of a Muslim radicalism movement that thrived after his fall (Freedman, 2009; Hefner, 2000).

According to the history and accounts of Catholic churches, Eastern Christianity was the earliest form of Christianity known in Indonesia. It was introduced in Sumatra and Java by the Nestorian Christians in the 7th century. There was, unfortunately, no further record of its development until the beginning of 16th century when Western Christianity (i.e., Roman Catholicism and Protestantism) was brought by the European imperialists, starting from the east. Whereas the Portuguese were responsible for the early Catholicization of East Timor and the Moluccas, the Dutch started to propagate their Protestant faith in the mid-19th century to the rest of the islands through the establishment of their state church, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Protestant Church in the Dutch-Indies), in 1840 (promulgated in 1844). Not only did they convert people living in all kinds of settlements (e.g., villages, towns, or cities), but they also supplemented their evangelization with the creation of public institutions (e.g., schools, hospitals, orphanages, and theological institutes) until the Japanese invaded the country in 1942. Even though Christian Indonesians were trusted by the Dutch to run their own missions, they were still deemed unqualified to lead a church. However, during the Japanese occupation that lasted until 1945, the new policies implemented by the Japanese enabled Christian Indonesians to finally take over the church leadership that once had been in the hands of the Europeans and acquire an equal status. Besides their significant involvements in missionary efforts, Christian Indonesians were also regarded as Dutch loyalists and held minor yet crucial positions in military and politics. But they refused to be labeled as collaborators supporting the Dutch colonialism. Only in 1945–1949 could they prove their nationalistic commitment by joining in the War of

Independence against the Dutch, during which thousands of Christian Indonesian soldiers were killed (Boland, 1971; Hefner, 2005; Steenbrink, 1992; Titaley, 2008).

Soon after Indonesia declared its independence and after the removal of the Jakarta Charter from the Constitution's preamble, Catholics and Protestants took the golden opportunity to demonstrate their nationalism and get the best out of the nation's acknowledgement of religious pluralism. They did this through their active involvement in the political and governmental spheres (e.g., founding political organizations and parties, and becoming cabinet members, government officials, and members of parliament). Moreover, in order to unify all Protestant churches in Indonesia, a national-level ecumenical organization called *Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia* (Council of Churches in Indonesia) was formed in 1950 (changed to *Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia* or Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia in 1984). During the Old Order regime of guided democracy (a government by mutual consensus rather than majority rule), all religions were equally and fully respected. The adherents were free to practice their beliefs and their religious activities were protected by the state. Nevertheless, this freedom was slowly yet steadily interpreted in its broadest sense by the Christians, as in the late 1960s–early 1970s they engaged in missionaries to proselytize the Muslims. They received a great deal of resources from foreign countries which were utilized not only for printed materials for evangelical purposes but also for building churches, schools, and hospitals, most of which were at the center of Muslim communities (Kim, 1998). In Java, the number of Catholics almost doubled from 1953–1965 with Protestants rising by more than 20% annually (Cooley, 1968).

But to secure the ideological consistency of the state philosophy, *Pancasila* (literally, five (*panca*) principles (*sila*)), the New Order government issued two government decrees in 1978 prohibiting all religious followers from converting those

who had already belonged to another religion and forbidding all kinds of religious support from abroad. In practice, however, Christians were the main target. Furthermore, Suharto's repoliticization scheme also changed the life of Christians dramatically. Bureaucratic procedures were installed in order to deter the construction of new places of worship (especially churches), church services were not allowed to be held in private houses or they would be destroyed, Christians who had served the government and military were all replaced by Muslims. Consequently, by the mid-1990s Christians had lost almost all their representations in the local- and national-level governmental bodies, relinquishing the political networks and power that had been subtly developed since the Old Order regime. Since that time, Christians have been anxious about the possibility of an Islamic state. Unable to rely on the government's religious protection, Christians have become a close-knit yet exclusive religious group. They have maintained or even increased their faith, but outreach programs to other religions–especially conservative Islam–have been limited (Arifianto, 2009; Crouch, 2007; Steenbrink, 1998).

Indonesia's current religious pluralism–despite the lingering threat of a Muslim state and inter-religious violence–has gone through a history parallel to that of the nation itself. Indeed, it would not have been endorsed or assured if *Pancasila* had not been created in 1945 and since adopted. *Pancasila* is Indonesia's state philosophy and is a pillar of any national legislation that is drafted or enacted. *Pancasila* also acts as an ideological pillar, appearing in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*). *Pancasila* comprises the following principles: (1) belief in the one and only God (monotheism), (2) just and civilized humanity (humanitarianism), (3) the unity of Indonesia (nationalism), (4) democracy led by wisdom through consultation/representation (democracy) and (5) social justice for all Indonesian people (social justice). The removal of the Jakarta

Charter from the preamble is believed to be one of the most defining moments in the history of securing equal rights and protecting Indonesia's religious diversity, delivering Indonesia to the gate of modernization. *Pancasila* not only represents but also encourages cultural heterogeneity by providing a model for a harmonious unification among all Indonesia's racial, ethnic, religious, and social groups. Despite the fact that Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population, it is not an Islamic state where Islam is the official religion. Indonesia is not a fully secular state either because the first principle of *Pancasila compels* its citizen to adhere to a particular religion. Currently, there are six officially sanctioned religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Although serving as the state philosophy, *Pancasila* has constantly faced problems with the interpretation and implementation of its principles with respect to socio-economic-political life as demonstrated below (BPS, 2015; Federspiel, 1998; Hefner, 2000; Kim, 1998).

After the abrupt fall of the New Order regime that was mainly attributed to the 1997 Asian financial crisis and widespread ethno-religious riots across the country (1995–1997), Indonesia entered a new era, Reformation (*Reformasi*). This witnessed the resurgence of radical, highly organized Islamic groups such as the Warriors of Jihad (*Laskar Jihad*), the Indonesian Mujahideen Assembly (*Majelis Mujahiddin Indonesia*), the Islamic Defenders Front (*Front Pembela Islam*) and *Jemaah Islamiyah*. While their absolute number might be small, their movements were active and aggressive. Unlike Suharto, who implemented totalitarian policies to address anything that questioned his regime, his successors (i.e., Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie (21 May 1998–20 October 1999), Abdurrahman Wahid (20 October 1999–23 July 2001), Megawati Sukarnoputri (23 July 2001–20 October 2004), and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (20 October 2004–20 October 2014)) were considered weak in upholding law and order. And despite their

secular-nationalist political orientation, they were seen opening the door for violent militant groups to advance their agenda. The last president even opted not to directly confront these groups–except for the terrorist organization *Jemaah Islamiyah*, which was considered illegal due to its link to *al-Qaeda*–in the name of preserving religious pluralism. Many believed that his action was actually jeopardizing it. The following are examples of inter-religious clashes and terrorist attacks carried out by Islamic extremist organizations since 1998: various Muslim-Christian upheavals in the eastern part of Indonesia (e.g., the Moluccas, South Sulawesi, and Central Sulawesi) from 1998–2001; a series of deadly explosions that destroyed nearly 40 churches across the archipelago on Christmas Eve 2000, killing 19 and injuring more than 100; Bali bombing on 12 October 2002 that killed and injured as many as 202 and 209 (inter)national tourists respectively; JW Marriott bombing on 5 August 2003 in Jakarta that led to 12 deaths and 150 injuries; Australian Embassy bombing on 9 September 2004 that claimed 9 lives and left more than 150 injured in Jakarta; another Bali bombing on 1 October 2005 that took place in two different sites with a death toll of 26 and over 100 injured; Jakarta bombing on 17 July 2009 that hit both the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels leaving 9 dead and 53 injured (Arifianto, 2009; Lim, 2008; Sidel, 2007).

Today, although Indonesia has successfully transitioned from a New Order to a Reformation era (from a soft authoritarian to an open democratic state) and has been embracing political stability, socio-cultural advancement, and solid economic growth, its religious pluralism and freedom are still in a murky phase. It is slowly losing its grip on *Pancasila's* philosophical ideology and is grappling with contested religious forces (e.g., between Islam and Christianity, and between conservative and moderate/liberal Islam). All of these are struggling for power and domination by imposing their agendas to shape the future of Indonesian society (Barton, 2010; Freedman, 2009).

PENTECOSTALISM IN BRIEF

In addition to encompassing a great deal of theological-, historical-, or governance-based denominations (e.g., Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Baptist, Pentecostal, etc.), Protestantism is on the continuum of two major movements: mainline (more liberal) and evangelical (more conservative), with moderate churches fall in between. These two movements can be found in almost all denominations. For instance, there are both mainline and evangelical Lutheran churches. Nevertheless, few denominations–including Pentecostalism–are already evangelical in their nature and therefore cannot possibly adopt the mainline tradition (Smith, 1990). The Evangelical movement initially emerged in the 18th century as an Anglo-American revivalism known as the Great Awakening, emphasizing the importance of individual salvation and piety while undermining the rituals and traditions that had become the backdrop of Protestantism until then. Evangelicalism was specifically characterized by the following four cardinal qualities: (1) a belief that all human beings needed to be converted or born again by repenting their sins and accepting the Lord Jesus Christ as the sole source of salvation (conversionism), (2) a recognition that the Bible was the inerrant word of God that served as the only basis of and the ultimate authority for Christian faith and morality (biblicism), (3) a focus on the substitutionary atonement by Jesus Christ who died on the cross (crucicentrism), and (4) an active expression of the gospel through missionary outreach or social reform (activism) (Bebbington, 1989; Noll, 2001).

In its early development evangelicalism was primarily practiced by Methodist and Baptist churches but a new movement, which experimented with various understandings of the conversionism principle, came in the second half of the 19th century within the American Methodist churches: Holiness movement. It stressed John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection, stating that it required baptism in the Holy Spirit–besides the

merely symbolical ordinance (sacrament) of baptism by immersion–in order to finalize the conversion process and that the converts would experience sanctification in their life through a second work of grace (i.e., the Holy Spirit). In 1906, William J. Seymour, an African American itinerant Holiness preacher and a student of a Wesleyan evangelist, Charles F. Parham, began his ministry on Azusa Street in Los Angeles, targeting the poor and oppressed. His interracial revival meetings–which lasted until 1909 and were ecstatically charged with miraculous experiences, exuberant spiritual worship, and speaking in tongues (glossolalia)–led to the advent of Pentecostalism. This term originated from a pivotal day of Pentecost (i.e., 50 days after the resurrection of Jesus Christ or 10 days after His ascension into heaven), during which the Holy Spirit descended upon the twelve apostles of Christ and enabled them to speak in other languages (Synan, 1997). Theologically, the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism had much in common, but differences existed. While the Holiness movement underlined the prominence of the Holy Spirit, it was the manifestation of the Holy Spirit (e.g., tongues, interpretation of tongues, dreams, prophecies, visions, words of wisdom, healings, miracles, exorcisms) that distinguished Pentecostalism from its predecessor and other Protestant denominations. The theological pillars of Pentecostalism rested on the Full Gospel, a belief that Jesus Christ was the Savior, Sanctifier, Spirit Baptizer, Healer, and Soon-Coming King (Dayton, 1987; Thomas, 1998).

In the 1960s, mainline Protestant churches opened their doors to welcome the gift (*charismata*) of the Holy Spirit, which had previously been an exclusive element of Pentecostal denomination. Prior to the 1960s, members of non-Pentecostal churches who had received baptism in the Holy Spirit had left their churches and subsequently joined the Pentecostal ones. But as soon as this second wave of movement, the Charismatic movement, spread its wings inter-denominationally (i.e., across Protestant

denominations) and even embraced Roman Catholicism in 1967, non-Pentecostal churches were able to bring the Holy Spirit within their churches and at the same time retain their congregation (Csordas, 1994; McGuire, 1982; Synan, 1997). Despite the conflicting definition of Charismatic Christians in the literature, this paper refers to one offered by Robbins (2004: 121), which is relatively more consistent with the history and reads "members of non-Pentecostal denominations who believe the gifts of the Spirit are available to contemporary believer". Just about a decade after the birth of the Charismatic movement, another new movement within Pentecostalism but independent of any denominations emerged: neo-Charismatic. Churches under this banner were usually more indigenous, contextually internal, experiential, and ecumenical (Miller, 1997; Prior, 2007; Synan, 1997).

In summary, there have been three significant waves within Pentecostalism since its inception in 1906: (1) the classical Pentecostal movement that was initiated by the Azusa Street ministries, (2) the Charismatic movement that rapidly expanded in the 1960s and infiltrated the non-Pentecostal denominations (i.e., mainline Protestant and Catholic churches), and (3) the neo-Charismatic movement that began in the 1970s and was non-denominational. The latter two, usually grouped as neo-Pentecostalism, are considered less conservative because they do not insist on glossolalia as the sole or the first physical evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit and often tone down the ascetic practices echoed by classical Pentecostalism. Both prosperity gospel (i.e., a set of doctrines guaranteeing a healthy and wealthy life on earth through healing and blessings) and spiritual warfare (i.e., a doctrine declaring that every day is an ongoing battle between God and his followers, and territorial satanic spirits) are also regularly heard in neo-Pentecostal sermons (Coleman, 2002; DeBernardi, 1999). Irrespective of the dissimilarities, which have blurred over time, all three waves share the same ethos:

their acknowledgement and affirmation of the baptism in the Holy Spirit that should be visible in daily life and worship. To date, Pentecostalism is regarded as one of the world's most dynamic, most successful, and fastest growing Protestant denominations (Blumhofer, 1993; Casanova, 2001; Robbins, 2004).

GLOBAL PENTECOSTALISM

Globally, Pentecostalism reached over 643 million followers in 2015 (compared to 1, 62, 460, 521, and 583 million in 1910, 1970, 2000, 2005, and 2010 respectively). That was more than a quarter of the world's Christians (2.42 billion) or nearly 8.79% of the world's population (7.3 billion). Classical Pentecostal, Charismatic, and neo-Charismatic waves constitute 15.97%, 40.16%, and 43.87% of the total Pentecostals respectively. Brazil, the USA, China, Nigeria, and the Philippines are the top five countries with the highest number of Pentecostals with 110, 73, 61, 55, and 35 million respectively; Indonesia is ranked 12th with nearly 11 million followers. The international growth of Pentecostalism is concentrated in the global South, namely Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania (WCD, 2015).

There are at least five reasons behind this fast, global spread of Pentecostalism. First, the roots of Pentecostalism are archetypically primal, taking in much of the African religious allure that constantly molds the African American cultural sphere–the setting where classical Pentecostalism was actually born. Pentecostal liturgy is more orally expressive or less solemnly rigid, and is therefore particularly appealing to nonliterate cultures. The style of preaching is free, inspirational, and narrative–as opposed to textual, rhetorical, and logical–without being anchored on a prepared text, the congregation actively responds to the sermon by applauding or shouting "amen" or "hallelujah," and both the pastor and the congregation are encouraged to share personal spiritual testimonials. Pentecostal churches also endorse the harmony of body and mind

expressed in the physically energetic worships (e.g., raising of hands, clapping, and dancing) and healing by prayer. Finally, the Pentecostal community is driven by divine dreams and visions, and united by the strong participation of its members to experience God's presence and work in their daily life, both within and outside the church. These generically primitive factors are what Hollenweger (1984: 405) calls the "black roots" of Pentecostalism and believes to be the significant accelerator of its movement.

Second, as Pentecostal services, gatherings, and revivals are designed to open up a new level of individual experience with the Holy Spirit, worships are primarily spontaneous and experiential, relying on what the Spirit will carry out, hence attenuating the role of liturgy. They are heavily infused with rhythmic or contemporary music, jubilation, trance, and prostration, often diminishing the boundaries between worship and leisure, and between control and release. This mysterious charm of a perceived direct encounter with God–by being filled with the Spirit–is what draws new followers to Pentecostal churches (Brouwer, Gifford, & Rose, 1996).

Third, the growth of global Pentecostalism is also attributed to the evangelical work that strongly urges all members, irrespective of their educational background or financial condition, to vigorously reach out to nonbelievers (McGee, 2001).

Fourth, from its outset on the Azusa Street, Pentecostalism has been embracing people from all races, ethnicities, genders, and classes. Everybody is equal before God. This element of egalitarianism is seen not only in the evangelization of the marginalized but also in the church structure. As regards the former, a great deal of converts in the global South have been among the deprived and the disorganized. They consist of people at the bottom of the pyramid and rural migrants who mostly stay at home or are ousted to the periphery of social life. Churches have therefore become their hopeful escape offering a tight-knit community, faith-driven membership, emotional

empowerment, a high-intensity ceremonial lifestyle, elaborately protracted rituals, spiritual uplift, an ascetic-driven moral direction, social belonging and welfare, and the same divine rewards–salvation and the gifts of the Spirit–for all (Anderson, 1979). As to the latter, there is no global-level Pentecostal organization and churches are accordingly decentralized and self-governing, unlike the Roman Catholic ones. Pentecostal churches all around the world configure themselves like a huge web of networks, through which far-reaching evangelization is promoted, by way of services, conferences, revivals, or other special events that feature local, regional, national, or international preachers, for example. Moreover, because of their flat hierarchy, Pentecostal churches can easily empower people from all levels and backgrounds to participate both in congregational worship and in the organization of their churches, once again attesting the value of egalitarianism (Synan, 1997).

Fifth, Pentecostal churches, regardless of where they are located, can aptly adjust to native cultures. This cultural assimilation is apparent in the internalization of local music, traditional instruments, national costumes, and culturally aware discourses in almost all types of congregational meetings (Anderson, 2004; Cox, 1995). Yet, this adaptability argument only partially describes the dualistic notion of Pentecostal work that is, in fact, both locally flexible and, at the same time, radically transformative. With respect to the latter, global Pentecostal work centers on gaining victory over a constant struggle between the divine (e.g., conversion, Spirit baptism, sanctification, and salvation) and the satanic (e.g., adultery, pride, violence, witchcraft, etc.) by bringing society to a Bible-based moral betterment and ultimately, winning souls for Christ. Pentecostal elements of indigenous differentiation (in terms of local flexibility) and global homogenization (in terms of radical transformation) are two sides of the same coin (Barker, 2001; Robbins, 2003).

INDONESIAN PENTECOSTALISM

The earliest Pentecostal activity in Indonesia ever recorded was Gerrit R. Polman's correspondence work addressed mainly to the Dutch descendants living in the Dutch East Indies. Since 1909, the missionary bulletin *Spade Regen* was regularly dispatched from the Netherlands and consequently stimulated Dutch communities in Temanggung (Central Java) to set up a Pentecostal-oriented prayer group in 1911. After some calls for Pentecostal missionaries in Java were published in the 1920's edition of *Spade Regen*, a few Dutch evangelists responded and began their journey to spread the gospel in the cities of Bandung (West Java) and Temanggung. Almost concurrently, two American classical Pentecostal missionaries of Dutch descent from Seattle-based Bethel Temple, Richard van Klaveren and Cornelis Groesbeek, set off for Bali in 1921 with the same purpose. Their work did not last long, as it took only ten months for the Dutch authorities to finally dismiss it and make them search for a new base in a nearby town, in which Surabaya (East Java) quickly functioned as their new territory. Their collaborative mission in Surabaya, which emphasized miraculous healings and glossolalia, soon had to part as the van Klaverens relocated to Lawang (East Java) before settling in Jakarta and the Groesbeeks moved to Cepu (Central Java) before settling back in Surabaya in 1923 (Wiyono, 2011).

Up until this point, Bandung, Temanggung, Cepu, and Surabaya served as the origin of Pentecostal work in Indonesia, from which the Full Gospel was disseminated at a fast and furious pace across the archipelago primarily by young converts and evangelists. They were remarkably successful in founding Pentecostal churches in northern Sumatra, northern Sulawesi, Kalimantan, the Moluccas, Papua, and East Timor by 1930. This geographical diffusion was deemed to be the twentieth century's most productive evangelical work in Indonesia. Most of the earliest converts–some of whom

later became the first-generation leaders and backbones of Indonesian Pentecostalism–were predominantly Chinese-Indonesian Buddhists/Confucians (owing to the Chinese evangelist John Sung's crusades in 1939), Indo-Europeans, Javanese, and adherents of traditional religions, as well as Dutch Catholics and mainline Protestants to a lesser extent. In order to disciple these new converts and prepare ministers for subsequent evangelization, a Bible training program and the first Pentecostal Bible school in Indonesia were opened in Surabaya in 1926 and 1935 respectively. Since then, Bible colleges and seminaries have been blossoming throughout the country, concentrating on a fundamental understanding and/or a practical application of biblical doctrines, and offering diverse theological education ranging from short-term training, undergraduate, graduate, to doctorate programs. Following the Pentecostal missions of the van Klaverens and the Groesbeeks, two American families–the Devins and the Busbies–sailed from Seattle to Ambon in 1936 and Medan in 1937 respectively to join the labors of Bethel Temple's evangelical work. Just one year before Japan invaded Southeast Asia, these families fled to the USA and joined the Assemblies of God where they met the Shorts, who had shepherded Banjarmasin people since 1936 and who were also fleeing from the Japanese (GSJA, 2009; Wiyono, 2011).

During the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), there were many local and international religious pioneers who were persecuted and put to death, and only few managed to escape the country, leaving most churches with no strong leader. But the period of Indonesian revolution (1945–1949) witnessed a widespread surge of new Pentecostal leaders filling up the vacant spots within their church. After 1945 many new Pentecostal churches were formed and their expansion continued to grow at an impressive rate. For example, when the Devins, the Busbies, and the Shorts returned to Indonesia, they promptly established *Gereja Sidang-Sidang Jemaat Allah* (Assemblies

of God in Indonesia) that scattered in Ambon, Medan, Jakarta, Kalimantan, northern Sulawesi, and other parts of Java. Moreover, due to disputes in doctrine (e.g., Trinity vs. Unitarian) and cultural interpretation (e.g., Batak culture of eating blood, tithing, and women's role), in addition to regrettable personal clashes in leadership style and church structure, from 1931 several churches split into sub-groups, creating multiple yet equal synods. The emergence of new churches and the tragic tale of church schism–hence countless synods–within the Pentecostal body pushed for more ecumenical cooperation and in 1955, several Pentecostal pastors formed *Persatuan Antar Pendeta-Pendeta Seluruh Indonesia* (Unity Between Pastors Across Indonesia). After struggling to come up with the right name, in 1998 it was officially named *Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Pantekosta Indonesia* (PGPI; Fellowship of Indonesian Pentecostal Churches), headquartered in Surabaya. Back in 1924 there was only one Pentecostal church, *De Pinkstergemeente in Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Pentecostal Assemblies in the Dutch-Indies) and in 1942 the church took an Indonesian name of *Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia* (Pentecostal Church in Indonesia). But within two decades three new synods branched out from the main body: Church of the Messiah (*Gereja Isa Almasih*) in 1946, Bethel Full Gospel Church (*Gereja Bethel Injil Sepenuh*) in 1952, and Surabaya Center Pentecostal Church (*Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya*) in 1959. And before long, Bethel Full Gospel Church also experienced split-up into at least two new synods: Bethel Tabernacle Church (*Gereja Bethel Tabernakel*) in 1957 and Indonesian Bethel Church (*Gereja Bethel Indonesia*) in 1969. Today, PGPI is passionately motivated to bridge the activities of its 81 members, representing 81 different Pentecostal synods with their distinct characteristics (GSJA, 2009; PGPI, 2012; Robinson, 2011).

Approaching the end of the Old Order, Christians in general were concerned about the threatening power of Communism and Islam, even though religious freedom

was secured at the time. But upon entering the New Order, the popularity of the evangelical faith appeared far from subsiding. President Suharto's new policies to eradicate communism and religionize the unbelievers helped accelerate the growth of Pentecostalism. As to the former, many communists, who were hunted by the armed forces, sought refuge in Christian churches for food and shelter, leading to massive conversion. Pertaining to the latter, indigenous people with mystical religion (e.g., the Dayak people of Kalimantan, the aboriginal people of Bali and Java, etc.) were strictly required to belong to one of the punitive religions. Pentecostals immediately seized this excellent opportunity to spread the Full Gospel all over the country. It was estimated that more than two million Indonesians, specifically Javanese and Timorese, accepted Jesus and joined Pentecostal churches in the 1960s. Due to their crusading zeal, their missionary efforts went beyond borders when they engaged in proselytizing the non-Christians, particularly the Muslims. Although Pentecostal growth was sustained until the 1970s, it started to slow down after the government issued a decree in 1978 prohibiting all religion followers from converting those who already belonged to another religion (Kim, 1998; Robinson, 2011).

Shortly after the wave of the Neo-Pentecostal movement (i.e., Charismatic and neo-Charismatic) swept the USA in the 1960–1970s, it steadily moved to Indonesia. Whilst the Charismatic movement was prevalent among the Roman Catholics (and less among the mainline Protestants; mainline Protestant churches did not emphasize Spirit baptism and if they did, they regarded themselves as either classical Pentecostal or neo-Charismatic churches), the neo-Charismatic movement was popular among upper-middle class and urban dwellers. The New Order was the era of political stability, economic growth, and social development, during which education, modernization, and urbanization levels were quickly rising, causing unprecedented socio-cultural changes

that led to uncertainty, insecurity, and spiritual deficiency, particularly affecting people living in metropolitan areas. In its first years, the neo-Charismatic movement took the form of gatherings that were routinely held in hotel ballrooms or business offices, offering a casual service, an intimate community, and a cozy environment. They were also non-denominational, warmly welcoming people from other denominations, Roman Catholic, and other religions. All of these factors uniquely appealed to the urbanized intellectuals, professionals, and business people. As a result, the neo-Charismatic movement attracted people from the upper class, whose overall contribution gradually diminished the churches' reliance on overseas financial donations and competent staff. Some fellowships stayed informal, whereas the others were institutionalized into an ecumenical church form with an ecclesiastical structure. In general, the New Order contributed to an accelerated growth of Pentecostalism within every level of human settlements (i.e., villages, towns, and cities), although the fastest-growing and the largest ones were found in cities across Java. The phenomenon of Pentecostal mega-churches also sprang up in the 1990s, centering in Indonesia's two largest cities, Jakarta and Surabaya (Robinson, 2011; Wiyono, 2011).

The transition period from the New Order to the Reformation era–that was triggered by the 1997 economic collapse and horrific ethno-religious riots across the country–was an exceptionally arduous time for Indonesians in general and for many Christians in particular. Indeed, radical Islam was suddenly awakened from its hibernation (from the systemic suppression throughout the Suharto era). Churches were subjects of protest, vandalism, closure, and arson since 1945, with the number peaking during the 1998 transition period. From 1965–1998 there were 514 reported cases, 275 of which took place from 1996–1998, 121 of which (44%) were Pentecostal churches, the only denomination to suffer double-digit percentage losses. Moreover, on the

Christmas Eve in 2000, 40 churches across the archipelago were bombed. This figure could be explained partially by the aggressiveness of Pentecostal missions (i.e., outreach and proselytization), making them vulnerable to the assaults of such militant Islamic organizations as the Warriors of Jihad and the Islamic Defenders Front. However, since 2001 the number of cases declined significantly and the future growth of Pentecostalism appeared to be promising (Sidel, 2007; Sinaga, 1998; Yung, 2003).

Although the growth of Pentecostal churches in Indonesia can be fully attributed to the abovementioned five global arguments, there are also some contextual arguments that distinguishes Indonesian Pentecostalism from the rest. First, related to the *black roots* argument, preaching indeed takes a freely narrative style filled with testimonial and humorous stories, and seldom lasts less than an hour. Nonetheless, most sermons are extremely pragmatic when it comes to the content, focusing more on how to improve people's everyday life and less on how to deepen their theological understanding (more ministerial than theological). This trend is a result of the fact that Bible institutes in Indonesia unevenly accentuate the practical application of biblical doctrines and that churches invite business professionals or even celebrities–who do not have any formal theological training–to talk about some highly relevant issues in an attempt to inspire people to make an impact in their life.

Second, the supernatural *Weltanschauung* has been an integral part of Indonesian culture, leading people to believe in two sorts of living spirits: the good and the evil. They are believed to have such an impact on humans' life as to affect health/illness and fortune/adversity. Pentecostal theology tackles this supernatural dimension by performing miraculous signs and wonders (e.g., prophecies, dreams, visions, healings, or deliverances from demonic bondage that comes from use of charms, idol worship, witchcraft, and other mystical practices), declaring the victory of God over Satan. These

divine miracles are a particularly effective weapon that can be deployed when Pentecostals approach the most resistant people (Anderson, 2004; Hollenweger, 1997).

Third, evangelization is pursued through spreading the Full Gospel and converting the unbelievers not only at the individual level, but also at a greater level. Mass evangelization in the form of revivals has been prevalent since the early years of Pentecostal development. Taking place mostly in huge stadiums, multi-function halls, or theaters, these crusades usually feature (inter)national well-known evangelists and worship groups, perform all kinds of miracles, and expect large-scale conversion. Aggressive church planting is also considered a high-priority evangelical task. The vision is to see Pentecostal churches built or fellowships started in areas even where there is no electricity, school, or hospital, thus literally everywhere.

