MEDIUM AND MESSAGE: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN ESTABLISHING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

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Although research on industry institutional logics has provided several important insights into organizational behavior and actions, we lack a detailed understanding of how industry logics emerge from societal-level values, get disseminated, and become available to organizations. Content analysis of 586 articles on fashion published in India’s leading women’s magazine reveals that the media play a large role in these processes by providing the venue for the translation of societal values into industry logics and disseminating these logics among fashion firms, and sheds light on the emergence and rise to dominance of a competing logic that promoted entrepreneurship and organizational variation.
The institutional perspective within organization theory has made great strides in explaining the
effects of not only economic and political, but also social and cultural institutions on organizational
behavior and performance (Jepperson, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Research on institutional
logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991) and specifically on industry institutional
logics (Lounsbury, 2007; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton &
Ocasio, 1999) has been central to the explication of the belief systems that undergird specific
organizational actions and outcomes. Yet, we lack an understanding of how industry institutional
logics emerge from higher-order societal values (Friedland and Alford, 1991), prevail, and become
available to organizational actors. This paper builds on prior studies of the media to explore answers to
these questions.

Institutions affect organizations in opposing ways. On the one hand, institutions are enablers of
organizational action; for instance institutional pressures to conform have been shown to drive
organizations to adopt new organizational forms and practices (Dobbin, Sutton, Meyer, & Scott, 1993;
Fligstein, 1996; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). On the other hand, because organizations strive to act
appropriately and in accordance with well-accepted, institutionalized norms and beliefs, institutions
also bound and limit the breadth of organizational behavior and actions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).
Thus, by defining what is appropriate and legitimate, institutions induce organizations to take certain
actions or behave in a specific manner, but simultaneously limit organizational choices to
institutionally sanctioned actions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

One way in which institutional influences are exerted on organizations is through institutional
logics, which are the sum total of material and symbolic practices and rituals that define the behavior
and actions of organizations (Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). In particular, industry-level
institutional logics constitute the most proximate set of institutional pressures and directives that
organizations face (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton, 2002; Thornton &
Ocasio, 1999). However, institutional logics are neither immutable nor singular. Rather, organizations are embedded within, and subject to, multiple and often conflicting, logics (Townley, 2002). While the presence of multiple, conflicting logics may pose a problem to individual organizations because they have to choose one for the sake of consistency and legitimacy, the existence of multiple competing logics in fact allows for multiple definitions of appropriateness and therefore for diversity among organizations (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). The existence of competing logics has therefore been implicated in enabling entrepreneurship (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007).

There has been substantial research on institutional logics and their impact on organizations as well as on the implications of the existence of competing logics. However, less is known about the process by which institutional logics emerge; while they are believed to be derived from broader, societal-level, or higher-order values (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007), it is not clear how the derivation and translation occur, and further, how the industry logics are understood, disseminated, and reinforced and made available and rendered real to organizations. Neither has the process by which multiple logics arise and co-exist been studied in depth (for notable exceptions, see Dunn & Jones, 2010; Purdy & Gray, 2009). We address this gap in this paper and propose that the media are a locus for the translation of higher-order values into industry institutional logics. We analyze the content of 586 articles published over 20 years (1985-2005) in a leading fashion magazine in India to examine how media discourse led to the construction of a set of formal and informal rules that reflected broader social norms to guide organizational actions and interaction in the high-end fashion industry in India, which emerged in the mid-1980s. We thus provide a description of one possible mechanism by which institutional logics are translated, reinforced, and disseminated, becoming available to organizations. Moreover, we show the rise to dominance of one institutional logic over another, thus also describing the process by which competing logics arise and are established.
We build on prior studies that have demonstrated that media discourse influences firm behavior (Lee & Paruchuri, 2008) and generates shared meaning among producers and consumers (Rosa, Porac, Runser-Spanjol, & Saxon, 1999). We suggest that the media, due to the public nature and wide dissemination of their discourse, are the venue for the rise, dissemination, and institutionalization of a governing logic for an industry. We examine the characteristic attributes of the logic governing the high-end fashion industry in India by studying the media discourse surrounding the industry from its inception to twenty years later. We find that interdiscursivity – the Indian magazine’s borrowing of frames from Western media discourse on fashion – facilitated the rise of one logic (a modernist logic) to dominance over another (a traditionalist logic) in this time period. However, the prior logic did not disappear completely, leading to the establishment of competing logics for the industry. We also perform some preliminary exploratory analyses that suggest that the rise to dominance of a modernist logic had positive implications for entrepreneurship and organizational diversity. Thus, the paper sheds light on an important area of institutional theory: how institutional logics emerge, become available to firms and get accepted, and how competing logics emerge and influence the behavior and actions of firms and promote entrepreneurship. Another important contribution of this paper stems from its setting in the Indian context, which addresses the call for organizational scholars to understand the interplay among institutions and organizations in non-American contexts (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010; Scott, 2005).

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Institutional logics are broadly-accepted, formal and informal rules and cultural beliefs that govern organizational sense-making and cognition, decision-making, behavior, and action (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Jackall, 1988). While Friedland and Alford (1991) described institutional logics that operated at the individual, organizational, and societal levels, several researchers (e.g., Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) since then have postulated that industries are appropriate units of analysis
for the study of institutional logics because producers within an industry are defined by a common identity and norms, which in turn influence their decision-making and practices (Ocasio, 1997; Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Thus, each industry has a specific institutional logic that influences firm behavior and organization- and industry-level outcomes. For instance, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) showed that the move from an editorial logic to a profit-oriented logic in the higher-education publishing industry affected the power structure and succession dynamics within organizations in the industry. Thus, institutional logics are not only important because they shape industry dynamics and inter-organizational interactions at the broader level (Friedland & Alford, 1991), but also because they influence the behavior and outcomes of individual organizations.

Institutional logics shape organizational actions because of their power to legitimize organizational behavior and practices while also enabling individual organizations within the industry to mobilize resources (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Ocasio, 1997).

Although institutional logics, like all institutional forces that encourage conformity, have a homogenizing effect on organizations within industries, this is not the complete picture. In fact, the institutional environment is fragmented and contested rather than homogenous (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Schneiberg, 2002; Schneiberg & Soule, 2005; Scott, 1995; Townley, 2002), and therefore exerts its influence through multiple competing logics. Indeed, the seeming homogeneity among organizations obscures differences generated by the influence of competing logics that operate in an industry at any given time (Lounsbury, 2007). Such competing logics are not entirely in opposition to each other, merely different or inconsistent (Lounsbury, 2007). As a result no single one may wipe out the other(s). Instead, multiple logics co-exist (Dunn & Jones, 2010), and such co-existence of competing logics is the basis of organizational variation as well as conflicts regarding the appropriateness of various modes of behavior and practices (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Perhaps most importantly, the existence of competing logics explains the occurrence of
institutional change and entrepreneurial action (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). It is especially important to understand how competing logics arise (Lounsbury, 2007), because of the path-dependent nature of industry evolution (Schneiberg, 2007). Early developments in an industry tend to define its identity, which in turn specifies what is legitimate, constraining entrepreneurs’ practices and actions. It is, therefore, important to understand how competing logics emerge and create openings for entrepreneurs to engage in novel undertakings and yet be perceived as legitimate (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Given the significant substantive and symbolic impact of institutional logics and the particular importance of the existence of competing logics, it is imperative that we understand the origins of these logics, and how they come to be accepted and institutionalized. Yet, this is a little-understood area of the institutional literature, and in this paper, we attempt to address this gap in our knowledge.

