

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONAL WORK WITHIN THE COFFEE INDUSTRY IN COLOMBIA SINCE THE CREATION OF THE ICON JUAN VALDEZ (1960-2018)

ABSTRACT

The organizations in the coffee industry in Colombia have been fundamental in the development of the country due to the set of works and attitudes in the coffee regions that have generated communication networks, activities, and standards. However, the traditional form of coffee production has ceased to be profitable. This article evaluates the change in organizational fields through institutional work within the coffee industry in Colombia. The methods focus on the analysis of historical processes using data collection techniques through interviews, archive data, publications, and media reports. We found that, unlike the literature regarding the change in organizational fields, in the coffee sector in Colombia, the change tends towards diversification after the collapse of the coffee international agreement, there exists a high level of inertia in deinstitutionalization, especially in recent years, and this deinstitutionalization does not need powerful actors and does not occur because of inefficiencies within the field.

KEYWORDS: Institutional theory, Organizational field, Organizational change, Institutional work, Coffee sector

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the coffee economy in Colombia in the first half of the 20th century meant that the coffee growers organized themselves as a civil society organization through the creation of the National Federation of Coffee Growers (FNC, by its acronym in Spanish), which was created in 1927 (Cerquera

& Orjuela, 2015). This organization was in charge of promoting the coffee activity, assumed the guild's vocation in front of the national government, and defined the institutional framework of the coffee activity. The FNC achieved a broad commercial policy, the stability of prices, and the provision of goods and services to the coffee growers for the improvement of the productive activity.

In 1925, the development of public works in the country generated a transfer of peasant labor force to the cities, which brought consequently a shortage of workers, especially for the harvesting of crops. Similarly, strong international economic pressures characterized the period between world wars due to the lack of harvests available to meet the world demand (Cerquera & Orjuela, 2015).

Seven major moments regarding national political and economic history have framed the organizational practices in the coffee industry in the twentieth century. Namely, the state policy of road construction, political violence, the creation of the merchant fleet *Grancolombiana*, the aging of coffee plantations, the consolidation of Buenaventura as a coffee port in Colombia, the depletion of traditional coffee technology and the breaking of the international coffee agreement (Cerquera & Orjuela, 2015).

We analyze the institutional work, i.e. all those routines that actors transform and its effects in the coffee industry in Colombia. We collected the information through the analysis of documents such as press reports, minutes of organizations linked to the coffee industry and the FNC, and interviews to different actors who have been involved in processes of change in the coffee industry (Battilana & Casciaro, 2012; Van Wijk et al., 2013).

We understand the institutional work as all those practices and routines focused on change in the organizational fields in which actors reconstruct rules and boundaries. These routines and practices are key elements for the transformation of these fields since it causes the actors to create, maintain and interrupt the legitimate practices within a field (Smolka & Heugens, 2020; Yepes-Lugo, 2019).

Institutional entrepreneurship can partially overcome uncertainty in the environment of organizations by actions based on institutional work and the praxis of leaders that allow high levels of stability in the industry. We understand the coffee industry in Colombia as an organizational field because this concept resembles the industry plus its external constituents such as agencies, civil society associations, suppliers, etc. (Barnett, 2006). Thus, we analyze how the organizational fields are transformed, through

the examination of the change within the coffee industry, and approaching institutional entrepreneurship, by which actors become agents of change.

However, institutional entrepreneurship is necessary but insufficient for change. Institutional entrepreneurs possess skills to achieve successful changes in existing institutional arrangements, but these skills must be extended to other social actors to achieve mobilization and thus collective action for that change (Seo & Creed, 2002).

The literature regarding the change in organizational fields from the institutional work has focused mainly in observing institutional entrepreneurs from the midfield, that is, managers, professionals or associations within those fields which enact the change (Blok, 2018; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Reay et al., 2013; Suddaby, 2011; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) or by cooperation between managers and entrepreneurs (Smolka & Heugens, 2020).

Other scholars have studied certain movements that instigate change endogenously or exogenously (Mitchell, Kappen & Heaston, 2015; Van Wijk, Stam, Elfring, Zietsma & den Hond, 2013). Also, they have framed the challenges facing entrepreneurs in mature organizational fields and have studied regulatory frameworks for evaluating new technology-enabled ventures (Smolka & Heugens, 2020).

Some of this literature has indicated that some actors, which exert influence concerning legitimate government norms and behaviors, distribute stable fields hierarchically (Purdy & Gray, 2009; Seo & Creed, 2002).

Generally, the neo-institutional theory has failed to account for the role of actors (Wadhvani, 2018), and particularly, few studies have analyzed the change in organizational fields from institutional work in which peripheral actors are crucial (Ansari & Phillips, 2011; Yepes-Lugo, 2019). Also, the importance of the broader environment within these fields have been ignored (Wadhvani, 2018).

There exist in the literature a need to consider the various contradictory and complementary institutional work, which is done by the different actors involved in institutional processes (Smolka & Heugens, 2020) and how translocal hinges are forged (Blok, 2018). Therefore, this article examines the organizational change from the perspective of the institutional work in the coffee industry in Colombia in which peripheral actors distributed horizontally are central. The starting point of this research is the

creation of the icon Juan Valdez. This historical milestone led to the creation of a large number of coffee institutions that have configured today's coffee organizational field in Colombia.