Fourth, besides regular service on Sundays, Pentecostal churches also organize various supplementary activities that are aimed to strengthen members' faith and sense of belonging to their local church. They range from weekly cell-group gatherings, targeted prayer sessions (e.g., for women, men, young adults, elderly, and professionals), youth camps, and social outreach programs (e.g., visiting nursing homes, orphanage, or hospitals to offer mental support and prayers; providing the poor with some food, medicine, or money), all of which are designed to bring together people with different socio-economic status to serve God.

Fifth, in addition to being radically transformative, Pentecostalism is also locally adaptive. In the Indonesian case, Pentecostal churches are embracing modern values and lifestyles to appear cool and young. In many (mega-)churches, praise and worship are enhanced with state-of-the-art musical production complete with first-class sound and lighting systems, and passionate background dancers and choirs. Regular Sunday services are also filmed and sold the following week in VCD and DVD formats.

Furthermore, churches are active on their own website, as well as on social media, posting clips and videos from sermons and other activities, invitations for upcoming events, advertisements of books and videos, daily verses from the Bible, and devotional thoughts (Robinson, 2011; Wiyono, 2011; Yung, 2003).

Indonesian Pentecostalism today is a heterogeneous, dynamic phenomenon that connects people with different gender, race, ethnicity, class, and place. It has gone through both good and bad times, but it was during the stormy periods that it showed some of its greatest resilience by achieving the most rapid growth. Looking to the future, Pentecostal churches are called to balance the contextually practical work with the universally theological one, seal the gap between ministerial/eschatological and societal duties (e.g., through active involvements in humanitarian activities or politics), complement the marketable self-improvement publications with the more analytical scholarly works, promote unity and togetherness through PGPI, and develop ecumenical cooperation not only with the non-Pentecostal denominations but also with other religions. The realization and success of these actions will profoundly shape the future of the overall movement (Ma, 2004; PGPI, 2012; Robinson, 2011; Wiyono, 2011).

CHAPTER 3. CAPTURING THE MICRFOUNDATIONS OF INSTITUTIONS: A CONFESSIONAL TALE OF THE GLORIFIED FIELD

ABSTRACT

Neo-institutionalism has been making theoretically ambitious strides in seamlessly connecting social structure and agentic work. However, existing research is still heavily weighted on macro-level factors at the expense of the microfoundations of institutions, preventing scholars from making meaningful impact in the practical realm. While institutional theorists have begun to empirically look into the microfoundations, they predominantly rely on interviews. Yet microfoundations are multilayer, complex, and often incomprehensible, even for the interviewees themselves. With this chapter I am advocating ethnography as one of the most appropriate and powerful inductive methods to capture the totality of microfoundations. I will first reflect on the ontology and epistemology of microfoundations then narrate my own ethnographic experience in a highly exclusive and confidential environment. Using a confessional mode of writing, I also aim to offer institutional fieldworkers–with limited time and budget–some recommendations on entering the field, collecting and handling data, and managing personal battles.

KEYWORDS: Ethnography, exclusivity, confidentiality, confessional tale, neo-institutional theory, microfoundations of institutions

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Neo-institutional theory has recently been criticized for its inability to establish practical relevance and overall contribution to society at large (Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence, & Meyer, 2017). This is largely driven by the theory's primary focus on macro-level environmental pressures in the early days (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977) and its serious neglect of the microfoundations of institutions, preventing institutional theorists from developing a more comprehensive theory (Gehman, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2016; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Zilber, 2016). Despite its leading and perhaps dominant status within organization studies, neo-institutional theory has been very slow in weaving the normative/cognitive/affective and its behavioral implications into institutional analyses, thereby providing an incomplete, monolithic representation and obscuring its wide-ranging relevance (Greenwood, Hinings, & Whetten, 2014; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Powell & Colyvas, 2008). What has been consistently called for to better understand the complexities of institutional processes is actors' rich experiences comprised of their biographies, values, cognitive and emotional investments, situational contexts, and purposeful everyday activities, all of which *micro-shape* the institutions they inhabit (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Voronov & Vince, 2012). Only by rigorously examining the microfoundations of institutions, alongside the more established structural explanations of macro-level isomorphic forces (Heugens & Lander, 2009; Scott, 2014), can neo-institutional theory start to open the black box of institutions. By treating individuals and institutions equally, institutional scholars will be able to offer a much-needed multi-level paradigm, whose significance could be profoundly useful for academics, professionals, and policy makers (Ferraro, Etzion, & Gehman, 2015; Schilke, forthcoming; Zucker, 1983; 1991).

Attending to the microfoundations of institutions directs our efforts to examining actors' engagement with their historical baggage, sense of morality, cognitive reasoning, emotional competence (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011; Kraatz & Flores, 2015; Thornton et al., 2012; Voronov & Weber, 2016), their dynamic social interactions and interpretations of the contexts in which they are embedded (Collins, 2004; de Rond & Lok, 2016; Lawrence & Dover, 2015), and their mundane yet deliberate practices aimed to create, maintain, disrupt, or change institutional arrangements (Lawrence et al., 2009; Schatzki, 2001; Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, & Spee, 2015). For instance, Fan and Zietsma (2017) found that different stakeholders–despite residing in different institutional fields, holding different backgrounds, and ascribing to different institutional logics–came together and interacted cognitively and emotionally to create a new, shared logic that governed the water usage in the Okanagan, Canada. Moreover, Lok and de Rond (2013) immersed themselves at the Cambridge University Boat Club and observed that the institutional arrangement of training/selection system was reproduced through actors' containing and restoring practice breakdowns. They further contended that institutional reproduction entailed a degree of plasticity whereby institutional scripts could be stretched to accommodate these breakdowns without necessarily effecting structural changes. Another example comes from a study of a rape crisis center in Israel by Zilber (2002) who argued that a single predominant meaning system promoted institutional maintenance, while multiple ones enabled institutional change because these meaning systems–that were advocated by different actors and instantiated into their everyday practices–were competing for dominance as to how to best handle the rape victims.

While objectivism was the predominant ontology in much of the early development of neo-institutional theory, recent advances in the microfoundations of

institutions require a novel way of perceiving what constitutes a social reality: one that is not only existing independently waiting to be discovered by actors, but also socially constructed and continuously accomplished on the ground. Accordingly, this ontological perspective reflects a more balanced view of the relationship between individuals and institutions (Zilber, 2016). This way, both the macro and the micro interact recursively and shape each other (Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011). The structures (e.g., institutional arrangements, institutional logics, or meaning systems) are interpreted, internalized, and taken for granted by actors (the *pulled-down* or *top-down* approach), who, through their day-to-day activities, create new structures or reproduce, disrupt, or change existing ones (the *built-up* or *bottom-up* approach). Recent studies on the micro-lines of institutional analysis provide more depth to the breadth of macro-level accounts, thereby presenting a more complete picture of the complex institutional processes and enabling various audiences to apprehend and appreciate their potential impact (Greenwood et al., 2017; Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012; Zucker, 1991). Nonetheless, while institutional theorists have now realized the ontological importance of unearthing, understanding, and utilizing the microfoundations of institutions–especially on why and how they matter for institutions–little is known about how to empirically capture the concept to foster rigorous theorization (Cornelissen, 2017; Reay & Jones, 2016; Zilber, 2016).

Microfoundations of institutions are concerned with how individual actors think, feel, and behave, how groups interact and operate, and how organizations shape institutions. Therefore, in order to tackle the *how* research questions, institutional scholars are urged to delve into an epistemological approach that can properly address such questions (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016; Langley, 1999). Inductive methods (i.e., approaches to build theory) have been argued to convincingly eclipse

their deductive counterparts (i.e., approaches to test theory) in elucidating the processes by which embedded actors, groups, and organizations influence the higher-level institutions. Such methods allow researchers to focus on the depth of institutional phenomena through total immersion in a single or a few theoretically sampled case(s) in order to generate theory from data (Geertz, 1973; Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 2008; Van Maanen, 1988). When inductive methods are opted, researchers mostly collect a form of data that is more qualitative in nature. Primary qualitative data might include first-hand interviews (formal, informal, structured, semi-structured, or unstructured) and observations (participatory or non-participatory), while secondary qualitative data might consist of textual or audio-visual material produced by other parties (e.g., books, print media, brochures, catalogues, booklets, (annual) reports, meeting minutes, archives, emails, recorded interviews, or video footages). However, in order to truthfully grasp the thick accounts of everyday activities unfolding within organizations and the meanings attached to them, researchers need to employ an inductive method that is not only suitable for, but also capable of identifying, describing, translating, measuring, and recording the mundane intricacies of organizational life and the rich experiences of organizational members (Cunliffe, 2010; Reay & Jones, 2016): ethnography (Denzin, 1997; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Ethnography, which has its roots in anthropology and sociology, is a style of social science writing that seeks to understand the overall cultural framework within which actors' lived experiences and contextualized meaning-making occur (Cunliffe, 2010; Watson, 2011). For organizational ethnographers in particular, there is an added emphasis on the in-situ organizational practices, processes, and patterns (Watson, 2012). Immersing themselves in actors' naturally occurring environment, ethnographers typically spend an extended period of time to be able to *go native* by observing,

interacting, and participating with the subjects under study (Malinowski, 1922). Yet it is necessary for ethnographers to be reflexive so that they do not risk compromising their objectivity and can develop a relatively value-free, insider viewpoint that zooms in on how actors experience and make sense of the complexity and mundanity of their activities (Cunliffe, 2003). In order to generate such an unprejudiced, from-within standpoint, ethnographers must also engage in the production of *thick descriptions* (Geertz, 1973) that offer rich, detailed accounts of how actors live their (organizational) lives and construct meanings inter-subjectively, captured through a blend of systematic writing and documentation of primary and secondary data (Czarniawska, 2007; Van Maanen, 1988). Illuminating the situatedness and the sociality of interactions, values, cognitions, emotions, behaviors, events, rituals, artifacts, language, and space, ethnography reveals what actors cannot or will not share in a standard interview setting (Bechky, 2011), and is therefore a powerful inductive method "to uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular work settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation" (Van Maanen, 1979: 540).

When conducted appropriately, ethnography has the potential to address the question of how things work from the lens of organizational actors (Watson, 2011) and is thereby epistemologically compatible with the constructivist ontology of the microfoundations of institutions (Zilber, 2016). An example of institutional study that benefits from ethnography is one carried out by Siebert, Wilson, and Hamilton (2017) who studied how Scottish legal advocates used organizational space in institutional processes. For 110 days, the authors followed the actors during multiple events such as training sessions, lectures, ceremonies, and court hearings, to understand how these actors made sense of and maneuvered through the space around them to maintain the professional boundary and status order. Moreover, McPherson and Sauder (2013)

studied the decision-making processes at an American drug court by attending court proceedings and team meetings over the period of fifteen months. They observed first-hand and on the ground how actors exercised a great deal of agency in their pragmatic, strategic, and creative use of home or non-home logics. Finally, in their study of Pentecostal churches in Indonesia, Wijaya and Heugens (2018) attempted to understand how actors' emotions functioned in institutional processes characterized by a high degree of moral perturbation. Through a 212-day ethnographic journey they gleaned a great deal of highly sensitive information pertaining to actors' strong values and negative emotions, which were extremely difficult to extract because they were deeply rooted and could only be unveiled discreetly to protect actors' employment status. All empirical studies at the interface between ethnography and the microfoundations of institutions published at the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Organization Science*, and *Organization Studies* are summarized in Table 3.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

What is common in these ten studies is how ethnography enabled researchers to witness and register the subtleties and non-verbal cues (e.g., how organizational space, actors' everyday activities, or their values and emotions mattered for the institutions in which actors were embedded) that would otherwise go unnoticed and uncharted by conventional interviews. Or as Watson (2011: 204), who called for a greater adoption of ethnography in management, over and beyond the usage of interviews alone, put it, "we cannot really learn a lot about what *actually happens* or about *how things work* in organizations without doing the intensive type of close-observational or participative research that is central to ethnographic endeavor." However, academic articles have been particularly silent about the actual ethnographic processes of capturing the microfoundations of institutions. Researchers normally compress their long, arduous

journey of data collection into only a single impersonal paragraph or two, leaving institutional theorists methodologically uninformed and muddled. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is not only to promote ethnography as one of the most powerful inductive methods in organization studies, but also to equip institutional fieldworkers with some hands-on recommendations on entering the field, documenting how things actually work on the ground, and perhaps more importantly, managing the cognitive struggles and emotional turbulences inherent in all forms of ethnography. Finally, in order to accomplish that purpose, in the next section I will adopt a confessional style of writing (Van Maanen, 1988). This style was chosen over the others (i.e., realist or impressionist) because I believed it would help narrate my journey more honestly, sincerely, and reflexively, without exaggerating the successes or trivializing the low moments.

A CONFESSIONAL TALE OF TASTING AND TRANSCRIBING CULTURES

It was in the second week of October when my promoter and I decided to delve into the empirical context of Pentecostalism in Indonesia. Specifically, a deeper examination of the internal operations of Pentecostal churches and the dynamic relationship with their wider environment. At first, I was hesitant to go back to my motherland due to some disheartening images. First, Indonesian, at least compared to the Dutch, had a strikingly different perception of time. Time was more fluid and unbinding. The act of making an appointment was not customary and could even be seen as a sign of pretentiousness, and everything moved slowly under the Indonesian sun. How quickly could I adjust to this part of the culture to which I strongly objected? Second, Indonesia was ostensibly a very religious country where all citizens were *obliged* to adhere to one of the six recognized religions that would be displayed on their ID card. Growing up, I was raised by a mother who would label herself a Protestant and

by a father who did not believe in the notion of theism. Further, living in the mainly secular culture of the Netherlands steadily *enlightened* me and drained away any remnants of faith. How would this affect my perspectives on religions and would these churches let in and confide in an atheist scholar? Third, as a PhD student I had limited time and budget to collect data on the topic with which I was not familiar. I knew very little about the history and current movement of Pentecostalism, the distinctive features of this denomination, the characteristics of its people, and most importantly, how to gain access. Would six months be adequate to fully understand the field and collect data? In short, nothing but the topic of my dissertation was assured.

On Pre-fieldwork Planning

Compared to ethnographies in the anthropological tradition, a six-month duration was considerably brief. Anthropologists generally required a much longer time to *go native*, as it was necessary to learn the local language(s) of the people they study, which was/were most often foreign. But in my case, I was fluent in speaking *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesia's national language) and low Javanese (a regional language spoken in most parts of East Java province). To counter the lack of time and budget, I studied the topic intensively prior to entering the field, so that when I arrived in Indonesia I could devote myself to the sampling and data collection. The following were the activities carried out in preparation for the actual fieldwork.

Conducting systematic desk research. Some ethnographers entered the field with a relatively blank slate, but with the time and budget constraints ahead, I filled my tabula rasa with relevant information to optimize my six-month stay in the Emerald of the Equator. For instance, textual materials (e.g., books, academic articles, print media, reports, etc.) on the historical and current development of both global and Indonesian Pentecostalism helped me contextualize this world's fastest growing Protestant

denomination and its relations with other religions (especially Islam, as Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world). Moreover, I also watched publicly accessible documentaries and online videos on Pentecostal movements, Sunday services, revival meetings, and interviews with the senior pastor (the highest leader of a Pentecostal church). I learned that Pentecostalism was a relatively young denomination (conceived in Los Angeles in 1906) that has since spread throughout the world and gained dominance in the Global South (i.e., Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania). One of the factors that contributed to this rapid growth was its expressive and supernatural allure. During services and (usually large-scale) revival meetings, members enthusiastically and rhythmically clapped their hands and jumped to the songs, regularly shouted "amen" or "hallelujah" throughout the sermon, and sobbed uncontrollably because they felt they were being divinely touched or miraculously healed by the Holy Spirit. Although conducting systematic desk research enabled me to visualize how the real field may look like, it did not provide me with any inside information on the daily operations of these churches, the distinctive traits of their leaders and members, the relationship with their wider environment, or any feasible tactics to gain access as an academic and an outsider. This lack of knowledge led me to perform the following.

Conducting pilot ethnographic exercises. After a seven-week systematic desk research I came to believe that I had obtained sufficient background on (Indonesian) Pentecostalism. But since I was motivated to find some sort of clarity to the remaining unresolved issues, I reconnected with some of my relatives, friends, and acquaintances in the Netherlands and Indonesia. With those in the Low Land we had casual visits, while with those in Indonesia we communicated via Skype or email. All were made aware of my research agenda and were chosen because of their familiarity with either (Indonesian) Pentecostal history and movement, (Indonesian) Pentecostal leaders and

members, (Indonesian) Pentecostal churches and their relationship with the wider environment, or Indonesia's religious landscape in general. Whereas informal talks and calls were not audio recorded in order to avoid overanalysis and to keep an open mind while in the field, notes were meticulously taken and email correspondence was electronically stored. From these activities I was connected to other relevant informants residing in both countries. In the Netherlands I was invited to join a couple of Indonesian-style Pentecostal services, where I could *taste* the movement and practice being an ethnographer. My respondents in Indonesia not only gave me valuable insights into actual happenings, but also helped me gain access to a Pentecostal church in Surabaya, Indonesia's second largest city. I discovered that Pentecostalists were real fanatics who took the Bible quite literally; that they were friendly but would relentlessly *chase* and compete for new members; that getting access would be an uphill battle due to an innate wall of exclusivity and confidentiality; that Islam was multi-faceted in that different tribes had different interpretations of Islam; and that Islam influenced the Pentecostal movement in several different ways and to different degrees.

The pre-fieldwork activities of systematic desk research and pilot ethnographic exercises worked hand-in-hand instead of sequentially, with the former concluded only on the very last day of my fieldwork. These activities helped me develop a better understanding of the topic and catch a glimpse into the organizations, the people, and the micro-level activities, enabling me to narrow down the geographical focus of my sample to Java, one of Indonesia's 17,500 islands. Considered to be the heart of Indonesia's politics, economy, and culture, Java was the epicenter of Pentecostalism with the most sophisticated church development in terms of size, structure, and management system. The next sampling issue to address was determining which cities and synods (or church brands, at least in the Indonesian context) that would constitute

my final sample. But in order to resolve this, I had to be in the field to experience the phenomena myself, evaluate my odds of gaining access, and make final decisions. Finally, 20 weeks after my supervisor and I agreed on the empirical context, I was ready, cognitively and emotionally, to embark on my ethnographic journey. Upon arrival in Indonesia, with a somewhat filled tabula rasa, I could immediately focus on finalizing the sample and gathering the data.

In summary, when research time and budget are restricted, *doing homework* as much as possible to get comprehensive knowledge about the field and its dynamics beforehand can effectively help optimize the usage of those resources.

On Fieldwork Execution: Handling Data

After a 16-hour flight from Amsterdam to Surabaya, I went straight to my hometown of Kediri. I spent the first three days having family visits, settling phone and internet subscriptions, fighting the jetlag, and getting used to the über-relaxed *santai* culture. I then began my ethnographic expedition covering the most prominent cities on Java to finalize my sample. I started off in the east and moved westward, ending the orientation in the capital city of Jakarta on day 32. From day one, I was constantly observing the field and talking to as many demographically diverse people as possible. While some of their accounts verified what I had been reading and hearing, some were completely new: Islamic cultures on Java had differing degrees of devoutness and radicalism, influencing the relationship between Pentecostalists and Muslims; the categorization of Pentecostal churches found in the Western literature was not perfectly applicable to the Indonesian circumstances; due to its extreme nature, Pentecostalism was loved by their fanatic followers and hated by the disgruntled dissidents; mainline Protestant churches were governed by a council, whereas the Pentecostal ones were solely controlled by a senior pastor who was usually the founder and often claimed

outright ownership of the physical church building; these churches were prone to organizational misconducts due to the entanglement of big money and ego-charged politics; and unlike a typical church with two or three activities per week, Pentecostal churches could have up to ten. Their activities ranged from Sunday services (and schools), teen/youth/golden age services, women/professional/entrepreneur services, cell groups, bible classes, morning/night/fasting/restoration prayers, worship nights, to deliverance services. Access to these activities proved both beneficial and laborious, due to the abundance of rich data to be managed.

Utilizing multiple tools. Throughout my 32-day orientation across Java I gleaned a great deal of primary data from talks and observations. When about neutral issues or appropriate to do so, I would freely take notes. When driving, occupied, or unable to immediately record the data, I relied on memory until I had the chance to jot down key points or audio record them with my phone. To assure confidence when informants shared sensitive issues, I would conceal my notebook and listen attentively to what was often controversial information. For example, multiple people residing in different cities narrated a similar story, with varying degrees of dramatization, about a financial scandal that was hitting one of the biggest Pentecostal churches. Some also shared what they saw as organizational *flaws*, including the unhealthy competition for members (e.g., poaching other church's members by surreptitiously scheduling free pick-ups just minutes before other church' buses were to arrive) or the discriminatory nature of evangelization (e.g., primarily targeting Chinese ethnics as they were the biggest donators). When relevant details worth recording came to light in the middle of a conversation, I would excuse myself to go to the restroom to access my notebook or phone. Yet when I sensed that putting the conversation off would break the momentum, which was mostly the case, I would quickly write down key words in my notebook and

immediately return it to my bag. Collecting rich data was not only about encouraging people to share thick information, but also about recording it accurately by utilizing the most effective tools.

Recapitulating data daily and reviewing data weekly. In order to decide on my final sample, in addition to assembling secondary data, I talked to 100 respondents and joined 19 church services and activities during the 32-day expedition. As the primary data recorded in my notebook and phone was mostly disjointed, jumbled, and unstructured, I developed a daily habit of data recapitulation. Every night before going to bed, depending on the workload and type of work involved, I spent 15–90 minutes transferring, organizing, and synthesizing the data collected during the day into an orderly textual chunk. When what occurred during the day was too overwhelming or too fast to process, particularly in the early stages when everything was so new, I also documented my candid thoughts and feelings. This nocturnal exercise helped me tremendously make sense of not only the abundance and messiness of the data, but also my cognitive and emotional state. Moreover, every Monday (it was the churches' least busy day, hence the least amount of workload) I reviewed what I had collected and written over the previous week so that I could contextualize the phenomenon and keep track of the data that was most interesting and worthy of further scrutiny. The benefit of these daily and weekly activities was apparent when on the fifth week I had more clarity on the typology of Indonesian Pentecostalism that did not perfectly align with Western literature. In Indonesia, the movement was categorized into two, rather than three, types: those that performed the manifestation of the Holy Spirit and those that did not. I used the former as a criterion to select the final synods since one of the key theological tenets of Pentecostalism was the visible work of the Holy Spirit. Another benefit was reaped when on week seven I chose Surabaya, Surakarta (locally known as Solo), and

Bandung for my final sample. In the beginning I had six cities on my shortlist, but upon daily and weekly reflections, I realized that it was imperative to allow consistent comparison across cases and so I focused on cities in which all sizes of Pentecostal churches (i.e., from small to mega-church) were to be found.

In summary, modern-day ethnographers can, and perhaps should, rely on the utilization of multiple tools to accurately record the data observed in the field. But more often than not, fieldworkers are overwhelmed by the abundance, richness, and messiness of their own data, and are confused by or uninformed of their own cognitive and affective state. Therefore, daily data recapitulation and weekly data review will provide not only a greater understanding of the field, but also a sense of reflexivity that is much needed in any ethnographic endeavor.

On Fieldwork Execution: Winning Trust and Creating Comfort

As a result of the pre-fieldwork planning in the Netherlands and the 32-day expedition across Java, I came to realize that gaining organizational access would be grueling for two primary reasons: exclusivity and confidentiality.

First, Pentecostal churches were famous for their exclusive status achieved through their tight-knit communities that were highly uniform and extremely resistant to external ideas. In their daily interactions, actors would espouse, defend, and spread Pentecostal values that in turn served as an institutional glue strengthening their bond. For example, all of the weekly church activities were designed not only to socialize (*indoctrinate*) members with fundamental teachings, but also to offer them an opportunity to express and reinforce their faith on a daily basis through worships, prayers, services, or evangelical efforts. As a result, towards existing and potential members, Pentecostalists urged homogeneous thinking and blocked any types of deviation to the original theological principles. As a researcher who always questioned

things and tried to discover the *truth*, this was not an ideal situation, but unless I thought and behaved like a native, they would always consider me as an outsider, preventing me from gaining access and gathering data.

Second, confidentiality was a distinctive attribute of Pentecostal churches. Unlike their mainline Protestant counterparts whose main focus was to disciple their existing congregation, Pentecostal churches competed harshly against each other for new members, breeding a phenomenon known as *pencurian domba* (sheep stealing), in which a church was accused of stealing or attracting members of other Pentecostal, Protestant, or Catholic churches. In its defense, an accused church would argue that the other churches did not provide their *sheep* (congregation) with enough quality *grass* (spiritual nourishment) so these members felt spiritually neglected and migrated to a church with richer pastures, begetting another term *pencurian rumput* (grass stealing). Such accusations were usually made against bigger churches because of their extensive resources and capabilities. Urged to protect their methods from being copied or surpassed by their rivals, they were extremely cautious of an unfamiliar, external audience attempting to study their internal operations. As a researcher I had to assure these churches through words and actions that I was grounded in scientific integrity and would safeguard any divulged information for strictly academic purposes. But in practice, things were much easier said than done.

This discouraging nature of the field with its protective actors, combined with the worry that my research time and budget would not be enough, initially blinded me from seeing the big picture. Ethnography was not merely about gaining organizational access (of course without access there would not be data), but about something more essential: building a genuine relationship with the organizational actors that was based on winning trust and creating comfort. Growing up I was exposed to the Indonesian proverb *tak*

kenal maka tak sayang (literally, do not know thus do not love, or figuratively, one cannot love someone s/he does not know). But it was only at the beginning of the third month that I was reminded of this proverb. I then realized that unless a high level of trust and comfort was present, a strong relationship would not be developed and access to rich data would not be granted. The results of the first two months in the field supported this notion as I had only managed to secure access to three churches (in three cities from two different synods) and formally interview five actors.

Being a natural native. From my experience of being in the field for 212 days, it was impossible for me to be 100% native. I could not speak the local languages with authentic accents like the natives in Solo and Bandung did, and I could not think, feel, or act exactly like Pentecostal members. However, I did push my limits to appear native, while trying to not be obvious. Although Java was the smallest of the five major islands, it was home to numerous languages and countless accents in just the three cities I was studying. Because I grew up in East Java province, it was natural for me to speak my mother tongue of low Javanese, while I was in Surabaya. Located in Central Java, Solo, where high Javanese was spoken with a slightly heavier accent, was more of a challenge. Bandung, however, posed the most difficult circumstances as West Javanese people spoke Sundanese, a completely different language with a much softer accent. So, in Bandung I had to learn some basic Sundanese (e.g., greetings, numbers, simple daily phrases, etc.) and speak *Bahasa Indonesia* (the national language and my second tongue) with a West Javanese accent. In both Solo and Bandung respondents noticed that I was not a native, but they were appreciative that I did my best to respect their culture by attempting to assimilate linguistically.

While becoming a true Pentecostalist was a rather far-fetched aspiration, I did aim realistically at becoming a trustworthy and comforting academic who knew a great deal

about Pentecostalism, genuinely cared about the movement, and wanted to learn how the members lived their lives. During the course of seven months in the field, I became more *Pentecostal* than I had ever been. Not only was I versed in the history and current development of the movement, but I also learned some Pentecostal jargon and mastered Pentecostal discourse (e.g., their main values, theological teachings, cognitive framings, emotional attachments, and general attitudes) to make my interactions with the organizational members more natural (less awkward). For example, Pentecostalists used the phrase *full-timer* (in English) when referring to *karyawan/pegawai gereja* (church employees). While in a general context the word *berkat* (blessing) represented many types of blessings (from health, happiness, to wealth), in the Pentecostal context it was used mainly in reference to financial favor. That was the reason that *teologi kemakmuran* (prosperity gospel) became one of Pentecostal churches' most effective differentiators. This theological teaching was considered controversial as Pentecostal churches used parts of the Bible to justify the promise of a financially prosperous life to its followers. However, I learned that these churches by no means wanted to be accused of being commercial or *selling Jesus* to their prospective or existing members. In other words, this was a taboo term within Pentecostal churches, and therefore I had to be cautious as to when (not) to use it.

Furthermore, Pentecostalists believed in the notion of fighting against the work of evil forces interfering with daily, human affairs. One Pentecostal church in Bandung planned to attract a new batch of students by handing out brochures on the first day of college. But because they believed that the demons had all kinds of tricks to close the hearts of these students from accepting the gospel, they had to *fight* against these bad spirits. One day before the orientation day commenced, they organized two groups of people to do a *doa keliling* (encircling prayer). One group encircled the whole campus

by walking, praying, spreading salt and anointing oil to the ground, and another group encircled the city periphery with cars while praying and worshiping (singing). They believed that doing this ritual would open up the new students' heart to accept Jesus more easily. Knowing what spiritual warfare was and how it worked, I signaled them that I was open to socialization (*indoctrination*) and that I assimilated their values. As a result, they did not consider me as a total outsider (although they were aware of my role as an academic), but an observer who was not afraid to be *one of them*.

