

Upsetting Identities, the Micro-Processes of Identity fortification: Evidence from Anti-Smoking Bill 112 in Montréal

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This paper is concerned with the complexity and processual nature of identity. It positions language at the foundation of the identity concept, as we argue that individuals can only shape identity characteristics within the context of the available cultural repertoire of linguistic resources available to them (Maguire & Hardy, 2005).

Organizational identity has been studied using a narrative approach in several contributions (Brown, 2006; Boje, 1995). In this perspective, identity is formed and transformed through elaboration, expression, diffusion and reception of situated and negotiated narratives (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). We noticed, however, that only a few research attempts explained narrative identity, as a strategic practice, in its resistance to institutional pressures. Thus, this effort will attempt to explain how a field-level institutional pressure can alter organizational identity narratives, and in return, how these narrative alterations can in fact allow organizational actors to resist the focal pressure. Based on the works of Czarniawska (1997), Hardy, Palmer and Phillips (2000), and of Thomas and Davis (2005), we advance that narrative practices allow organizational actors to resist institutional pressures, while strategically remaining authentic. More specifically, we will focus on the case of Bill 112, which is a legislative act prohibiting smoking in restaurants and in other closed public areas, by studying the transformation of the narrative identity of a diner-type restaurant in Montréal, Québec, Canada. Within a reflective framework, we will investigate the way in which a key diner insider will attempt to resist the imposed pressure, by developing a new narrative identity.

The article is structured as follows. To begin with, we will review the relevant literature on organizational identity and on institutionalization and deinstitutionalization processes. Second, we will present the case. Third, we will introduce the conceptual framework that will guide the empirical analysis. We will then discuss the method and the methodological framework, and finally we will present the key findings and discussion.

Organizations and the narrative construction of identity

This research positions identity construction within the observable linguistic practices and their effects on social relationships and actions (Maguire & Hardy, 2005). It considers narration as a discursive process in the development of identity. Many researchers (Chreim, 2005; Humphreys & Brown, 2002; Czarniawaska, 1997) have elaborated on the concept of narrative identity. In their conceptualization, identity becomes a narrative construction (Chreim, 2005; Czarniawaska-Joerges, 1994) of self-expression within a reflexive, operative and semantic process (Ricoeur, 1990). Identity is formed and transformed through the creation, expression and reception of narratives, which are inherent to its construction. Such an approach constitutes a hermeneutic framework, which in turn allows a social actor to position him-or herself within a certain worldview, to act with a purpose, to develop a rationale, to make sense of, and justify the established order of things, as well as to proclaim his or her self existence (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004).

A narrative identity implies formulation, editing, and legitimacy. It requires a speaker and a receiver interacting in a narrative process (Czarniawaska 1997). Thus, narratives are actions that mobilize and create social, symbolic and political accounts (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004; Humphreys & Brown, 2002). It is an itinerary that applies symbolic and discursive resources (Hardy et al., 2000) along with rhetorical techniques to generate a structured and structuring text. This allows the creation of a temporary image of the self and of the world, which gives meaning to events, as well as a means to interact with the world. This perspective argues that there is no homogeneous reality that is everywhere the same for all organizations or their members (Ford, Ford & McNamara, 2002).

The narrative identity of an organization shapes not only an organization's identity, but also that of its employees (Humphreys & Brown, 2002) and of other organizations, as it attempts to make sense of the events that affect it. In addition to the already innate density, narrative identities must also conform to society's expectations of rationality, of consistency and of unification. Therefore, an organization's narrative identity grows out of negotiations, interactions between internal and external stakeholders, as well as legitimization (Czarniawaska, 1997). In this framework, our approach to the identity construct clearly expresses the unstable nature of organizational identity, as its narratives will evolve according to the context, the knowledge, the author and the audience.