Past research on the interplay between institutional logics and organizations, and competing logics and entrepreneurship has generally inferred the logic governing the actions of firms from the characteristics of the firms or their environment (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Schneiberg & Bartley, 2001; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Thus, for example, in their study of the higher-education publishing industry, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) list the attributes of editorial and professional logics in terms of the defining features of the typical firm in the industry at the time each of these logics was believed to be dominant, and Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) describe competing logics that are rooted in the differences in the geographical origins of the firms in their study. Most research on institutional logics is based on the premise that logics cannot be measured through any one set of variables, but rather have to be inferred on the basis of various indicators (Edelman, 1990; Fligstein, 1985, 1987; Fligstein & Brantley, 1992; Ramirez, Soysal, & Shanahan, 1997; Ruef & Scott, 1998a; Sutton & Dobbin, 1996; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Zhou, Tuma, & Moen, 1997). Consequently, past research has characterized logics on the basis of characteristic features of firms or their environment and the interaction of these
with higher-order social values (Haveman & Rao, 1997). The editorial logic in higher-education
publishing, for instance, was driven, among other things, by the kind of ownership and authority
structures, and missions and strategies of the firms (Thornton, 2002; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999); the
trustee logic that Boston mutual funds abided by was described as being driven by the structure,
features, and values of Boston society at the time (Lounsbury, 2007); finally, the prevalence of
community logics in banking was related to the core philosophy of Republicans, who valued
decentralization (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Thus, industry institutional logics are a result of the
interaction between prevailing higher-order values that are accepted and adhered to by society, and the
pragmatic realities of operating an organization (Ruef & Scott, 1998b; Schneiberg & Bartley, 2001).

The question is, how does this interaction occur, and how do diffuse, higher-order societal
values get translated into executable rules that define the behavior and actions of organizations?
Further, we also understand little about how institutional logics are made available to organizations
and reinforced and disseminated widely enough to become normatively influential. How are industry
institutional logics asserted and incorporated into the institutional environment from where their
influence can be experienced by organizations? Neither do we fully understand how competing logics
arise, and in turn become institutionalized and available to existing or new organizations (for a recent
exception, see Nigam and Ocasio, 2010). In this paper, we attempt to provide an initial description of a
possible process by which logics arise from higher-order values and come to be part of the collective
consciousness of an industry, and how competing logics become established and co-exist. In particular,
we believe that written texts and discourse are critical means through which collective belief systems
(Porac, Thomas, Wilson, Paton, & Kanfer, 1995; Porac, Wade, & Pollock, 1999) regarding appropriate
behaviors and practices are propagated (Kennedy, 2008; Kennedy, 2005; Lounsbury & Rao, 2004).

We argue that the media have been relatively neglected in studies of institutional logics.
However, their demonstrated role in generating the shared meaning of a new product category (Rosa et
al., 1999), influencing firms’ market-entry decisions (Lee & Paruchuri, 2008), and reconstituting product categories in the mutual fund industry (Lounsbury & Rao, 2004) indicates that the media play a crucial role in influencing firm behavior and actions. Building on this prior work, we believe that the media play a crucial role not only in generating industry logics that are in alignment with higher-order values, but also thereafter in making those logics pervasive and thus provide a means through which logics exert their significant influence on organizations. Research so far has not clarified how the particular elements, which are the actual rules or codes of conduct embedded in institutional logics, are rendered real and comprehensible to organizations. We propose that the media are critical intermediaries that translate higher-order legitimating accounts into frameworks for organizational sense-making (Kennedy, 2008; Kennedy, 2005), and into executable rules that guide organizational interpretations of reality and consequent organizational actions. Past research has elaborated on the role of the media in providing the organizing principles that generate coherence and meaning in markets (Kennedy, 2008), and in the “production of belief,” (Couldry, 2003) through which the media construct reality, legitimate organizational claims, and influence general opinions (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gamson & Scotch, 1964). Thus, media discourse has the effect of constructing supra-organizational cognitive representations that essentially constitute the institutional environment of organizations (Fombrun, 1996; Lounsbury & Rao, 2004; Schneiberg, 2002). It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect that the media play a constitutive role in the emergence and establishment of institutional logics.

The media play an important role in the generation and dissemination of institutional logics through their discourse by being responsible for organizing and generating collectively understood and contextually shared meaning (Deephouse, 2000; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Kennedy, 2008; McQuail, 1985). Notably, media discourse is not merely a reflection of social beliefs and happenings; instead, the media play an active role in constituting and shaping these beliefs (McQuail, 1985). Several studies
have demonstrated that the media are not mere conduits of information (Rohlinger, 2002). Rather, they actively process and frame information and their specific presentation of information influences the beliefs and understanding of audiences (Altheide, 1997; Fritz & Altheide, 1987; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Koopmans, 2004). This is particularly true of media outlets that are specifically concerned with particular industries; industry media have been characterized as active participants rather than passive observers, and as actors in the process of meaning-creation, rather than just the arena for meaning-creation (Lounsberry, 2007). Given that the media present information selectively, and frame it in particular ways, the media play a critical constitutive role in the development of institutional logics. There are two mechanisms of media impact. First, the impact of the media is largely due to their duality; media discourse shapes public perceptions of legitimacy, validity, and worth and these public perceptions in turn create and reinforce the unconscious rules and codes - which constitute institutional logics - embedded within the discourse (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Koopmans, 2004). The meaning constructed by the media is widely-disseminated among the lay-public (Rindova, Pollock, & Hayward, 2006; Rosa et al., 1999), thus generating a generalized set of beliefs regarding what is appropriate (Couldry, 2003; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), and therefore legitimizing behavior and practices. This constitutes an institutional logic for the industry. Second, by its very nature, media discourse creates “public knowledge” (Adut, 2008), which due to its wide dissemination and acceptance assumes the form of guidelines that direct organizational behavior and actions, thus rendering an institutional logic real and making it available to organizations.

The known characteristic features of media also provide an explanation for the rise of competing logics. Media desire change and novelty (Boyle & Hoeschen, 2001; Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Lester, 1980), and therefore play an important role in effecting endogenous institutional change (Schneiberg, 2007) by theorizing such change, suggesting and/or endorsing innovations, and then shaping how they are understood and accepted (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002). Additionally,
a change in the broader cultural and social context may cause the media to re-constitute their schemas in such a way that they are better aligned with prevalent higher values or legitimizing accounts. Finally, the process of interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992), which is the exchange of frames and concepts among separate discursive fields, is a potential explanation for the emergence of competing logics. Following contextual changes and/or interdiscursivity the media may represent the meaning of the industry differently (Boyle & Hoeschen, 2001), and render appropriate a new framework of assumptions and rules, which then constitutes a competing logic in relation to the existing logic.

DATA AND METHODS

Research Context

The setting for this study was the high-end fashion industry in India, which emerged in the mid 1980s. The fashion industry is an appropriate setting for this study for three reasons. First, because the industry is a cultural field that has high symbolic and non-material content and meaning (Hirsch, 1972), the construction of meaning is an important issue in this industry. Second, the media play a critical role in translating the high symbolic content of fashion to consumers (Crane & Bovone, 2006; Thompson & Haytko, 1997). Third and finally, the media are the main taste-makers and gatekeepers in the fashion industry (Hirsch, 1972; Mora, 2006), and therefore play an important role in organizing a collective understanding of the industry. This deep relationship between the industry and the media make this setting particularly pertinent to the study of the role of the media in establishing industry institutional logics.

Prior to the mid 1980s, before the first fashion designers emerged, the apparel industry in India was largely dominated by textile companies, weavers, and tailors (Tarlo, 1996). Women tended to wear the traditional Indian dress – the sari- which was either hand woven and hand block printed or woven and printed in large textile mills. The sari was worn with a blouse, which was usually custom-made by a tailor. Younger women wore a different kind of traditional dress – the salwar kameez –
which too was usually custom-made by tailors. A very small proportion of younger women wore western clothes such as skirts, and an even smaller proportion wore trousers (Tarlo, 1996). Western clothes were usually bought at ready-to-wear stores, and by the mid-1980s there were a small number of stores that also sold ready-to-wear salwar-kameezes. India has had a rich tradition of hand-woven textiles (Chishti & Jain, 2000; Irwin & Hall, 1971; Mathur, 2002) and different kinds of embroidery, and these textiles and embroideries were usually incorporated into salwar-kameezes. Strong cultural norms prevented women from wearing western style clothing at formal or festive occasions; appropriate dress for a wedding, for instance, was (and remains) traditional Indian attire.