Being a diplomatic (undercover) agent. Considering the intensity of rivalry among Pentecostal churches, I had to present my image smartly: eliminate any signs that I was a potential *spy* from another church and create the impression that I was someone they could trust and with whom they could feel comfortable being open. Since these churches were so concerned about their *secret recipes* getting leaked to others, they were not keen on having unfamiliar people looking into their internal processes. They had accordingly turned down many research-related requests and had previously granted access to only a few scholars. But when they did grant access, as in my case, outsiders were required to pass several hurdles before being given the chance to meet and interview the highest leader. In all cases, lower-ranking full-timers acted as the initial and most critical gatekeeper; they asked the highest number of questions with the highest degree of difficulty. So, when an initial formal interview was finally granted, it was always with someone from this lower-ranking position first. When I was introducing myself before the interview, I always handed them my business card and a signed letter from the university with a short research proposal enclosed, and explained briefly the objectives of my study, in order to authenticate my role as an academic who truly wanted to know more about the day-to-day operations of Pentecostal churches and the relationship with their wider environment.

In every church (except for one whose access I gained conveniently) I was always asked by the first one to three interviewee(s) whether I was also studying other churches in the city. I always diplomatically replied with a question, “I would love to! The more data I get, the better it is for my research project. But I heard the senior pastor of (name of a church) is an extremely busy figure and I really don’t know how to get to interview him (all senior pastors were men). Is there any way that you could help me connect with him? I would really appreciate it.” My answer was honest yet confusing, for a reason. Honest, because I would love to gather as much rich data as possible from people of all organizational levels and I did not know anybody in the other churches who could refer me to their highest leader. Confusing, in that one might wonder why I asked such a question to a lower-ranking full-timer who most likely did not have any connection to the highest leaders of other churches. But that was exactly the point. By being honest and confusing at the same time, I diplomatically projected an image of a genuinely naïve researcher with no other agenda than to collect data for academic purposes. As trust and comfort were steadily built, these people asked fewer and less critical questions, and even referred me to other full-timers at higher positions.

However, being diplomatic was not only about tackling tricky questions and situations, but also about asking the right questions in order to not compromise an already established level of trust and comfort. For example, geographical proximity mattered and, when not managed, could pose a problem, especially in the initial phase when trust and comfort were vital. Solo was a much smaller city than Surabaya and Bandung, and the three synods I studied simultaneously were located very close to each other (within five minutes by car), making awkward public encounters with people from different churches inevitable. If I was to be spotted with people of a particular church (when having dinner or hanging out together) by people from a rival church, I risked

being viewed as an *enemy spy* and having my true motives brought into question. In Bandung the situation was even more challenging because two (out of four) churches I studied were actually located in the same part of a mall but on different floors (building a physical church was exceptionally difficult because of the Islamic pressures). To protect my image and avoid unnecessary investigative questions or gnawing doubts on informants' mind–as they could compromise the relationship being generated–I always asked where they usually hung out, so when a possible overlap occurred, I could ask for an alternative. It was only in the first weeks that I activated this high level of cautiousness. After a few weeks when my relationships were strong enough, I did not have to hide the fact that I was also studying other churches and building relationships with their actors.

Being an empathetic listener. As an ethnographer I collected data from seeing, feeling, talking, and listening. The latter, however, was a vital skill that could *make or break* the richness of data. People generally loved to tell stories, as this was one of the ways they could make sense of the world surrounding them. But oftentimes when asked a particular question, instead of focusing on answering the original question, they took me through an unorganized temporal labyrinth. On the one hand, they gave me a more detailed glimpse of their life, but on the other hand, I had to be able to instantaneously weave these chunks floating around the spectrum of time. In this case, listening was not only about looking someone in the eye, staying awake without yawning, or being enthusiastically engaged throughout the conversation, but also about being absorbed in the story and linking random bits of information together. Once I was able to place myself in their shoes and retell their unstructured and messy accounts, I gave them the impression that they were genuinely heard, hence creating a stronger bond of trust and comfort. For example, one respondent told me about his dark past, current struggles at

the church, and future goals in unchronological order. Because I had never met him before, the story was scattered and hard to follow. But when I began to empathize with his life, it was relatively easy to connect the dots. Once the trust and comfort were established, even more information was shared.

Furthermore, some actors trusted me so extensively and felt so comfortable during the interview that they disclosed not only sensitive information, but also their deepest heartfelt emotions. When respondents narrated their first callings to serve God, as either a full-timer or a volunteer of the church, some trembled while others actually wept. Such a response was triggered by their own thought that as sinners they did not deserve to be loved, yet God accepted them for who they were and loved them unconditionally. When I first experienced an emotional interviewee like this, I felt very awkward and did not know what to do. So, my first reaction was to move on to the next neutral question with the intention of settling their emotions. But doing so broke the momentum and significantly reduced their openness. I soon learned that interviewees wanted their emotions, however embarrassing they might be, to be acknowledged and respected. Later when I encountered other emotionally charged interviewees, I activated my empathy and expressed it by validating their emotions (saying that I could understand how powerful it could be for anyone when divine experiences took over) and continuing with follow-up questions. Using this strategy, I was able to create space where they could be themselves while showing appreciation for their disclosed vulnerability, resulting in greater levels of trust and comfort, and reinforcing the positive cycle required to gather rich data.

Finally, both empathy and listening skills were crucial in a field that was filled with multiple ideologies, because organizational actors could have a strong sense or conflicting interpretations of what they considered good and evil. During my time in the

field I observed several organizational practices that stirred moral discussions, even among members of the same organization. For example, the practice of extravagant lifestyle of senior pastors and their family members angered some church full-timers and volunteers because these actors espoused the value of modesty that was also aligned with the teachings of Jesus Christ. But for the proponents, this practice was perfectly justifiable because being the followers of a mighty God made them deserve mighty (financial) blessings too. Some even quoted biblical verses to enhance the legitimacy of their arguments. When talking with or interviewing these respondents, I could never escape from my own judgment of, and disagreement with, their upheld moral values. But I realized that my role as an ethnographer was not to preach about what was right or wrong, but to gather information solely from their perspectives. Therefore, in a field with highly charged morality, I had to activate my empathy when interacting with all respondents and be patient when listening to their narratives, regardless of whether or not they violated my worldview. It was impossible for me to be value-free, but if I could at least empathize with them, enough trust and comfort could be built for them to be freely open in disclosing how they viewed the world around them.

By the end of my fieldwork, owing to my ability to win trust and create comfort among organizational actors, I was able to gain access to eight more churches (making it eleven churches in total from five different synods) and collect rich data from the observations of 110 church activities and formal interviews with 100 church leaders, employees, and volunteers.

In summary, when ethnographers face an exclusive and/or confidential wall that separates them from the organizations they wish to study, gaining access and collecting data from the inside might seem to be intimidating or even implausible. This seemingly impenetrable wall, however, should not be considered a dead end. Establishing and

maintaining a genuine relationship with organizational actors can actually open doors, smooth entry, and facilitate observations of the organizations. Becoming a natural native, a diplomatic (undercover) agent, and an empathetic listener is an effective strategy to foster trust and comfort in order for any form of relationship to work. It should be noted, however, that building such a relationship should be consistent throughout the ethnographic process.

On Fieldwork Execution: Managing Cognitive and Emotional Battles

Reflecting on my 212-day ethnographic study, while I managed to gather rich data both quantitatively (hundreds of hours of informal talks, observations, and formal interviews; hundreds of photos; and tens of pounds of secondary data) and qualitatively (respondents from all walks of life and all organizational levels sharing their thick, morally charged, heartfelt accounts), what lay beneath was the foundation of those remarkable results: my ability to deal with the cognitive struggles and emotional turbulences inherent in all types of ethnography.

Building a support system. Before going back to Indonesia, I talked with a Canadian ethnographer whose work and passion for qualitative research I deeply admired. Although she knew I was Indonesian she said candidly before parting from the university pantry, “You will be lost there, but that's part of the fun!” I shrugged it off and said to myself, “I’m not going to be lost! It’s my hometown, I grew up there, I know the culture, and I can speak the language!” But in the end, she was right. I was indeed lost in the wilderness of ethnography. Knowing the local cultures and learning the local languages was the easiest part. The biggest challenge was building genuine relationships. At the beginning, my sole focus was to gain access as quickly as possible. As a result, I conducted as few as five formal interviews in the first two months, making me second-guess my abilities as an ethnographer. At the time my mind wandered to

dark places and my emotions were filled with the immense worry of not being able to collect rich data, leading me to reconsider my PhD trajectory. But instead I faced my negative thoughts and feelings, and more importantly I found support from people close to me (e.g., my supervisor, family, and best friends in the Netherlands and Indonesia). During the most difficult days I would call or Skype with them to share the progress of my research and the cognitive and emotional battles that I faced. This ritual helped me not only make sense of the phenomenon being studied, but also come to terms with the state of my mind and heart. However, the members of my support system were not part of my respondents because data objectivity needed to be maintained and shielded from the compromising effect of the diminishing boundary of the professional and the personal. It became clear to me that ethnography was not for the faint-hearted. The intimidation from the field (and its members) combined with the overwhelming amount of information that had to be grasped could easily shake my sanity. Yet my support system offered me warm consolation and their encouragement helped me continue to build genuine relationships with my informants by winning their trust and creating comfort in order to access richer data.

Taking short breaks. Because of my Dutch nationality, after my first two-month visa, subsequent visits of only 30 days were permitted. To extend my stay, I would leave Indonesia and return after three or four days to not break the momentum. Albeit short, the breaks allowed enough time to relax and gain some perspective on the previous 30 days of stressful ethnographic activities characterized by a high degree of exclusivity and confidentiality. Seeing new cultures in a more relaxed environment was a constructive way for me to unwind while providing the perfect amount of time to reflect on my research project and life in general. Experiencing different contexts and interacting with people with different backgrounds helped me not only to understand the

(Indonesian) Pentecostal field better–especially how and why the actors thought, felt, behaved the way they did–but also to consider some bigger life questions.

When I was in the Philippines, I learned that, unlike Pentecostalism in Indonesia that was rigid and restricting, Catholicism was comparatively progressive and liberating. I found an almost tolerant vibe in the capital city that would take decades, if at all, to develop in Jakarta or other big cities in Indonesia. Although both Christian religions worshipped the same God, their followers made sense of the religions differently. It could also be the case that in Indonesia both Islam–as the predominant religion–and Pentecostalism were reinforcing each other's conservative values. Moreover, while in East Timor I was struck by the notion of happiness from observing kids playing football on the beach and from listening to their stories. I learned at that moment that attaining happiness was as simple as activating the habit of being grateful and living in the presence. In contrast to my first three months in the field, when my fear of failure (to gain access and collect rich data) was manifested in constant anxiety, after that short trip I felt determined, however difficult it would be, to develop healthier habits. These experiences tangibly resulted in both an increased comprehension of the research topic and a growing level of peace of mind. Relationships were built more organically and genuinely on a foundation that was about more than just data gathering. With the trust and comfort strengthened, the odds of gathering richer data immediately improved.

In summary, ethnography is hard work that can be physically and emotionally draining. Therefore, the success of an ethnographic endeavor is dependent not only on fieldworkers' passion to understand a particular culture and how it works on the ground, but also on their healthy state of mind and heart. To achieve the latter, fieldworkers can build and activate a support system of family, friends, and mentors, and take short breaks to relax and reflect.

EPILOGUE

For neo-institutional theory to achieve its potentially significant impact on management, organizations, and society at large (Ferraro et al., 2015; Schilke, forthcoming; Zucker, 1983; 1991), scholars ought to truly appreciate and incorporate the microfoundations of institutions in their institutional analyses (Greenwood et al., 2014; Lawrence et al., 2009; Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). By attempting to open the black box, the literature as a whole will benefit from a much-needed multi-level paradigm that seamlessly connects the macro- and micro-level components of institutions, hence offering a more comprehensive understanding of the complex institutional processes (Schilke, forthcoming). Despite being equipped with an ontology that reflects a more balanced view on the relationship between individuals and institutions (Zilber, 2016), institutional theorists examining the microfoundations of institutions are still epistemologically uninformed about how to empirically capture the concept (Cornelissen, 2017; Reay & Jones, 2016). This is especially true for those (interested in) using ethnography as an inductive method suited for identifying, describing, translating, measuring, and recording the mundane intricacies of organizational life and the rich experiences of organizational members (Denzin, 1997; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

In this chapter, supporting Watson (2011), I argue that ethnography is among the most appropriate and powerful qualitative methods to capture actors' historical baggage, values, cognitive framing, emotional attachments, social interactions and interpretations, and bottom-up activities that shape institutions. Providing thick descriptions of the phenomenology of institutions (Cunliffe, 2010; Geertz, 1973), ethnography–when carried out properly–can reveal what actors cannot or will not share in a standard interview setting (Bechky, 2011). It is clear that had I relied on interviews only, I would

not have built quality relationships with the organizational actors that enabled me to gather rich data on how things worked in organizations and how they were meaningfully experienced by the actors.

Immersing in actors' naturally occurring environment, I divided my time into two phases: planning (in the Netherlands) and execution (in Indonesia). In the planning phase, conducting systematic desk research and pilot ethnographic exercises helped me keep track of the available time and budget (although in the end, due to the *santai* culture, an extra month was needed as many appointments were rescheduled). In the execution phase, I utilized multiple tools to glean data in the field, and in order to handle the abundance, richness, and messiness of the collected data, I engaged in daily data recapitulation and weekly data review. Moreover, as the field was walled by a high degree of exclusivity and confidentiality, I learned that the essence of ethnography was about building genuine relationships with the actors. By becoming a natural native, a diplomatic (undercover) agent, and an empathetic listener, I could win actors' trust and create comfort with them, both of which were key to gaining access and rich data. But in the end, I owed any success to my support system and the short breaks I took, because without them, I would not have overcome the cognitive and emotional battles inherent in all ethnography.

To summarize my ethnographic journey in Indonesia, I reflect on moments of feeling lost, stumbling, and many tears, yet in the end I succeeded, handsomely. I realize that I have accomplished what I never thought I could, converting what I saw initially as a troubling endeavor into a profoundly self-transformative experience of courage and tenacity. Finally, I hope that some of the reflective and hands-on recommendations offered in this chapter are useful for institutional scholars aiming to empirically and qualitatively capture the microfoundations of institutions.

Appendix Table 3. Overview of empirical studies at the interface between ethnography and the microfoundations of institutions

	Bjerregaard & Jonasson (2014)	Fan & Zietsma (2017)	Lok & de Rond (2013)	McPherson & Sauder (2013)	Raviola & Norbäck (2013)	Siebert, Wilson, & Hamilton (2017)	Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, & Spee (2015)	Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis (2011)	Wijaya & Heugens (2018)	Zilber (2002)
Research site	A Korean credit card company	Okanagan Water Stewardship Council in Canada	The Cambridge University Boat Club in England	A drug court in the USA	A major Italian financial newspaper, Il Sole 24 Ore	Scottish advocates in the Scottish legal system	Reinsurance trading in Lloyd's of London in England	Social enterprise founded in southwest England	Pentecostal churches in Indonesia	A rape crisis center in Israel
Duration in the field	Nearly four months (2002)	18 months (2012–2014)	199 days (approx. 6.5 months in 2007)	15 months (2008–09)	Six months (2007–08)	110 days over a period of 18 months	One year	12 months (March 2003–February 2004)	212 days (approx. 7 months)	19 months (1995–96)
Data collected	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 42) 3. Secondary data (documents, pictures)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 46) 3. Secondary data (minutes, print media, archives, internal communications)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured) 3. Secondary data (internal communications, video footages, logbooks, popular press, books)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 17) 3. Secondary data (scholarly articles, governmental reports, publications by national drug court organizations)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 50) 3. Secondary data (internal documents pertaining to journalists' daily work and organizational and strategic issues)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 43) 3. Secondary data (historical accounts, internal documents)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 62) 3. Secondary data (guidelines, standards, charts, constitutional articles, reports, internal documents and communications, information packs, newsletters)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 20) 3. Secondary data (catalogues, business plans, internal communications, print media)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 100)	1. Fieldnotes (participant observations) 2. Interview transcripts (semi-structured; 36) 3. Secondary data (memos, minutes, guidebook, notes, booklets)
Institutional work theme(s)	Institutional maintenance	Institutional creation	Institutional maintenance	Institutional maintenance	Institutional maintenance	Institutional maintenance	Institutional maintenance	Institutional creation	Institutional maintenance	Institutional maintenance and change
Micro components	Actors' everyday practices of managing institutional complexity characterized	Actors' emotional facilitators (social emotions, moral emotions, emotional energy) and	Actors' everyday practices of maintaining institutions in the presence of practice breakdowns (by	Actors' agentic, pragmatic, strategic, and creative usage of either their home logics or	Actors' everyday practices of practical evaluations (selecting, prioritizing,	Actors' everyday practices of emplacement, enactment, and enchantment	Actors' everyday practices of balancing the contradiction and the interdependence between	Actors' everyday practices of opportunity recognition (problem framing, counterfactual	Actors' moral perturbation, moral emotions (guilt, anger), distinct emotions	Actors' everyday practices of handling rape victims, harassment calls, and

	by logic contradictions that are novel, unstable, and always becoming	agentic mechanisms (openness and reflexivity, engagement, commitment)	reconciling such breakdowns)	non-home logics in their everyday interactions	distinguishing news from advertising) and their interactions with both old and new technology		coexisting logics (segmenting, bridging, demarcating)	thinking)	(fear, respect, helplessness), and influencing activities (disrupting, discontinuing, reconciling)	socialization processes
Meso components	Organizational structure and practices (formal structure, sanctions and rewards system, symbolic recognition, socialization)	Organizational practices (shared values, shared learning, enactment of shared values)	Organizational practices (selection methods, selection process, basic organizing principles)	Organizational practices (decision making processes in a drug court)	Organizational structure (technology as materiality and the structural integration of print and online news production (integrated newsroom))	Organizational structure (space)	Organizational structure and practices (shift between different spaces, different schedules, dress codes, risk reviews)	Organizational structure (designing new organizational form through building and theorizing organizational templates)	Organizational structure and practices (systemic power captured in theocratic structure, biblical values, charisma)	Organizational structure and practices (goals, formal structure, managerial procedures, power structure, hiring practices, public relation, internal discourse and relationships)
Macro components	Institutional logics of Korean culture, American culture, and harmonious family	A new, shared governance logic	Selection system as an institutional arrangement	Institutional logics of criminal punishment, rehabilitation, community accountability, and efficiency	Business news as an institutional arrangement	Closure (boundary) and status order as institutional arrangements	Institutional logics of market and community that are conflicting-yet-complimentary	Institutional logics of for-profit retail and non-profit homelessness support, and the new organizational form as an institutional arrangement	Ethno-class favoritism, extravagant lifestyle, and financial obscurity as institutional arrangements	Meaning systems (logics) of feminism and therapy
Main findings	1. Actors manage institutional complexity to gain advantages for themselves,	1. Actors' emotional facilitators work through activating actors' agentic mechanism to	1. Practice breakdowns result from tensions between institutionalized scripts (idealized institutions) and	1. Actors agentically, pragmatically, strategically, and creatively invoke home logics or	1. Interacting with both old and new tech, actors practically evaluate their present	1. Three spatial phenomena (emplacement, enactment, enchantment) work together	1. Actors respond to institutional complexity through three balancing mechanisms	1. Actors (institutional entrepreneurs) successfully draw on elements of multiple logics	1. Moral perturbation with its accompanying moral emotions (systemic	1. A single predominant meaning system (logic) enables institutional maintenance,

	and not for the organization, preventing them from solving the complexity 2. Complexity of the new, contradictory-yet-complimentary harmonious family logic is amplified but then is concealed by blaming either the Korean or American logic	influence the construction cycle of a new, shared governance logic 2. Through these recursive cycles, actors become dually embedded (more open and reflexive about their home logics, and more committed to and engaged in the shared governance logic)	actual practice, and when such breakdowns are minor (major), actors engage in containment (restoration) work 2. Institutional maintenance entails a degree of plasticity whereby institutional scripts are stretched to accommodate ever-changing practice performance	hijack non-home logics in order to manage everyday work, comparable to employing tools to affect decisions or organizational outcomes 2. Actors' usage of logics manages institutional complexity and maintains institutional arrangements	practices, iterate past ones, and project future ones, leading to divergent, convergent, or misvergent form of institutional work (agency) 2. If new tech triggers new practices, old tech functions as an object of reference, where the institution is inscribed	to achieve institutional maintenance (maintenance of closure and reproduction of the status order) 2. Enchantment highlights the emotional and aesthetics of institutions	(segmenting, bridging, demarcating) 2. Institutional complexity can itself become institutionalized and routinely enacted within everyday practice that highlights the dynamic tensions of the conflicting-yet-complimentary logics	to build a new form of organization underpinned by a new, hybrid logics 2. The creation of the new organizational form through bridging institutional entrepreneurship requires six distinct kinds of institutional work at three different levels	power) acts as an impetus for (suppressor of) institutional disruption and change 2. The relocation (shift) of the anchor of emotional investment is vital to the sustained reproduction of institutional arrangements of which actors morally disapprove	while multiple ones (logics) competing for dominance facilitate institutional change 2. One type of actors advocates (is conditioned by) only one type of meanings (logics) and interprets (instantiates) it into their everyday practices

CHAPTER 4. GIVE ME A HALLELUJAH! AMEN! INSTITUTIONAL REPRODUCTION IN THE PRESENCE OF MORAL PERTURBATION AND THE DYNAMICS OF EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT

ABSTRACT

How do actors continue to contribute to the reproduction of extant institutional arrangements, even after they have become morally perturbed by these arrangements? Through ethnographic research in eleven Pentecostal churches in urban Java, we found that when certain church practices morally perturbed church employees and volunteers, they evoked moral emotions of guilt and anger that triggered institutional instability. However, organizational leaders exerted fear and respect-eliciting systemic power that made these actors discontinue their disrupting activities. Suppressing the impetus for institutional disruption and change, systemic power engendered actors' feelings of helplessness. Bringing back power into neo-institutionalism, we investigate the boundary conditions to the mobilizing potential of moral emotions. Rather than exiting the field, morally perturbed actors engaged in reconciling activities, enabling them to shift the anchor of their emotional investment. In our case, the shift took place from idealized institutional arrangements to a more spiritual meaning system. We argue that anchor relocation is vital to the sustained reproduction of institutional arrangements of which actors morally disapprove.

KEYWORDS: Institutional reproduction, moral perturbation, emotional investment, systemic power, ethnography

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenological foundations of institutional theory foreground the experiences of actors who inhabit and navigate institutions through social interactions (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006). Challenging the traditional conception that institutions precondition actors' cognition and behavior (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), the current turn toward examining the microfoundations of institutions highlights the importance of actors' emotions in shaping institutions (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). While it appears that actors must anchor their emotional investment on extant institutional arrangements to sustain institutional reproduction (Friedland, 2013), they do not always take these arrangements for granted (Benson, 1977). In fact, they may act reflexively upon them if their idealized expectations of these arrangements go unmet (Hibbert & Cunliffe, 2015). When institutional arrangements become incongruent with actors' moral codes, such as when employees discover that the organization they work for is complicit in some form of wrongdoing, actors can become less emotionally invested in its arrangements, hence threatening institutional reproduction (Voronov & Vince, 2012).

While immoral arrangements are an endemic part of the institutional fabric of some organizations, practices like accounting fraud (Gabbioneta, Greenwood, Mazzola, & Minoja, 2013), collusion (Pinto, Leana, & Pil, 2008), and sexual abuse (Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville, & Scully, 2010) can cause actors to experience moral perturbation (Jasper, 2011). When their moral emotions are evoked (Turner & Stets, 2006), actors can be driven to engage in influence activities to disrupt and change the arrangements (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). Perplexingly, however, actors are frequently observed to reproduce immoral arrangements that they disapprove of (Shadnam & Lawrence, 2011). In fact, institutional theorists still know little about the mechanisms whereby

institutional arrangements are reproduced in the presence of moral perturbation, which can engender institutional disruption and change (cf. Voronov & Vince, 2012). Attempting to solve this theoretical puzzle, we ask: *how do actors continue to contribute to the reproduction of extant institutional arrangements, even after they have become morally perturbed by these arrangements?*

This question is important not only because it is understudied, but also because a deeper understanding of how institutional reproduction can continue despite actors' moral perturbation unveils the limits to the galvanizing potential of actors' moral emotions and influence activities (cf. Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017). One way of deciphering this puzzle is by invoking the concept of systemic power, which acts as a stabilizer of institutional reproduction through the covert and recurrent mobilization of ideological and institutional discourse in social relationships (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lawrence, 2008). Although power used to be central in old-institutionalism (Selznick, 1949), it is oftentimes an ignored force in neo-institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) and its theorizing has been inadequately accomplished (Greenwood & Hinings, 2002).

To address our research question empirically, we studied eleven Pentecostal churches in urban Java, Indonesia. To varying degrees, all of these churches were involved in immoral practices pertaining to church money management, stirring up moral perturbation among actors (i.e., full-timers (an exact term referring to salaried church employees) and volunteers). We collected our data through a 212-day ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) in nine mother churches and two satellite (branch) churches from five official synods in the cities of Surabaya, Solo, and Bandung. Through inductive data analysis, we were able to tease out the mechanisms allowing these actors to reproduce the arrangements to which they vehemently objected. Since

the churches in our sample range from medium to mega-churches, we anticipate that our findings and theorizing will be generalizable to corporate or governmental organizations with a great deal of (financial) resources at their disposal (Misangyi, Weaver, & Elms, 2008), irrespective of their for- or non-profit orientation, as they are susceptible to breaching moral codes (Ashforth & Anand, 2003).

We seek to make three contributions with our study. First, adding to the evolving genre of studies on the significance of emotions for institutions (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright et al., 2017), we accentuate the role of moral perturbation as a propellant of institutional instability. When actors found extant institutional arrangements incongruous with their ideals, they experienced moral perturbation, evoking moral emotions of guilt and anger that gave rise to institutional disruption and change. Second, we identify a limit to the mobilizing potential of moral emotions (Turner & Stets, 2006) by bringing back power into neo-institutional analysis (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). We found that actors tended to discontinue their disrupting activities when they were confronted with their own feelings of fear and respect toward senior pastors[1] exercising systemic power (Lawrence, 2008). Systemic power that suppresses the impetus for institutional instability therefore serves as a boundary condition to the disruption and change-inducing potential of moral emotions. Third, we theorize about the dynamics of emotional investment in institutional processes. As actors were deterred from engaging in disrupting activities, they experienced helplessness, which was further cemented by the prevalence of objectionable institutional arrangements at the organizational field level. They were accordingly encouraged to engage in reconciling activities and shift the anchor of their emotional investment. We observed a shift from idealized arrangements imbued with moral codes to a more spiritual meaning system, which our

[1] This exact phrase refers to church's highest leader.

respondents saw as being derived from an omniscient and omnipotent being. Shifting the anchor of emotional investment thus appears to enable actors to reproduce extant arrangements in the presence of moral perturbation.

THEORY

Emotional Investment and Moral Perturbation in Institutional Processes

The growing *emotions turn* in institutional theory (Voronov & Vince, 2012) warns us that inattentiveness to the emotional aspects of institutionalism harbors the risk of falling back to the conceptualization of social actors as rational agents or cognitive misers (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). A more comprehensive understanding is required of how actors emotionally experience institutions (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010) and employ their emotions as institutional mechanisms (DeJordy & Barrett, 2014). In unearthing the microfoundations of institutional processes, institutional scholars ontologically conceive of emotions as a collective, inter-subjective concept (Fineman, 2006). Emotions tie together variegated social constituents in creating, maintaining, disrupting, and changing institutional arrangements (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009).

When we acknowledge that it is real persons who inhabit institutions (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), we can uncover the affective side of institutional processes, as emotions are an endemic part of the work that actors carry out when engaging in social interactions (Voronov & Vince, 2012). Residing in an organizational field, actors are subject to being present in, feeling authentic/enthusiastic/pleasant about, experiencing emotional harmony with, finding meaning in, and displaying commitment/attachment to/identification with a particular anchor of emotional investment (Friedland, 2013; Voronov & Vince, 2012). They can anchor their emotional investment on institutional arrangements, fantasmic frames, or ideals, bolstering sustainable institutional reproduction or maintenance (Voronov & Vince, 2012). For instance, in their study of

sexual abuse of minors by Catholic priests, Gutierrez and colleagues (2010) found that actors anchored their emotional investment on the normative arrangements of the church (i.e., beliefs and practices), but not on the structural ones (i.e., governance). As a result, actors reproduced the former, but intended to disrupt and change the latter.