The narrative identity construct in this framework will thus be framed within an adaptive continuity that allows an organization to remain 'true' to itself, while continuing to metamorphose. Chreim (2005) studied this paradox by illuminating the process of continuity and change that maintains an organization's identity through periods of flux. Others offer different explanations of the changing nature of organizational identity such as the use of symbolic and discursive resources to affect the perception of the organization's stakeholders, its position, and its possibilities for expression (Hardy et al., 2005), imposing new categories and meanings (Humphreys & Brown, 2002), or the development of social categorization processes (Lewellyn, 2004). Hence, identity narratives are constructed, maintained and altered continuously within the particular context in which they exist. In reviewing the literature, we however noticed that only a few research attempts touched upon narrative identity transformation within the context of institutional change.

Institutionalization and deinstitutionalization

Institutionalized realities can become deinstitutionalized (Oliver, 1992; Scott, 2002; Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002). Organizational forms, structures, arrangements and models can fade away and vanish, as their meanings and normative prescriptions become completely transformed, altering the foundation of a once established and accepted social reality. The weakening and disappearance of one set of beliefs and practices is hence likely to be associated with the arrival of new set (Dacin, Goodstein & Scott, 2002).

Some social actors' interests can hence become un-served by an institutional shift, where such actors can in fact, as a result, attempt to disrupt, challenge or resist the new institution. Some social actors will compete for opportunities to seize influential positions, and/or express specific narratives, in order to increase their control upon their environment. In attempting to disrupt or resist new institutions, through their narratives, social actors will aim at attacking or underpinning both the mechanisms that lead members to comply with institutions, as well as the technical definitions and assumptions on which these institutions were founded (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2005).

In this research, we consider the alterations in identity narratives, as a form of organizational resistance. In times of change, organizational members begin by constructing an interpretation of events and their implications. According to Araujo and Easton (1996: 371), "the primary task of management is...to construct a discourse of corporate coherence". The founder of an organization can seek to have a

major influence on the interpretations that are arrived at by presenting his or her own constructions of events (Dunford & Jones, 2000).

Within the realms of discursive regimes, social actors, especially upper management and founders, are provided with a panoply of symbolic resources capable of stimulating identity relevant negotiations. Thus, in facing an institutional change, the narratives of these individuals are particularly relevant in understanding the nature of identity (Brown, Humphreys & Gurney, 2005). With the objective of shedding a much needed light on the relationship that exists between institutional change, organizational identity and strategy; the strategic component of narratives will be analyzed in terms of its planned, calculated, deliberate and premeditated intentions.

In the next section, we explain some of the issues that are inherent to the conflicting nature of the case study. The case study will provide a practical platform to elaborate on some of the issues that can arise when organizations attempt to save face, while facing new threatening institutional pressures of conformity.

The case of Bill 112

On May 10th 2005, the Québec Minister of Health and Social Services (QMHS) tabled Bill 112, which is an Act to amend the Tobacco Act and other legislative provisions, aiming to prohibit and restrict smoking in places where smoking was, until now allowed. More specifically, Bill 112 today prohibits smoking in public places and workplaces, as well as in all once upon existing designated smoking rooms. In addition and more importantly, Bill 112 prohibits smoking areas in bars, restaurants and in coffee shops. Since its enactment on May 31st 2006, Bill 112 has challenged the foundation of Québec's smoking culture.

According to an article published in *The Mirror* on April 13th 2006, a small weekly independent Montréal newspaper, Bill 112 was enthusiastically welcomed by some residents, but undesired by many others. While most acknowledged and accepted the beneficial components of some aspects of Bill 112, such as the smoking restrictions in schoolyards and in some public spaces, many smokers and even some non-smokers, were outraged at other aspects, such as smoking prohibitions in bars, restaurants and casinos. Restaurants and bars have since rallied against the smoking ban, arguing major profit losses and discontent customers. Bill 112 was and still is believed to be, by many montrealers, an attack on the fundamental cultural pillars of Québec society. Many establishments in Québec lay claim to the title of the smokiest in the province, from hundreds of taverns and well-known neighbourhood watering holes, to small size diners characterized by cultural and historical attributes of legitimacy. Cigarettes have become an identifying feature of many of these establishments; as the anti-smoking initiative threatens not only behavioural patterns, but also the values and norms by which some of these establishments define themselves.