Given the ubiquity of custom-made tailoring, early designers faced the challenge of justifying their value proposition (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994). One of the ways they overcame this challenge was by designing heavily-embellished, traditional-style clothing that could be worn at weddings and other festive occasions. This strategy had a dual advantage. First, people were willing to spend large sums of money at weddings, and second, the heavily-embellished clothing looked opulent, justifying the high prices. An additional benefit was that designing clothing that was made from rich fabrics and was heavily-embellished with traditional embroidery allowed the designers to claim that they were helping to preserve traditional skills and crafts, a claim that went down well in the predominantly socialist- and austerity-minded country that India was at the time.³

Data Sources

The data for this study are all fashion articles published in the leading Indian women’s magazine from the emergence of the industry in India in 1985 to 2005. The magazine – Femina – was published in English by the oldest print media company in India, which also published a daily English

³ After gaining independence from British rule in 1947, the Indian government adopted a centrally-planned approach to economic development. This approach aimed to achieve equality of outcomes rather than opportunities. One of the ways the government attempted to achieve this goal was through heavy taxation, which prevented excessive concentration of wealth and provided the capital for investment while sacrificing consumption levels. Thus, a belief in the virtues of austerity and a perception of ostentatious consumption as a vice were both cause and effect of Indian economic policies. For more, see http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/2nd/2planch2.htm; accessed on October 22, 2009.
newspaper. *Femina* was a fortnightly women’s magazine that was first published in 1959 and by the time of the period under study was the largest-circulating women’s magazine in India. It is the only magazine that covers the entire range of years, from the early, tentative emergence of fashion designers, to the current day. The magazine covered a wide variety of topics that were believed to be of interest to women, ranging from career advice, through motherhood-related topics, profiles of successful women from all walks of life, all the way to sartorial and makeup-related advice.

The use of only one magazine as a data source is appropriate for three reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, it is the only magazine that covers the fashion industry in India all the way from its emergence to the present day. This enables an examination of the evolution and change in the industry and its logics over time, while keeping the editorial policy constant, which allows us to attribute change in the content of discourse to factors other than policy changes. Theoretically, examining the coverage of fashion since its inception enables us to understand how specific logics emerge in new industries with no prior cognitive models or frames, as well as the evolution in logics over time and the factors influencing such evolution. Second, fashion content was directly relevant to the subject matter of the magazine, and the emergence of a new fashion industry directly affected this magazine, so the discourse surrounding this industry was prominently played out in its pages (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). Finally, it was a widely-circulating, English magazine; as a result of its wide circulation, it was a key arbiter of meaning and definition among consumers, and being published in English, it reached the upper classes, which were the target consumers for the fashion industry. Femina was thus relevant to, and responsible for the discourse that shaped the understanding of fashion among the industry and consumers alike.

**Method of Analysis**

We analyzed all fashion-related articles published in the magazine during the period under study (1985-2005). Since the magazine was a fortnightly, this period yielded 480 issues. These issues
were studied by a research assistant, who identified the fashion-specific articles and printed them from the magazine’s microfiche archives in Mumbai, India. While we defined high-end fashion as garments that were designed and created by individuals, whose creativity was assumed or perceived as integral to the production of those garments, we used a broader lens to pick relevant articles, in order to err on the side of safety. Thus, the articles studied include interviews with models who worked for fashion designers, profiles of jewelry or accessories designers, as well as articles on trends and street-styles. We printed and read 586 articles.

First, each article was independently analyzed by two trained coders, in greater detail. The poor legibility and print quality of the microfiche printouts precluded computer-aided text analysis. Therefore, each coder manually counted the number of times certain terms occurred in each paragraph of each article. The list of terms was generated on the basis of the authors’ reading of Western fashion magazines and all the articles in the dataset, as well as the first author’s interviews with Indian fashion designers, magazine editors, and other individuals in the fashion industry. A small subset of these terms - words such as “chic,” “style,” and “fashion” - were generic fashion-related terms, which served as a robustness check on whether the article referred to fashion. Additionally, each coder counted a subset of “traditionalist” fashion terms. As mentioned earlier, the early designers in India focused on creating heavily-embellished, opulent, traditional Indian-style clothing for weddings. Therefore, terms related to traditional Indian skills and crafts - words like “textile,” “embroider(y),” “embellish(ment),” “kantha,” (a type of embroidery) and “zardozi,” (also an embellishment technique) - would dominate articles that interpreted and presented fashion design as being derived from these traditional techniques and embroideries, i.e., used a traditionalist logic. Forty different traditionalist terms were counted. Thus, the following statement would indicate a strong traditionalist framing: “…with her exquisite embroidery work in ‘zari’ thread, mounted with pearls and mirrors, kanthawork on velvet, jamewar, and jute silk, all in traditional styles that encompass three generations.” This statement does not
describe or evaluate the design based on its structural qualities and innovations, but instead focuses on surface embellishments and embroideries as elements of design. The basic structure of the garments was not very different from traditional styles, and no major changes were introduced from year to year. However, this was an India-specific way of understanding fashion; the Western fashion pattern on the other hand is believed to be characterized by novelty, rapid changes according to specific seasons, and proliferation of structurally-different styles (Davis, 1992; McCracken, 1988). A global, more “modernist” fashion logic therefore would emphasize change, novelty and innovation, seasonal trends, and silhouettes. In order to determine the prevalence of the modernist logic, we counted forty modernist terms, including words like “season,” “line,” (designers usually present a “line” of clothing) “fit,” and “couture,” which were words often used to describe and represent fashion clothing in established fashion magazines in the USA (such as Vogue and W). For instance, “clothes are structured, and the cuts are clean,” is a modernist frame. Inter-rater reliability was calculated for coder responses using Cohen’s Kappa coefficient, and the reliability was acceptable at 81% (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002).

At the article-level, we also analyzed the photographs that accompanied the articles. We made note of whether the photographs depicted clothing, jewelry, other accessories (bags, footwear, etc), or people. The pictures of clothing were further classified into Indian-, Western-, or fusion-style clothing. We then counted the number of western style garments that were attributed to Indian (Western) designers or Indian (Western) brands (Indian and fusion style clothing was naturally always Indian in origin).