The above example also demonstrates how contradictions between idealized arrangements (Friedland, 2013; i.e., practices that the Catholic Church and priests ought to engage in) and extant ones (i.e., practices they did engage in) propagate actors' moral perturbation (Jasper, 2011). As actors are partially autonomous (Benson, 1977), they may occasionally become aware of and act reflexively upon the arrangements that transgress their moral codes (Hibbert & Cunliffe, 2015). When actors' moral codes and extant arrangements are misaligned, actors will experience moral perturbation and show less or no emotional investment in the arrangements, increasing their desire to partake in institutional disruption and change, or halt institutional reproduction (Voronov & Vince, 2012). Yet the mechanisms whereby institutional arrangements are reproduced in the presence of moral perturbation have been undertheorized.

Moral Emotions and Systemic Power in Institutional Processes

Human beings are moral agents; they are motivated "to act out and sustain moral order, which helps constitute, directs, and makes significant human life itself" (Smith, 2003: 8). Actors use their moral codes as a yardstick to reflexively determine what is good, right, or proper about the social system in which they are situated (Hibbert & Cunliffe, 2015), and animate their moral emotions to reinforce behaviors concordant with their moral codes (Turner & Stets, 2006). Turner and Stets (2006) divide moral emotions into four categories: the self-critical moral emotions of shame and guilt (directed at oneself for contravening moral codes), the other-critical moral emotions of contempt, anger, and disgust (directed at others for contravening moral codes), the

other-suffering moral emotions of sympathy and empathy (associated with witnessing others experiencing something bad), and the other-praising moral emotions of gratitude and elevation (associated with witnessing others doing something good).

However, only recently have moral emotions been incorporated into the study of institutional processes (e.g., Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright et al., 2017). The former study revealed that degenerative disease-supporting federation members' other-critical moral emotions prompted shunning activities that triggered leaders' regret and promoted structural and practice adaptation. The latter one found that hospital specialists' other-critical and other-suffering moral emotions safeguarded their collective professional values, allowing for the modification of organizational routines. In these studies, actors' work to defend the logic of care and maintain professional values respectively achieved a positive outcome (i.e., a realized change) through the activation of moral emotions. But institutional theorists have yet to explore the boundary conditions beyond which moral emotions alone are no longer sufficient to initiate and sustain successful institutional change efforts.

Using an inhabited institutions lens (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006), we can unveil not only the affective side of institutionalism, but also the power dynamics inherent in much of institutional life (Hudson, Okhuysen, & Creed, 2015). Organizations are social arrangements filled with political struggles among actors possessing divergent agendas and asymmetric power (Seo & Creed, 2002). Consequently, people *in power* rely on control mechanisms to convince others to do something they would not otherwise do (Dahl, 1957), to circumscribe unruly or defiant behaviors, and to keep members attuned to organizational blueprints and orders (Etzioni, 1975). While power in neo-institutional research mostly takes on an episodic form (Lawrence, 2008), the more systemic form– the kind that covertly stabilizes social relationships through the perpetual mobilization

of discourse benefiting particular groups without those groups necessarily establishing or sustaining such discourse (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lawrence, 2008)–has yet to be integrated. Recognizing the pervasive role of systemic power in institutional dynamics (Voronov, 2014) could shed light on the limits of actors' moral emotions. Finally, although moral perturbation can diminish actors' emotional investment and incite moral emotions, thereby bringing about institutional disruption and change, how emotionally laden actors continuously reproduce extant institutional arrangements, even after these arrangements have awakened actors' moral perturbation, has been understudied.

EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

Protestantism, with its manifold denominations, can be located within the continuum of mainline (liberal) and evangelical (conservative) movements. The latter, conceived in the 18th century as the Great Awakening and practiced by Methodist and Baptist churches, emphasized salvation and piety, as opposed to symbolic rites retained over generations. But a new movement arose in the second half of the 19th century within American Methodist churches, the Holiness movement, stressing John Wesley's doctrine of Christian sanctification through baptism in the Holy Spirit (Noll, 2001).

William J. Seymour, an African-American Holiness preacher and student of a Wesleyan evangelist, Charles F. Parham, began his ministry in 1906 on Azusa Street, Los Angeles, targeting the poor and oppressed. His interracial revival meetings, which were charged with exuberant worship, speaking in tongues, and miraculous experiences, set the advent of Pentecostalism. Pentecostals believe that, theologically, Jesus Christ is the Savior, Sanctifier, Spirit Baptizer, Healer, and Soon-Coming King[2], and that their receptiveness toward manifestations of the Holy Spirit (e.g., tongues, healings, prophecies/visions, words of wisdom, and exorcisms) distinguishes their denomination

[2] According to the Bible New International Version, only some of Jesus' roles are capitalized, for instance, "the Savior of the world" (1 John 4: 14) or "King of kings" (Revelation 17: 14). But in order to maintain consistency, we follow the convention of Pentecostal literature and capitalize all Jesus' roles.

from the others (Dayton, 1987). During 1960–70s, two new Pentecostal movements were born: the Charismatic movement that infiltrated mainline Protestant and Catholic churches, and the neo-Charismatic movement that was ecumenical/non-denominational. Notwithstanding their differences, the three movements consensually hold that baptism in the Holy Spirit should be visible in daily life (Coleman, 2002).

Pentecostalism, as one of the world's most dynamic and successful denominations, reached over 643 million followers in 2015 (up from 1, 460, 583 million in 1910, 2000, 2010 respectively), enveloping more than a quarter of the world's Christians or nearly 8.8% of the world's population. Topping the list, Brazil, the U.S., and China have 110, 73, and 61 million adherents respectively, while Indonesia is ranked 12th with nearly 11 million (WCD, 2015). The remarkably fast growth of Pentecostalism is concentrated in the global South (i.e., Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania) (Robbins, 2004).

METHODS

Data Sources

Our data were derived from eleven Pentecostal churches in Indonesia through an ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), an appropriate yet underused method for unearthing emotions and power. While studies of emotions in organizations favor laboratory experimental techniques, which might be unable to fully capture the relational element of emotions (Fineman, 1993; Voronov, 2014), students of power lament the displacement of ethnography, as power relations at work can be studied most directly within real organizations and in real-time (Courpasson, 2006).

We began with four sampling questions: which island(s), city(ies), movement(s), and synod(s)? Java was a straightforward answer to the first question, as it had by far the most sophisticated churches–in terms of size, structure, and management systems–in Indonesia. The remaining questions were answered when the first author embarked on a

32-day journey across Java, during which he systematically documented events, as well as his own thoughts and feelings. To allow for focused comparisons, he identified six cities that had churches of all sizes[3]. As they were spread across three provinces (i.e., East, Central, and West Java), he controlled for cultural effects by selecting churches from each province, eventually deciding on Surabaya, Solo, and Bandung. Discovering that there was no perfect fit between churches and movements, he employed two selection criteria: Pentecostal theology must be adopted and manifestation of the Holy Spirit must be visibly performed. Five synods (pseudonyms) were finally chosen, accounting for access and uniqueness: Avner (Surabaya; the first author knew some high-ranking volunteers who had access to the senior pastor and his four children), Gidon (three cities; the one in Surabaya was Indonesia's biggest church and the first to introduce a secular-like full gospel band), Ovadia (Solo and Bandung; Solo's and Bandung's biggest church; Gidon had used to belong to Ovadia before splitting and establishing its own synod), Shamgar (three cities; Indonesia's only ISO-certified church that mimicked the centralized structure adopted by the Roman Catholic Church), and Zion (Surabaya and Bandung; first founded in the U.S. by Indonesian students and now spread across 36 countries).

As Pentecostal churches were walled with exclusivity and confidentiality, he had to learn how to *go native* like a regular member to get access. Next to gathering as much information as possible and reflecting on his fieldnotes to obtain an initial conception of (Indonesian) Pentecostalism, he studied online videos of senior pastors delivering sermons to get accustomed to their lingoes, styles, and characters. During this phase, he informally talked with 100 core actors (i.e., senior pastors, full-timers, and volunteers), peripheral actors (i.e., regular church members), and external actors (i.e., people

[3] Small churches have fewer than 200 members, medium churches have 200–500 members, large churches have 500–2,000 members, and mega-churches have more than 2,000 members (Thumma & Travis, 2007).

unaffiliated with a Pentecostal church yet familiar with the movement) (97 hours), joined 19 services (35 hours), and gained access to three churches.

Upon completion of the sampling phase, he resided in the field for 180 days to collect additional data. He first interviewed three of Avner's high-ranking volunteers he had known for several years. Being his first contacts, they opened the door to other core actors. However, due to a lack of connections at the other churches, he had to go bottom-up, developing his understanding of each church step-by-step. He began by joining small-scale, relatively casual cell groups and youth services, making it easier to make friends, gain trust, and hear church secrets. Once he acquired enough knowledge about a particular church, he conducted formal interviews with low-ranking full-timers and volunteers who gradually levered him to higher-ranking ones and finally to the senior pastor. While this strategy was successful, it was especially arduous for larger churches, as they were protective of their classified material and internal processes.

Throughout this phase, he secured access to eight more churches, informally talked with 43 core and peripheral actors (42 hours), joined 110 services and other church activities (206 hours), and formally interviewed 100 core actors using a semi-structured, in-depth approach (143 hours). All formal interviews were conducted in interviewees' native language, recorded, transcribed, and–where necessary–translated into English, generating over 1 million words of thick description (Geertz, 1973).

Data Analysis

Analyzing our data inductively, we moved iteratively between data, literature, and emerging categories and themes. Through gradual abstraction assisted by NVivo software, we interpretatively categorized raw data (whenever possible using in vivo labeling) into fifteen first-order categories and synthesized them into five second-order themes (Locke, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 2008), as registered in Table 4, which also

provides illustrative interview quotes and observation accounts as supporting evidence. During coding, we directed our attention to uncovering events, activities, and choices that served as underlying building blocks, and to detailing the mechanisms that explained and connected these building blocks (Langley, 1999). Aimed at ultimately producing a grounded process model, our data analysis progressed in four temporal stages, during which we built up confirmability by recursively triangulating emerging categories and themes within and across data sources (Glaser, 1978).

[Insert Table 4 about here]

Stage 1: Tracing the antecedents of moral perturbation. Reading our fieldnotes and interview transcripts closely, we began to notice that at a middle-to-later stage of their employment or affiliation, a number of full-timers and volunteers (52 out of 80[4] actors) became aware of three organizational practices they deemed to be inappropriate. These practices concerned the source, usage, and disclosure of church money. First, because Pentecostal churches strategically targeted and preferentially serviced Chinese citizens, their largest donors, we labeled this practice ethno-class favoritism. Second, as these churches allocated a portion of their revenue to funding a grandiose dynasty, we called this practice extravagant lifestyle. Third, since these churches only partially disclosed their financial statements and continuously refused to bring in independent external auditors[5], we tagged this practice financial obscurity. Canvassing our entire dataset, we corroborated the prevalence of these practices across all sampled churches[6] and treated them as extant institutional arrangements. Inspecting actors' retrospective accounts when they were initially confronted with the church money management practices, we could observe that they anchored their emotional investment on their

[4] This is the number of formal interviewees (100) minus the number of senior pastors (10) and their family members (10).
[5] Except for Shamgar Surabaya whose financial statements were verified by an independent external auditor.
[6] Under a centralized system, Shamgar's two satellite churches in Solo and Bandung were obliged to send their revenue to the mother church in Surabaya, which was in charge of the usage and disclosure of all church money.

moral codes of "inclusivity," "modesty," or "accountability." We categorized these moral codes as idealized institutional arrangements. Finally, as the extant arrangements were discordant with the idealized ones that actors used to make moral evaluations, we could discern actors' experiences of moral "shock," "confusion," or "disturbance," all of which were coded moral perturbation.

Stage 2: Tracing the consequences of moral perturbation. At the onset of moral perturbation, actors encountered a social reality that did not match their moral codes concerning what was good, right, or proper. As a result, they displayed negative valence moral emotions (Turner & Stets, 2006) of guilt (e.g., they felt "guilty," "regretful," "remorseful," or "sinful") and anger (e.g., they felt "angry," "exasperated," "infuriated," or "resentful"). In hopes of repairing their moral perturbation these actors engaged in influence activities (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) such as "initiating small changes in their daily routines" and "plotting a confrontation with their senior pastors." Since these activities were carried out to disrupt the extant arrangements, we coded them disrupting activities. The above moral emotions and influence activities were coded purposefully because they were directly related to moral perturbation.

Stage 3: Tracing the processes whereby institutional disruption and change are discouraged. When we were following the continuation of actors' disrupting activities, we did not find any success story of a realized change in the extant arrangements. It appeared that senior pastors occupied a crucial role in forestalling any form of institutional disruption and change. Traveling back and forth between data and theory, senior pastors utilized "theocratic structure[7]," "biblical values," and their own "charisma" as a form of systemic power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Lawrence, 2008), for which we coded. Furthermore, the wielded systemic power elicited actors' feelings of

[7] Although the term formally refers to a state-level governing system, respondents used the Indonesian term *teokrasi* to characterize the governing structure of the church they worked for or were affiliated with.

fear (e.g., they expressed "apprehensiveness," "fearfulness," "fright," or "scare") and respect (e.g., they expressed "admiration," "esteem," "honor," or "respect") toward the senior pastors. These emotions stimulated actors to engage in activities to "stop initiating small changes in their daily routines" and "stop plotting a confrontation with their senior pastors." Because actors gave up their own disrupting activities, we coded this type of activities discontinuing activities. Actors' discontinuing activities further induced their negative emotion of helplessness (e.g., they felt "helpless," "incapable," "incapacitated," or "powerless"). Lastly, we spotted an exogenous factor that cemented actors' helplessness: the field-level prevalence, or widespread nature, of the extant church money management arrangements.

Stage 4: Tracing the processes whereby institutional reproduction is encouraged. Deepening our understanding of actors' feelings of helplessness, we noted their activities to "alleviate," "assuage," "let go of," or "work off" their negative emotions. As actors attempted to deal with their helplessness, we coded such activities reconciling activities. Examining their retrospective accounts after they undertook the reconciling activities, we could detect actors' anchoring their emotional investment on the notions of a "fulfilling," "healing," "punishing," or "smiting" God, thereby enabling the reproduction of the extant institutional arrangements in spite of their experiencing moral perturbation. We categorized these anchors as a higher-level meaning system. We present our findings in four temporal phases, both to draw a parallel to our four-stage data analysis and to adequately demonstrate the "descriptive utility" of bracketing an otherwise long and complex narrative into a series of thematic accounts (Langley, 1999: 703). Each phase, however, does not represent an exact temporal duration.

Finally, to advance our theoretical understanding of the roles of two emotions-evoking events by actors and organizational leaders (second-order theme #3 in Table 4),

we performed an additional round of data analysis. Specifically, we dug deeper into moral perturbation and systemic power (first-order categories #6 and #7 respectively), and their evoked emotions and concomitant influence activities. While our four-stage data analysis illuminates the evolutionary (diachronic) stages of emotional development of actors vis-à-vis the extant institutional arrangements, our further exploration of moral perturbation and systemic power through synchronic analysis (Barley, 1990) yields greater insight into their effects on institutional disruption and change, both of which feed the dynamics of actors' emotional investment. The outcomes of our supplementary synchronic analysis are elaborated in the Discussion section.

FINDINGS

Our study investigates the processes whereby actors continue to reproduce extant institutional arrangements, even after they have become morally perturbed by these arrangements. Supported by formal interview quotes and observation accounts gleaned from the field, our findings progress in four phases.

Phase I: The Dawn of Moral Perturbation

When full-timers and volunteers first joined the church, regardless of church size, their world revolved around doing God's work. Now a full-timer, US (Ovadia)[8] recounted his first days as one of the founding members, "We all could feel His profoundly moving presence. … We were charged up to bring His kingdom to earth!" AN (Gidon), who became a volunteer-turning-employee when Gidon was already a mid-large-sized church, expressed similar enthusiasm, "In the beginning my passion (for serving God) was so fiery that I was involved in three ministerial divisions: praise and worship (singing), education (Bible class), and preaching!" But as "the church was growing … in terms of congregation size, and therefore church revenue," as articulated

[8] Our reference style for interview quotes: code of interviewees, followed by their affiliated synod (pseudonym) in parentheses.

by IN (Shamgar), actors started to become aware of three money-related organizational practices: ethno-class favoritism, extravagant lifestyle, and financial obscurity.

First, at Sunday services, the percentage of Chinese worshippers, who largely made up the upper-middle class, never dropped below 50% when using a simple headcount (from 9-Mar[9] to 23-Sep), whereas Chinese accounted for only 1.2% of Indonesia's total population (BPS, 2015). In an informal talk with IE (Gidon), he revealed that "high-level" members (i.e., those with financial prowess), who were predominantly Chinese, enjoyed "special privileges" from the church (e.g., pastoral care on demand) "as their money supported our church tremendously" (23-May). Likewise, TI (Ovadia) unabashedly affirmed, "Having a congregation that is (financially) blessed is, to be honest, not bothering us at all, right? … In fact, they become a (financial) blessing for this church."

Second, EX (Gidon's senior pastor) was notoriously dubbed the "instigator" of this practice for his controversial collection of "luxury cars, including a limited-edition Rolls-Royce Phantom" (29-Apr). Unwilling to sugarcoat the reality, DA (Avner) said, "The lifestyle of AS (Avner's senior pastor) and his children is more on the high-end side!" Validating this celebration of material wealth, RY (Gidon) defended staunchly, "If we worship the mighty Father, His children are entitled to His blessings! We'll not only become rich, but also have an abundant life!" It was even maintained that being poor was "an embarrassment to God," as there must have been "something wrong with the way faith is practiced" (7-Apr).

Third, while all churches disclosed their revenues entirely, they either disclosed their expenditures vaguely or did not disclose them at all[10] (from 5-Mar to 18-Sep). Championing the latter, JA (Ovadia's senior pastor) clarified, "I've actually tried to be

[9] Our reference style for observation accounts: date and month of documentation in the fieldnotes.
[10] Except for Shamgar Surabaya that disclosed their expenditures fully yet concisely.

open. But … it actually incited inter-departmental conflicts." Furthermore, in a post-interview talk with DY (Gidon's senior pastor), he exclaimed that trusting an auditor more than a senior pastor and his staff to manage church money was "an absurd move." Slightly irritated, he rhetorically asked, "If you do know our financial statements, what are you going to do about it?! Will you give more offerings or tithes?!" (15-Jun).

Once actors became aware of the three church money management arrangements, they began to act reflexively upon these arrangements by judiciously turning to their moral codes to which they held on (18-Mar).

Regarding the ethno-class favoritism, YN (Shamgar) said, "To me, evangelization is about embracing people inclusively, not about playing favorites! … Just spread the Good News to everyone! … It is essential to evangelize to people of different ethnicities, and even of different religions." FY (Zion) was also utterly convinced that "our life is called to fulfill a purpose, that is reaching out to the poor and marginalized too!" Consulting his moral compass, TO (Ovadia) declared, "I myself espouse the value of inclusivity. … These people are all God's children, and as His servants we must do our best to serve and care for them! … The rich, the poor, all of them!" Anchoring their emotional investment on the moral code of inclusivity, these actors insisted that a church should passionately preach the gospel to, impartially serve, and unconditionally love all people irrespective of their ethnicity or socio-economic status.

As to the extravagant lifestyle, TA (Zion), who was an advocate of a modest lifestyle, gave an example from the late Kenneth E. Hagin, "He was a very modest pastor and in his book he talked about having a modest mindset. I believe that if we have a modest mindset, we will live a modest life." By the same token, GP (Gidon) admitted that he conscientiously followed the "biblical teachings on modesty" (13-Aug). Activating his moral barometer, BG (Ovadia) metaphorically explained, "I'm glad Jesus

was born in a simple manger, not at the Hilton or Ritz-Carlton. I'm grateful that He taught and showed us what true modesty is, because that's also the values that I have!" Anchoring their emotional investment on the moral code of modesty, these actors asserted that senior pastors and their family members should live a genuinely modest life to become an effective living testimony of Christ.

Concerning the financial obscurity, KE (Avner) sensibly made a case, "We (the congregation) are all entitled to have the information about how much money goes in and out! … I believe in openness because it can somehow control how our money is utilized (for church-related projects) and spent (by AS and his children), … and can lead to having a sound financial position like our Singaporean mentor church!" UR (Ovadia), a proponent of financial audits, argued, "Having our finances objectively and impartially evaluated will prevent us from becoming a stumbling block when performing God's work, … because I know how weak we are." Anchoring their emotional investment on the moral code of accountability, these actors held that a church trusted to handle money given by members through offerings and tithes should go for transparent financial reporting and independent auditing because money was a tempting mammon that could divert church' sole focus on God.

Anchoring their emotional investment on the idealized institutional arrangements imbued with moral codes of inclusivity, modesty, and accountability, actors used these anchors as a yardstick to make moral evaluations of what was good, right, or proper about the extant institutional arrangements. Perceiving that their idealized moral codes were infringed, they viewed the extant arrangements as bad, wrong, or improper, and correspondingly felt morally perturbed, as expressed below:

> TO (Ovadia) strenuously objected to the ethno-class favoritism, "(Only focusing on serving the rich) is not right! … I really disapprove of it! If it were up to me, I'd focus on the poor too!"

> NO (Gidon) sharply criticized the extravagant lifestyle, "This is too glaring! The way they (senior pastors) enrich themselves, their family, and their entourage is simply inappropriate! Look at their expensive cars and excessive appearance! This is certainly against what God has taught us about modesty!"
>
> KE (Avner) critically commented on the financial obscurity, "Good money management is … a must! If we don't manage our money properly, sooner or later we'll be in a deep mess! … But our church doesn't realize its importance or feel the urge (to change), not even after having been mentored by (a Singaporean church) that advocates and implements responsible and transparent money management. It's wrong! … It's unfathomable!"

In summary, being partially autonomous (Benson, 1977), actors could at some point act reflexively upon the extant institutional arrangements. As the three church money management arrangements incessantly shook the anchor of their emotional investment in the idealized arrangements, these actors experienced moral perturbation.

Phase II: The Activation of Moral Emotions

In the face of moral perturbation caused by the incompatibility between the extant arrangements (practiced by the churches) and the idealized ones (held by actors), actors animated two types of moral emotions.

First, morally perturbed by the ethno-class favoritism, PS (Ovadia) vented,

> "I felt guilty, I felt sinful that I had to exclusively evangelize to and serve rich people. What about the rest?! Take Jesus for example, He reached out to all types of people! … This (extant arrangement) is against God's teachings! … I was consumed with immense guilt when I had to stay at the office while there were still many poor people out there who needed to hear the gospel. … Honestly, inside here [tapping his chest], I felt really guilty, I felt sinful about this."

Second, while actors acknowledged that "senior pastors and their family should not experience financial hardship" (29-Apr), they condemned and expressed anger at the unchristlike extravagant lifestyle (e.g., going on expensive holidays, indulging in such high-class hobbies as golf or haute cuisine, and exhibiting a lavish collection of fashion items, watches, or cars) (from 5-Mar to 18-Sep) and at the financial obscurity as it "nourished" such a lifestyle at the expense of congregation's money (9-Mar).

In other cases, a single actor could harbor a combination of guilt and anger over one or multiple extant institutional arrangements. For instance, in an informal talk, LO (Zion), who was very social at heart and passionate about upholding inclusivity, opened up that he felt guilty when he discovered that the poor and marginalized had not been reached out to and served, and became angry that this group of people was excluded from Zion's main "target market" (26-Jul). Another example comes from NO (Gidon), who lashed out at the extravagant lifestyle and financial obscurity:

> "(These arrangements) are actually a financial crime! … I've been feeling increasingly guilty and angry over the prevalence of these practices! … (I am feeling) guilty because I've been part of these practices (through my offerings and tithes that are unaudited). … I'm angry at the opulent behaviors of many servants of God!"

While actors felt the self-critical moral emotion of guilt because they had been taking part in the reproduction of the extant institutional arrangements that violated the anchor of their emotional investment in the idealized arrangements, they felt the other-critical moral emotion of anger because the conduct of moral offenders engineering and/or endorsing the church money management arrangements was breaching actors' moral codes of inclusivity, modesty, and accountability.

Fueled with moral emotions of guilt and anger, these actors were then motivated to engage in influence activities to fix the extant arrangements. For instance, feeling guilty for having been part of the extant arrangement, PS (Ovadia) attempted to break the ethno-class favoritism by initiating small changes in his daily routines:

> "In the beginning, I occasionally went to the mall (nearby for lunch, but then I went out) to preach the gospel to … the rickshaw drivers (waiting for customers) in front of the mall. But I had to be careful because church members could notice me and asked themselves why I was hanging out there (with rickshaw drivers) while I had tons of things to do here at the office."

Similarly, seeking to repair the three church money management arrangements, a guilty and angry BG (Ovadia) whispered as if he was divulging a dark secret, "When I delivered a sermon to the members, I cautiously inserted some truths (about what he

thought a church should or should not do) to wake them up." After the interview he mentioned that he also used to regularly spread these "truths" to some reception staff to eventually enlighten their mind and finally joked that it was probably for the best if the first author turned a deaf ear to what he said about the "truths" (17-Jul).

Other actors opted for a different approach when engaging in disrupting activities. Driven by anger, KE (Avner), a high-ranking volunteer and one of the founding members, was preparing some arguments to confront AS, Avner's senior pastor, about the extravagant lifestyle and financial obscurity arrangements. Driven by anger, she used Avner's newly founded Christian worship band, ND (pseudonym), as a case and persuaded a number of ND members to join forces and build a coalition to support her when she would talk face-to-face to AS. Her line of argument for the case was:

> "As ND is semi-commercial[11], church members like me and ND crew have a financial stake in ND's existence, so we all deserve to know how the capital is used. They (AS and his children) need to be open about this! For the first album, it's understandable they needed some initial capital. But after such a successful launch, now they're asking for another round of financial support from us for the second album?! If they suffered a loss, it's fine, but we need to know how that loss occurred in the first place! … They must change the way they manage the money!"

Finally, feeling terribly guilty and exasperated witnessing the arrangements of extravagant lifestyle and financial obscurity, NO (Gidon) followed the same path to plot a confrontation. Specifically, he made a pledge that "in the near future I will not hold back and will start demurring loudly at these immoral practices!"

In summary, in hopes of relieving their moral perturbation, actors activated their moral emotions of guilt and anger that stimulated them to engage in disrupting activities to disrupt and change the extant institutional arrangements.

Phase III: The Endurance of Systemic Power

No matter how eagerly actors strove to disrupt and change the extant arrangements, their disrupting activities were repressed by a mechanism involving

[11] Its establishment was funded by both Avner's revenue and profit from physical and digital album sales.

senior pastors as leaders and the actors themselves as followers. Three types of systemic power wielded by the senior pastors were found to be relevant to the actors facing moral perturbation.

First, Pentecostal churches adopted an organizational structure that lent their leaders full power, as PA (Gidon) succinctly explained, "Since our structure here is theocracy, everything comes from the top (the senior pastor). … Everything is centralized and decisions are made solely and absolutely by the senior pastor, who is divinely chosen by God, he's like God's representative on earth." Therefore, although "figuratively the head of our church is Jesus Christ, practically it's the senior pastor that becomes His right-hand to lead this church. Everyone below the senior pastor (including himself) must display complete submission," clarified US (Ovadia). Theocracy was a structure that highlighted the significance of divine calling, formal organizational hierarchy, and autocracy, all of which legitimized senior pastors' role as God's lone messenger who took total control of their organization.

Second, Pentecostal churches rigidly abided by a set of divine values drawn from the Bible, as RY (Gidon) alerted, "The Bible has a higher status than the church's constitution and bylaws, it's not a subject for debate, so if you don't agree with it, you may leave." "As the theological foundation of our church is the Bible, (full-timers and volunteers) are obliged to follow some Bible classes in order to understand it more deeply and practice its values correctly," elaborated WN (Shamgar). AS (Avner's senior pastor) elucidated how the Bible shaped his life and the church he led, "At first I only followed a Bible class here (taught by his father). But then I followed formal biblical education in Vancouver. … Today our church is famous for having an extremely strong footing in the Bible!" As the true and undisputed Word of God, the Bible was an essential source of church values that prescribed senior pastors' and actors' actions.

Third, Pentecostal churches brought to the fore senior pastors' charisma, which was determined by both divine and worldly qualities. With regard to the divine qualities, these leaders were compelling storytellers on the epic subject of how God had called and tested them through time. At his fully attended revival meeting, IP (Shamgar) narrated how God had gloriously transformed his life, making him rise up from being a thug to "Indonesia's most well-known Christian figure." He recounted his vivid, real-feel dream of being taken to hell by God where He had made him see tormenting human anguish, opening up his eyes to achieving something greater than himself and overcoming anything that stood between him and spreading the gospel (16-Apr). With respect to the worldly qualities, while ID (Ovadia) and JA (Ovadia) occasionally emphasized their triumphant times in the automobile and textile business respectively (15-Jul and 13-Jun), MY (Zion) and RD (Zion) accentuated their current side-business endeavors in hospitality and real estate respectively (23-Jul and 5-Sep). RD (Zion) subtly boasted, "You might not know this, but I have a business too (because) many of our members and people in this city are businessmen. … I have 88 warehouses, 75% of which had been sold … making up revenues of approximately USD 15–20 million." These leaders stressed their previous professional achievements and/or current financial successes from time to time, sending a message to their congregation and the secular world alike that they are not to be underrated. Senior pastors continuously projected an image of someone who not only was divinely called and tested, but also possessed exceptional qualities for leading the affluent.