Therefore, we came up with the following research question: How do organizational field change from institutional work in the case of the coffee sector in Colombia (1960-2018)? We found that, unlike the literature regarding the change in organizational fields (Greenwood & Suddaby 2006; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Lægreid & Serigstad, 2006; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Reay et al., 2013; Smolka & Heugens, 2020; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), in the coffee sector in Colombia, the change tends towards diversification after the collapse of the coffee international agreement, there exists a high level of inertia in deinstitutionalization, especially in recent years, and this deinstitutionalization does not need powerful actors and does not occur because of inefficiencies within the field.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Organizational field

The organizational field is regarded as a recognized area of institutional life (Ansari, 2011; DiMaggio and Powell 1983), with a set of institutions that constitute it (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) or a community of organizations that share a system of common meanings (Zietsma & Lawrence 2010; Yepes-Lugo, 2019). Fields exist only insofar as they are institutionally defined. This structure is configured by the increase in the interaction of organizations in the field, the emergence of inter-organizational structures of domination and coalition patterns, the increase of information, and the development of mutual awareness among the participants in the set of organizations in which they are involved.

The concept of the organizational field represents an intermediate level between the organization and society. These fields are instrumental to the processes by which socially constructed expectations and practices are disseminated and reproduced since they are regulated through reciprocal market effects and institutionalized government structures (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Therefore, understanding the coffee sector as an organizational field can contribute to much more effective adoption of public policies that seek the economic and social development of this sector.

The stable fields are hierarchically distributed by some actors, who exert influence concerning legitimate government norms and behaviors. Conversely, in emerging fields, dominance structures have not yet been established, so their organizations must confront existing institutions (Purdy & Gray, 2009).

In the case of professional fields, professional collectives and supra-organizational associations play a fundamental role in the regulation and configuration of practices (Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013). Thus, successful professions in a professional service field are those that achieve a closed labor market, requiring accreditation and certification processes that limit access to job opportunities. On the contrary, in a field such as that of the Colombian coffee sector, the regulation of production towards producers focuses on the ability of the professions to implement ethical and regulatory codes that govern practices. From this point of view, we came up with our first assumption:

A1: The Colombian coffee sector is a stable field, in which actors are distributed hierarchically

Change in Organizational fields

Once organizations are consolidated in an organizational field, they begin to generate changes that tend more and more towards homogenization and institutionalization, which is regarded as isomorphic processes. These types of changes are mostly about the institutional characteristics of an organizational field (Ansari, 2011). However, there existed changes promulgated by institutional entrepreneurs, who are agents acting to change institutions and organizational fields (Sherer, 2017).

Isomorphism within organizational fields can be generated from two types: competitive and institutional. Competitive is related to competition in markets, niche change, and adjustment measures, and institutional has to do with political power and institutional legitimacy for both economic and institutional adjustments. Within the institutional isomorphism, there exists a coercive mechanism, which starts from the political influences and the problems of legitimacy, a mimetic mechanism that results from standardized responses to uncertainty, and a normative mechanism, which is associated with professionalization (DiMaggio & Powel, 1983; Mitchell, 2015).

Change in the organizational field may also be instigated by activists, as a collaboration between individuals belonging to the field and challenging movements can appear when the culture of a movement and a relational fabric become moderately structured, creating threats and opportunities for the market but remaining permeable to external influences (Van Wijk et al., 2013). Thus, cooperative work between individuals belonging to the field and social movements can generate changes as opposed to the idea that resistance to change is always generated within the organizational field.

Based on the insights below we came up with the second assumption:

A2: The coffee industry in Colombia has been an organizational field whose change tends towards homogenization

Institutional work, Praxis, and Change

Decision-makers can find in institutional work the fundamental element for change within organizational fields. Unlike organizational entrepreneurship, in which agents operate within the limits of an organization, and institutional entrepreneurship, in which agents contest and mobilize other actors (Sherer, 2017), through institutional work agents purposefully create, maintain, and interrupt practices that are considered legitimate within a field (Duygan, 2019; Smolka, 2020; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Zvolska, 2019).

Therefore, the boundary work, i.e. the attempts to change the limits of a field, and the practice work, i.e. the practices towards the transformation of a field, operate in reciprocal configurations that sustain cycles of institutional innovation, conflict, stability, and re-stabilization. Furthermore, these cycles emerge due to the combination of three conditions: the state of limits, the state of practices, and the existence of actors with the ability to undertake a boundary or a practice work from a different institutional process.

However, Purdy and Gray (2009) point out that the type of social movement needed to generate new institutional forms depends on the nature of the field, that is, depending on whether it is a hierarchical, fragmented or interstitial field. Institutional work allows the change in organizational fields such as the

coffee industry to re (configure) legitimate practices (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) through phases of conflict, and cooperation between actors (Zvolska, 2019) and create new institutions on a broader collective of actors (Smolka & Heugens, 2020).

We understand praxis, as one of the elements of dialectical analysis, as a component of institutional work to the extent that people under certain circumstances become active agents, who reconstruct their social relationships. Disrupting institutions is part of the institutional work to the extent that it involves practices that aim to change existing institutions (Mair, 2017)

However, contradictions within the field precede this praxis, which emerges in the processes of institutionalization based on legitimacy, which affects functional efficiency, adaptation, which influences adaptability, inter-institutional conformity, which creates interinstitutional incompatibilities, and isomorphism that conflict with divergent interests (Seo & Creed, 2002). Also, organizations engage in institutional work to become or stay legitimate, or to gain power (Mair, 2017).

Praxis is a concept that reconciles two incompatible properties of institutional theory: the institutional incrustation and the transforming agency. It is, together with social construction, totality, and contradiction, a basic principle of dialectical analysis (Seo and Creed, 2002). Social construction focuses on social processes through orderly and predictable relationships. The totality refers to the interconnections of constructed social patterns, which generate certain institutional arrangements. Finally, the praxis makes institutional entrepreneurs reconstruct freely and creatively social patterns based on the analysis of the limits and potentialities of present social forms.