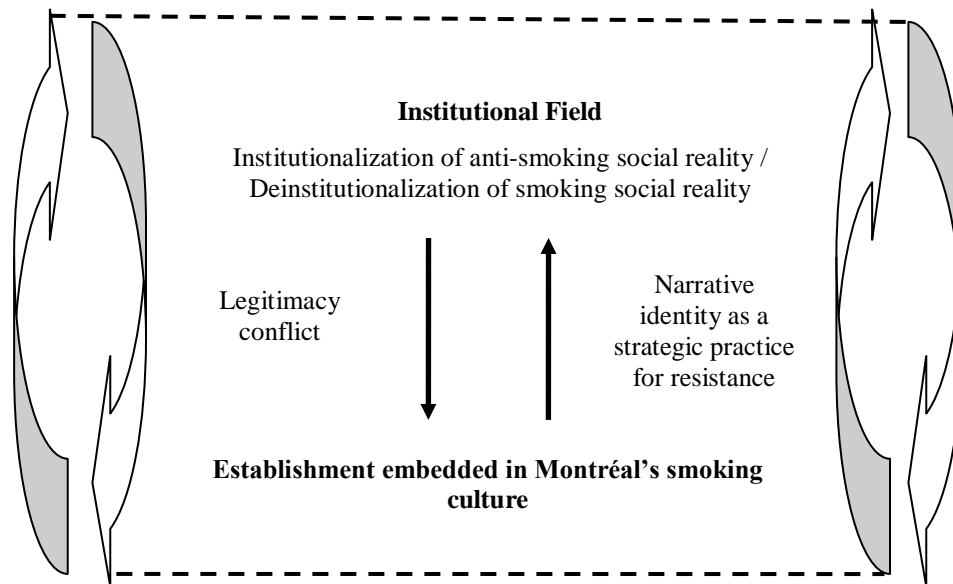
The imposition of Bill 112 generated a situation where new requirements were imposed and only adherence to these new requirements allowed establishments to acquire or retain the resources, such as government support through operating permits, needed to operate. These establishments were then not only highly dependent on the approval of the government, but also on the resources provided by their clientele. In adhering to Bill 112, such establishments were not guaranteed survival as they now faced a serious decline in their customer base. Some of those customers, who were attracted by the normative intrinsic values and tolerance of a smoking environment, were driven away and deterred from returning. Owners and managers therefore face the challenging task of strategically balancing between two contradicting sets of demands, both greatly important to their organization's survival. In facing this double-edged sword of legitimacy constraints, establishments catering to smokers were forced to engage in innovative strategic ways to save face and express their identity integrity. In order to do so, strategic-

level managers, faced the daunting challenge of satisfying conflicting demands and incompatible requirements.

Conceptual framework

The proposed conceptual framework lies on the notion that narrative identities can express strong resistance to newly imposed institutional pressures. As Bill 112 was enacted on May 31st 2006, Montréal’s social arena became divided between two conflicting social realities. Through interaction, both the dominant anti-smoking social reality and the smoking social reality became fueled by disagreement, quarrel, and passion, as each position was vehemently defended within the social realm of the public arena. In attempting to understand how a field-level institutional pressure can alter the narrative identities, we are interested in how such narrative alterations can actually allow organizational actors to symbolically resist to the focal pressure. The wider social context is quite important to this framework, as the redefinition of an organization’s identity, through its narratives, can also lead to important inferences about the larger social context in which it operates. In facing the dominant anti-smoking social position, organizations may then be forced to re-evaluate not only their identities, but also the legitimacy of their position within their larger social context, through the pressures of Bill 112’s hegemonic vision of society. Figure 1 illustrates our conceptual framework and its inherent social interaction component.

Figure 1
Conceptual framework



Methodological framework

Research design

Through discursive means, we analyzed the act of Bill 112, the media communications that bounded the passing of the bill, as well as the narratives of a restaurant founder, all with the objective of examining how narrative changes can be attributed to a certain willingness to resist. More specifically, we intend to analyze: the narrative identity of a restaurant founder as a social practice, the meaning behind this narrative, and the way in which it’s embedded within a social and discursive context.