We conducted additional analyses at the issue-level to understand the broader societal context. While going through the microfiche archives of the magazine, the research assistant also noted other content in the issues, in order to understand the overall trends in advertising and features in the magazines. Thus, we also have information on the total number of pages and articles in each issue, the
number of advertisements, and a break-up of the advertisements by product type. We particularly collected data for the number of advertisements for product categories that were relevant and related to fashion, such as accessories, clothing (that was not high-fashion), and jewelry, in addition to data on advertisements for high-end fashion. Additionally, we collected particulars of the number of non-advertisement (editorial) photo spreads of clothing to understand the magazine’s actions in the portrayal of the industry. We used these data to analyze trends that helped us situate the fashion articles and their content within the broader social, cultural, and economic context. We specifically examined trends in the number of advertisements and the types of products advertised over the years, as well as trends in photo-spreads (which were not linked to any specific article) over the years.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Industry Logics: Article-level Analysis

We analyzed the articles at two levels; we first read each article to uncover the richness of the data and then analyzed the content of the articles using word counts to discern the specific institutional logics. We found the broad theme of the articles on fashion changed considerably over time from framing fashion predominantly in terms of traditional Indian textiles and embroideries, to framing fashion in predominantly modernist terms: silhouette, cut, and fit, and collections and seasonal cycles. The word counts attested to the rise of a modernist logic that eventually dominated the traditionalist logic. The count of main terms climbed only slightly throughout the period, ascending to a sharp peak around 1993, but steadying thereafter (Figure 1). The trend in the main terms indicates that all the articles are comparable in the extent of their fashion-related content. Overall, as we see in Figure 2, the articles used more modernist terms when writing about Indian fashion, over time, i.e., the ratio of modernist terms to all (modernist + traditionalist) terms consistently increased. Figure 3, which
depicts the number of paragraphs with at least one of the terms mentioned at least once (count), indicates that while the number of modernist terms was generally slightly lower than the number of traditionalist terms from 1985 to 1993, the two counts diverged thereafter as the number of modernist terms sharply increased in 1993. The frequency (number of times a particular term was mentioned) of modernist and traditionalist terms (controlling for the number of paragraphs in each year) also began to diverge around 1993, with modernist terms acquiring a considerable lead over the traditionalist terms (Figure 4). In this figure, we also see that the trend lines for the frequency of use of modernist and traditionalist logics, controlling for the length of, the article, cross over each other between 1993 and 1994. This indicates that the modernist logic dominated over the traditionalist logic after 1993. Thus, the data strongly suggest that the overall tone of fashion discourse shifted between 1993 and 1994.

Data on photographs demonstrate a similar trend towards modernist fashion logics. Primarily, we see that the number of photographs of Western-style clothes steadily increased over time (Figure 5). However, the sources of these designs changed over time. Before 1993, all featured western-style clothing was either designed by Western designers, or was featured as an example of street fashion trends (i.e., not high-end fashion). After the first photographs of western-style clothing designed by Indian designers appeared in 1993 (Figure 5), the number of such photographs increased steadily, rising sharply in 2000.

A careful reading of the articles confirmed these observations and provided rich details that indicated the rise to dominance of a modernist logic over a traditionalist one (See Tables 1 and 2). Articles published before 1992 tended to describe designers’ “fascination with,” or “great love for” Indian fabrics and embroideries. There were approving descriptions of Indian designers’ attempts to
revive traditional crafts and techniques through their designs, as well as articles on a Western designer whose collections that year were “inspired by Indian crafts and colors.” Some articles during this period featured jewelry designers, and these articles too described the designer’s use of traditional jewelry craftsmen to create the jewelry, and all the designs were traditional Indian styles.

While several articles published before 1992 (and some published in 1993 and 1994 as well) covered fashion shows, these shows were not akin to the fashion shows in the western fashion world. These were usually fashion shows held by stores or shows sponsored by (non-fashion, usually liquor) companies for publicity. Although designers featured in the fashion shows were named, photographs of clothes still did not credit designers, although the photographer and model were named. Similarly, although the clothes were described a little, the emphasis was on identifying the models and describing how they looked. While fashion shows were extensively covered and reported on, there was simultaneous acknowledgment that the shows did not showcase clothes, but rather provided publicity to the sponsor by entertaining people.

After 1992, the concept and definition of a designer was better-understood, as evidenced by the deprecatory acknowledgment in one article that the term designer often “includes bored housewives who start making clothes for their friends.” Yet, it was still not fully well-understood, and a manufacturer-exporter of apparel was also called a designer. The first article about a western designer appeared in 1992. Articles that covered the Parisian or New York fashion world were published in the early years of the 1993-2005 period. These articles clearly indicate an understanding of how the fashion system works in other parts of the world. There was explicit coverage of fashion trends, collections, and most importantly, assessment of novelty, in these articles. This period also saw some discussion around (especially elite) Indian consumers’ growing preferences for designer logos, names, or labels on their apparel. Early in 1994, the term “haute couture” was first used.
The theme and tone of the articles changed considerably in years after 1995. The coverage of fashion adopted modernist themes such as collections, seasons, and trends. The regular columns mentioned previously - “Fashion News,” “Haute Stuff” - as well as new columns like “Trends and Styles,” were introduced in this period. Additionally, each of these columns included information on where the featured item of clothing, or accessory could be purchased. There were attempts to differentiate design from embellishment, and attempts at forecasting trends. The importance of seasons in the fashion system was stressed, although it was acknowledged that in India, there were only two seasons: the wedding season, and the festival season. Criticism of over-embellished clothes and designers’ lack of innovation in other areas began to appear, although there was a simultaneous acknowledgment that Indian consumers demand the embellished look. There was greater acknowledgment of the importance of the cut, fit, and silhouette of apparel, and a concurrent expression of disappointment in Indian designers’ cuts and fits. Yet, the mention of traditional craftsmanship and textiles was not entirely absent during this period, although the linkages between Indian fashion and traditional textiles and embroidery were not portrayed as being as inextricable as before.

In 2000, the Fashion Design Council of India, an industry association started by seven designers in 1999, organized and held India’s first Fashion Week. This event was heralded by the magazine as an important milestone in the history of fashion in India, indicative of the industry’s having come of age, and of Indian fashion’s being part of the global fashion system. The articles published subsequently in the magazine from 2000 to 2005 are like fashion articles in any Western fashion magazine; these articles describe what clothes the designers showed in various fashion shows, how they should be worn, what accessories should be matched with those clothes, and where all these items of clothing and adornment can be purchased. The articles emphasize the existence of certain trends in clothing, which is a modernist concept because it exhorts individuals to dress not according to
tradition, but according to a currently prevailing sense of what is perceived as beautiful, which in turn may be very different from traditional clothing; the context of clothing in India had thus changed from “tracht,” i.e., the “uniform element in the clothing of a period or society,” which has “connotations of history, geography, status and vocation,” to “mode,” i.e., changing fashions (Redlich, 1963).

The Broader Context: Issue-level Analysis

In order to understand the context that influenced these changes in the logics governing the fashion industry in India, it was necessary to review the broader, more general contextual trends over the 20-year period. We aggregated issue-level data to the year and analyzed the trends graphically. As we see in Figure 6, fashion-related articles increased only slightly until 1993, but then rose sharply between the years 1993 and 1994. The trend line indicates that, other than an unexplained, sudden decline in 1998, the number of fashion-related articles rose steadily over the 20 year period.

Figure 7 indicates that the proportion of clothing ads and ad pages relative to the total number and pages of advertisements spiked in 1994 after a steady rise since 1992, but then declined and steadied thereafter. Next, in Figure 8, we see the proportion of advertisements and pages dedicated to jewelry, cosmetics, and other accessories steadily increased over the 20 year period. These findings indicate an increase in consumerism, as well as a change in the patterns and items of consumption and aspiration that almost coincide with the rise to dominance of the modernist logic in the articles. We also found that the number of designer advertisements and ad pages also moderately increased over time, after appearing in the magazine in 1993 for the first time.

As noted earlier, featured columns in the magazine attested to changing representations and projections of fashion. Early issues were devoid of repeated fashion columns, but as time progressed: “What’s In What’s Out” appeared in 1992 (and was later discontinued in 1997), “Haute Stuff” in 1998,
and “Fashion News” in 1999. Each column dealt with fashion by either communicating the latest trends or listing stores where certain featured garments could be purchased. The presence of regular features and columns on fashion indicate greater formalization of the understanding of the fashion industry.