The institutional theory has stated that institutionalization involves the process by which ways of thinking become dominant (Sherer, 2017). However, a possible consequence of praxis is deinstitutionalization, i.e. a process in which the legitimacy of an institutionalized practice gradually dilutes due to inefficiencies and interinstitutional incompatibilities (Seo & Creed, 2002). In the case of emerging fields, diffusion processes are different because they seek to deinstitutionalize old practices. The imitation of practices and legitimacy concerning economic innovation is limited, and have a greater susceptibility to the emergence of institutional entrepreneurs, and the structures of domination have not yet been established, so their organizations must confront existing institutions.

Based on this insight about deinstitutionalization we came up with our third assumption

A3: The coffee industry in Colombia has been deinstitutionalized because of the inefficiencies within this organizational field

In these emerging fields, change occurs in three stages: an innovation stage where new logics are introduced and debated, a stage of mobilization in which the actors compete for followers of their logic and a stage of structuring where the new logics are translated into concrete practices. The diffusion in these fields differs from the existing fields for several reasons. First, old practices have to be deinstitutionalized generating opportunities for new practices and organizations that did not exist before. Second, imitation is a less likely mechanism due to the lack of examples to follow and indicators to evaluate.

Third, dissemination in fields where regulatory innovations are introduced may differ from fields with economic innovations because economic prescriptions are more easily legitimated instead of the potential economic benefits.

In the processes of change in organizational fields, institutional entrepreneurs are key elements within the field because they execute new visions, cultivate and capitalize on opportunities for change, seeking at the same time to legitimize new institutional arrangements. If these institutional entrepreneurs are components of social movements, it is necessary to generate new institutional forms depending on the nature of the field, that is, depending on whether it is a hierarchical, fragmented or interstitial field (Purdy & Gray, 2009). Awareness of the contradictions within the field, the familiarity with a new scenario of change, and the decision to actively seek that change precede this nature. These institutional entrepreneurs and emerging organizations shape the actors within the field and the organizational field. Similarly, the dynamics of this organizational field influence the formation of new organizations and new actors.

When fields change, deinstitutionalization needs powerful actors who adopt new beliefs and practices. This deinstitutionalization in the case of new emerging fields requires a shared logic that is taken for granted and the establishment of practices, which manifest themselves in a material way (Purdy & Gray, 2009).

Therefore, our fourth assumption is as follows:

A4: The emerging field (The coffee industry in Colombia in recent years) possess powerful actors who adopt new beliefs and practices, making shared logics be taken for granted

The institutionalization in the case of multiple logics within the field depends on five conditions. First, the characteristics of the field such as the low degree of urgency and the lack of common objectives (the high degree of urgency and clearly defined objectives can trigger the development of a homogeneous logic). Second, the multiple local contexts in which actors disseminate practices, given that these practices must be adapted to the local environment. Third, the presence of resources from different actors, which generates different financing schemes and limits the possibility of elites to exercise coercion. Fourth, despite enabling legislation and agreed on technical practices, several institutional actors can face resistance, which impedes the dissemination of the processes. Fifth, the emerging fields lack a dominant structure, which prevents the imposition of standards at the field level (Purdy & Gray, 2009).

The institutional work of actors within the field requires a praxis, which includes three components: self-awareness of actors and critical understanding of existing social conditions where their needs and interests are not satisfied, the mobilization of actors, and multilateral and collective action to reconstruct the existing social arrangements. A possible consequence of praxis is deinstitutionalization, which is a process in which actors dilute the legitimacy of an institutionalized practice due to inefficiencies and interinstitutional incompatibilities (Seo & Creed, 2002).

METHODS

This article examines the organizational change of the Colombian coffee industry from the analysis of historical processes using data collection techniques through interviews, archive data, publications and media reports (Greenwood & Suddaby 2006; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Lægneid & Serigstad, 2006; Purdy & Gray, 2009; Reay et al., 2013; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Mitchell, 2015; Sherer, 2017; Wadhvani, 2018; Smolka & Heugens, 2020). Using primary and secondary sources helps us ensure that various eyes examine the same sources (Costa et al, 2019). Therefore, we analyze 81 documents regarding processes of organizational change in the Colombian coffee industry, which include 10 semi-

structured interviews with leaders of the coffee industry aware of processes of change in the industry and with more than 10 years of experience within this industry.

We follow a historical narrative style (Ansari, 2011) which helps us to understand not only “that a problem has arisen, but also why it is a problem, what causes it to develop, and what might be done about it (Wadhvani, 2018, pp. 551)”. Also, we use an explicatory approach to organization studies, which help us to apply and develop theory about various social processes from the interplay between ideas and historical evidence (Wadhvani, 2018) through a historical operation of an internal and external critique of documents. This approach helped us to question the reliability and pertinence of the documents (Costa et al, 2019)

The leaders interviewed consisted of actors involved in processes of change in the coffee industry in Colombia. First, an entrepreneur in specialty coffees, creator of the Caffinitti brand in Bogotá, Colombia. Second, an administrative and financial director of a sub-regional committee of coffee growers. Third, a consultant and independent academician who has done studies for the Coffee mission. Fourth, an extensionist linked to the FNC. Fifth, an Administrative and Financial Assistant Director of the Directorate of Sustainable Rural Development at the National Planning Department (DNP by its acronym in Spanish). Sixth, two trainers of the Manuel Mejía Foundation. Seventh, one Coordinator of the Technical Management office at the FNC.

These interviews provided feedback on the search and delimitation of other documents used for this analysis. These documents consisted of reports from the coffee industry, Colombian government agencies, NGOs, and the press at the national and local levels. As a total of 81 documents including interviews. Based on Greenwood and Suddaby (2006), we followed a method of naturalistic inquiry based on qualitative procedures. Therefore, we conducted an analysis of historical processes using inductive techniques, by which sequences of events are clarified and causal forces that overlap are becoming evident.