With this in mind, we adopted a critical discourse analysis framework that allows us to view discourse as part of other social and material practices (Faiclough, 1989), and to highlight the way in which discourse can organize power relations (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Many researchers have used a critical discourse analysis framework to examine organizational identity and resistance. In fact, a critical discourse analysis framework assumes that processes of social construction are hegemonic, as they focus on the role of discourse in the social construction of power relationships and social order.

In order to accomplish this, and as Boje (2001) suggested, we complemented our analysis by integrating some French literary technique and theory (Angenot, 1989, Greimas, 1983; Derrida, 1972). Therefore, our research design is founded on three specific moments of analyses: the social and discursive context of the expressed narratives, narrative identity as a discursive practice, and narrative identity as a social practice and as resistance.

Social and discursive context of identity narratives. In the first moment of analysis, we examined the social and discursive context associated with the production of a particular narrative identity. The intent was to understand power relations between institutional actors, the struggle embodied in the anti-smoking debate, as well as the act of Bill 112 as a power structure. In doing so, we combined social discourse theory (Angenot, 1989), rhetoric analysis (Plantin, 1996; Robrieux, 2000), and deconstruction analysis (Derrida, 1972).

Based on social discourse theory (Angenot 1989) we analyzed the social and discursive context surrounding the production of the narrative identity. We employed many sources including 95 newspapers articles, eight press releases, five governmental documents, three news reports and twelve web sites, to develop the case study. In doing so, we classified actors and groups of actors involved in the anti-smoking debate. We explained interests, stakes, strategies and sources of legitimacy for each actor, as well as their position within the realm of the anti-smoking debate. In showing the content of the anti-smoking debate, we identified topics, strategies, and categories used by each group in their specific attempts to define the world. The results demonstrate a struggle by either group to impose its worldview, to fix its own meaning, as well as to establishing its own legitimacy.

In addition, we deconstructed the act of Bill 112 by using Derrida's theory (Boje, 2001; Derrida, 1972) to understand how it attempts to impose its own world view. The analysis used an extract of the parliamentary debate, two press releases by the QMHSS, as well as a QMHSS document explaining the context of the bill. In analyzing dualizing terms that were expressed in each text, we interpreted the value systems associated with the passing of the bill.

Narrative identity as a discursive practice. In the second moment of analysis, we focused on the use narrative identity as a discursive practice. The narratives were provided by an exploratory and lengthy interview with the founder of a diner-type restaurant called Carl's. Carl's was chosen because it has developed a certain reputation for being a historical icon and also resulting from the fact that 75% of its customers were smokers at the time of the passing of the bill. The small diner is hardly identifiable from the outside, but symbolically known to nearly all locals. In addition to its obscure and murky existence, Carl's is relatively small in size, where the smoking section was once located at the counter and was composed of ten stools. This setting seemed interesting as a research site resulting from the historical legitimacy associated with its cultural and traditional components.

The purpose here was to delve into Carl's narrative identity in order to identify, through a semiotic approach, categories that were used by the founder to define his worldview. In using Greimas' (1983) actantial model, we analyzed the narrative content via the actions and interactions of the actants. In addition, we considered coherence, continuity and commitment (Czarniawaska 1997) to identify values and categories used in the shaping the founder's worldview.

Narrative identity as social practice and as resistance. Lastly, we constructed a synthesis by examining how Carl's founder's narratives affected the social discourse and acted as a micro-process of resistance.

For this analysis, we used the results of the previous analytical steps to develop an understanding of Carl's identity as a social practice and as resistance. In doing so, we compared Carl's narrative identity categories with counter-discourse categories.

Analysis, key findings

Social and discursive context of identity narratives

We will begin by analyzing the social context via the interaction of social actors, where we will then consider the anti-smoking debate as a discursive context. From this perspective, we will conceptualize Bill 112 as a social practice.