**The Interplay between the Context and the Institutional Logic**

The magazine was thus the site for a “discursive field” (Wuthnow, 1989) that helped reinforce norms in the newly-emerged industry and also made those norms available to both, organizations, and broader audiences through discourse that pervaded all elements of the discursive field, i.e., ads, articles and other types of content. Magazine issues carry content in two formats (Altheide, 1997): editorial content, which is generated and controlled by the magazine staff, and advertising content, which is not determined or controlled by the magazine. We found that both, the editorial and advertising content of the magazine changed over the time period under study in ways that not only reflected broader contextual changes and made them salient to readers, but also exerted a normative influence on the fashion industry in India. While the magazine represented and evaluated high-end fashion using a traditionalist frame that reflected Indian designers’ predilections in the early part of the period, it subsequently generated a new set of norms and rules of the game that reflected the changes in higher-order societal values, and constituted a competing logic in the industry.

The initial institutional logic in the fashion industry in India, as represented in the magazine articles (editorial content) was a predominantly traditionalist one that reinforced the legitimacy and value of the designs of the earliest Indian designers, which were defined by an emphasis on traditional, embellished, Indian-style clothing, and handicrafts and embroidery skills. This logic placed a relatively low value on the design of more modern garments that broke away from tradition, or accentuated the individuality of the wearer through originality and superior cuts and fit rather than an additional layer of embellishment. However, logics are not abstractions that emerge in isolation. Rather, they are
embedded in, and reflections of, their historical and material contexts (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). Accordingly, the traditionalist logic was well-aligned with the broader social and cultural context that the industry was embedded in. Given the predominantly socialist frame of mind that prevailed in the country at the time, the traditionalist logic legitimized designers, thus enabling them to overcome potential allegations of promoting elitist behavior and ostentatious displays of wealth because it framed the new activity in a skill-preservation context that was relatively palatable.

Although we see that the traditionalist logic was somewhat contested by the modernist logic in the initial years of the industry, the traditionalist logic was generally over-represented in the early discourse. In alignment with the prevailing broader social context, which de-emphasized consumerism and individuality, the magazine reinforced the appropriateness of the traditionalist frame. This social mood was evident in advertisements as well. Not only were there fewer advertisements, but the very nature of the advertisements in the magazine was different in the early period (1985-1993). The clothing advertisements tended to be for hand-woven saris, or fabrics that could be used to tailor garments. There were only few advertisements for cosmetics and accessories in this period. The lower prevalence of such advertisements is indicative of the absence of a consumption-oriented culture and of the inappropriateness of being individualistic and following a path distinct from what had been legitimated over several past generations. The magazine’s editorial content reflected these broader values and reinforced the traditionalist logic through articles as well as another element of editorial content – photo spreads. The photo-spread format (Altheide, 1997) is a standard feature of fashion magazines in the West, and is a powerful visual tool that selects, organizes, and presents information about clothing in a particularistic way that shapes audiences’ assumptions and preferences. In the early period, photo spreads largely depicted saris and clothes from textile stores, further reinforcing traditional looks and indicating the absence of an individualistic, consumer culture. Photo spreads were important in the process of establishing the industry logic since they conveyed a meaning of the
industry through visual depiction that could then be collectively shared and understood. The visual nature of the format likely had a more powerful impact than articles on audiences’ understanding the fashion industry than did the articles.

In order to understand the dominance of the modernist logic in the latter half of the period under study, it is imperative we understand how and why Indian society changed in the interim since broader social values influence industry-level logics (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2010). In 1991, the Indian economy underwent a substantial and fundamental transformation (Guha, 2007).

After decades of being a planned economy with policies that emphasized self-reliance and equality of outcomes (rather than opportunities), the Indian government opened up the closed economy to the rest of the world in 1991, following a fiscal crisis. Since the British rule in India ended in 1947, India had a state-controlled economy guided by principles of nationalism and tighter control over national resources. The government took the responsibility of directing the flow of resources to different industrial sectors. Nationalism also played a role in striving for self-sufficiency in many sectors. The government chose to ban imports in most of the business sectors and encouraged businesses to actively pursue “import substitution” of products. All the above policies resulted in an environment of tight control until 1990 when the country’s staggering fiscal deficit and limited foreign exchange reserves precipitated a policy change that led to an emphasis on exports, and a reciprocal opening up of the economy to foreign investment as well as the entry of foreign firms. These reforms generated a plethora of new job opportunities, which in turn created a large and rapidly-growing middle class. The entry of foreign firms and brands also generated unprecedented access to global consumer goods and consequent large-scale changes in consumption patterns, as the increasingly upwardly mobile middle class freely consumed both basic and lifestyle products. For instance, yearly imports of goods and services accounted for an average of 8.5% of India’s GDP in the years from 1985 to 1994, but increased to 15% in the years from 1995 to 2005. The newly-open economy also wrought cultural
change through increased exposure to Western television programming, the entry of foreign magazines (which entered later than TV channels), and substantial increases in international travel by Indians (UN World Development Indicators Report). Indians, particularly Indian women, transformed their clothing habits, with more and more women adopting western-style garments for daily wear although the appropriate clothing for formal occasions remained traditional Indian-style. All these influences thus caused Indian society to broadly embrace and assimilate a more modernist set of values (Guha, 2007).

These broader changes were reflected in the advertising content of the magazine, as we saw earlier. The number and proportion of advertisements for clothing, jewelry, cosmetics, and accessories increased in the latter half of the period. We found that both the absolute and relative (to total advertisements) number of clothing advertisements and clothing ad pages increased over time. We saw the same trend in advertisements and ad pages for jewelry, cosmetics, and accessories (all counted together). Moreover, the content of these ads changed considerably. In the latter half of the period under study, clothing advertisements were for ready-to-wear brands and department stores rather than for saris or fabric stores; the declining popularity of the sari was evidenced by the precipitous drop in the proportion of sari ads among all clothing ads from a high of 4.2 in 1994 to a low of 0.33 in 2003. The content of jewelry ads did not change much over the period studied, although the number of different jewelry brands that advertised increased steadily over time. The types of cosmetics in advertisements, however, changed dramatically. In the beginning of the period, most advertisements were for simple hygiene products such as soaps, shampoos, talcum powder, and hair oil. By 1988, however, color cosmetics and make-up brands started advertising, starting with Indian brands. Later, by 1993, Western brands started to advertise as well, and by 2000, Western designers’ perfumes were advertised in the magazine. Finally, the kinds and brands of accessories in advertisements changed considerably over time. Initially, there were almost no advertisements for accessories, and when they started appearing, they were predominantly for watches, with a few luggage advertisements.
Advertisements for handbags appeared in the magazine only in 1995, although even then, the advertisements were for Indian brands; Western handbag brands started to advertise in the magazine in 2000, and these included high-end Western designer brands such as Christian Dior, and Louis Vuitton. Such a march towards consumption has been depicted by sociologists of culture as essentially being a movement towards modernism, linked to the process of individualization (where identity is self-determined rather than ascribed by tradition), which in turn has roots in urbanization and industrialization (Bauman, 2000; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Slater, 1997; Zukin & Maguire, 2004), both of which took hold in India after 1991. Such modern societies are willing to accept individuals who are free to choose their own identity (Zukin & Maguire, 2004), and by extension, are more welcoming of innovation and departures from tradition.

This advent of modernist values in broader society was translated into a modernist fashion logic in the magazine, evident in the altered vocabularies and emphases in the articles starting from 1992-1993. First, the appearance of regular columns and features in the magazine that described either fashion shows or the latest apparel styles and listed the stores where those items of clothing could be purchased, was indicative of a changing society. As we saw, articles from the post-1991 period also stressed modernist values, emphasizing not only novel, modern (as opposed to traditional) designs, but also individualistic attributes such as the cut and fit of the garment. While the traditionalist logic did not entirely disappear during this period, the rise of the modernist logic nevertheless introduced plurality in the institutional logics available to fashion firms in India. In other editorial content, the number of photo spreads increased dramatically, as we saw earlier. All these trends point to the broader social acceptability of greater individualism and increased consumer-orientation, which was the root of a modernist logic for the fashion industry.