For this historical analysis, we established, considering significant milestones in the organizational change of the coffee sector in Colombia, five periods (Costa et al, 2019). Namely, 1960-1974: the guild created several of the key institutions and organizations of the coffee business such as Juan Valdez, the Manuel Mejía Foundation, and various cooperatives. 1974-1979: different actors added value to

coffee production through the creation of the first lyophilized coffee processor. 1979-1989: the first coffee tastings begin. 1989-2002: the fall of the international coffee agreement. 2002-2018: Procafecol, opened the first Juan Valdez store and, more recently, the international grain price crisis that has generated various mobilizations (Moreno, 2016).

We codified the information based on Saldaña (2013), who states, "A code is a qualitative inquiry, which symbolically assigns a summative attribute, which captures the essence and/or is evocative to a portion of visual or based data in the language (pp. 3)". Therefore, in each document, we identified information regarding each of the previously established periods and grouped by code families according to the Atlas ti 6 software. Within each of these families of codes, we previously established three thematic axes identified in the literature and referenced in the first chapter of this research. Namely, Organizational Field, Change in the Organizational Field, and Institutional Work. Regarding the Organizational Field, we coded under the categories Institutions, International Consumption, Internal Consumption, Exports, Production Cost, Homogenization, Imports, Dollar Price, International Price, Opportunity, Internal Price, Production and Profitability given that these are recurrent categories on the different documents and are closely related to standards, procedures, interactions, etc. All these are common characteristics of the characteristics of an organizational field.

Regarding the Change in the Organizational Field, we coded the documents under the categories Openness, Center Change, Peripheral change, Awareness, and Inertia. We found, in the documentary analysis, that these categories have a close relationship with the transformation or not of the coffee industry. Regarding Institutional Work, we established codes under the categories of Institutional Entrepreneurs, Motivation, and Practice Work.

According to Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) and Greenwood and Suddaby (2013), we built a chart to carry out theoretical elaboration, which consists of "a process in which the preexisting understanding is contrasted with events observed to expand the existing theory (pp. 32)". This chart consisted of relevant elements of the previously discussed theory, which was contrasted with the documents codified in the periods indicated (See table I).

We also sought to verify emerging dynamics (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2013) for example that in all periods studied the Organizational Field is regulated more through institutionalized government structures than by market effects.

Therefore, this research consists of 8 stages, namely:

1. Data collection through interviews, archival data, publications, and media reports (Greenwood & Suddaby 2006, Purdy & Gray, 2009, Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010, Reay et al., 2013; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Lægreid & Serigstad, 2006).

2. The second stage of the documentary search, guided by previously conducted interviews, which consisted of reports from the coffee sector, Colombian government agencies, NGOs, and press at the national and local levels.

3. Establishment of historical periods for the analysis according to representative milestones of organizational change since the creation of the character Juan Valdez

4. Creation of code families for each period using the Atlas ti 6 software as a tool

5. Codification, by which we symbolically assigned a summative attribute, highlighted, which captures the essence of each of the documents analyzed both prior and emerging (Saldaña, 2013).

6. Establishment of categories previously identified in the literature

7. Construction of an analytical chart to carry out theoretical elaboration, which consists of "a process in which the preexisting understanding with observed events is contrasted to expand the existing theory (pp. 32)"

8. Verification of emerging dynamics (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2013) in the documentary information collected

RESULTS

We grouped the organizational change of the Colombian coffee industry since the creation of the icon Juan Valdez into five historical periods. Namely, 1960-1970: high degree of urgency, common objectives, and de-institutionalization of obsolete practices. 1970-1980: changes towards homogenization, and establishment and expansion of limits. 1980-1990: the creation and interruption of legitimate practices based on the expansion and undermining of limits. 1990-2000: inertia in de-

institutionalization and changes towards homogenization/diversification. 2000-2018: unstable interactions among participants, and the interplay between a horizontal distribution of the organizational field and leadership of new civil society associations in the adoption of shared meanings.

1960-1974: High degree of urgency, common objectives, and deinstitutionalization of obsolete practices

In the 1960s, the coffee industry began to consolidate as a stable field with actors distributed hierarchically (Assumption 1). The FNC led this distribution particularly through the creation of the extension service in 1960. This extension service has served coffee growers in the coffee-producing sub-regions in Colombia in areas such as planning, the definition of policy strategies, and training based on CENICAFÉ's scientific research (Cárdenas, 2004).

Also, we found that the coffee industry in the period 1960-1974 reflects a high degree of urgency due to the articulation of various actors within the field to guarantee certain welfare conditions for coffee farmers in the context of the Cold War. This degree of urgency made this organizational field tend towards homogenization (Assumption 2). The large roasting firms such as General Foods and Procter and Gamble established preferential trade deals and lobbying before the US government in favor of the Colombian government at that time (Suarez, 2002; Silva, 2006; Moreno, 2016), which made the practices within the industry to align the interests of the international markets.

We assessed Assumption 2 and found that the coffee industry in this period is the result of a complex environment where logics that compete with each other move towards institutionalization, ie the recognition of standards, practices, interactions, etc. For example, the international coffee agreement created in 1962, which had been preceded by the inter-American coffee agreement inspired by the New Deal, sought to leverage the economies of the Americas, which was influenced by the context of the cold war. Domestically, competition between industrial firms fosters the production of frozen coffee (Suarez, 2002). Thus, we found a multilateral and collective action based on common objectives, which

started from the establishment of the international coffee agreement between producing and consuming countries, and the coalition between the producing countries Brazil and Colombia.