Furthermore, theocratic structure, biblical values, and charisma systemically exercised by senior pastors evoked two types of actors' emotions: fear and respect.

Regarding the theocratic structure, in a strictly off-the-record talk with LF (Ovadia), he briefly exposed the facts that all Ovadia's "full-timers and volunteers fear

JA (the senior pastor)" because Ovadia's theocratic structure allowed for JA's power to take a firm grip on all his followers (29-May). IS (Zion) reinforced further, "Our senior pastor has been divinely chosen by God. So we must fear and respect him as the leader of this church. In God's dictionary there's no democracy, in Him we endorse theocracy." In like manner, MA (Gidon) echoed, "Because the system in our church is theocracy, our vision and mission flow from God, down to EX (the senior pastor), and then to all of us. So we must be respectful of our senior pastor and his guidance."

As to the biblical values, senior pastors routinely quoted some biblical verses to foster the feelings of fear and respect from their followers. The two most popular verses (Bible New International Version) were 1 Peter 2: 18, "Slaves[12], in reverent fear of God submit yourselves to your masters, not only to those who are good and considerate, but also to those who are harsh," and Ephesian 6: 5, "Slaves, obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart, just as you would obey Christ" (19-May). Referring to the Bible, NA (Avner) offered an explicit account of her emotion of fear, "Why do I bow down to the rules and to the leader? I honestly fear them. The Bible says I must submit to and fear my leader wherever I am, and AS is the leader of this church."

Concerning the charisma, DI (Gidon) talked of EX, "He has massive charisma! During sermon, when he raises his hand (when worshipping God), everyone in the hall (with a seating capacity of 33,000) instantly joins him. Could you tell me which other senior pastors possess such charisma? …He might have weaknesses, but we respect him a great deal here." YU (Shamgar), a senior pastor of a satellite church stated, "We all respect UF (the senior pastor) and IP and EB (UF's sons-in-law) greatly, and I can see that clearly. One day … either one will succeed UF. Although they have different types of charisma, … we always support all the decisions they make." IP's charisma was so

[12] To our respondents this term refers to servant as in *servant of God*, which has less of a negative connotation than *slave*.

alluring that people outside Shamgar acknowledged it, as RT (Avner) described, "He has remarkable charisma and is leading an incredibly influential movement! We might well know who IP is without knowing UF. … People definitely pay him great respect!"

Engulfed in fear of and respect for senior pastors, actors engaged in influence activities to respond to their own disrupting activities. First, PS' (Ovadia) efforts to integrate small changes in his daily routines by preaching the gospel to and talking with the rickshaw drivers in front of the mall were caught by a "high-profile church member" who reported his "misbehavior" to the senior pastor, ID. Out of "fear of and respect for" ID, PS forsook his disrupting activities upon ID's order to discontinue such activities (8-Jul). A similar fate befell BG (Ovadia) who was at first zealous in spreading the "truths" about what he thought a church should or should not do regarding the three church money management arrangements, but ended up abandoning his own disrupting activities as soon as he activated his "fear of fighting the senior pastor," who "sternly warned him not to defame the church" by spreading the "truths" (17-Jul). Second, KE (Avner) revisited her plot to confront AS (the senior pastor) about the extravagant lifestyle and financial obscurity, and said, "I think I still fear and respect him (AS) and that's why I stopped persuading ND members (using the case that she prepared) to collaborate with me." An ND member who was approached by KE and used to join the coalition, EN (Avner), confirmed that the alliance to confront AS was indeed broken up. Specifically, he agreed to cease because he "respected" AS as Avner's leader (19-Aug). As to NO's (Gidon) pledge to "(demur) loudly at these immoral practices," he was still in the phase of planning a disrupting activity fed by his feelings of guilt and anger, and therefore whether or not he would follow up such an activity was still unknown.

Having their disrupting activities deterred by their own discontinuing activities, actors began to experience helplessness. In PS' (Ovadia) case, he believed,

> "The paths (leading to disruption and change) are practically non-existent. … This office has become confinement to me. It limits my passion for preaching to and serving the poor. … Before joining this church I could do that easily (on his home island Celebes), but now I cannot do it at all for the reasons I told you before (due to fear of and respect to the senior pastor who warned him to discontinue his own disrupting activities). I just can't! … There's just no way!"

In a similar vein, BG (Ovadia), whose discontinuing activities thwarted his own disrupting activities, cited "failures to bring about notable changes" in the extant arrangements as the major reason why he felt "worn down" to even think about it (17-Jul). He explicated, "We don't have such power! We don't have such capacity! We don't have such authority (to make any influence)! I know it's not good (not to effectively disrupt and change), but I'm powerless."

KE (Avner), too, evinced her helplessness,

> "Things (the extravagant lifestyle and financial obscurity) have been the same here! … Only indirectly bringing these issues up with AS and his children isn't going to work. Someone must confront them explicitly for these things to really change! … But we all fear and respect them, so nobody takes real action to confront them (except for plotting to do so but eventually discarding the idea). … In the years to come things will not improve! … Now I just feel paralyzed, unable to push for betterment."

Realizing that all doors toward meaningful disruption and change in the extant institutional arrangements were closed, actors felt helpless.

Finally, actors' feelings of helplessness were further cemented by another event. EL (Shamgar) detailed his augmented helplessness,

> "I really want to change or at least to see things changing (concerning the ethno-class favoritism), but I don't have the strength to realize this (because his disrupting activities were halted by his own discontinuing activities). It's so tiring! So tiring! … And then when you look outside, the same thing happens everywhere! So you become more tired, more incapacitated!"

In an informal talk, DA (Avner) went into the extravagant lifestyles that "infected" many Pentecostal churches in Indonesia. He particularly blamed Gidon's EX as the "pioneer" in opulent lifestyle among senior pastors, therefore becoming a poor example for the Indonesian Christian community. Feeling "helpless," he was assured that if he

could not disrupt and change the arrangement in his own organization, it would be virtually impossible to do so in the Indonesian Pentecostal landscape, in which the arrangement was deeply "normalized" (27-Apr).

Regarding the financial obscurity, DL (Gidon) confessed that Gidon was not the only church plagued by it,

> "There's no such thing as a perfect church! … So where else can you run to? What kind of perfect church are you looking for? … I became more and more helpless trying to find the answer (on how to disrupt and change the financial obscurity), … but there is no answer!"

Haunted by the prevalence of the church money management arrangements in the organizational field, actors' feelings of helplessness were further indurated.

In summary, after actors engaged in disrupting activities, such activities were deterred by their own discontinuing activities that resulted from the fear and respect-eliciting systemic power exerted by senior pastors. This sense of deterrence and the widespread of the extant institutional arrangements at the field level contributed to actors' solidified feelings of helpless in disrupting and changing such arrangements.

Phase IV: The Shift of Anchor of Emotional Investment

Suffocated by the feelings of helplessness originating from the failure to substantially disrupt and change the extant institutional arrangements, and from the pervasiveness of such arrangements in the organizational field, actors undertook some activities to deal with their negative emotions. As to the ethno-class favoritism, PS (Ovadia) sketched how he sought solace to handle his helplessness,

> "I just comforted myself … that being in this phase, having my status upgraded (by holding his position at Ovadia), is perhaps God's plan. … And then I started to tell myself that we need to serve rich people too, because if we're all saving the poor, who's going to save the rich?"

Concerning the extravagant lifestyle, DA (Avner) outlined how he asked for help to address his helplessness,

> "My mother always reminded me to find God when I go to and serve the church. … Even though I felt some things (the progressively luxurious lifestyles of AS and his children) were unfair or wrong, she advised me to … always look to God. … It alleviated the negative feelings that I had."

Touching on the financial obscurity, DL (Gidon) verbalized how he contemplatively worked out his helplessness,

> "A church is a gathering place for sinners who need God. … So when these sinners assemble, they might well commit these kinds of things (obscuring financial reporting and ruling out independent auditors). … Reminding myself how weak we are and how much we need God enabled me to let go of (the negativity)."

Engaging in reconciling activities to work off their lingering negative emotions, these actors found consolation by reorienting themselves, cognitively and emotionally, toward a higher-level meaning system emanating from a supernatural being. As a result of their reconciling activities, these actors were able to relocate the anchor of their emotional investment. In the wake of moral perturbation they initially anchored their emotional investment on the idealized institutional arrangements imbued with their moral codes. But because these idealized arrangements failed them, as they did not actually exist either in their own organization or in the organizational field, they shifted the anchor of their emotional investment to a new locus.

As PS (Ovadia) became aware of the ethno-class favoritism, he thought such an arrangement was "against God's teachings" because "He reached out to all types of people" (22-Jul). However, having handled his helplessness, he realized, "I just have to hold on to the belief that God is taking care of those (economically marginalized) people. He could very well select and prepare some other evangelizers who have the heart to spread the gospel to and serve these people. … I believe in His perfect timing." He shifted the anchor of his emotional investment from his moral code of inclusivity to the notion of a fulfilling God, who would do His part in a timely manner.

As DA (Avner) became aware of the extravagant lifestyle, he disapproved of it since it "infected" Pentecostal churches with over-the-top lifestyles adopted by the

ruling dynasty (27-Apr). Yet having addressed his helplessness, he registered, “As long as I’ve done my duty (giving offerings and tithes), it’s up to them (AS and his children) how they’re going to use the money. … If the church is corrupt or using my money improperly … it’ll collapse one day, God is capable of punishing.” He shifted the anchor of his emotional investment from his moral code of modesty to the notion of a smiting God, who would punish moral offenders and restore his idealized moral code.

As DL (Gidon) became aware of the financial obscurity, he blamed the “poor church financial management” for causing “a lot of church splits” because human beings were easily tempted by money (20-Aug). But having worked out his helplessness, he delineated, “What makes me go on serving Gidon and being part of it is approaching this issue with no ideal expectations anymore. … God came to earth to heal the sick, not the healthy, maybe that’s why this (arrangement) happens.” He shifted the anchor of his emotional investment from his moral code of accountability to the notion of a healing God, who would provide strength and wisdom to endure witnessing and involuntarily supporting unethical conduct.

Upon relocating the anchor of their emotional investment, actors were able to come to terms with the extant institutional arrangements, thereby justifying their continued employment and affiliation. Anchoring their emotional investment on a higher-level meaning system that derived from the notion of an omniscient and omnipotent being, they eventually were able to insouciantly and continuously reproduce the arrangements they adamantly denounced by discriminatorily evangelizing to and serving the affluent Chinese members of the upper-middle class, giving offerings and tithes to support the opulent lifestyle of senior pastors and their family members, and not questioning the obscurity of church’s finances, all of which legitimized actors’ role and presence in the organization they worked for or were affiliated with.

In summary, as actors experienced helplessness, they engaged in reconciling activities to cope with such negative feelings. Assuaging themselves that there was another locus where they could anchor their emotional investment, they shifted the anchor from their idealized institutional arrangements to a more spiritual meaning system, allowing them to reproduce the extant institutional arrangements.

The representation of our findings on how institutional arrangements can be reproduced despite actors' moral perturbation is depicted in Figure 4.

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

DISCUSSION

Moral Perturbation as an Impetus for Institutional Disruption and Change

Actors inhabiting an organizational field are partially autonomous (Benson, 1977). They alternate between taking institutional arrangements for granted at one point and acting reflexively upon these arrangements at another (Hibbert & Cunliffe, 2015). The latter case is more likely to occur when actors become aware of extant arrangements that offend their moral codes, kindling their moral perturbation (Jasper, 2011) and emotions (Turner & Stets, 2006). We argue that moral perturbation by core actors (e.g., full-timers and volunteers) is an important precursor of institutional instability. In some cases, it is the public disclosure by external actors (e.g., news media) targeting peripheral actors (e.g., church or federation members) that triggers such instability. Both Gutierrez and colleagues (2010), and Toubiana and Zietsma (2017) examine cases in which the media played a catalytic role, revealing the sexual abuse of minors and a new treatment from abroad respectively. Following the disclosures, members of the Catholic Church and members of the degenerative disease-supporting federation started to become aware of the extant arrangements violating their faith and of the new arrangements supporting their care logic but contradicting the federation's research

logic respectively. Yet in our case it was the core actors themselves who, regardless of the stage of their employment or affiliation, felt morally perturbed by the extant arrangements and animated moral emotions of guilt and anger, motivating them to engage in such disrupting activities as integrating small changes in daily routines and plotting a confrontation. Moral perturbation, in addition to public disclosure, therefore acts as an impetus for institutional disruption and change.

Future research could dig deeper into the antecedents of actors' awareness of extant arrangements, such as moral reflexivity that emerges relationally through social interactions, thus not individually (Parmar, 2014). For instance, ES (Ovadia) recalled that he became aware of the ethno-class favoritism only after he talked with colleagues working in a department that he had thought would evangelize to and serve the poor. Bewildered, he had to swallow a bitter pill that nobody at Ovadia had really done that (22-Jul). But this is the only case whereby we could capture a distinct moment of actors' awareness. Moreover, while it was relatively easy to discern actors' moral perturbation and to document their positive emotion of respect, it was much more troublesome to distill their negative emotions of guilt, anger, helplessness, and fear. The first three were particularly difficult to draw out, not only because actors had passed a phase in which these emotions had significantly receded or even disappeared altogether (unlike fear which they continuously demonstrated), but also because coming on too strong when talking about their past negativity could risk their involvement in such core activities as administrative/managerial and faith-nurturing (e.g., shepherding or discipleship) work, and ultimately their position in or affiliation with the organization. Accordingly, all the negative feelings were witnessed more pronouncedly in a non-office setting. Finally, future ethnographies on the role of emotions should also consider extending the time in the field beyond the two months the first author spent in each of the three cities, because

developing the level of trust required for informants to open up and talk freely about their emotions takes a very long time.

Systemic Power as a Suppressor of Institutional Disruption and Change

Moral perturbation (Jasper, 2011) caused by extant institutional arrangements breaking actors' moral codes provides an emotional basis for morality (Turner & Stets, 2006), enabling actors to partake in influence activities (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017). The self-critical moral emotion of guilt can be seen as a constructive form of negative affect, as it prompts actors to take corrective action in response to perceived mistakes (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Likewise, the other-critical moral emotion of anger, which is evoked by episodic exposure to extant arrangements breaching moral codes, is reparative in nature since its social function is to fix these undesired arrangements (Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999). However, whereas both emotions can lend actors the vigor to disrupt and change particular arrangements under the right circumstances (e.g., Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wright et al., 2017), we contend that there are limits to the disruption and change-inducing potential of moral emotions. In our case, systemic power (e.g., theocratic structure, biblical values, and charisma) wielded by senior pastors legitimately elicited actors' fear and respect, making actors discontinue their own disrupting activities. While these actors initially had a sense of "I need to disrupt and change" (through their disrupting activities), upon the activation of their fear and respect to their leaders such desire was suppressed in a way that they were compelled to display a sense of "I need to stop disrupting and changing" (though their discontinuing activities). In other words, their desire was not eliminated completely, such that they felt a sense of "I do not want to disrupt and change anymore," as PS (Ovadia) testified, "If there was an opportunity to change things up at Ovadia, I would certainly do it!" (9-Jul). Due to its non-coercive and non-violent mode, systemic power

operates as a soft constraint over organizational life, signaling a type of power that is stable and internalized (Coupasson, 2006). Hence, moral emotions do not always act as propellants of institutional disruption and change, especially in the presence of power that operates systemically.

While our context is unique, our study carries relevant and far-reaching implications for corporate or governmental organizations whose leaders have (almost) absolute power over their followers. Manifesting in well-established *systems* (e.g., organizations' political system), traditional prescriptive values (e.g., family values), and/or charismatic yet totalitarian leaders (e.g., Apple's late CEO Steve Jobs or GE's ex-CEO Jack Welch), systemic power can legitimately evoke actors' fear and respect, further hindering these actors from mobilizing their moral emotions (of guilt and anger) and from disrupting and changing extant institutional arrangements.

Future research is needed to explore: the effects of guilt and anger on disrupting activities in a context in which leaders have not achieved total dominance, or the limits of leaders' systemic power by probing the roles of other types of moral emotions like shame or contempt, which can have more dysfunctional effects on oneself and others. Unlike guilt, shame is more detrimental in form and maladaptive in its consequences. Shame can incapacitate actors by diminishing their self-worth, resulting in hostility, resistance, or withdrawal (Bohns & Flynn, 2013). Unlike anger, contempt is characterized by short-term derogation and more destructive in nature. Contempt can lead actors to exclude moral offenders from their social environment, deteriorating the relationship in the long-term (Fischer & Roseman, 2007). Actors experiencing guilt or anger are more willing to correct or repair unfavorable situations, and are thereby more responsive to oneself and others, making them more prone to engaging in institutional reproduction and maintenance. But actors animating shame or contempt can inflict

damage upon themselves and others, because such emotions foreclose cooperation. Evoked shame or contempt might appear to be a boundary condition to systemic power.

The Dynamics of Emotional Investment in Institutional Reproduction

When senior pastors exercised fear and respect-eliciting systemic power, morally perturbed actors were forced to engage in discontinuing activities that impeded any institutional disruption and change, begetting their feelings of helplessness or a sense of "I cannot disrupt and change," as in the words of de Vries, "excessive leadership breeds helplessness" (2006: 209). Actors' helplessness was further cemented by the prevalence of church money management arrangements in the organizational field, informing them that the situation would remain unchanged in the future (Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1995). Perceiving that they were incapable of effectively disrupting and changing the extant arrangements, they engaged in activities to reconcile their helplessness, leading them to start regulating their emotional investment. Although actors are subject to making emotional investment whenever they reside in a field (Friedland, 2013), the nature of such investment is far from static (Voronov & Vince, 2012). Not until a middle-to-later stage of their employment or affiliation did full-timers and volunteers become aware of the extant institutional arrangements that were failing their idealized ones imbued with their moral codes of inclusivity, modesty, and accountability. We hold that it is vital for actors who seek to remain employed or affiliated with the organization to find a new locus where they can anchor their emotional investment, so that they are able to, albeit involuntarily, continue to contribute to the reproduction of the extant institutional arrangements that they vehemently object to. In our case, these actors disanchored their emotional investment from the idealized arrangements and anchored it on a more spiritual meaning system (Scott, 2014), rooted in the notion of an omniscient and omnipotent being.

In seeking to understand the role of emotions in institutionalism, we did not uncover factors explaining actors' decision to stay in the organization (e.g., personal, behavioral, job-related, organizational, or external predictors; Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000). Neither did we explicate the intra-individual mechanisms these actors used to cognitively cope with the ongoing contradictions between institutional arrangements they were emotionally invested in (e.g., sacraments, services, revival meetings, manifestations of the Holy Spirit, etc.) and the ones they viscerally disapproved of (e.g., the three church money management arrangements), such that they could continue identifying with the organization while at the same time engaging in institutional disruption and change (e.g., split identification; Gutierrez et al., 2010). Instead, we aimed to understand the affective mechanisms allowing morally perturbed actors to, paradoxically, engage in institutional reproduction. Future research is needed to better understand the affective condition of actors who choose to remain employed or affiliated with an organization that has morally failed them, but who have been unable to relocate the anchor of their emotional investment. We conjecture that they might still acquiescently perform their daily tasks, but continue to experience moral perturbation or even depression. Future studies are also required to better understand turnover, because feelings of helplessness may not always trigger the type of reconciling activities we identified, but instead stimulate morally perturbed actors to explore outside options.

Conclusion

Immoral practices are a common element of the institutional fabric. By investigating three church money management arrangements through ethnographic research, our study attempts to understand one of the darker sides of organizations embedded in a field. Construing a grounded process model that facilitates theorization, we have shed new light on the important puzzle of how actors continue to reproduce

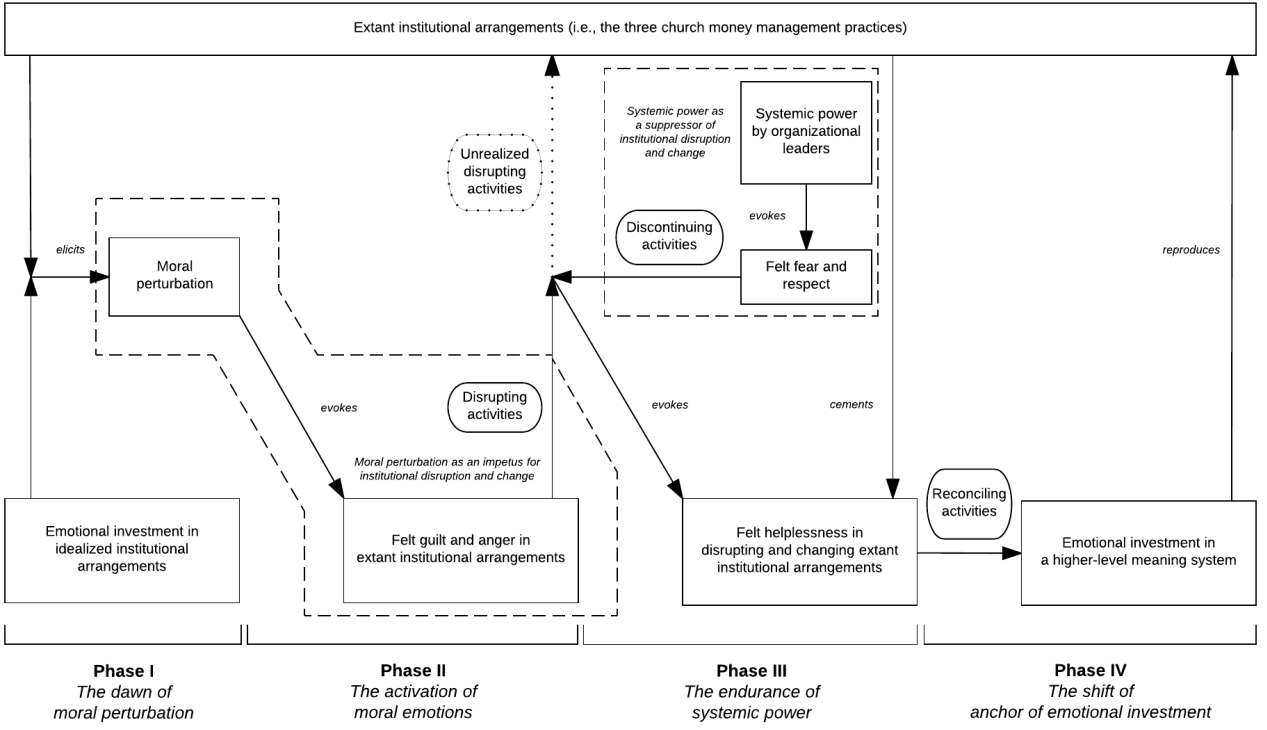
extant institutional arrangements, even after these arrangements have provoked their moral perturbation and invigorated their moral emotions and influence activities. Rather than treating moral emotions as an automatic impetus for institutional disruption and change, we brought in concepts from the literature on systemic power to explore its suppressive role in confining the mobilizing potential of such emotions. Coming to terms with their inability to bring about meaningful disruption and change, actors were encouraged to shift the anchor of their emotional investment. Emotions, together with moral perturbation and systemic power, thus seem to play inseparable roles in the sustainable reproduction of institutional arrangements that transgress actors' moral codes.

Appendices Table 4. Illustrative data for fifteen first-order categories

First-order categories (15) and illustrative data	Second-order themes (5)
Ethno-class favoritism (1); Extravagant lifestyle (2); Financial obscurity (3) "If we're building something that we're not, we won't be efficient in our movement. … So like it or not, we're not a church for all people!" BY (Zion) "I've been in this ministry for 23 years and I've seen over-the-top lifestyles from many servants of God!" NO (Gidon) "When it comes to finance, … they don't want to be open! … Every time we open the offering box, we count only the loose money. … When we tithe, we are told to put it in a sealed envelope, and it stays sealed. Only AS and his children know how much what's in there." KE (Avner)	*Extant institutional arrangements (1)*
Emotional investment in idealized institutional arrangements (4) "I personally think that we must be able to reach out to poor people too, … not only to rich people!" PA (Gidon) "I aspire to live a modest life. … Even if someone bestows me a Jaguar (car), I need to think twice if I should accept it, let alone driving in it. I really don't want to become a bad example to the church members." OR (Shamgar) "Not that we don't want to give offerings or tithe, … but we want to give it to the right place. That's why we need to be audited. I do believe in accountability!" MY (Zion) *Emotional investment in a higher-level meaning system (5)* "I believe that God will move and use (external non-profit) foundations or communities in this city to reach out to and serve the people we don't (specifically target to evangelize to and serve, which are the poor)." RA (Shamgar) "If this church is not coming back to biblical essence, God won't any have mercy on us. He won't hesitate to break down this building!" BG (Ovadia) "Our God is a moving God and a God who moves things. So there are movements in God, and it will always be. … So I believe that one day He will move this church (the senior pastor) to grow and learn to be more transparent and independent (in managing the church money)." NY (Gidon)	*Emotional investment by actors (2)*
Moral perturbation (6) "Our church claims to be open to all ethnicities and classes. But it's perplexing because … Chinese is the dominant ethnic here!" WN (Shamgar) "Nowadays it's extremely difficult to meet with your pastor, especially if he has a big name. It's ridiculous that he even has some bodyguards … like he's a celebrity, [whistling], showing off his car!" BG (Ovadia) "We must find a way to be fully open and objective about our financial issues. … It's not good that we (our finances) are still closed!" UR (Ovadia) *Systemic power (7)* "UF has the highest authority at Shamgar and everyone below him, thus including his sons-in-laws (IP and EB), bows down to him." WN (Shamgar) "In order to judge what's in front of us (whether it's good or bad), we must go back to the Bible. We must hold on to it." CL (Gidon) "EZ (Avner) … has this charisma we all can notice. He doesn't need try too hard to be charismatic. He's just got it! … (Now that he is anticipated to take over his father's position) he's becoming the leading figure (not his younger siblings) who takes most of the decisions." NA (Avner)	*Emotions-evoking events by actors and organizational leaders (3)*

First-order categories (15) and illustrative data	Second-order themes (5)
Felt guilt (8); Felt anger (9) In a post-interview talk with EN (Avner), he confessed that he "used to regularly feel guilty" because Avner was not being inclusive enough and "angry" because AS and his children were "increasingly living an immoderate lifestyle" (13-May). "I felt frustrated with the closed system adopted by this church! … I won't pretend that everything is perfect in here!" DL (Gidon) *Felt fear (10); Felt respect (11)* "Because we adopt a theocratic structure, we're all taught to always fear and respect our leader!" BE (Ovadia) "[Reading Deuteronomy 14: 22–26 about tithing]. From this verse it's clear that we have to learn to fear the Word of God." IN (Shamgar) "What's remarkable about this church is the way DY (Gidon's senior pastor) shepherds. … I admire him deeply as a charismatic leader of this church. I basically see him as an exemplar when I'm shepherding my congregation at (one of the satellite churches I lead)." HY (Gidon) *Felt helplessness (12)* "There is no perfect church. It seems to me that different churches (from different denominations) have different specialties (target markets). … You're never going to find a (Pentecostal) church that particularly targets the poor. … I think no one can change this." ON (Shamgar) DA (Avner) wanted to raise awareness about the extravagant lifestyle to other volunteers he was close to. But he did not mount his bid since he respected AS and did not want to "jeopardize his reputation" (18-Sep), and the prevalence of such an arrangement made him feel "helpless" (27-Apr).	*Emotions felt by actors (4)*
Disrupting activities (13) "The weakness of being a large church is that we seldom pay attention to those at the bottom of the pyramid. So it is upsetting, … (because they are not our focus), I was struggling to (find time to) give these uncared-for people attention and serve them." AB (Gidon) "Right now I'm in the process of writing up my master's thesis. I hope that it'll be published into a book that is going to satirically attack these (three) practices!" ER (Zion) *Discontinuing activities (14)* In the beginning LO (Zion) attempted to preach to and serve the poor. But later his actions were discovered by the senior pastor, MY, who then asked him to give them up. Since LO "feared and respected" MY, he quit pursuing his own disrupting activities (26-Jul). "When it comes to money, especially to the source and usage of it, nobody dares to talk about it, let alone discussing it (with EX)! Even if they want to." DI (Gidon) *Reconciling activities (15)* "[Talking about the ethno-class favoritism] Our God is a working God. It means that if I believe in the power of the working God, He will one day work to somehow bring these (poor and marginalized) people to our church." AY (Ovadia) "When I give an offering to the church every week and tithe every month, I just have to think that it's not my money anymore, it belongs to the church. What my right hand gives, my left hand doesn't need to know. But God knows everything." DA (Avner)	*Influence activities by actors (5)*

Figure 4. Process model of institutional reproduction despite actors' moral perturbation



CHAPTER 5. FINDING A PLACE IN HEAVEN: EMOTIONAL ENERGY AND THE ENACTMENT OF PENTECOSTAL VALUES IN URBAN JAVA

ABSTRACT

What role do contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as actors seek to enact values? On the basis of a comparative, ethnographic case study of Pentecostal churches in three cities on Java, we found that actors emotionally invested in the values core to their institution sought to enact these values that further provided them with some emotional energy. However, we observed that this energy did not translate directly into institutional work activities. We discovered, instead, that the broader contexts, within which actors were embedded, triggered different constellation of distinct emotions, which in turn affected their emotional energy. This resulted in different work activities aimed at the enactment of values. We, thus, reveal how contexts contribute to the elastic expansion and/or contraction of emotional energy, highlighting limitations to the potential of emotional energy to mobilize institutional work. Our study also points to the ways in which paradoxical emotions can complicate the conversion of values into work activities. Finally, we posit that the successful enactment of values hinges on the functioning of both endogenous emotions and exogenous contexts.