**Interdiscursivity and the Rise of the Modernist Logic**
In order to understand how these societal changes may have been translated into an industry institutional logic, we turned to the concepts of discursive fields and interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992). The magazine started to feature articles on western fashion designers, with photographs of their designs around 1992-1993. We suggest that this instance of interdiscursivity, i.e. the point when the discursive field of Indian fashion brought in frames and terms from the field of discourse surrounding western fashion, is one of the potential reasons for the rise of the modernist logic. Background research for such articles likely exposed journalists in India to the terms and frames used in the fashion discourse in the West, and they likely started to incorporate those frames and values in their subsequent writing. Interdiscursivity thus enabled a challenge to existing understandings and meanings and in conjunction with the contextual conditions within which the discourse was embedded, aided the emergence and establishment of a new modernist institutional logic for Indian fashion, which competed with the existing traditionalist logic. Interdiscursivity was thus analogous to individual mobility from distal contexts that introduced non-local organizational variation (Simons & Roberts, 2008).

In order to examine interdiscursivity and demonstrate its impact on the discourse surrounding Indian fashion, we revisited the articles. We first analyzed the content of all the articles about Western designers in our dataset in greater detail. We further compared this content with the content of articles about Indian designers, and also compared the descriptions of Indian design before and after 1993, when the shift occurred. The first time Femina featured an article on Western fashion design was in 1992, when an article about designer Gianni Versace was published. Prior to 1992, British designer Zandra Rhodes was the only Western designer mentioned in Femina, in 1987 and 1988. However, 4 The first author interviewed fashion writers who contributed to several publications such as the Financial Times, International Herald Tribune, W Magazine, and the New York Times, to understand what fashion writers in the West focused on in their articles. All the writers confirmed that they emphasized innovation, originality, and creativity (all of which are modernist elements of design) in their assessments of designs. The Editor of Femina in 1993, in personal correspondence with the first author, confirmed that she encouraged her writers to learn from fashion-writing in Western magazines and to write more to explain the philosophy and style of both Indian and Western designers, rather than merely describing “what was available in the market,” as was the magazines wont previously.
Zandra Rhodes was mentioned largely because she had designed an “Indian Collection” of 64 “designer saris that promise to break from tradition…to suit the exotic tastes of the international jet set partial to anything extraordinary, even outlandish” that was to be shown in London, New York, New Delhi and Bombay. While this information was given in a small box in 1987, a longer article in 1988 further emphasized Rhodes’ “love affair with India” which began in 1981 when the Handloom and Handicrafts Export Promotion Council of India invited her to design garments from Indian fabrics, and caused her to come “back again and again, purely because Indian designs, concepts, and fabrics fascinated her.” Neither of these articles on Rhodes discusses how exactly she had deconstructed or reinvented the traditional sari (although an examination of other sources shows that the Rhodes ‘sari’ was nothing like a traditional one). Rather, the article emphasizes the captivating beauty of Indian textiles and revels in their prominence even in Western fashion. Similarly, a 1989 article entitled “International Update” emphasized that across the world, “Indian fabrics and prints abound, and innovative uses for traditional costumes are now common.” Thus, prior to 1992, Western fashion too was examined using the traditional textiles lens, and described using the traditionalist frame.

In 1992, however, the short article on Gianni Versace contains the first mention (since 1985) of structural aspects of fashion design, when it describes Versace’s “unstructured line,” and perfect “seams.” In 1993, an article about British designer Vivienne Westwood suggests that her clothes were beautifully proportioned because she understood (in the context of a particular dress) that “hip emphasis would kill the big shoulder.” This article also borrowed an analytical frame used commonly by Western fashion writers – a comparison with the designer’s past collections, and an explicit delineation of how the past was being referenced in the current collection. Another 1993 article on Pierre Cardin contains the first use of the word ‘silhouette’ since 1985. Yet another 1993 feature on Jean-Paul Gaultier, while a slight throwback to the prior era in its claim that Gaultier was bringing “India to Paris” in his latest collection, nevertheless departed from that era in its description of the
extensive research Gaultier did before preparing his seasonal collections, and in designing innovative
clothes. Once again in 1993, an article on designer Christian Lacroix’s “ethnically [India and Africa]
inspired” collection emphasized that the designer nevertheless had not abandoned “his Provencal
roots,” and expended some effort in clarifying how his clothes were structurally differentiated from
other designers’. Despite mentioning his Indian inspiration, moreover, the article does not go into
details about the textiles or embroideries used in the collection.

In effect, after almost no mentions of Western designers in the magazine from 1985 to 1992,
there were four articles about four separate Western designers in 1993 alone, and these articles brought
in new ways of examining, analyzing, and understanding fashion. This trend continued. In 1994, for
instance, Italian designer Valentino was asked to clarify what haute couture meant to him in an
interview published in the magazine, indicating that there was an interest in portraying different
conceptions of fashion. Another 1994 article on platform heels gives a history of the trend, stating that
designers Salvatore Ferragamo, Vivienne Westwood, and Yves St. Laurent were responsible for this
innovation. Two other articles about designers Tristano Onofri and Jean-Paul Gaultier appeared in
1994. Of particular relevance is the fact that the article about the latter explicitly references his prior
collections to describe strikingly similar designs and criticize the designer for so much self-referencing
that it amounted to “copying.” This is important because it is the first instance of the magazine’s
acknowledging the importance of originality and innovation to fashion. In 1995, the magazine
broadened its scope by publishing two articles about the Paris fashion industry more generally, rather
than individual designers. By taking an expanded, industry-level perspective (the title of one was “The
Challenges and Prospects of Paris Fashion”) these articles clarified the very concept of fashion design
using a typically Western frame.

The interdiscursivity changed how Indian designs and designers were described and evaluated.
In 1986, in an article called “Designer Fashions,” one designer’s advice to other budding designers
was, “try to revive traditional blocks and patterns,” and another designer expressed the feeling, “As far as originality is concerned, such a thing does not exist as far as Indian designing of Western outfits goes.” In 1990, designers and their creations were described only in terms of the fabrics and embroidery they used, with phrases such as, “uses a lot of hand-woven and authentic cotton fabrics. She likes to use local ikat and other weaves,” or “her outfits are made of exclusive silk material and have lots of sequins, zari-work, hand-embroidery, and zardosi work.” Consider, for example a particular designer’s work, described in 1991: “…poetry in fabric, embroidered jackets, flowing skirt lengths, and silk bodices, complemented by gauzy wraps that create outfits that seem to flow endlessly.” Only the last segment of the description is related to the structure of the outfit, while the remaining description focuses on traditional frames like the embroidery and fabric. On the other hand, the same designer’s work was described in 1994 as having “beautiful, soft embroidered cut-outs, shaped to mold the body in silhouettes cut on soft biases in understated colors.” In line with Western-style fashion discourse, the emphasis had shifted towards describing the cut and structure of the garment rather than the fabric and embroidery. In 1996, in fact, Femina published two separate articles that criticized Indian designers’ over-reliance on traditional textiles and embroideries, and exhorted them to create innovative and original garments. One of these articles explained, “The fundamental \[sic\] of a good design is detailing, which is not the same as embroidery in all its types.” In 1997, a designer was lauded for her “keen eye for innovation in knit structures, use of patterns and an attractive color palette,” and another for her “well-cut silhouettes, flowing designs, and merging [of] fabrics.” Neither of these descriptions contained any mention of traditional weaves or embroidery. In 1999, Femina initiated a 16-part series of articles, with each article giving career histories and design philosophies of a designer. This series featured both Indian (4) and Western (12) designers, and the Indian designers’ creations were analyzed and described using the same framework that was applied to Western designers, who did not use traditional Indian textiles or embroideries. By 2000, while Indian
designers’ “clean lines, classy silhouettes, and tasteful combinations of colors, blended with precision,” and “experimentation involving the juxtaposition of silhouettes, structures, colors, and fabrics,” were prominent in the magazine’s pages, “hints of zari,” which would have received the most attention pre-1992, were described as “surface decoration.” In 2005, two side-by-side articles provided advice from Indian and Western designers respectively on how to wear the color of the season – white. Thus, by 2005, Indian designers too were expected to follow global trends rather than continue working on reviving ancient Indian weaves, prints, and embroideries in traditional Indian-style clothing.