The deinstitutionalization of obsolete practices occurs from The National Center for Coffee Research's (CENICAFE by its acronym in Spanish) first works focused on the study of different systems of cultivation, shade and soil management, which included visits to several coffee regions in the world such as Brazil, Hawaii, Central America, and Puerto Rico. These researches culminated with the introduction of the Caturra variety in the '60s, which allowed the planting of coffee under open sunlight and at high planting densities (more than 5000 plants per hectare), and various renewal systems (Arcila, 2007). Some of this deinstitutionalization was oriented towards the search for differentiation of Colombian coffee as a strategy to overcome the trap of commodities, which generates little added value to local economies (Muñoz, 2013).

This deinstitutionalization generates consumer awareness of the quality of Colombian coffee and promotes its consumption around the world and the Manuel Mejía Foundation, which is in charge of training producers of coffee and their families (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2010). Likewise, in the same decade, by private initiative and with the support of the FNC, coffee growers' cooperatives were launched, which facilitate small coffee farmers selling coffee to the FNC and other exporters. Through a purchase guarantee mechanism, the FNC assured the coffee growers the sales of their coffee in places close to coffee farms. Also, the General Warehouses of Coffee Deposit (Almacafé by its acronym in Spanish) was created in 1965. This organization has focused on developing competencies in the logistics area to implement the purchase, storage, threshing, packing, mobilization, and quality control policies for the coffee grain.

Regarding institutional work, we observe that powerful actors such as the FNC and Almacafé establish, expand, and reinforce the practices (Assumption 4). The FNC, based on the Cenicafé research in the 50s, initiated an extensive program of trials of crops under the sunlight in the 60s, which allowed the development of the Caturra variety. They also sought to differentiate Colombian coffee through advertising campaigns as "the richest coffee in the world" and since 1959, they have promoted the cooperatives of coffee growers, which are components of FNC's internal marketing network.

Similarly, Almacafé began to carry out an internship work regarding the first deposit activities, focused on meeting the operational requirements of coffee exports such as purchase and storage. Also, Almacafé assumed the commitment to purchase all coffee produced in Colombia at a support price defined by the FNC (Arcila, 2007; Cárdenas, 1993; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2010; J. García, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Silva, 2006;). This institutional support makes the practices of the field been taken for granted by most of the actors within the industry.

Period 1974-1979: Changes towards homogenization, and establishment and expansion of limits

We observed, within the period 1974-1979, a stable field to the extent that actors hierarchically distributed within the FNC institutional framework exert influence regarding government norms and behaviors (Assumption 1). The process of improvement in technology, which started in this period generated that 73% of the area planted was of high-yield coffee. Thus, Colombian production went from about 7 million bags in the mid-1970s to about 15.6 million on average in recent years (Cárdenas, 2004). Also, the changes tend towards homogenization (Assumption 2) from the definition in 1970 of the type of export coffees by the Quality Control Unit (UCC) linked to the FNC. They discarded low-acid coffees such as those from the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, started the tasting of coffee raw materials and finished products with the creation of the freeze-dried coffee factory in 1971, which has allowed the export of soluble coffee to different countries (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; Moreno, 2016; Silva, 2006;). The UCC started exerting the control of the physical defects in 1975, the installation of homogenizer and meshes in 1976 for granulometry control, the beginning of the tasting of parchments by origin in the packing and the assignment to threshing by customer profile between 1977 and 1970, and the beginning of quantitative descriptive sensory analysis in 1979 (Moreno, 2016).

The FNC, through the freeze-drying factory, deinstitutionalized the field through the creation of practices (Assumption 3), such as the beginning of the tasting of raw materials and finished products in 1973 (Cárdenas, 1993; Silva, 2006). Likewise, the FNC establishes the limits of the organizational field through the technological process of coffee plantations, by which the *Caturra* variety was introduced (Cárdenas, 1993).

These limits in the organizational field also manage to expand from the creation of the Emerald Mountain brand, by which the FNC managers (Assumption 4) seek to offer a differentiated brand for the Japanese market, which could compete with recognized brands already established (Roldán, 2008). Besides, this decade saw self-awareness on the side of some actors such as the minister of agriculture at the time, who in 1972 pointed out that cooperatives should be the body of integration of producers who started feeling that the traditional production of coffee was not as profitable as in the past (Rodríguez, 1998).

Period 1979-1989: Creation and interruption of Legitimate Practices through the undermining of boundaries

Hierarchically distributed actors such as the Commercial Management office at the FNC exert influence about legitimate government norms and behaviors (Assumption 1) to the extent that this office holds the Quality Control Unit (UCC by its acronym in Spanish), which is responsible for verifying the excellence and the quality of the coffee cup. Regarding the excellence, the UCC indicated the percentage of humidity for people who wanted to export autonomously (13%) and for those exported through the FoNC (12%) (Arcila et al., 2007).

The internal marketing office at the FNC is highly responsible for the creation of practices in this period due to the launch of the campaign The Gold Cup Circle. The purpose was the mass dissemination of the correct preparation of coffee for both households and public establishments. Thus, the change is institutional, normative, and isomorphic (Assumption 2) both by the Gold Cup Circle campaign and by the fact that the Commercial Management office transfers the application and control of coffee quality to a port inspector.