KEYWORDS: Emotional energy, values, contexts, institutional work, ethnography

INTRODUCTION

Emotions have increasingly garnered the attention of institutional theorists who have begun to actively account for the role of the emotive in institutional dynamics. The goal of these efforts is to paint a more complete picture of actors' experiences in the field (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Lok, Creed, DeJordy, & Voronov, 2017; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Voronov & Vince, 2012). One stream of this work has sought to better understand the role of emotions in institutional work (Gill & Burrow, 2018; Massa, Helms, Voronov, & Wang, 2016). Specifically, it has been argued that distinct emotions will only drive work activities when actors are emotionally invested in institutional arrangements (Friedland, 2013; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018).

Recently actors have been observed anchoring their emotional investment on the once forgotten normative attributes that are infused into institutional arrangements: values (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). Bringing this concept back is important because values have been defined as "beliefs about the things that are worth having, doing, and being" and "the true ends of the institution and the direction toward which it should aspire" (Kraatz & Flores, 2015: 356, 359), and are therefore seen as fundamental components of the very backbone of civilization (Rokeach, 1973). Being emotionally invested in values incites actors' desire to enact their upheld values through institutional work activities (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Kraatz & Block, 2017; Lawrence, Suddaby, Leca, 2009).

Conceptually, actors' emotional investment in values has been suggested to generate emotional energy (i.e., feeling of being able or having the strength to perform institutional work; Collins, 2004) and distinct emotions (e.g., envy, fear, love, etc.), both of which are seen as mobilizing actors to engage in institutional work to enact their

values (Gehman, Trevino, & Garud, 2013; Hitlin, 2003; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Joas, 2000; Selznick, 1957). Thus, it is the joint role of emotions and values that may actually drive commitment to institutional creation, reproduction and disruption (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018). Still, little is known, empirically, as to how emotional energy and distinct emotions interact on the ground as actors seek to enact values through work activities.

Indeed, most studies have reported the successful enactment of actors' espoused values through institutional work (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright et al., 2017), suggesting that values have unlimited power in generating emotions and that their enactment faces few, if any, problems (cf. Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). In reality, however, actors are embedded in higher, heterogeneous contexts that can exist either in perfect harmony with or in complete opposition to values, potentially affecting actors' emotional energy and distinct emotions (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Clark, 1956; de Rond & Lok, 2016; Kraatz & Flores, 2017; Lawrence & Dover, 2015). That is, some contexts may be more or less compatible with actors' values, and actors' enactment of values backed by emotions may, thus, not always be possible. In this study, reflecting a need for further work at the intersection of emotions and values, we examine how contexts enable and/or constrain the functioning of actors' emotions in the process of enacting their values through institutional work.

We attempted to better understand the role contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as actors seek to enact values through a 212-day ethnographic study (Cunliffe, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Van Maanen, 1995) on the island of Java, Indonesia. We studied the institution of Pentecostalism by means of deep immersion and engagement with 11 Pentecostal churches and their organizational actors (i.e., founders, leaders, employees, volunteers and members) in three cities. Using a

comparative case study approach (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), we were able to identify three different contexts that acted as enabling and/or constraining factors in the enactment process of Pentecostal values through evangelical work. By inductively analyzing our data, we discovered that actors' emotional energy and distinct emotions were inextricably linked to propelling value-infused institutional work.

Our findings enable us to make three contributions to the literature. First, we argue that actors' emotional energy is elastic. Contingent upon the contexts that activate distinct emotions, emotional energy can move bi-directionally. While previous research has shown that emotional energy can either stay at the same level or change in one direction (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018), we demonstrate that emotional energy can also expand and/or contract. Second, our study is among the first to examine paradoxical emotions, or actors' multiple distinct emotions with polarizing emotional valences felt simultaneously (Jasper, 2011; Smith & Lewis, 2011). We contend that when actors experience such emotions, they will attempt to work them out in such a way that negative valence is decreased and the positive increased. Third, we assert that while actors are inherently motivated to enact their espoused values that provide them with emotional energy, such energy is filtered through wider contexts (de Rond & Lok, 2016; Lawrence & Dover, 2015). In other words, the success of the enactment of values depends on the functioning of both internal and external factors, namely actors' own emotions and the contexts respectively.

THEORY

Emotions are ubiquitous in actors' lives and they play a vital role in actors' experiences of inhabiting institutions (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018). While the concept of emotions has tended to be neglected in institutional theory, it has recently become a topic of interest among institutional scholars seeking to address

the longstanding cognitive bias implicit in past theorizing by studying the microfoundations of institutions (Lawrence et al., 2009; Voronov & Vince, 2012). The dominant area of inquiry within this growing body of work explores the relationship between distinct emotions and institutional work activities (Creed et al., 2014; Gill & Burrow, 2018; Massa et al., 2016). This scholarship adopts an interactionist perspective and conceives of emotions as socially constructed, collective and relational reactions to objects and other actors (Lok et al., 2017). Throughout this body of literature emotions have been found to mobilize actors to engage in work activities.

It has been argued specifically that actors' distinct emotions will only drive work activities if actors are emotionally invested in institutional arrangements, since such an investment serves as "[an antecedent] of institutional maintenance, disruption, or creation" (Voronov & Vince, 2012: 59). For example, if actors have an emotional investment in particular institutional arrangements, violation of these arrangements will give rise to anger and guilt, making these actors more likely to engage in institutional work to reinstate past arrangements (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Moreover, fear and shame have been observed to drive invested actors to conform to or protect existing institutions (Creed et al., 2014; DeJordy & Barrett, 2014; Gill & Burrow, 2018). However, not only does emotional investment lead actors to experience distinct emotions, it also prompts them to deploy these emotions as a strategic resource to gain resonance with their audience (Giorgi, 2017; Massa et al., 2016). In this way, actors can "arouse, regulate, and organize emotions that underpin legitimacy judgments and drive resistance among field constituents" (Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016: 963). For instance, skillful leaders can wield systemic power that elicits fear and respect on the part of disgruntled followers and discourages possible attempts to disrupt current arrangements, thereby securing institutional reproduction (Wijaya &

Heugens, 2018). Emotionally invested actors can also evoke a sense of duty (shame) and a sense of belonging (pride) in others, ensuring wide acceptance of a newly introduced institutional arrangement (Moisander et al., 2016).

While theoretical linkage between *the emotive* and institutional work has been conceptually developed (e.g., Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012) and empirically corroborated (e.g., Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018), institutional theory has yet to incorporate *the normative* into its analyses: values (Kraatz & Flores, 2015). Values are fundamental beliefs about the desirable that orient actors to purposefully do the things that are worth pursuing (Joas, 2000; Kluckhohn, 1951). Normatively prized as true ends in themselves, values guide actors' judgments and prescribe their behaviors in all types of situations and over a long period of time, denoting their generalizable and durable nature (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). Providing moral direction toward which institutions should aspire, values reside in an institutional field, yet they are experienced and discovered at an individual level (Selznick, 1957; 1992). While values were the cornerstone of old institutional theory (Selznick, 1949), scholars have nonetheless relegated this foundational concept to a mere backdrop in institutional analyses, a move that coincided with the dawn of neo-institutionalism in the late 1970s (Selznick, 1992). Yet the emergence of emotions into institutional theorizing has resurfaced the need to pay attention to values (Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018) because values lie at the core of every institution (Voronov & Weber, 2016) and institutional arrangements will become fully fledged institutions if they are infused with values that extend beyond the functional/technical purpose of the arrangements (Selznick, 1957). However, the infusion of values is just a part of the story, as actors, being moral animals, are innately driven to enact their upheld values through institutional work (Kraatz & Block, 2017). In short, values are both infused and enacted.

Values have been conceptualized as providing both cognitive and affective orientation to actors that are intrinsically driven to enact those values (Hallett & Ventresca, 2006; Hochschild, 1979; Marini, 2000). With regard to their affective features, actors might be emotionally invested in values because they believe these values infuse institutions with moral worth and meaning in terms of what is right, good or appropriate (Bourdieu, 2000; Friedland, 2018; Haidt, 2001). Such an emotional investment might then "[create] resources of energy" (Selznick, 1957: 18) and evoke distinct emotional reactions (Hitlin, 2003; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Joas, 2000), fueling work activities (Gehman et al., 2013). A new stream of research has started to explore the concept of emotional energy–defined as feeling of strength or confidence in carrying out institutional work (Collins, 2004)–and its implications for actors' work activities (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018). The literature so far suggests that when there is emotional energy, there is potential for institutional work. However, our understanding of the linkage between emotions and the enactment of values through work activities is still in its infancy. For example, we still do not know whether values can actually produce emotional energy and distinct emotions? Or are certain or combination of distinct emotions more likely to generate emotional energy than others? Or what limitations there might be on value-triggered emotional energy? In short, current theorizing has yet to present a clear understanding of emotional energy, distinct emotions and the connection between the two in value-laden institutional work.

Indeed, most studies have tended to document success stories of the enactment of values. For example, physicians fulfilling their professional values in the wake of increasing industry specialization (Wright et al., 2017) and an anti-Mafia organization realizing its values in an environment dominated and controlled by the Mafia (Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015). These studies, while important, imply that values and the emotions

they might generate are all-powerful, and that enacting these values is *trouble-free* (cf. Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Yet, actors enacting these values are embedded in higher-level, pluralistic contexts (cf. Selznick, 1949; 1957) that may support, compete with or even clash with values (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), rendering these values more or less secure (Clark, 1956). This, in turn, may affect actors' emotions and their work to enact their espoused values. Indeed, as de Rond and Lok (2016: 198) suggest, "the meaning people construct around their experiences at work is directly tied to the context through which they understand this work." Likewise, Kraatz and Flores (2015: 354) urge scholars to paint a more realistic and comprehensive picture of the enactment of values by incorporating the macro elements of "social and political forces that facilitate or impede" institutionalization. In short, it is still unclear as to how actors' emotional energy and distinct emotions function and connect in the enactment of values (Selznick, 1957; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018), especially when actors are embedded in wider contexts (Lawrence & Dover, 2015). When contexts are conducive to values, what happens to actors' emotions and their enactment of values through work activities? Or what happens when contexts are at odds with these values? Or what complications might arise when contexts both enable and constrain the enactment process?

Seeking to acquire a deeper understanding of emotions and their ramifications for work activities carried out to enact values, we situate actors and organizations within their contexts and ask: *What role do contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as actors seek to enact values?*

METHODS

Empirical Background: Indonesia's Religious Pluralism

The Republic of Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous nation with 237 million inhabitants spread across 17,500 islands. It has one of the world's most diverse

cultural heritages, with 1,400 ethnic groups, 700 living languages and six recognized religions (i.e., Islam (87.18%), Protestantism (6.96%), Catholicism (2.91%), Hinduism (1.69%), Buddhism (0.72%), and Confucianism (0.05%)) (BPS, 2015). *Pancasila* (five principles) is the state philosophy that serves as the ideological foundation of national legislation, including the creation of the Ministry of Religion, the mandatory listing of one's religion on the national ID card and laws pertaining to inter-religious marriage and house of worship establishment (Kim, 1998).

Historically, religions in Indonesia can be traced back to the 2nd century AD when Indian traders, scholars and missionaries brought Hinduism to what was then a predominantly animistic society. In the 4th century, another flow from India arrived, this time bringing Buddhism. Then in the 8th–9th century, Muslim spice merchants from the Middle East and India reached Sumatra and Java, and spread their beliefs in a slow yet peaceful process of transformation (Frederick, 2011). As for Christianity, it was initially introduced by the Nestorians in the 7th century, but there was no further historical record of the religion until the beginning of 16th century, when the Portuguese catholicized East Timor and the Moluccas, and in the mid-19th century when the Dutch brought their Protestant faith to the rest of the islands (Hefner, 2005).

In the Old Order regime of guided democracy (1945–1967), all religions were equally and fully respected. The religious freedom and protection enshrined by the state were interpreted in the broadest sense by Christians, who proceeded to engage in the proselytization of Muslims (Kim, 1998). In contrast, the New Order regime of soft authoritarianism (1967–1998) issued two decrees in 1978 prohibiting all religious followers from converting those who already belonged to another religion and blocking religious support from other countries. These decrees were seen as specifically targeting Christian attempts at conversion. This re-politicization scheme changed the lives of

Christians dramatically. The construction of new churches was deterred, church services were not allowed to be held in private houses (or they would otherwise be destroyed) and Christians serving in the public sector were all replaced with Muslims. Since then, unable to count on religious protection from the state, Christians have become a close-knit, exclusive group. Internal faith has been maintained, but outreach programs to other religions have been limited (Arifianto, 2009).

Nevertheless, Christianity still flourishes in Indonesia. This is especially the case with regard to Pentecostalism (one of the manifold Protestant denominations) that has its roots in the 18th-century Great Awakening and the 19th-century Holiness Movement, both of which emphasized salvation, piety and baptism in the Holy Spirit (Bebbington, 1989; Noll, 2001). However, it was not until 1906 that the term Pentecostalism was officially coined, when apparent manifestations of the Holy Spirit (e.g., speaking in tongues, prophecies, words of wisdom, healings, exorcisms, etc.) were documented during a revival meeting on Azusa Street in Los Angeles (Synan, 1997). Arguably the world's fastest-growing Christian denomination, Pentecostalism reached over 643 million followers in 2015 (increasing from 1 and 460 million in 1910 and 2000 respectively), representing more than a quarter of the world's Christians. Indonesia is home to nearly 11 million followers (WCD, 2015).

Data Collection

Pentecostalism in Indonesia constituted a captivating case for addressing our research question. Embedded in a pluralistic religious environment, Pentecostalism was highly charged with emotions and richly imbued with values, and its members were intrinsically driven to enact its core values through evangelical work. Relying on ethnography as a method of data collection, we were able to both extract these deeply rooted, fundamental, intangible and unquantifiable human substances, and observe the

way in which they operated individually and relationally in everyday institutional dynamics (Cunliffe, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Van Maanen, 1988; 1995).

Faced with a logistical issue as to which of the 17,500 islands to focus on, we targeted the island of Java because it was the nation's epicenter in terms of Pentecostal history (Pentecostal movements always emerged on Java and then spread to other islands) and was home to the country's most developed churches in terms of size, resources and governing structures. We designed this research project as a comparative case study and collected our data from multiple cities representing distinct contexts, serving as a basis for comparison between cases (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Our data collection was carried out over 212 days in two phases.

During the first phase, the first author embarked on a 32-day orientation journey across the island to determine which cities and synods (equivalent to church brands) would make up the final sample. He started off the journey on the eastern part of the island, moved westward and ended it in the capital city, Jakarta. In the process of continually immersing himself in the literature on Indonesia and its religious landscape, and while systematically documenting observations and his own reflections, he heard organizational actors (i.e., founders, leaders, employees, volunteers and members) say time and time again that Islam was so dominant that they felt like they were embedded in a larger Muslim society. This might not have come as a surprise, as Indonesia was home to over 200 million adherents of Islam (87.18% of the total population), making it the country with the highest number of Muslims in the world.

The next task was finding cities in which Islam was experienced differently by Pentecostal actors. During this phase, it became clear that actors readily perceived two dimensions of Islam that generated interactions and conflicts, both of which affected actors' strength and confidence in enacting their espoused values through evangelical

work: the degree of perceived devoutness expressed by Muslims (i.e., how strongly Muslims adhered to and practiced the teachings of Islam) and the degree of perceived radicalism targeted at Pentecostal churches/actors (i.e., the prevalence and intensity of radical threats by Muslim extremists and/or radical Islamic organizations). Relying on these two dimensions and taking into account different church sizes (from small to mega churches; Thumma & Travis, 2007), the first author selected three cities that represented distinct contexts: Surabaya (low on both dimensions), Bandung (high on both dimensions) and Solo (low on devoutness and high on radicalism). The cities characterized by high devoutness and low radicalism did not have any large, let alone mega churches, so they were excluded from the final sample to maintain consistent comparability within and across cases.

With regard to the synods, organizational access and uniqueness were used as selection criteria and five were eventually chosen (the names listed are pseudonyms): Avner (located in Surabaya; the first author knew some high-level volunteers who could connect him with the church founders and leaders), Gidon (located in three cities; the one in Surabaya was Indonesia's largest Christian church and this synod was embroiled in a major financial scandal at the time of data collection), Ovadia (located in Bandung and Solo; they were the biggest in each city and Gidon used to fall under Ovadia before a controversial split), Shamgar (located in three cities; the one in Surabaya was Indonesia's first ISO-certified church and this synod was considered to be one of Indonesia's most *popular*) and Zion (located in Surabaya and Bandung; this synod was first established in the U.S. by Indonesian students longing for an Indonesian-style fellowship and later operated in 36 countries).

Throughout this first phase, informal talks with 100 people were conducted (with organizational actors and people unaffiliated with a Pentecostal church, yet familiar

with the movement; 97 hours), 19 services were joined (35 hours) and access to three churches was secured (i.e., Avner Surabaya, Shamgar Bandung and Shamgar Solo).

In the second phase, the first author invested an additional 180 days. This phase began at Avner, where he contacted three volunteers he had known previously. They referred him to the church founder and his children who were the church leaders. However, to secure access to the other ten churches, he had to develop an understanding of these churches from the ground up through contact with members at small-scale, relatively casual services such as cell groups, youth services and morning/night prayers. After gaining their trust, these members referred him to some lower-level employees and volunteers, and the trust-building cycle continued until he was permitted to interview the church founders/leaders. Because of the competitive atmosphere between Pentecostal churches, the churches were extremely careful with sharing their internal materials, capabilities and processes. As such, the larger the church, the more difficult it was to gain the trust required to secure organizational access.

At the end of the second phase, access to eight more churches was granted (in total 11, nine (two) of which were mother (branch) churches), informal talks with 43 people were conducted (42 hours), 110 services and other church activities were joined (206 hours) and formal interviews with 100 people were held using a semi-structured, in-depth approach (143 hours/over 1 million words). Formal interviews were carried out primarily in Indonesian (yet interviewees also intermittently spoke some words, phrases or sentences in Javanese, Surabayanese, Sundanese, Chinese, Hokkien or English), audio recorded, transcribed verbatim and–where required–translated to English.

Data Analysis

Guided by our research question (i.e., *what role do contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as actors seek to enact values?*) and relying on a multiple case study

design, we initially focused our attention on determining which cases might serve as a basis for analytical comparison (Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Stake, 1995; 2006). In reading the interview transcripts and the field notes, assisted by NVivo software, we began to notice that the three cities in which the Pentecostal churches were embedded were so distinct from each other that they could very well be our three cases. Before we could confirm that, however, we first needed to unearth the defining characteristics that differed across these cities. Accordingly, moving iteratively between our data and the extant literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Locke, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 2008), we inductively and interpretatively grouped our data into first-order categories, synthesized these categories into meaningful second-order themes and then refined our coding scheme over time as we identified newly emerging patterns (Gephart, 2004; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In our cases, all 11 churches across three cities, experienced some form of interactions and conflicts with Islamic followers and organizations to varying degrees. This led us to engage in open coding for the two dimensions of Islam identified by Pentecostal actors: "devoutness" and "radicalism." These dimensions (i.e., the first-order categories) were further aggregated into a second-order theme we labeled "contexts." By dismantling the contexts that differed between Surabaya, Bandung and Solo, we confirmed that these cities were appropriate cases for our study.

Once our cases were identified, we ran within- and across-case analyses. Since we were interested in the contextual functioning of emotions in the enactment of values through work activities, we followed a process approach for each of the three cases (Langley, 2007, 2008; Poole, 2004). Specifically, we sought to uncover events and activities that served as key building blocks, and outline the mechanisms that connected these blocks (Langley, 1999). Canvassing our data, we were engaged in a process of

gradual abstraction (from raw data to higher-level codes) related to our three theoretical concepts (i.e., the second-order themes): values, emotions and institutional work.

Regarding values, all 11 Pentecostal churches shared the same values regardless where they were located. They firmly believed that the purpose of life on earth was to fulfill “the only one right thing” or fight for “the highest cause" that was saving lost souls through evangelical work. We coded for actors’ "desire," "eagerness," "hunger," "passion" or "zeal" to preach the gospel to non-believers and convert them.

With respect to emotions, we coded for two types of emotional experiences on the part of actors: emotional energy and distinct emotions. Emotional energy was captured by actors’ possession of "ability," "confidence," “energy,” “power,” “spirit,” “strength” or “vigor” in relation to the carrying out of evangelical work to enact values (Collins, 2004). Furthermore, depending on where they resided, some actors experienced the distinct positive emotion of excitement (i.e., feeling of intense enjoyment or a sense of pleasure that was not exactly the same as the emotional energy described above; e.g., they felt “charged up,” “enthusiastic,” “excited,” “fired up” or “thrilled” about enacting these values). Some experienced the distinct negative emotion of fear (e.g., they felt “frightened,” “intimidated,” “petrified,” “scared” or “terrified” about enacting these values). The others experienced a more paradoxical type of distinct positive and negative emotions that were felt simultaneously: fearful excitement. It is also important to note that when actors were observed to be experiencing either excitement or fear, this distinct emotion was not the only emotion experienced over the course of their engagement with the institution. Rather, it was the predominant emotion felt when values were enacted in a particular context through evangelical work.

With regard to institutional work, we saw actors’ evangelical work as a form of institutional reproduction and therefore coded for their work activities aimed at enacting

the Pentecostal values. We found that while actors experiencing excitement performed "spirited work" that enacted values, actors experiencing fear conducted "symbolic work" to justify their inability to enact these values. On the other hand, actors that experienced paradoxical emotions were observed to have carried out two types of work activities. The first type was performed to deal with fearful excitement and was characterized by heightened emotional investment in their trusted, supportive church community. The second type was conducted to somehow enact their upheld values after fear was decreased and their excitement increased. We refer to this as "tempered work."

Finally, propelled by the fascinating differences and similarities within and across cases, in the context of our application of a multiple case study design (Brown & Eisenhardt, 1997; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Stake 1995, 2006), we embraced both the comparative dimension (across the three unique cases), as well as the processual dimension of our data (looking at the mechanisms at work in each case) (Langley, 1999, 2007, 2008; Pettigrew, 1985). Adopting a grounded approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Locke, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 2008), we developed three contextual models and an overarching general model accounting for the role of emotions in the enactment of values through institutional work activities.

FINDINGS

Our analysis revealed that actors in our study anchored their emotional investment on the values core to Pentecostalism and that they actively sought to enact these values by performing evangelical work. However, although values generated emotional energy in all three cases, we found that this energy did not simply convert into work activities. We found, instead, that the broader contexts triggered different constellations of distinct emotions, which, in turn, affected their emotional energy. This resulted in different evangelical work activities aimed at the enactment of values.

Values of Pentecostalism: Saving Lost Souls, Literally

The divine obligation to save lost souls–those who have not yet "encountered and accepted" Jesus Christ–was the underlying values across the 11 Pentecostal churches. Pentecostalists believed that they must fulfill this obligation by means of the execution of the Great Commission with the help of the Holy Spirit, otherwise known as evangelism in layman's terms (from 05-Mar to 28-Sep[13]). According to Matthew 28: 19–20, New International Version Bible, the Great Commission was an instruction from Jesus Christ to his 12 disciples to "… go and make disciples of all nations, [baptize] them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and [teach] them to obey everything I have commanded you." Practically, this evangelical work involved two main activities: preaching the Good News to non-believers and converting them through baptism. Pentecostalists were confident in their belief that while evangelism was supposed to be the defining values for all Christian religions (i.e., Protestantism and Catholicism), they were the only Protestant denomination, at least in Indonesia, that truthfully instilled these values into their institution and enacted them through concrete evangelical work. A higher-level church employee (025-O[14]) asserted,

> "All Christians know that saving lost souls is and should be the most important values in life. … But [mainline] Protestants and Catholics [in Indonesia], unlike us, are not living these values seriously. They don't live and breathe these values. These values are not in their blood. […] They just nurture the faith of their existing congregation and are very comfortable with it. […] As they become idle, they stop evangelizing! They forget that there are still many people around them who haven't yet heard and therefore need to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ! […] I believe that Pentecostalists, in general, are more tenacious in spreading the gospel. We're just more hungry for lost souls!"

A church leader (024-A) reaffirmed and elaborated further on emotional energy that these values generated,

[13] Reference style for ethnographic observations: date and month of recorded events.
[14] Reference style for interview quotes: interviewees' code number and the initial of their affiliated synod (A: Avner, G: Gidon, O: Ovadia, S: Shamgar, Z: Zion).

> "Our sole focus has been on saving the lost and when I deliver a sermon on that topic, I'm always energized! [...] I must touch on this issue because this desire burns fiercely in me! […] When you're passionate about conveying His message, you'll receive the energy and it'll be transferred to your congregation! You can see it in their eyes. Their eyes start to sparkle when you talk about evangelism and you can really feel it!"

Another pastor (096-S) echoed this sentiment, "Our movement [to relentlessly preach the gospel] started off with a whole bunch of passion for God. […] This desire is like a flame constantly radiating the vigor and strength to evangelize! […] It keeps our spirit alive." Likewise, a senior church employee (086-Z) expressed, "I'm always eager to spread the Good News because I want them [non-believers] to be saved in the afterlife. […] It feels like I possess the power to do unimaginable things [introducing Jesus Christ to Muslims and converting them]." A higher-level volunteer (013-G) also recounted experiencing value-inspired emotional energy, "The Great Commission has given me the crusading zeal. […] Not only am I very eager to evangelize, I also feel confident that I'm able to do that."

Pentecostalists firmly held onto the values of saving souls stemming from the Great Commission. Espousing these values generated emotional energy that supposedly fueled the enactment of Pentecostal values through evangelical work.

A Tale of Three Cities: Sites of Interaction and Conflict

The 11 Pentecostal churches embedded at the three sites (i.e., Surabaya, Solo and Bandung) shared the same values that supplied actors with emotional energy. However, we found that each site represented a different context–depending on the perceived Islamic devoutness and radicalism–that activated different valences of actors' distinct emotions, which altered their emotional energy and produced varying forms of evangelical work. We equated the work activities with attempts to conquer a fortress during a war, where devoutness is the strength of the fortress wall and radicalism is the frequency of fire from fortress cannons.

Surabaya: A facile site. Surabaya was characterized by low levels of perceived Islamic devoutness and radicalism, making it a facile site. Four of the 11 churches studied were located in this city. In interviews and field observations, Pentecostal actors at this site perceived the level of devoutness on the part of Muslims to be low. A church leader (005-S) stated,

> "Muslim people in this city are not rigidly orthodox. They are quite open to the practices or teachings of other religions too, including Christianity. For example, you can still easily offer them a prayer in the name of Jesus Christ and then start talking about Him. I can guarantee that only very few Muslims will refuse that. […] Surabaya is well-suited to those passionate about evangelism! […] It doesn't really affect your energy for evangelism."

Indeed, informal conversations with Javanese Muslims in this city confirmed this. When asked about how religiously observant they were, many explained that although the Koran taught them to fast, when it came to earning money their stomach came before the Islamic teachings (08-Apr). Another pastor (022-A) corroborated,

> "Here the Muslims are generally nominal. It's good for church development because they're not too fanatical. It gives us an outlet for the evangelical spirit we all have. […] During the construction of this new building, the Muslim workers kept eating and drinking during *Ramadan* [a month of fasting], as if they didn't care about the religious punishments."

In terms of the intensity of radical Islamic threats in Surabaya, actors perceived it to be low as well, as illustrated by a volunteer (023-G),

> "Here the ruling and by far the biggest Islamic organization has a more moderate take on its movement. Its members are generally more liberal and open-minded. […] We're all very grateful that they're in charge because they're making this city feel safer, especially for us, Christians, who are always eager to evangelize."