That being said, it is worthwhile to note that the traditionalist logic did not entirely dissipate. As the comparison between the incidence of the traditionalist and modernist logics (as we saw in Figures 3 and 4) shows, the interdiscursivity was not comprehensive; rather, the traditionalist logic remained available to designers. Even after 1994, some articles on certain designers continued to emphasize the traditional textiles and embroideries they used in their garments, rather than the clothes’ structure and innovativeness. As we also see from the data on photographs, Indian designers continued to design traditional-style garments of opulent textiles with heavy embroidery and other embellishments. However, a closer reading of the articles revealed that some writers began to criticize the excessive use of embellishments and designers’ dependence on traditional Indian textiles and techniques. Moreover, even when the use of embroideries and textiles was not explicitly criticized, these aspects of the garment were not given the same prominence as earlier, and structure, fit, cut, and silhouette were considered critical to the evaluation and understanding of the garment. Thus, even though the traditionalist logic was prevalent even after 1994, its impact as the primary guiding principle for organizations was diminishing. Simultaneously, the modernist notion that individuality and originality of designs, and the fit, structure, silhouette, and cut of the garment were also important in high-fashion clothing was introduced, and the modernist logic began to take root and co-exist with the traditionalist logic.
Organizational and Entrepreneurial Implications of Competing Logics

In accordance with past studies, we explored whether the emergence and co-existence of competing logics had a positive impact on organizational diversity and entrepreneurship. The emergence of the modernist logic in the media discourse created a resource for entrepreneurs who could now engage in designing very different clothes, and still stay legitimate. The new modernist logic not only brought a different perspective on fashion and a different way of evaluating designs by exhorting structural innovations, it also legitimized Indian designers’ Western-style designs per se, making it acceptable for designers to not solely focus on designing Indian-style clothes. The data from the articles and their vocabularies not only characterize the new modernist logic, but also indicate the increased legitimacy of minimalist, structurally novel designs. And data on photographs, while not definitive, provide suggestive evidence of the increased variation among designers and their products. The prevalence, availability, and acceptance of the modernist logic among firms in the industry is indicated by the appearance in 1993 and steady rise thereafter of Indian designers who created more modern, Western designs as opposed to the traditional Indian-style clothing with embellishments (See Figure 9). We see that even though Indian designers in the early period designed only Indian-style clothing, once photographs of western clothes designed by Indian designers start appearing in 1993, the number increased steadily until it was almost equal to the number of photographs of Indian clothes designed by Indian designers in 2000. In the last three years of the period under study, the numbers of photographs of both Indian-style and Western-style clothing designed by Indian designers stayed about equal. Moreover, an analysis of the designers mentioned in the articles indicated that the number of designers mentioned for the first time, i.e., new designers, began to increase in 1993 and remained on an upward trend until 2005 (see Figure 10). These data, along with the data on photographs suggest
that the emergence of competing logics promoted entrepreneurship and increased organizational variation by legitimizing an alternate, modernist conception of fashion in India.

In order to test the direction of the relationship between the modernist logic disseminated through the media discourse and the increase in western-style designs created by Indian designers, we conducted a simple regression analysis (multiple regression was not feasible since with only 21 observation years, we could regress only one explanatory variable). We first tried to predict the yearly number of western-style designs from Indian designers from the strength of the modernist logic in the previous year (i.e., the proportion of modernist terms to total - modernist + traditionalist – terms) and found that the lagged modernist variable had a positive and marginally significant (p<0.06) effect on Indian designers’ propensity to create western-style clothes. We then ran the opposite regression and found that the number of western styles created by Indian designers in a given year did not have a statistically significant impact on the strength of the modernist logic in the media discourse in the following year. This gives us reason to believe that it is more likely that the media discourse drove organizational practices and entrepreneurship, rather than the other way round.

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this paper was to explore how institutional logics evolve from higher-order societal values, how they are disseminated, and how they become available as blueprints or guiding principles to organizations. We were also interested in elucidating the emergence and establishment of competing logics. We found that the media played an important role in the institutionalization of logics and in making them available to firms in the high-end fashion industry in India. We were also able to provide a preliminary explanation for the rise of competing logics, and we found some indication of the impact of the competing logic on the behaviors and practices of entrepreneurs. This paper indicates that the media provide a “symbolic space” (Wuthnow, 1989) where higher-order social values and institutions intersect with organizational reality to generate institutional logics for industries (Haveman & Rao,
In this particular study, the magazine was the medium through which the institutional logic prevailed and was disseminated, but also was the venue for the generation of new and competing logics that then became available to entrepreneurs and organizations, increasing the diversity of the organizational field. We also indicated that the rise of competing logics coincided with large-scale changes in the social and cultural context and interdiscursivity that allowed new ideas to permeate the stable institutional field. With these findings, the paper makes several contributions to organization theory and particularly to the institutional perspective.

Due to its methodology and empirical setting, the paper has meta-theoretical implications in that it refocuses attention on the fundamental characteristics of institutional logics that were articulated by early scholars in the field. We examined and analyzed media content, which enabled us to define institutional logics in terms of belief systems about the industry that prevail \textit{ex situ}. As a result, the paper explicitly acknowledges the structural (because the logic was defined \textit{ex situ}), normative (because the media create public knowledge, which defines appropriateness), and symbolic (because the media constructed a particular type of social reality) dimensions of institutions and logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Additionally, the use of media content connects industry logics to broader values. The media are an important venue for the interpenetration of multiple levels of institutional orders, i.e., broader societal-level perspectives are reflected in their coverage and analysis, which actively shapes audience perceptions and beliefs (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Koopmans, 2004; Rohlinger, 2002), which in turn are translated into a bounded framework that guides the behaviors and actions of firms by granting (or detracting) broad acceptance and legitimacy. Consequently, this paper operationalizes institutional logics in accordance with Friedland and Alford’s (1991) conceptualization of society as an inter-institutional system. Finally, the use of media discourse to understand institutional logics highlights the cultural dimensions of institutions (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008) and their constraining and enabling effects. For instance, we saw that the introduction of
the modernist logic in the media discourse enabled entrepreneurs to adopt different and new design styles.

The analysis of media content over time provided us with a possible explanation for how competing logics arise within seemingly stable and institutionalized contexts. On account of their role as constructors of reality for their readers, and because of their quest for novelty and their desire to challenge status quo, the media are a plausible venue where competing logics arise and become dominant. In particular, inter-discursivity among the Indian and Western fashion fields led to the borrowing of modernist schema that then gained stability and were established as a competing logic that co-existed with the previous logic. Thus, we see that the global movement of ideas and their adaptation and translation across borders play a critical role in enabling endogenous institutional change. In that context, the media act as conduits of the seeds of institutional change, which then may gain ground and become widespread owing to the very nature of the media. This paper thus describes institutional change as a diffuse process rather than one primarily driven by the agendas of powerful actors or singular entities with vested interests.