Likewise, the actors interrupt legitimate practices within the coffee industry and undermine the limits of this organizational field (Assumption 3). The member countries that imported soft coffee opposed the constant increase in the prices of this type of coffee in comparison to the *robusta*, so they sought to redistribute the import quotas to increase the supply (Bohman & Harvis, 2017). Finally, neither coffee producers nor coffee importers came up to an agreement meaning the end of the coffee agreement

Powerful actors such as the FNC, Almacafé, the Cooperatives, etc. created legitimate practices within the coffee industry (Assumption 4). We discovered self-awareness by these actors in the "Circle of the Gold Cup" campaign and on the letter from the commercial management office at the FNC, which set the UCC (Quality Control Unit, by its acronym in Spanish) as responsible for the quality control of the Colombian coffee (Moreno, 2016). These practices seek the continuous improvement of coffee preparation to be more competitive in international markets.

Period 1989-2002: Inertia in deinstitutionalization and changes towards homogenization/diversification

The legal framework associated with this organizational field came from powerful actors such as the Treasury, the FNC, and the National Committee of Coffee Growers (CNC by its acronym in Spanish (Assumption 1). This legal framework was based on Law 9, 1991 that established general rules on international changes. From this law, the resolution 3156, 1991 was issued, indicating the requirements that coffee exporters must meet to register as such with the Colombian Institute of Foreign Trade. Similarly, Resolution 2, 1991 from the National Committee of Coffee Growers, established measures conducive to guaranteeing the quality of export coffee. Finally, Resolution No. 3, 1991 of the National Committee of Coffee Growers, established quality standards for green coffee in almonds, green decaffeinated, soluble, and coffee extract (Rodríguez, 1998).

Since the end of the coffee agreement, price volatility tripled, which required strong institutions within coffee producing countries to mitigate the risks of price fluctuations. Strategies such as stabilization funds and futures markets were considered (Cárdenas, 1997) but without great effects on the welfare of Colombian coffee growers.

Broca, a disease that attacks the coffee grain, the fall of the coffee agreement, and the revaluation of the Colombian peso (cop) against the USA dollar (USD) affected the Colombian coffee industry. Therefore, the level of indebtedness of the producers increased and productivity decreased because of the aging of the coffee plantations. Despite this adverse environment, there existed a great deal of inertia in de-institutionalization by traditional organizations within the industry. We could not assess assumption 2 in this period due to the lack of deinstitutionalization despite many inefficiencies

In the 1990s, we observed changes that tend toward homogenization (Assumption 2). The transfer of the Coffee Quality Control Unit from the FNC to Almacafé generated a unification of the existing coffee quality criteria in both the FNC and the Almacafé (Moreno, 2016). This institutional isomorphism is sometimes normative to the extent that experts begin to theorize about good practices for the sector. For example, the International Coffee Organization (ICO) held the Seminar on the Environment in 1996, which brought together experts who discussed scientifically, production, trade, and roasting issues (Lodder, 1997).

This homogenization is evident, moreover, in the unification of all coffee taxes in the so-called coffee contribution from Law 9 of 1991. "The contribution is made by exporters to the FNC destined to finance the purchase guarantee, scientific research, technical assistance, quality control, coffee promotion, and various social programs (Steiner, Salazar & Becerra, 2015, pp.116) ".

On the other side, the ecological tourism strategy developed in the late 1990s fostered the diversification and opposing our assumption 1 as well. This strategy sought to take advantage of the originality and tradition of the peasants and farmhouses due to the beauty of the landscape in the coffee regions. Thus, the FNC supported the creation of the Coffee Ecotourism Cooperative, and the supply of tourism agencies in the region increased (Rodríguez, 1998).

Powerful actors led the deinstitutionalization in the period 1989-2002 (Assumption 3 and 4). These actors adopted new tendencies and practices, for example, at the beginning of the 90s, the FNC initiated experimental studies to increase physical performance, reduce labor costs, and certain inputs from the diffusion of existing technologies in the country. The goal was to reduce labor requirements by 40% and increase productivity.

Period 2002-2018: Unstable interactions, horizontal distribution, and leadership of new civil society associations

The organizational field in this period is characterized by its stability and its hierarchical distribution through actors such as the national government, the FNC, Cenicafé, among others (Assumption 1). They exert influence regarding legitimate government norms and behaviors. Its regulation is framed in the FoNC Administration Contract, which has as its objective the administration of this fund and recognizes

the FNC as its administrator. This contract, between the national government and the FNC, was renewed in 2016 for 10 more years (Junguito, 2016). Likewise, as the Fund's governing body, the National Coffee Growers Committee is established, which is made up of government representatives, namely the Minister of Finance and Public Credit, the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, the National Planning Director; The Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Environment and Sustainable Development are invited to sessions related to the functions of their offices (Aguilar, 2003; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2016;).

In the period 2000-2018, the Colombian coffee industry is the result of a complex environment in which competing logics move towards homogenization (Assumption 2). There existed a recognition of standards, practices, interactions, etc., especially between the FNC and the missions, hired by the Colombian national government, to study the competitiveness of coffee. On the one hand, the coffee mission of 2002 considered it necessary to separate the marketing and regulatory functions of the FNC and the National Coffee Fund (FoNC by its acronym in Spanish). The 2013 mission suggested, "to make regulation more flexible, strengthen the sub-regional committees, eliminate the conflict of interest between market regulation and coffee exports" (Muñoz, 2013, pp. 9). On the other hand, the FNC and the Coffee Dignities (a social movement) pointed out that eliminating the purchase guarantee went against a public good that protects coffee growers in a market where there are few buyers and many sellers, and these studies were unaware of the achievements of coffee institutions such as coffee designations of origin (Muñoz, 2013).

However, we also found that changes tend towards diversification due to resolution No. 3 of 2015 issued by the Coffee Growers National Committee, which allows the export of green coffee with various qualities different from the traditional Colombian coffee quality. Similarly, the FNC established a program of specialty coffees for crops planted in pre-defined microclimates, which generated coffees of origin, sustainable coffees, and according to types of preparation. Therefore, the FNC had to allow the import of coffee different from those traditionally recognized for the mixtures at the local level generating different varieties (A. Zuleta, personal communication, January 7, 2017; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; Moreno, 2016; Roldán, 2008).