A pastor (099-Z) gave credit to the local non-radical Islamic organizations as

> "they've been doing a great job protecting this city from the radical Islamic organizations. Whenever the bad [radical] guys try to enter and ruin this city, the good [moderate] guys always manage to prevent it and kick them out! That's why you feel secure in this city [from the radical Islamic threats] […] and feel that you can optimize all the opportunities you've got to channel your vigor and desire to spread the gospel and ensure they don't go to waste."

When local Islamic organizations, whose movement was more moderate, perceived the Pentecostalists' evangelical work to have infringed upon Islam, inter-religious conciliatory dialogues were held and necessary changes in actors' work were requested. This was in stark contrast to the violent responses documented in Bandung and Solo. For example, Shamgar Surabaya organized a large-scale, open-field revival meeting and initially planned to call it "Surabaya for Jesus." Some moderate Islamic organizations believed the title was strongly suggestive of proselytization and was deemed too provocative as a result. During peaceful talks, they asked Shamgar to change and neutralize the title. As soon as their request was granted, the event proceeded without disruption, sustaining Shamgar's desire and ability to carry out evangelical work. All of the four churches located here reported no other large or small-scale incidents involving any Islamic organizations (from 05-Mar to 28-Sep).

The facile context of Surabaya did not seem to have any significant or detrimental effect on values or on actors' desire to enact those values. While actors may still have felt rejected and/or persecuted during their attempts at evangelism, the odds of this happening were close to zero. This situation led actors to experience excitement, which further expanded their initial emotional energy. As such, actors believed that they possessed greater power to engage in evangelical work aimed at enacting the values.

On one particular day (20-Apr), one of Gidon's cell groups organized a charity event during which the first author and nine members went to a local landfill to distribute 200 lunches to the workers who were Muslims of Surabaya. Prior to the event, he documented not only the actors' emotional energy, but also their feelings of being thrilled as they admitted that although there was a chance of being rejected or yelled at, they believed that this charity event would go smoothly. Arriving at the landfill site, after requesting and receiving permission from the site manager, they parked the cars

(close to each other) in a low-traffic area. Within a few minutes, landfill workers began to approach the cars and the nine group members began handing out lunches while enthusiastically saying "Jesus loves you and blesses you," all this under the backdrop of the horrendous stench of the landfill. The group members were so fired up that they admitted to having been more energized than they were before they went to the landfill. An evangelical sticker was also stuck to the outside of the lunch boxes that read "Enjoy the meal! Enjoy the blessing of God! Jesus blesses you! On behalf of Gidon's (cell group name)." The explicit emphasis on Jesus was intentional as the group wanted to make sure that the Muslims receiving the lunches knew that it was a Christian initiative. All the lunches were distributed within 15 minutes and none of the landfill workers refused the boxes or protested the evangelical nature of the initiative. The almost complete absence of fear on the part of group members in this setting was noteworthy, as it was much more widespread among actors in Bandung and Solo.

In discussing his excitement, a church leader (098-S) admitted, "Things could well go wrong [from possible protests to death threats]. […] But, in fact, I always get charged up whenever I'm up there on the stage. […] It's like I gain more power, more confidence to spread the Good News." Being at this facile site activated excitement, which expanded emotional energy stemming from the values.

Finally, the distinct emotion of excitement–triggered by the facile context–and the expanded emotional energy led actors to engage in a spirited type of evangelical work: evangelical activities that were explicit and embedded centrally in their daily lives. The pastor above (098-S) continued his account,

> "I'll never tone down the way I talk about Jesus in my revival meetings. […] In one of my meetings here, we invited some high-profile Islamic leaders and they came and sat in the front row. I said, 'While I respect all religions, I do think that there is a fundamental difference between us. […] And although we belong to one race, the human race, […] I have my own faith and I believe that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven. If you're unsure, that's fine, but if you're dying on the

> street, I will most certainly help you, and I hope you would do the same in return.' The day I cut my conviction in half, I'll become half a man. I'll never do that! I love Him and I'm not afraid to say that!"

Speaking about the explicit ways in which they could organize their evangelical work, another church leader (001-A) stated,

> "We [the leadership team] all have zeal for God! […] As we follow the Great Commission, we automatically focus on those who haven't heard about Jesus and salvation, the non-Christians. They are our focus! […] Being in Surabaya enables us to evangelize to them more explicitly. It's like we're doing it in their face! […] Either you go door to door to evangelize or hand out brochures, go to the hospitals to offer prayers or invite your non-Christian family, friends or random people you meet on the street to come to our church, evangelism is always exciting! It's an exciting activity! And you get more energy from it!"

What was unique about evangelical work in Surabaya was that it was unbridled. At other sites, actors constantly and carefully evaluated whom they spoke with, but in Surabaya, any non-Christians seemed to be potential souls worth targeting and saving. For instance, a mid-level employee (011-G) explained that Gidon's members, in general, were energized and excited to talk about Jesus to non-believers. During this conversation he also shared a story of when the church founder, who was also Gidon's highest leader, overtly evangelized to an important Muslim figure in the city, "A couple of years ago an imam was invited to our revival meeting and our senior pastor was so fired up that he talked about Jesus Christ and salvation blatantly. The imam was just listening and smiling." A mid-level church leader (016-S) gave another example,

> "At home, my wife and I passionately and actively talk about Christianity and Jesus to our housemaids. […] [But] it must be coupled with a good living testimony by displaying Christ-like attributes. Because we have a harmonious relationship and live a decent life, they start showing interest in Christianity and in Jesus by asking us questions. […] One day [when I was still a full-time entrepreneur, but also served Shamgar as an unsalaried pastor] our church organized a miraculous revival meeting and I enthusiastically and persuasively asked my driver and secretary to join the event. They were Javanese Muslims [nominal]. They didn't reject my invitation and joined. […] The next day, without any force, they said to me, 'Pastor, we now believe in Jesus Christ and we want to be baptized.' […] Now they both have become servants of God here."

The spirited evangelical work observed at this site in particular was carried out in a straightforward way by actors at all levels (i.e., from regular members to the highest leader or founder) and ranging from small to large-scale initiatives (i.e., from preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ during the mundane activities of everyday life to holding spectacular, high attendance, periodic services or revival meetings).

In summary, the facile context of Surabaya did not affect the values core to Pentecostalism in terms of form (generalizability) or existence (durability). Yet it did activate actors' excitement which expanded their initial emotional energy to perform evangelical work. The contextual fusion of excitement and expanded emotional energy motivated actors to enact Pentecostal values through spirited work. This process is illustrated in Figure 5A.

Bandung: A hostile site. Bandung was characterized by high levels of perceived Islamic devoutness and radicalism, making it a hostile site. Four of the 11 churches studied were located in this city. Our interviews and observations revealed that Pentecostal actors at this site perceived the level of devoutness of Muslims to be high. The largest tribe in West Java, in which Bandung was located, was Sundanese (instead of Javanese, as was the case in Surabaya and Solo). Being Sundanese was strongly associated with observing orthodox Islam and, as such, the vast majority of the population were Muslims. Compared to Javanese Muslims, Sundanese ones were perceived as being much more pious and much less open-minded to other religions. The renunciation of Islam or the act of changing religions was highly stigmatized and vehemently condemned. People who engaged in such acts were labeled *kafir* (infidel), disowned by their families and removed from wills. Accordingly, Muslims here tended to maintain a strong attachment to their faith and were regarded as one of the most difficult tribes in the world to evangelize (from 26-Mar to 03-Jul). A higher-level

employee (087-G), who had lived in both Bandung and Surabaya, shared that "they [Sundanese Muslims] have been warned since they were little to keep their distance from people of other religions in every aspect of their life. […] They also have one of the strongest walls to break." This obviously decreased the likelihood that evangelical work would be successful, regardless of the evangelist's burning zeal. Another higher-level employee (056-Z), native to Bandung, reasserted,

> "Here in Bandung, the Muslims are so devout. It's like a way of life. For instance, when it's time to pray [Muslims must pray five times a day according to the Koran], they'll immediately stop doing their work, whatever it is, wherever they are [even in public], and pray. This is what differentiates the Sundanese from Javanese Muslims, who are more nominal in practicing their belief. […] Besides, their heart is definitively closed [to other religions]. However eager we are to spread the Good News, we always face this thick wall that separates us from them. It's simply impenetrable."

With regard to the intensity of radical Islamic threats in Bandung, Pentecostal actors perceived this to be high as well. Our informants observed that radical Islamic organizations and their movements not only continued to thrive in West Java at a pace that was unheard of in East Java and many parts of Central Java, but also affected all types of evangelical activities, irrespective of the scale (from 26-Mar to 03-Jul). A mid-level pastor (059-Z) explained that one of the factors that facilitated the rapid growth of these radical Islamic organizations in this region was that

> "these Muslims are indoctrinated to believe that non-Muslims, including Christians, are *kafir* and that spilling their blood [killing them] is considered *halal* [religiously acceptable according to the Koran]. […] This encourages and justifies their violent and radical behavior. […] No matter how hungry we are for God, we just don't have the power to fight them [extremist Muslims]."

A higher-level employee (072-O) told a story of how a radical Islamic organization posed a threat to a large-scale Christian event,

> "It happened during an outdoor revival meeting in which Peter Yongren [a Swedish evangelist] was scheduled to perform some miracles. But halfway through the event, at which point he hadn't even performed any miracles yet, this group of radical Muslims came, surrounded the venue, incessantly chanted

> '*Allahu akbar* [Allah is the greatest],' and furiously demanded that we stop the event right away."

A mid-level employee (080-O) gave another example about a smaller-scale event,

> "It was only a few minutes after we started our cell group in one of our members' houses when people from the radical Islamic organization came. They shouted '*Allahu akbar*' loudly and angrily outside the house and demanded that we end the meeting. […] A few minutes later, they entered the house. I thought we were going to talk as adults, but they started breaking the windows and the keyboard [musical instrument], and looting the house. […] If we are already persecuted for such a small-scale gathering like this, how can we keep our [evangelical] spirit alive?"

The hostile context of Bandung did not seem to have any significant or detrimental effect on values or on actors' desire to enact those values. Yet actors faced a situation in which the likelihood of evangelism-related rejection and/or persecution was very high. This led them to experience a great deal of fear, which further contracted their initial emotional energy. As such, actors believed that they possessed almost no power to engage in evangelical work aimed at enacting the values. A church employee (057-G) shared the following,

> "A few days ago, I represented our church at one of the meetings of the Protestant Church Association in Bandung and we kept hearing testimonies from different churches [of various Protestant denominations] that in order to win a single Sundanese Muslim soul we would have to be prepared to spend an enormous amount of time trying and possibly even to die. Seriously. It really is that difficult and terrifying here! […] Every time we think of taking an evangelical step, we are forced to consider the worst [from being rejected to being killed]. So yes, we definitely feel intimidated."

The employee that attended the Peter Yongren revival meeting above (072-O) recounted her horrifying experience,

> "I was scared to death! I saw their faces and I felt that their hatred of us was so real! […] We were all completely terrified and the energy required to spread the Good News that Jesus is alive and can heal the sick disappeared right away. […] There was no room for negotiation whatsoever. So we stopped right away. That was the last time an outdoor Christian revival meeting was ever held in this city. […] We're living in constant fear because if we preach the gospel we will be harmed. That's why we don't dare have any evangelical initiatives here. Our vigor to preach the gospel is steadily diminishing, despite the desire we have."

The employee whose cell group was persecuted above (080-O) recalled,

> "The whole thing was just so terrible! They were definitely not messing around! […] [As a result,] we never held any cell groups again in that house. […] This experience was so terrifying that, no matter how passionate we are about saving souls, we're fearful of carrying out any evangelical activities, even if they're just small-scale."

A higher-level pastor (082-Z) confirmed fear contracted his emotional energy,

> "I heard from our partner church in Surabaya that they have much more room and freedom to hold outdoor revival meetings. Here, we don't even have the courage to think about it, let alone do it. It really is impossible and no church has dared to do it [either indoor or outdoor]. […] We're pretty much petrified here. Even before we take action [to evangelize], regardless of the scale, we already lose our confidence. It's going to fail anyway because they [Muslims] are so conservative and aggressive."

Finally, the distinct emotion of fear–triggered by the hostile context–and the contracted emotional energy led actors to engage in a symbolic type of evangelical work: evangelical activities that were not explicit attempts to introduce Jesus Christ to or convert non-believers, but rather ways of living that were representative of Christian piety. Actors in Bandung obviously knew how important saving souls was, as it was core values of Pentecostalism. Even though they still desired to enact these values, the fear experienced was so overwhelming that it contracted their emotional energy to such a degree that they felt unable to perfectly adhere to the *authentic* enactment of their espoused values. A mid-level church leader (053-S) admitted,

> "We do realize that according to the Bible we should spread the Good News to unbelievers, especially to Sundanese Muslims [because they make up the largest percentage of non-Christians in the city]. But when you look at reality, you already feel their refusal, as they are so devout to their faith. […] On top of that, there are also the looming radical Islamic threats. […] It's like we've already given up even before going to war. […] We still have the hunger [to spread the Good News], but we don't have the strength [to carry it out]. […] Right now, we're just kind of inactive in terms of reaching out to them. There are no special programs or initiatives whatsoever that are directed at this group of Muslims."

Actors in Bandung were aware that they were biblically instructed to evangelize and that simply being a living testimony did not equate with the *authentic* enactment of

the values rooted in the Great Commission. However, they justified their symbolic work by arguing that the hostility of the context was the source of their inability to fully enact the values. The symbol created by their behaving like good Christians still contributed to a form of evangelism in their eyes, as it might still inspire non-believers on a spiritual level, opening the door to the introduction of Jesus Christ. Two church employees (063-O and 064-O) explained how actors in Bandung engaged in symbolic evangelical work during a joint interview,

> "What we can do here in Bandung in terms of evangelism is be a good living testimony in our own lives, in the presence of these Sundanese Muslims. […] You cannot be explicit in the same way you can in Surabaya or in many parts of East and Central Java. Muslims here are extremely pious and West Java is home to Muslim extremists too. […] Just impress them with the way you live your life. You just cannot explicitly introduce them to Jesus Christ! It's impossible here!"

A mid-level pastor (067-G) reiterated,

> "Our neighbors are a Sundanese Muslim couple and every time my wife and I try to talk about Jesus, we suddenly become petrified and shut our mouths. We always have this frightening image in our minds, that they're going to reject us or attack us. […] So, we just need to try our best to be sincerely kind to them, all the time. Who knows, maybe one day they'll ask about our religion or our God."

In summary, the hostile context of Bandung did not affect the values core to Pentecostalism in terms of form (generalizability) or existence (durability). Yet it did activate actors' fear which contracted their initial emotional energy to a point where almost all of their strength and confidence were destroyed. The contextual fusion of fear and contracted emotional energy made actors unable to perfectly adhere to the *authentic* enactment of values through evangelical work. Providing justification for their inability to bring the core values to life, actors performed symbolic work. This process is illustrated in Figure 5B.

Solo: A volatile site. Solo was characterized by a low level of perceived Islamic devoutness and a high level of perceived Islamic radicalism, making it a volatile site. Three of the 11 churches studied were located in this city. Our interviews and

observations indicated that Pentecostal actors at this site perceived the level of devoutness of Muslims to be low (comparable to the situation in Surabaya). A higher-level church leader (044-G) said,

> "Solonese Muslims are generally nominal. […] When I invite my Muslim friends or neighbors to come over for dinner, they don't mind if I cook meals containing pork because they don't consider it to be *haram* [forbidden]. But it actually is, if you read the Koran. They said to me though, 'No problem pastor, I can eat pork even though I'm a Muslim.' […] That gives me a bit of room to spread the gospel little by little and keep the evangelistic power in me smoldering."

One evening, after attending a cell group session at Ovadia, some members of the group invited the first author to join them for atypical dinner and taste one of the local delicacies: dog meat. The street food vendor, who was a Javanese Muslim, said that his clients were primarily Muslims and were well aware that eating dog meat was widely regarded *haram* and *najis* (ritually unclean), but would eat it anyway. He went on to say that his job paid his bills, shrugging off the importance of religious piety (29-May). A higher-level volunteer (047-S), born and raised in Bandung but now living in Solo, elucidated the difference between Muslims in Bandung and Solo,

> "Sundanese Muslims are way more orthodox and defensive against the Good News. […] Javanese Muslims are less observant and more open [to other religions]. So, it's not surprising that during revival meetings many of them experience the love of Christ [through miraculous healing] and decide to convert to Christianity. […] In Solo, it's generally still possible for you to nurture the spirit and passion you have for God."

As to the intensity of radical Islamic threats in Solo, actors perceived it to be high (comparable to the situation in Bandung). On 25 September 2011, a Pentecostal church located a couple of hundred meters from Ovadia was attacked by a Muslim suicide bomber. It happened right after a Sunday service when people gathered outside the service hall and talked over coffee and tea. The suicide bomber died when he detonated the bomb and 22 members of the congregation were injured. This event reverberated throughout the city and broader region. Pentecostalists, in particular, sensed that

"Islamic radicalism was growing steadily" and was altering the course of their evangelical work dramatically. They fought an uphill battle to enact the values stemming from the Great Commission and to sustain the evangelical vigor that the values generated (from 19-Mar to 20-Jun).

Another, more recent, incident involved one of the churches in our sample. Shamgar had been renting a hotel's meeting hall for their Sunday services while they were waiting for the official permit to build their own physical church. However, a man claiming to be a member of a radical Islamic organization ferociously demanded that the hotel manager terminate the contract and ban Shamgar from using any of their meeting halls for any purposes related to Christianity because he objected to a Christian activity being held in a public place. A similar incident befell Ovadia which used to rent a public hall (usually rented out for meetings, parties or other events) in a shopping mall. Ovadia needed that hall because it did not have sufficient space at its own church complex for extra services. Both Shamgar and Ovadia admitted that even though their desire to preach the gospel was still present, their evangelical strength was substantially curtailed by the rapid growth of Islamic radicalism (from 28-May to 15-Jun).

A zealous senior pastor (051-S) reflected, "As the presence of radical Islamic organizations and their activities become more palpable, […] the space to maneuver in our evangelical efforts is becoming less and less." A higher-level church employee (029-G), a local Solonese, talked about the ramifications of growing Islamic radicalism,

> "Despite our hunger for lost souls, I feel that, nowadays, we have progressively less leeway to transform our energy into action, especially when it comes to holding large-scale evangelical events that take place outside the church [such as revival meetings]. […] But small-scale initiatives [like personal evangelism to non-Christian family, friends or random people] aren't immune either."

The volatile context in Solo did not seem to have any significant or detrimental effect on values or on actors' desire to enact those values. However, actors perceived a

moderate likelihood of evangelism-related rejection and/or persecution. The devoutness dimension moved the odds to a low level, while radicalism brought them to a high level. This situation led actors to experience paradoxical emotions of fearful excitement, which contracted and expanded their initial emotional energy at the same time, something that was distinct from what actors experienced in Surabaya or Bandung. As such, actors believed that they possessed more or less the same amount of power to engage in evangelical work aimed at enacting the values. A higher-level church employee (035-O) said of her paradoxical emotions,

> "We do have the passion, but we cannot go full tilt with it! […] The fear creeps in because the increasing threat of radical Islamic extremism is so real. […] But we also get charged up whenever we go out there to spread the Good News [to the nominal Muslims]! […] Compared to Surabaya, we might be less able to preach the gospel, but compared to Bandung, we are definitely more able!"

A mid-level employee (036-O) further explicated his paradoxical emotions,

> "Because of growing Islamic radicalism, […] there are times when we feel scared to evangelize, but there are also times when, somehow, we become enthusiastic about talking about Jesus. Think about the nominal Muslims around us. It's our chance to save them! […] We still have the desire to do the Great Commission! […] When we're scared, the fear crushes our energy, but when we're enthusiastic we get that energy up and running again!"

As actors experienced fearful excitement, they were seen dealing with these paradoxical emotions by strengthening their emotional investment in their close-knit community, a strategy that was not observed in Surabaya or Bandung. This approach was documented by noting the enhanced quantity (frequency) and quality (depth) of interactions among community members. The size of the community was typically small and rarely exceeded 15 members. This type of investment led to the establishment of closer relationships among members, which, in turn, decreased their fear and increased their excitement. As a result, actors' emotional energy gradually expanded. Having said that, since fear was only decreased, the degree of energy expansion was not as substantial as that seen in Surabaya, in which fear was virtually absent.

It was observed that actors in this city were emotionally invested in their church communities (from 20-May to 19-Jun). The number of church-related gatherings was significantly higher than at other sites (e.g., from Monday to Saturday, cell groups, Bible classes, revival meetings, prayer nights, youth services, boot camp-style retreats were held, as were fellowship events such as lunches, dinners, movie nights) and the relationships between members were much more personal (e.g., they shared stories about their lives, families, friends, partners, school or jobs and supported each other). Moreover, during dinner with a higher-level volunteer, who was also one of the very first members (045-S; 06-Jun), the first author was told that the volunteer's emotions related to carrying out the Great Commission involved the paradox of both fear and excitement. On the one hand, she feared being mentally or physically harmed by the wrong audience (i.e., Muslim extremists). But on the other hand, she also felt excited about the idea of saving the right audience (i.e., nominal Muslims). Moreover, every time she joined church-related activities she admitted being less scared and being more fired up to preach the gospel. Having a close-knit community in which everyone saw each other almost every day created exceptionally strong interpersonal bonds, reminded her about the importance of evangelism and enhanced her evangelical spirit.

A son-in-law of a church founder (032-G) explained how his community helped him and other members manage this paradox, further expanding their emotional energy,

> "Even though Solonese Muslims are generally not pious, the [radical] threat exists. So, when we do any type of evangelical activity, we generally do it together. […] We remind each other of what we want to discuss beforehand, during fellowships, so we feel less frightened and more excited. […] Slowly but surely, we feel like we reclaim that confidence, that we can evangelize."

Finally, the combination of decreased fear and increased excitement–resulting from actors' heightened emotional investment in their church community–and the expanded emotional energy led actors to engage in a tempered type of evangelical work:

evangelical activities that were cautious, targeted, subtle, slow-paced and small-scale, but purposeful. A lower-level church employee (030-G) articulated,

> "The number of radical Islamic fanatics in this city isn't huge, but because of their violent presence and activities, this city has become famous for being the epicenter of Indonesia's terrorism. […] Because of our little community, I realize now I feel less intimidated. But still, here [unlike in Surabaya], we have to be very careful when we want to transform our evangelical desire into action. […] At least we have the ability to spread the gospel [unlike in Bandung]."

A mid-level church employee (026-O) divulged,

> "Nowadays it's getting more difficult to differentiate nominal Muslims from the radical ones. We do realize that the majority of the Muslims in this city are moderate, but within that population there are some hardliners too! […] Despite our hunger for lost souls, our evangelical vigor was dampened [by fear]. […] Thanks to our support group, we can now start feeling more excited and energized when preaching the Good News! [...] But we need to remind ourselves to be extra vigilant during evangelism."

Another mid-level church employee (038-S) told his tempered evangelical work,

> "The situation in Solo makes us think twice about eagerly doing the Great Commission. […] The radical Islamic incident that rocked us recently [when Shamgar was targeted for using a public meeting hall in a hotel to hold their services] was really traumatic. […] It may sound strange that we felt petrified and enthusiastic at the same time. But our support community is helping us to slowly move away from fear. […] I know most of them [Muslims] aren't observant here. […] First, we built a close relationship with her [a Javanese Muslim woman], then we asked if she'd like to join our fellowship on a nearby mountain, then she started to show interest in joining our cell group and only in that cell group did we start to talk about Jesus. […] The process was very long and, in the beginning, we just couldn't be explicit at all when talking about Jesus."

In this way, the tempered evangelical work often took place inside, focused on one or two individuals at a time and never engaged a large group publicly. A higher-level church leader (040-O) disclosed, "In Solo no church holds outdoor revival meetings anymore. […] We only do it indoors, inside the church, but it means we won't have such a big mass, like in Surabaya." Unlike in Bandung, actors in Solo were able to enact the values emanating from the Great Commission. However, doing so required tactics that were covert, selective, low-key, unhurried and scaled-down.

In summary, the volatile context of Solo did not affect the values core to Pentecostalism in terms of form (generalizability) or existence (durability). Yet it did activate actors' fearful excitement which simultaneously contracted and expanded their initial emotional energy to perform evangelical work. To resolve their paradoxical emotions, actors strengthened their emotional investment in the close-knit church community. Such an investment decreased their fear and increased their excitement, ultimately expanding their emotional energy. The contextual fusion of decreased fear, increased excitement and expanded emotional energy mobilized actors to enact Pentecostal values through tempered work. This process is illustrated in Figure 5C.

General Model

The ethnographic tales unfolding at the three sites provided a basis upon which we could inductively analyze the often-forgotten human elements in institutional dynamics: emotions and values. To deepen our understanding of the role of contexts in influencing actors' emotions as actors sought to enact values, we identified the common thread connecting the three compelling stories and built a general model that contributes to theories of organization and offers some applicability to practice.

In our study actors anchored their emotional investment on the values core to the institution of Pentecostalism. At all three sites, actors were seen to possess the desire to enact these values that provided them with emotional energy. Our findings revealed, however, that the contexts they were embedded within (e.g., facile, hostile or volatile) activated different constellations of distinct emotions (e.g., excitement, fear or fearful excitement) that expanded and/or contracted their emotional energy. Interestingly we also discovered that paradoxical emotions (i.e., fearful excitement) led actors to strengthen their emotional investment in a close-knit church community to help resolve these paradoxical feelings, further resulting in the expansion of their emotional energy.

This way, both contexts and community acted as an activator of distinct emotions that affected actors' emotional energy (e.g., expansion and/or contraction). Other examples of such activators are violation of institutional expectation (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) or moral perturbation (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018).

Ultimately, we found that the activated distinct emotions and the altered emotional energy resulted in adaptations to the type of evangelical work activities undertaken (e.g., spirited, symbolic or tempered). Thus, while across cases values were sources of emotional energy that motivated institutional work, not all work was equal especially when activators of distinct emotions were brought into play. Figure 5D illustrates our general model.

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

DISCUSSION

The Energetic in the Enactment of Values

Emotional energy (Collins, 1993; 2004) is a concept that has drawn recent attention in institutional theory. It refers to actors' feelings of strength and confidence in carrying out institutional work (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018), and is more similar to a sense of "I *can* do this," instead of "I *want* to do this." To date, emotional energy has been theorized as an outcome of the co-existence of physical bodies engaging in interaction rituals (Collins, 1993; 2004). Studies by Fan and Zietsma (2017) and Ruebottom and Auster (2018) corroborated insights presented by Collins (1993; 2004), who was the first to theorize the origin of emotional energy. Actors in these studies were observed to have garnered emotional energy from collective events such as meetings, conferences or concerts, in which the gathering of physical bodies took place. Our study responds to the question of whether or not "the collection of physical bodies is the ultimate source of emotional energy" (Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018:

437). While different types of communal church activities were, indeed, seen as having generated emotional energy, the feeling of strength and confidence the actors enjoyed was still present even after they had physically left these activities. These actors acknowledged that embracing the Pentecostal values supplied them with emotional energy both when they were physically alone and when they were together with their fellow believers. In this way, we expand Collins' (1993; 2004) theory of how emotional energy is created (Turner & Stets, 2005) by arguing that in addition to participating in interaction rituals, upholding values also serves as a source of emotional energy.

When actors anchor their emotional investment on values, they are being who they believe they should be and consequently feel energized to perform or defend the institutions (Friedland, 2018; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). Despite consensus among institutional scholars that emotional energy plays an important role in driving institutional work activities (Lawrence, 2017; Massa et al., 2016; Moisander et al., 2016), our understanding of the concept is still limited, supported by only two empirical studies. Ruebottom and Auster (2018) found that emotional energy generated during concerts allowed actors to be more reflexive about taken-for-granted institutional programming, empowering them to undertake change-making action. But emotional energy itself did not seem to experience any change here. On the other hand, Fan and Zietsma (2017) detected a change in the direction of emotional energy (from positive to negative) captured in the continuous interactions and collaborations in the course of constructing a new, shared logic. As in our case, in Surabaya, actors' emotional energy expanded significantly after they were exposed to a context that activated their excitement. Yet, in Bandung, the context activated actors' fear, which in turn contracted their emotional energy considerably. What the two studies above did not address was instead offered by our unique case in Solo, in which actors'

fearful excitement was muddled up and worked out, allowing for their emotional energy to expand and contract. While emotional energy can remain steady or change uni-directionally, we suggest that emotional energy is elastic. Depending on the contexts and the distinct emotions activated, actors' emotional energy can move bi-directionally.

Emotional energy has thus far only been observed in situations in which actors' bodies have the ability to contain such energy (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018). But there are also circumstances in which emotional energy seems to be *too much to handle* (Collins, 2004). Unable to adequately contain such intensity, these actors perform work activities that might seem irrational (Simon, 1993) yet, at times, consequential (e.g., the 2016's Brexit). Therefore, future studies are needed to shed light on the way in which this kind of intense emotional energy affects (irrational) work.