We saw that the media incorporated societal values in their discourse and translated them into guidelines that influenced broader perceptions of appropriateness, which in turn defined legitimate and valuable behavior and practices. Thus, the paper adds to a recent stream of work on how the media influence organizational behavior and performance (Deephouse, 2000; Kennedy, 2008; Kennedy, 2005; Rindova et al., 2006). While some of this work has examined how firms may use the media strategically, other work has emphasized that media coverage is an exogenous factor beyond the control of firms that nevertheless affects firm performance. We provide a nuanced understanding of the role of the media by considering the implications of both editorial and advertising content. The examination of both kinds of content also has practical implications for firms. While editorial content is indeed beyond the control of firms, advertising content can be shaped by firms. We saw that both
types of content provided elements of the shared understanding of appropriateness and contributed to the creation of an institutional logic for the industry. Therefore, firms can presumably influence external determinants of institutional logics by using advertising to justify their worth and frame public perceptions of value; advertising content aids in making firms’ particular frames familiar and subconsciously acceptable, thus reinforcing their appropriateness and institutionalizing them.

The role of firms’ broader context and especially of institutional fields, in circumscribing organizational action by defining appropriateness and establishing value parameters has lately received some attention (Khaire and Wadhwani, 2010). We add to this literature by demonstrating the impact of the broader institutional field on firms, organizational variation, and entrepreneurship. We focused on a specific structural constituent of the institutional field – the media – rather than on the general field in abstract. This enabled us to reach a nuanced understanding of the interactions between societal-level values and organizational practices and the specific intermediaries in the process. We also demonstrate the impact of institutional actors on entrepreneurship by showing that the rise of competing logics in the media discourse was a factor that encouraged entrepreneurship by legitimizing multiple definitions of appropriateness. In the sense that media discourse redefined value criteria in the Indian fashion industry, we propose that the magazine itself was an entrepreneurial entity, per an expanded definition of entrepreneurship that subsumes institutional change as an entrepreneurial activity. We believe that the institutional literature is best served by further research on the processes through which specific institutional actors in fields exert broader institutional influences on organizations and industries.

Finally, this paper adds to the literature on the interplay between language, meanings, and institutions (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Zilber, 2002). By examining the vocabulary used by the media to evaluate firms’ actions and describe and define appropriate practices, we have strengthened the link between the symbols and meanings embedded in discourse, and the actions of firms. Just as institutions provide the framework for action, so does language
provide the framework for thought, and by demonstrating that institutional pressures are inherently embedded within written texts and discourse, we have brought the study of institutions and organizations back into the fold of the literature on the social construction of reality.

These contributions notwithstanding, this paper has some limitations. First, it would have been ideal to demonstrate the impact of the emergence of a competing modernist logic on firms’ actions and entrepreneurship with the help of data on firm foundings. However, the Indian fashion industry, like fashion industries elsewhere in the world, is comprised mostly of privately-held firms, due to which it is difficult to obtain reliable, consistent, and complete data. Second, it would have been informative to conduct higher-order linguistic and semantic analyses of the magazine content in order to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of institutional logics and their attributes. Regrettably, however, the quality of the articles printed from microfiche archives did not permit computer-aided content analysis since the text was not optically readable.

While future research in this area would shed further light on the direct and nuanced linkages among language used in the public discursive arena, broad perceptions of appropriateness, and firms’ practices and actions, we believe that this paper has taken a first step towards addressing a gap in our knowledge about institutional logics, and has provided some initial insights into how logics emerge, become institutionalized and are made available to firms. The paper has also opened up avenues for further study; the topic of combination/hybrid logics is one with particular research potential. In this paper we did not dig deeper into the institutional antecedents of the few instances of fusion (Indo-Western) style designs that we observed in the photographs, but future research can examine whether the fusion style is in fact a manifestation of a hybrid logic that combines institutional elements of both the traditionalist and modernist logics, or merely a superficial physical combination of style elements. We have established the linkage between the media, institutional pressures, and organizational
behavior and believe that further research at the intersection of media studies, institutional perspectives, and organization theory will lead us toward new knowledge horizons.
REFERENCES


FIGURE 3
Modernist and Traditionalist Terms – Count

FIGURE 4
Modernist and Traditionalist Logics – Trend lines
FIGURE 5
Photos of Western-style Clothing:
Total, Western-style Clothing by Indian Designers and by Western designers

![Diagram showing Western-style clothing trends by designers.]

TABLE 1
The Traditionalist and Modernist Logics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditionalist</th>
<th>Modernist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominant characteristics</td>
<td>Embroidery, embellishments, opulent traditional textiles, traditional Indian styles</td>
<td>Minimalism, novelty, fit and structure, modern Western styles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locus of market integration</td>
<td>Local Indian</td>
<td>Local Indian segment + global</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiating aspects</td>
<td>Embroideries and textiles</td>
<td>Fit and cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive principles</td>
<td>Revivalism, skill-preservation, heritage-conservation</td>
<td>Trends, seasonality, themed collections, color palettes, silhouettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated mission</td>
<td>Showcasing Indian handicrafts</td>
<td>Showcasing structural innovations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2
Examples of Traditionalist and Modernist Frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Sample Quote</th>
<th>Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985-1993</td>
<td>Some of it must have transformed itself into pride in her heritage. Pride in the artistry that helped create such beautiful handiwork on mere material.</td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I realized then what priceless crafts existed in India. What wealth we possessed and how much of it we had lost”….She was more impressed by the wealth of the crafts that existed in India, crafts that needed to be saved from extinction</td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mona Ajay Shroff…with her exquisite embroidery work in “zari” thread, mounted with pearls and mirrors, <em>kanthawork</em> on velvet, <em>jamewar</em>, and jute silk, all in traditional styles that encompass three generations.</td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raghu finds Indian fashion somewhat elaborate and fussy. He feels that Indian designers should pay more attention to silhouette. He also feels that the quality of even the most ordinary fabric can be enhanced through correct cut and fitting with the use of minimum embellishments.</td>
<td>Modernist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-2000</td>
<td>What sets Indian creation apart? The reflection of India’s vast heritage of arts and crafts. Many of today’s top-notch designers incorporate traditional arts creating a distinct identity for themselves. And in the process help to conserve traditional Indian craftsmanship.</td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I never sought inspiration from Western styles and designs. For me, inspiration always came from our tradition and heritage and the age-old handicrafts that have evolved down the ages like the handloom weaves and motifs of South India or the mirror work embroidery of the tribals of the Kutch region, and the new <em>nakshikantha</em> embroidery.</td>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good design does get upgraded witharty embellishments, but embellishments certainly cannot compensate for fundamental innovations</td>
<td>Modernist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A real designer collection of men’s suits which made a strong statement without prints embroidery, tassles, etc. (Phew!)</td>
<td>Modernist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Their appeal probably lies in the fact that his clothes are essentially Indian in spirit, but global in wearability and concept. For those who find Indian ensembles with typical Indian embroidery and in typical Indian colors a tad too heavy, his</td>
<td>Modernist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Sample Quote</td>
<td>Frame</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple fluid silhouettes are a subtler option.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2005 (after the first Fashion Week was held in 2000)</td>
<td>Women’s trouser-suits are a trend that’s here to stay. Fit, fabric, and colors are crucially important to trouser-suits. Tailor-made suits are better than off-the-rack ones. [Designer Sonam Dubal] gives traditionally woven fabric new life. [Her designs] exude a strong sense of India, and yet … will find takers anywhere in the world…exquisite line that is the essence of minimalism. [Designer Aki Narula’s] first menswear collection was minimalistic with innovative silhouettes. […] was on trend, as always, with an emphasis on fabric, so the cut and fall [of the clothes] were immaculate.</td>
<td>Modernist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 6**

*Number of Articles per Year*
FIGURE 7
Clothing Ads and Clothing Ad Pages as Proportion of Total Ads and Ad Pages

FIGURE 8
Accessories' Ads and Accessories' Ad Pages as Proportion of Total Ads and Ad Pages
FIGURE 9
Number of Indian-style Clothes and Western-style Clothes from Indian Designers

FIGURE 10
Number of New Designers Mentioned Per Year