Deinstitutionalization in this period is not a direct consequence of inefficiencies (Assumption 2). External consumption has generated an expansion of practices and an undermining of the limits of the organizational field. For instance, in international markets such as Japan, the inhabitants began to seek to protect their health by carefully selecting the quality of the products they consume, which has brought consequently that new firms are trying to guarantee the nature of the organic components of the products (Roldán, 2008).

Powerful actors are crucial in the adoption of new beliefs and practices (Assumption 4). The creation of the company Procafecol in 2002 by the FNC, to scale up the coffee value chain and generate greater income for the industry, helped translate the new logics into concrete practices. Individual coffee growers and the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank own this company, whose main purpose is the commercialization of Colombian coffee (roasted, ground and grain) and the creation of coffee shops for direct management or through third parties (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; J. García, personal communication, December 15, 2016; R. Suarez, personal communication, December 1, 2016).

In the period 2000-2018, the actors created legitimate practices within the field. For example, the American solidarity organization ACIDI / VOCA in 2003 began sponsoring the training program for Colombian coffee tasters at the Specialty Coffee Society of North America (SCAA). Likewise, the Departmental Committee of Caldas in 2004 created the High-Quality Coffee contest and the FNC in 2005 created the first contest called The World behind a Coffee aimed at Japanese customers to publicize the culture Colombian coffee maker (Moreno, 2016).

The creation of Juan Valdez stores has reinforced and expanded practices within the coffee industry. Also, throughout the production process, soil conservation, the use of seed, the establishment of ecological seedbeds, integrated pest management, which avoids the use of coffee, became a whole strategy of quality and environmental protection. This strategy considers the use of agrochemicals, shade-grown coffee, the ecological processing that decreases the use of water, and the pedagogical work with harvesters. Thus, the coffee industry achieved an increase in productivity by 20% and a reduction in the infestation of Broca in the next harvest (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2012; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; J. García, personal

communication, December 15, 2016). We could identify this reinforcement of practices especially in 2013 when 84 thousand hectares of coffee were renewed, increasing the average density at 5442 trees per hectare and 88% of the renovations.

The practices considered legitimate in the coffee industry are maintained largely through the agricultural extension service, which is a service that helps the rural population improve agricultural techniques to increase the productivity and income of coffee families. These interventions include technological, social, economic, and environmental aspects seeking changes in production practices that positively impact both profitability and the environment (Cárdenas, 2004; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2012; P. Orozco, personal communication, November 15, 2016).

The expansion of boundaries highlights the empowerment of coffee women based on the development of a gender equity policy by the FNC on issues regarding coffee production, union participation, and community leadership. Hence, coffee women have been able to commercialize their coffees, develop their brands, organize themselves in civil society associations, participate in special coffee fairs, and sell coffee directly abroad (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; J. Castillo, personal communication, December 15, 2016).

An interview with an agriculture extension worker shows that in this expansion of limits, the FNC has been losing prominence due to independent organizations, which are generating close to 90% of coffee activities. This situation has generated some instability in the interactions of the coffee industry because many producers interact directly with governmental bodies and small coffee growers have been creating civil society associations independently. Although interacting with the FNC, these coffee growers maintain a high level of autonomy and the associative groups have sought to improve profitability given that, under the institutional framework of the FNC, producers have only obtained as income less than 4% of the entire agro-industrial chain (P. Bravo, personal communication, December 12, 2016).

Finally, actors within the national coffee strike in 2013, which joined more than 100 thousand coffee growers who manifested their demands through marches, concentrations, and blocking main roads, is a representation of self-awareness and mobilization within the coffee industry. These mobilizations

allowed making changes in the top management of the FNC, which have historically been linked ideologically to the national government. The mobilized actors have different political, economic, and business backgrounds since political left-wing leaders converged with right-wing leaders and other merchants and leaders without defined political affiliation. This self-awareness is also reflected in the promotion of generational relief by the FNC through training, workshops, and productive projects to empower young people in the improvement and modernization of Colombian coffee industry (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; P. Bravo, personal communication, December 12, 2016).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our research confirmed the notion within the literature regarding the distribution of actors in stable fields (Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Purdy & Gray 2009) because the coffee sector in Colombia from 1960 to 2018 is a stable field hierarchically distributed. Actors, such as the FNC, Almacafé, members of the national government, etc. exert influence concerning legitimate norms and behaviors (Arcila, et al., 2007; Cárdenas, 1993; Cárdenas, 2004; Junguito, 2006; Rodríguez, 1998;).

Also, we found that once organizations within the coffee sector consolidated from 1960, they began to generate changes that tend towards homogenization (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; Lodder, 1997; Moreno, 2016; Muñoz, 2014; Silva, 2006; Suarez, 2002). However, unlike the literature regarding the change in organizational field (Ansari, 2011; DiMaggio & Powel, 1983; Mitchell, 2015; Sherer, 2017), we found elements of diversification within the field especially from 1989 after the collapse of the coffee agreement (A. Zuleta, personal communication, January 7, 2017; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; Moreno, 2016; Rodríguez, 1998; Roldán, 2008).

This diversification within this institutional field was fostered by the approval of export of green coffee with various qualities different from the traditional Colombian coffee quality, and the various programs of specialty coffees for crops planted in pre-defined microclimates, which generated coffees of origin, sustainable coffees, and according to types of preparation (A. Zuleta, personal communication, January 7, 2017; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2015; Moreno, 2016; Roldán, 2008).