While we looked into values that were embedded in wider contexts, there are also values that inhabit the same institutional level, making clashes inevitable (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). For example, a confrontation involving multiple political parties over public policy or a fight between corporations and NGOs over a sustainability issue. In such a clash, tensions build up and disagreements are expressed, begetting a wide array of negative emotions such as anger, disgust, contempt or hate. Yet the way in which these negative emotions affect emotional energy is going to be different than how, as in our case, fear does. Fear drains emotional energy almost completely, but anger, disgust, contempt or hate may instead expand it. While anger and disgust are more constructive forms of negative emotions (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018), contempt and hate take on a more destructive form (Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Turner & Stets, 2006). Irrespective of their forms, these negative emotions can alter emotional energy in a similar fashion. Studies are needed to explore the possibility of equifinality or the consequences of this equifinality for institutional work.

The Paradoxical in the Enactment of Values

The institutional literature on emotions might still be in an early phase, but by no means is there a theoretical shortage of distinct emotions to consider (e.g., anger, awe, fear, guilt, helplessness, joy, pride, regret, respect, shame, etc.). In this scholarship there seem to be two predominant streams of research with respect to the inquiry into such emotions. The first scrutinizes, in depth, the institutional nature (i.e., antecedents, roles and/or consequences) of actors' single emotion (e.g., Creed et al., 2014; Gill & Burrow, 2018). The second analyzes multiple emotions that either (1) cover a single emotional valence and are felt simultaneously (e.g., actors experience multiple positive emotions or multiple negative emotions simultaneously; Massa et al., 2016; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018) or (2) cover multiple emotional valences but are felt in different temporal phases (e.g., actors experience positive emotions in the initial phase and negative emotions in the final phase; DeJordy & Barrett, 2014; Fan & Zietsma, 2017). However, emotions are rarely this simple and/or homogenous. When actors engage with institutions, they can experience a myriad of distinct emotions with potentially polarizing emotional valences and, more often than not, these emotions are felt simultaneously (e.g., bittersweet or love-hate feelings), as research on paradoxical emotions has pointed out (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Actors in Solo were subject to a volatile context that activated the paradoxical emotions of fearful excitement. The clash, thus, between values and contexts can trigger paradoxical emotions.

When both negative and positive emotions with more or less similar degree of intensity were concurrently at play, they generated contrasts and tensions, requiring attention and a resolution (Jasper, 2011). Interestingly, we found that actors in Solo attempted to deal with their paradoxical emotions by strengthening their emotional investment in their close-knit church community. Belonging to one has been found to

have an effect on actors' sense of comradery, generating more positivity among its members (Anderson, 2006). We also noticed that actors' emotional investment in their support group, both quantitatively and qualitatively, helped these actors decrease their fear and increase their excitement. While paradoxical emotions initially balanced out the individual effects of fear and excitement on actors' emotional energy, this energy expanded in the end, as the inherent tensions associated with fearful excitement were resolved. Based on our findings, thus, we suggest that more attention should be paid to combinations, and particularly paradoxical combinations, of emotions in institutional dynamics. Since the uncharted territory of paradoxical emotions tends to capture the lived experiences of most actors, better understanding the ways in which such emotions shape emotional energy, the enactment of values and work activities is crucial.

Paradox theory suggests that one of the most effective ways to handle paradoxical tension is to embrace the paradox itself and not attempt to suppress or eliminate either of the individual elements (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Empirical studies that have contributed to this literature have, thus far, only analyzed organizational-level tensions (e.g., the paradoxes of flexibility vs. stability, adaptation vs. preservation, sustainability vs. profitability or long-term vs. short-term). Therefore, future studies that seek to better understand the ways in which actors deal with individual-level paradoxes (e.g., the cognitive vs. the emotive or paradoxical emotions) are encouraged.

The Nature and Nuances of the Enactment of Values

Institutionalization is a process by which institutional arrangements become infused with values beyond their avowed functional/technical purpose (Selznick, 1957). But this is only half of the story, because located at the heart of institutions (Voronov & Weber, 2016), values morally drive actors to enact their espoused values through institutional work activities they perform (Creed et al., 2014; Lawrence et al., 2009;

Marini, 2000; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Wijaya & Heugens, 2018). In other words, the enactment of values is as essential as the infusion of them. However, while values can be *felt* in a number of current empirical papers (e.g., Vaccaro & Palazzo, 2015; Wright et al., 2015), how values are enacted through work activities has not yet been adequately theorized (Hinings & Greenwood, 2015; Kraatz & Flores, 2015). We asserted earlier that values provide actors with some emotional energy, both of which create a sense of desire and ability to enact these values–a sense of "I *want* to enact them" and a sense of "I *can* enact them" respectively. But actors were embedded in broader contexts that activated their distinct emotions, further affecting their emotional energy. In Surabaya, where the context was facile, actors felt a great deal of excitement that expanded their initial emotional energy, creating in them a confirmatory belief that enacting the values through evangelical work was possible. But in Bandung, where the context was hostile, actors were consumed by fear and this contracted their emotional energy, destroying the confidence that their values could be enacted. In a nutshell, the enactment of values hinges upon the constellation of both actors' own emotions (i.e., emotional energy and distinct emotions) and the contexts. It is not *either* the internal components (e.g., moral emotions; Wright et al., 2015) *or* the external ones (e.g., social and political forces; Selznick, 1957) that matter in the enactment of values, but the functioning of *both* endogenous and exogenous factors (i.e., emotions and contexts respectively) that link values and institutional work.

The literature has, thus far, documented both the success (Wright et al., 2015) and failure (Wijaya & Heugens, 2018) stories of the enactment of values. Yet, one of our cases showed that the enactment process did not always fit perfectly into such a dichotomy. Facing a hostile context, actors in Bandung, who still retained a strong sense of "I *want* to do this because it is the right thing to do," experienced a great deal of fear

that virtually extinguished their emotional energy. Driven by enduring values and facing immense fear, actors undertook work that did not reflect the *authentic* enactment of Pentecostal values (i.e., preaching the Good News to non-believers and converting them through baptism). Unlike in Surabaya, where actors evangelized overtly or in Solo, where they did it more cautiously, actors in Bandung did not actually conduct any evangelism. What they did instead was provide compelling rationales for the renegotiation and reformulating of the institution's initial meaning (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Strang & Meyer, 1993; Tolbert & Zucker, 1996) to gain acceptance or endorsement (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Phillips & Oswick, 2012). They tried to secure the legitimacy of the institution by modifying the meaning of values that constituted it, because by simply adhering to the original meaning, they would never succeed at enacting these values. Embedded in a hostile context, these actors justified an innovative solution to this problem and linked this solution to the broader existing arrangements: they claimed that becoming a living testimony by embodying Jesus Christ in everyday lives–however indirect it was, because it was still better than doing nothing–was a sufficient and appropriate form of evangelical work aimed at the enactment of values. This way, actors' symbolic work contradicts the argument that values are often the least salient part of actors' consciousness, as their decisions lack concern for values (Hitlin & Vaisey, 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2017). Instead, we assert that values are so constant that they can compel actors to justify work that does not perfectly adhere to the *authentic* enactment of their espoused values.

While values serve as social glue that holds communities together through the creation of shared purpose and identity among members (Parsons, 1991; Scott, 2014; Smith, 2003), questions as to how values are created or how they change over time were

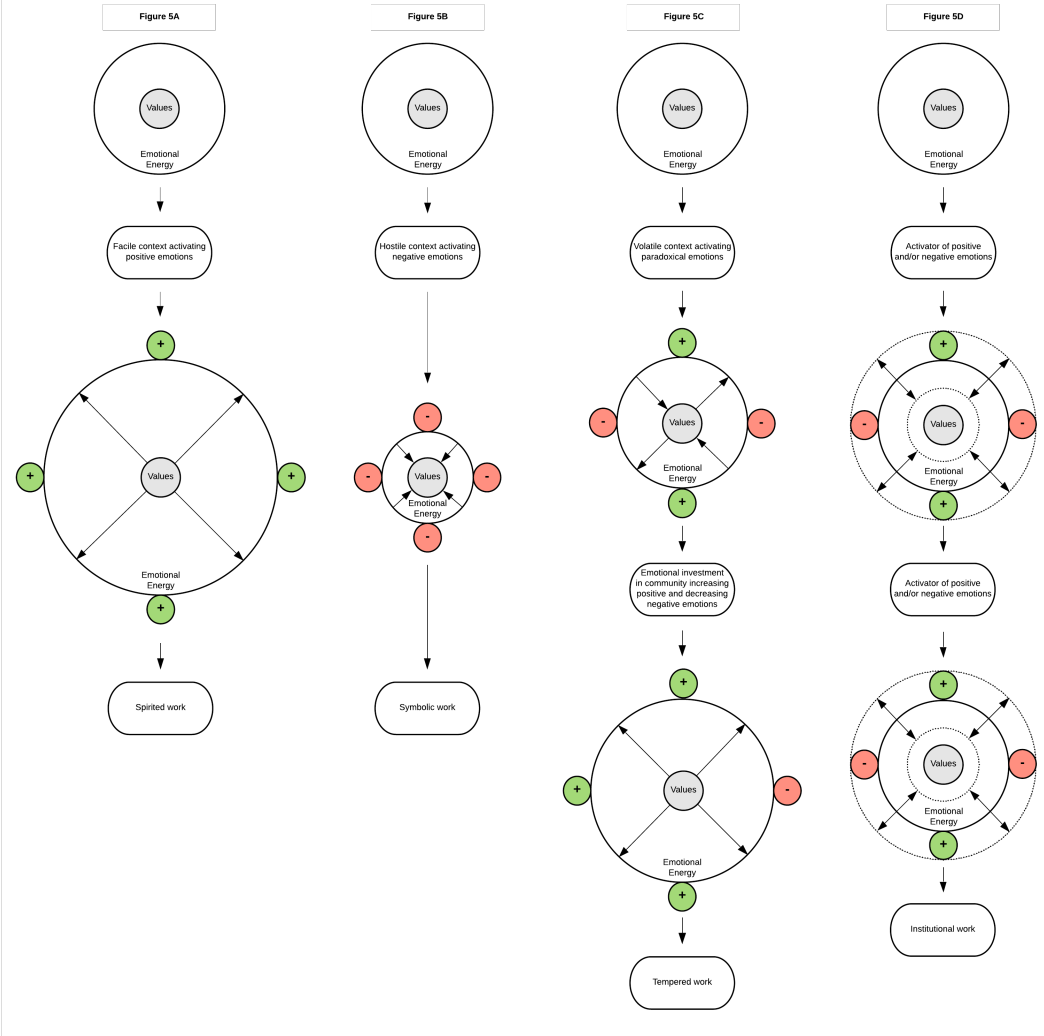
not addressed in our study. Longitudinal case studies supported by historical/archival data are believed to be of help (Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013). For example, the biblical stories of how the Great Commission became *the* standard Christian values and how they were spread can be attributed to one man, Jesus Christ. However, Selznick (1992) argues that values reside in macro-level institutions, not in a micro-level institutional leader. This raises the question of the antecedents of values. Moreover, scholars might trace the processes by which actors give up old values or adopt new ones. For instance, Pentecostalists in Indonesia describe themselves as the only *true* enactors of Christian values because Catholics and mainline Protestants have increasingly distanced themselves from the Great Commission (despite sharing the same values prior to 1980s; Hefner, 2005; Kim, 1998). As non-Pentecostal Christians have adopted new values–and neglected old ones–one might ask if values have an expiration date and under what conditions they might sour.

Conclusion

Emotions are central not only to human experience, but also to the shaping of institutions. As inhabitants of an institution, actors anchor their emotional investment on values and express their desire to enact those values. While values provide actors with emotional energy, such energy does not translate directly into institutional work. The contexts in which actors are embedded activate distinct emotions, which in turn affect emotional energy. The institutional mélange of emotional energy and distinct emotions result in adaptations to the type of work activities aimed at the enactment of values. We posit that the successful enactment of values hinges on the functioning of both endogenous emotions and exogenous contexts. Our study is also among the first to explore the nature of paradoxical emotions and the nuances of values. In telling stories of both success and failure of actors' attempts to enact their espoused values, we

suggest that emotions and values are not all-powerful concepts without limitations. In resurrecting the emotive and the normative, we have illuminated the roles of emotions, values and contexts in institutional work.

Appendix Figure 5. Models of the role of contexts and emotions in the enactment of values



SUMMARY

Values and emotions are an integral part of actors who inhabit institutions. Their importance, however, has been overlooked in the literature on microfoundations of neo-institutional theory, harboring the risks of falling back to the conceptualization of social actors as value-free, rational agents. In this dissertation, I seek to understand the depth and breadth of actors' values and emotions in institutional processes through a 212-day ethnographic study of multiple religious organizations in Indonesia.

The first empirical study asks how actors continue to contribute to the reproduction of extant institutional arrangements, even after they have become morally perturbed by these arrangements. The outcomes suggest that while moral perturbation acts as an impetus for institutional disruption and change, systemic power functions as a suppressor of such disruption and change. It is also argued that relocation of the anchor of emotional investment is vital to the sustained reproduction of institutional arrangements of which actors morally disapprove.

The second empirical study asks what role contexts play in influencing actors' emotions as they seek to enact values. The results contend that values provide actors with emotional energy to enact their upheld values. Yet the success of such an enactment hinges on actors' own emotions and the wider contexts that can activate divergent valences of actors' distinct emotions, further causing their emotional energy to expand and/or contract elastically and generating paradoxical emotions. It is also maintained that values are so constant that they can compel actors to justify work that does not perfectly adhere to the authentic enactment of their espoused values.

In sum, through these empirical studies I have managed to infuse the neglected yet essential concepts of values and emotions into the phenomenological foundations of neo-institutional theory. Specifically, I offer a more nuanced understanding of the

dynamic mechanisms of how values and emotions are connected, how they are translated into different types of institutional work, and how their galvanizing power is restricted by systemic power or institutional contexts. Finally, findings from these studies carry relevant and far-reaching implications for corporate or governmental organizations whose leaders have absolute power over their followers or whose institutional contexts vary from facile to hostile.

SAMENVATTING

Waarden en emoties zijn een integraal onderdeel van actoren die in instituties leven. Het belang ervan is echter over het hoofd gezien in de literatuur over microfoundations van de neo-institutionele theorie, wat de risico's herbergt van terugvallen in de conceptualisering van sociale actoren als waardevrije, rationele agenten. In dit proefschrift probeer ik inzicht te geven in de diepte en breedte van de waarden en emoties van actoren in institutionele processen, door middel van een 212-daagse etnografische studie van meerdere religieuze organisaties in Indonesië.

In de eerste empirische studie komt de vraag aan de orde hoe actoren blijven bijdragen aan de reproductie van bestaande institutionele arrangementen, zelfs nadat ze moreel verstoord zijn geraakt door deze arrangementen. De uitkomsten suggereren dat terwijl morele verstoringen een aanzet vormen voor institutionele verstoring en verandering, systemische macht fungeert als een onderdrukker van een dergelijke verstoring en verandering. Er wordt ook beweerd dat verplaatsing van het anker van emotionele investeringen van vitaal belang is voor de duurzame reproductie van institutionele arrangementen waarvan actoren het moreel niet mee eens zijn.

In de tweede empirische studie komt de vraag aan de orde welke rol contexten spelen bij het beïnvloeden van emoties van actoren tijdens het realiseren van waarden. De resultaten geven aan dat waarden emotionele energie geven aan actoren om hun waarden te realiseren. Echter het succes daarvan hangt af van de emoties van de actoren en de brede contexten die uiteenlopende valenties van hun emoties kunnen activeren. Dit leidt tot een elastische expansie en/of contractie van emotionele energie en het ontstaan van paradoxale emoties. Er wordt ook wel beweerd dat waarden zo constant zijn dat daardoor actoren werk gaan rechtvaardigen dat niet op de authentieke manier wordt uitgevoerd om die waarden te realiseren.

Kortom, door deze empirische studies ben ik erin geslaagd om de verwaarloosde maar essentiële concepten van waarden en emoties over te brengen in de fenomenologische grondslagen van de neo-institutionele theorie. Concreet geef ik een genuanceerder inzicht in de dynamische mechanismen van hoe waarden en emoties met elkaar verbonden zijn, hoe ze worden vertaald in verschillende soorten institutioneel werk, en hoe hun galvaniserende kracht wordt beperkt door systeemkracht of institutionele contexten. Tenslotte dragen bevindingen uit deze studies bij voor relevante en verstrekkende implicaties voor bedrijven of overheidsorganisaties waarvan de leiders absolute macht hebben over hun volgers of waarvan de institutionele contexten variëren van gemakkelijk tot vijandig.

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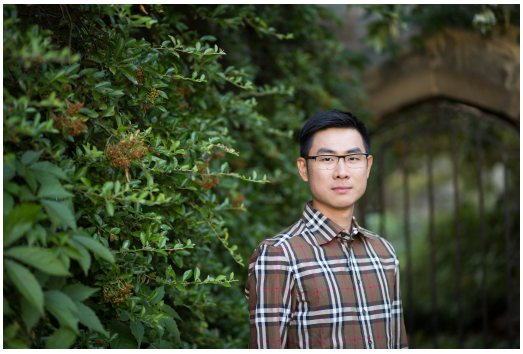
ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Hendra R. Wijaya obtained his Master of Philosophy (MPhil) degree in Business Research from the Erasmus Research Institute of Management (ERIM), Erasmus University and Master of Science (MSc) degree in Business Administration from the Rotterdam School of Management (RSM), Erasmus University.

In pursuit of his PhD, Hendra has presented his work at multiple international conferences, including the Academy of Management (AOM) Conference and the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) Colloquium, and was a visiting scholar at the Alberta School of Business, University of Alberta for an accumulative 6-month period in 2016 and 2017.

Hendra's intellectual interest lies in understanding how values and emotions function in institutional processes. Drawing on qualitative methods, primarily ethnography, his investigation is focused on the lived experiences of actors in highly exclusive and secretive environments. His first academic paper, in collaboration with Prof. Pursey Heugens, has been published at *Organization Studies*, Special Themed Section: Emotions and Institutions. His single-authored book chapter will be published at *The Routledge Companion to Anthropology in Management*.

AUTHOR PORTFOLIO

EDUCATION

2012–present	PhD Candidate in Organization and Management Theory *Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam* **SUPERVISORS** Prof. Pursey Heugens and Prof. Joep Cornelissen **DISSERTATION** Praise the Lord! Infusing values and emotions into neo-institutional theory
2010–2011	MPhil in Business Research in Organization Studies *Erasmus Research Institute of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam* **THESIS** Going beyond data synthesis: Meta-analysis for theory advancement in macro-level organizational research
2009–2010	MSc in Business Administration in Global Business and Stakeholder Management *Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam* **THESIS** Meta-analysis of institutional isomorphism: An extended study, 1983–2010
2008–2009	Pre-Master in International Business Administration *Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam* **THESIS** Determinants of the quality of sustainability assurance statements: An international study
2006–2008	BBA in International Business Management Studies (Double Degree) *INHolland University of Applied Sciences, Diemen* **THESIS** Promoting Indonesian art films to the Netherlands: B2B strategic recommendations for distribution process
2003–2008	BEc in International Business Management (Double Degree) *Petra Christian University, Surabaya* **THESIS** Customer satisfaction survey report: Findings and recommendations for improvement (addressed to PT Schenker Petrolog Utama–Deutsche Bahn (DB) Logistics, Surabaya)

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Institutional theory, practice theory, values, emotions, organizational misconduct, strategy-as-practice, ethnography, unique empirical settings

PUBLICATION

Wijaya, H. R. forthcoming. Capturing the microfoundations of institutions: A confessional tale of the glorified field. In R. Mir & A.-L. Fayard (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to anthropology in management.*

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. 2018. Give me a hallelujah! Amen! Institutional reproduction in the presence of moral perturbation and the dynamics of emotional investment. *Organization Studies,* 39: 491–514.

WORKING PAPERS

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: Emotional energy and the enactment of Pentecostal values in Urban Java. Targeting *Academy of Management Journal*.

Wijaya, H. R., Steele, C. W. J., & Glaser, V. L. When deliberate justification of practice inconsistencies come face-to-face with institutional logics: A cultural toolkit perspective. Targeting *American Journal of Sociology*.

Wijaya. H. R., & Chang, L. Does love make us blind? The role of forgiveness and differing perceived logic incompatibilities in institutional reproduction. Targeting *Organization Science*.

Wijaya, H. R. Blame it on the logics: From the dawn of institutional biography till the dusk of organizational disintegration and misconduct. Targeting *Administrative Science Quarterly*.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: A contextual study of value-laden emotions and work. Presented at the 2018 Academy of Management (AOM) Conference, Chicago.

Wijaya, H. R. Uncovering emotions and domination through undercover and empathetic ethnography. Presented at the 2017 AOM Conference, Atlanta.

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: A contextual study of values, emotions, and work. Presented at the 2017 AOM Conference, Atlanta.

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Give me a hallelujah! Amen! Institutional reproduction in the presence of moral perturbation and the dynamics of emotional investment. Presented at the 2017 AOM Conference, Atlanta.

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: How institutional contexts shape emotions and work. Presented at the 2017 European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) Colloquium, Copenhagen.

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: How values and emotions shape institutional work. Presented at the 2017 Austrian Early Scholars Workshop in Management (AESW), Vienna.

Wijaya, H. R. Vying for lordship but stuck in the same boat: Crafting collective identity from emotions and institutional ethos. Presented at the 2016 AOM Conference, Anaheim.

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Give me a hallelujah! Amen! Institutional reproduction in the wake of moral reflexivity and emotional disinvestment. Presented at the 2016 AOM Conference, Anaheim.

Wijaya, H. R. Uncovering emotions and domination through undercover and empathetic ethnography: A confessional tale from Pentecostal churches in urban Java. Presented at the 2016 EGOS Colloquium, Naples.

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Express it all out! Can we? Collective identity expression of Pentecostal churches in urban Java within a societal-level Islamic culture. Presented at the 2015 EGOS Colloquium, Athens.

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Maintaining a complex institution through emotive domination and emotive self-regulation: Ethnographic evidence from Pentecostal churches in urban Java. Presented at the 2015 Alberta Institutions Conference, Banff.

INVITED TALKS

Wijaya, H.R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: A contextual study of emotions and the realization of values. Presented at the Asia School of Business (in partnership with the MIT Sloan School of Management) in 2018, Kuala Lumpur.

Wijaya, H. R., Toubiana, M., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Finding a place in heaven: A contextual study of value-laden emotions and work. Presented at the University of Manitoba in 2017, Winnipeg.

Wijaya, H. R., & Heugens, P. P. M. A. R. Give me a hallelujah! Amen! Institutional reproduction in the presence of moral reflexivity and emotional disinvestment. Presented at the University of Groningen in 2016, Groningen.

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

2018	AOM Conference, Chicago
2017	AOM Conference, Atlanta EGOS Colloquium, Copenhagen AESW, Vienna
2016	AOM Conference, Anaheim EGOS Colloquium, Naples
2015	AOM Conference, Vancouver EGOS Colloquium, Athens EGOS Pre-Colloquium PhD Workshop, Athens Alberta Institutions Conference, Banff
2014	Emotions and Institutions Workshop, Toronto EGOS Colloquium, Rotterdam EGOS Pre-Colloquium PhD Workshop, Rotterdam
2013	Dutch Institutional Theorists Meeting, Tilburg
2012	AOM Conference, Boston

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH VISITS

2017	*Alberta School of Business, University of Alberta, Edmonton* Hosted by Dr. Madeline Toubiana for three months (February–April)

2016 *Alberta School of Business, University of Alberta, Edmonton*
Hosted by Prof. Patricia (Trish) Reay for three months (January–March)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2018–present Lecturer and course coordinator for Bachelor's (BSc) *Business Management* course
University of Oxford, Oxford
ACTIVITIES Designing and lecturing a highly experiential course on diverse topics such as hard/soft anatomy and behaviors of organizations, entrepreneurship, leadership, strategy; organizing activities such as interviews (with business owners, managers, and employees), discussions, debates, guest lectures (from academic and business), and research projects; mentoring students (±30) from 15 different nationalities academically and psychologically.

2016–present Internship coach for Bachelor's (BSc) students enrolled in *International Business Administration* (English-language) and *Business Administration/Bedrijfskunde* (Dutch-language) programs
Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam
ACTIVITIES Regularly monitoring students' progress; continuously giving them hands-on tips and moral support; guiding them theoretically in the process of writing the academic final report; grading the report (7 students so far).

2014–present Lecturer and course coordinator for Bachelor's (BSc) *Organization and Strategy* course
Erasmus University College, Erasmus University, Rotterdam
ACTIVITIES Designing course syllabus; giving weekly plenary lectures in front of ±170 students; selecting companion case studies and developing evaluation guidelines; supervising workshops where students present their case study; moderating a student web portal; creating and grading the final and re-sit exams.

2012–present Thesis coach and co-reader for Master's (MSc) students enrolled in *Strategic Management*, *Global Business and Sustainability*, *Human Resource Management*, *Finance and Investments*, *General Management*, and *Double Master Degree* programs
Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam
ACTIVITIES Giving weekly plenary lectures on specific topics (e.g., Strategy-as-Practice and Institutional Complexity/Hybrid Organizations) and on qualitative research methods; stimulating students to come up with their own research ideas; organizing individual bi-weekly feedback sessions until they complete their thesis proposal and final thesis; giving them continuous moral support; holding public/private thesis defenses; grading the exam (73 defenses so far).

2004–2005 Assistant lecturer for Bachelor's (BEc) *Business Mathematics* and *Financial Accounting* courses
Petra Christian University, Surabaya

ACTIVITIES Giving weekly workshop lectures in front of ±60 lower-cohort students; creating the final exam under lecturer's guidance; grading the assignment and final exam.

SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY

2012–present
Ad-hoc conference reviewer
in Organization and Management Theory (OMT) and Strategizing, Activities, and Practices (SAP) divisions
Academy of Management Conference

2011–present
Board member
in external relation and quality control divisions
Lumina-de Schakel Foundation (supporting underprivileged children in Indonesia), Leiden

2012–2013
First-year representative of the ERIM PhD Council
in internal relation and event divisions
Erasmus Research Institute of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

2009–2010
Core committee member of the 2010 GBSM Congress
"Female leadership: Towards a diverse sustainable future"
in marketing, sponsorship, and external relation divisions
Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

2005
Head of committee of the 2005 Business Competition
in sponsorship division
Petra Christian University, Surabaya

2004
Committee member of the 2004 Culture Day
in publication, documentation, and decoration divisions
Petra Christian University, Surabaya

2003–2005
Committee member of the IBM Bachelor's (BEc) Student Council HIMABINTRA
in academic division
Petra Christian University, Surabaya

WORK EXPERIENCE

2010–2012
Personal Research Assistant
Erasmus Research Institute of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

2009–2011
First Master's (MSc) Ambassador
Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

2007
Organization & Strategy Intern
PT Schenker Petrolog Utama–Deutsche Bahn (DB) Logistics, Surabaya

2006
Client Relations Intern
PT Millennium Danatama Sekuritas, Surabaya

2006	Client Relations & Marketing Intern *Radisson Hotel, Surabaya*

AWARDS

2009	1st place on the Procter & Gamble (P&G) Marketing Research Challenge for Pringles and Pringles Rice Infusions product lines *Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University, Rotterdam*
2007	1st honor at the 53rd Bachelor's Graduation Ceremony (GPA: 3.91/4.00) *Petra Christian University, Surabaya*

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The ERIM PhD Series contains PhD dissertations in the field of Research in Management defended at Erasmus University Rotterdam and supervised by senior researchers affiliated to the Erasmus Research Institute of Management (ERIM). All dissertations in the ERIM PhD Series are available in full text through the ERIM Electronic Series Portal: http://repub.eur.nl/pub. ERIM is the joint research institute of the Rotterdam School of Management (RSM) and the Erasmus School of Economics (ESE) at the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR).

DISSERTATIONS IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS

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Values and emotions are an integral part of actors who inhabit institutions. Their importance, however, has been overlooked in the literature on microfoundations of neo-institutional theory, harboring the risks of falling back to the conceptualization of social actors as value-free, rational agents. In this dissertation, I seek to understand the depth and breadth of actors' values and emotions in institutional processes through a 212-day ethnographic study of multiple religious organizations in Indonesia.

Through two empirical studies I have managed to infuse the neglected yet essential concepts of values and emotions into the phenomenological foundations of neo-institutional theory. Specifically, I offer a more nuanced understanding of the dynamic mechanisms of how values and emotions are connected, how they are translated into different types of institutional work, and how their galvanizing power is restricted by systemic power or institutional contexts. Finally, findings from these studies carry relevant and far-reaching implications for corporate or governmental organizations whose leaders have absolute power over their followers or whose institutional contexts vary from facile to hostile.

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