Regarding the institutional work, we found that the praxis within the coffee sector led to deinstitutionalization (Seo & Creed, 2002) until 2002 when Juan Valdez coffee shops were launched. However, unlike the literature about change in the organizational field, there exists inertia in deinstitutionalization in recent years despite inefficiencies in the field (Roldán, 2008).

This inertia in deinstitutionalization is mainly because of the changes in external consumption, which has generated an expansion of practices and an undermining of limits. However, we did not observe big endogenous changes promulgated by central actors belonging to the coffee sector, although there exists a lot of inefficiencies within the field regarding the income of coffee growers, the volatility of the international prices, the productivity, etc. (Roldán, 2008)

Also, the deinstitutionalization needs powerful actors who adopt new beliefs and practices (Seo & Creed, 2002) in the coffee sector in Colombia. The FNC has led the distribution of this organizational field, Cenicafé has made the research about the coffee industry in Colombia, the ICO framed the coffee sector until 1989, *Almacafé* established the first trials of crops under the sunlight, the UCC defined the type of export coffees, *Procafecol* has scaled up the coffee value chain, etc.

However, we found that recently, not so powerful and peripheral actors have become essential in the transformation of the coffee sector (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros, 2013; P. Bravo, personal communication, December 12, 2016). For example, Coffee women have gained legitimacy because of their differentiated coffee production, union participation, and community leadership. FNC has been losing prominence due to independent actors and organizations such as exporters, producers, entrepreneurs, social movements, associate groups, etc., which are generating close to 90% of coffee activities.

Therefore, this research introduced the notion of change in the organizational field through diversification, inertia in deinstitutionalization, and peripheral deinstitutionalization. Mature and stable fields may, after the process of isomorphism, move towards stages of atomization to the extent that new

actors emerge and exercise practice and boundary work. Also, these types of fields do not deinstitutionalize because of inefficiencies and can maintain long periods of inertia in which powerful actors reproduce the same traditional beliefs and practices that were useful in the past. There exists low deinstitutionalization instigated by peripheral and non-powerful actors who foster new beliefs and behaviors within the field.

Finally, we recommend studying the change in organizational fields through institutional work expanding the analysis of independent organizations such as coffee cooperatives, associative groups, and various social movements that exert influence in the change inside and outside organizations. Also, it is necessary to assess our assumptions qualitatively and quantitatively regarding theoretical assumptions on change in organizational fields such as the confrontations between organizations and existing institutions within the field, the change through bridging or through leaving the field, the contribution of associations with the adoption of shared meanings, and the stages of organizational fields.

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Table I: Analytical chart for theoretical elaboration. Source: Own elaboration based on Greenwood and Suddaby, 2011

	Description	Period 1960-1974		Period 1974-1979		Period 1979-1989		Period 1989-2002		Period 2002-2018	
		Did we find it?	Evidence	Did we find it?	Evidence	Did we find it?	Evidence	Did we find it?	Evidence	Did we find it?	Evidence
<p>Organizational field (Assumption 1)</p>	<p>The stable fields are hierarchically distributed by some actors, who exert influence concerning legitimate government norms and behaviors (Purdy & Gray 2009; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013)</p>	Yes	(Cárdenas, 2004)	Yes	(Cárdenas, 1993)	Yes / No	(Arcila, et al., 2007)	Yes	(Rodríguez, 1998)	Yes / No	(Junguito, 2016)

								Yes	(Lodder, 1997)	Yes	(Muñoz, 2014)
Change in organizational fields (Assumption 2)	Once organizations are consolidated in an organizational field, they begin to generate changes that tend more and more towards homogenization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Ansari, 2011; Sherer, 2017; Mitchell, 2015).	Yes	(Suarez, 2002; Silva, 2006; Moreno, 2016)	Yes	(Moreno, 2016; Silva, 2006; National Federation of Coffee Growers, 2013)	Yes / No	(Moreno, 2016)	No	(Rodríguez, 1998)	No	(Moreno, 2016; Roldán, 2008, National Federation of Coffee Growers, 2015, A. Zuleta,

											persona I commu nicatio n, January 7, 2017)
Institucional Work, Praxis and Change (Assumption)	A possible consequence of praxis is deinstitutionalization, i.e. a process in which the legitimacy of an institutionalized practice gradually dilutes due to inefficiencies and interinstitutional incompatibilities (Seo & Creed, 2002; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Duygan, 2019; Zvolska, 2019; Smolka, 2020)	Yes	(Arcila, 2007; Muñoz, 2013; Federac ión Naciona l de Cafeter	Yes	(Cárdenas, 1993; Silva, 2006)	Yes	(Bo hman & Har vis, 2017)	Yes	(Rodr íguez , 1998)	No	(Roldá n, 2008)

3 and 4)			os, 2010, page 17)								
	Deinstitutionalization needs powerful actors who adopt new beliefs and practices (Seo & Creed, 2002; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Zvolkska, 2019; Smolka & Heugens, 2020)	Yes	(Cárdenas, 1993, Arcila, 2007, Silva, 2006, National Federati on of Coffee Grower	Yes	(Roldán, 2008; Rodríguez, 1998)	Yes	(Moren	Yes	(Rodríguez, 1998)	Yes	(National Coffee Growers Federat ion, 2013; National Coffee Grower s

			s, 2010, J. García, personal commu nication , Decemb er 15, 2016)								Federat ion, 2015; García, 2016; R. Suarez, persona l commu nicatio n, Decem ber 1, 2016)	
											No	(Federa ción

											Nacion al de Cafeter os, 2013; P. Bravo, persona l commu nicatio n, Decem ber 12, 2016)
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	We corroborated the theory regarding change in organizational field
	We did not corroborate the theory regarding change in organizational fields