Social context. In January 2005, the QMHSS decided to amend the Tobacco Act aiming to prohibit and restrict smoking in public places. With the notion of cleaner air to breathe, the passing of the bill arose much resentment in the hearts of many, such as smokers, tobacco companies and restaurants, as well as bar owners. Many, such as government agencies, the coalition against tobacco and healthcare providers, were however supporters of the bill. Although some actions to halt the anti-smoking endeavor gained some media coverage and popularity, the bill was finally passed (see the main events surrounding the anti-smoking controversy in Table 1 of the Appendix).

Many groups of actors were, and still are today, involved in the anti-smoking controversy. For the sake of this analysis we identified six principle groups: QMHSS, the Québec National Public Health Institute (QNPHI), the Québec Coalition for Action on Tobacco (QCAT), the Québec Restaurant Association (QRA), the Corporation of Bar, Pub and Tavern Owners (CBPTO), and the Association of Bar Owners or *l'Union des Tenanciers de Bars du Québec* (UTBQ). Each group held a particular position, each with their own personal vested interests (the different groups and their positions are summarized in Table B of the Appendix).

Each group defended their own interests with the objective of improving their position within the institutional field. In developing communication strategies, they attempted to express their motives (some strategies are summarized in Table C of the Appendix). In order to establish a better position, many of these groups actually collaborated, as most of them had differing yet compatible objectives. This led to two main coalitions with conflicting positions. On the one hand, the QMHSS, QNPHI and QCAT constituted the anti-smoking alliance, whereas on the other hand, the CBTO, UTBQ and QRA constituted the anti-Bill 112 coalition. As the anti-smoking coalition considered the use of tobacco as a major issue because of its consequences on public health, the anti-Bill 112 coalition however argued against the negative effects that the bill evoked on their business interests, vehemently disputing against the loss of important revenues. In the public arena, each side rhetorically defended their position, with the objective of influencing public opinion and legitimizing their position and worldview.

Anti-smoking debate as a discursive context. The social discourse associated with Bill 112 was therefore structured as a public conflict opposing two disagreeing alliances. As this formed a discursive space structured by dialectical dynamics, it produced in 2005-2006, 3411 articles build on very different ideologies. With the anti-smoking discourse acting as the 'dominant voice', it was given the most attention through media coverage. Faced with large opposition, the anti-Bill 112 alliance attempted to increase its legitimacy through the use of juridical space (see UTBQ in Table C of the Appendix). As debate enacts power structures, each side attempted to express their point of view with the objective of defining their social reality, and imposing it on the social context (see components of the anti-smoking debate in Table D of the Appendix).

The dominant anti-smoking discourse is centered on topics of health and security, as it expresses such issues as, collective well-being and social consensus. In attempting to legitimize an anti-smoking social reality, the dominant discourse argued that the social consensus, the toxicity of the tobacco, as well

as its public costs were all strong enough reasons to restrict tobacco use (Table E of the Appendix). For the dominant discourse, we identified four rhetorical strategies through which the bill was defined as imperative, as well as necessary, in terms of bringing about health, security and protection.

From Angenot's (1989) perspective, this rhetoric is part of a regulatory system, which imposes social and institutional norms. The dominant discourse fixes 'what is real and true', as opposed to 'what is fictional and false'. In using scientific facts on the negative consequences of tobacco use, it succeeded in reifying the social reality. By linking tobacco use with the act of poisoning one's self (Table E of the Appendix), the dominant discourse emphasized 'collective well-being' and 'health' over 'individual pleasure' and 'financial performance'.

In contrast, the anti-Bill 112 discourse emphasized the unlawfulness of the bill, by arguing its non-democratic aspects, its negative financial consequences, as well as by expressing its strong support for fun, pleasure and '*joie de vivre*'. The anti-Bill 112 coalition therefore developed its legitimacy by using a rhetorical strategy in developing a causality relationship between the Government of Québec and society. In attempting to paint a cleaner picture of the relationship that exists between tobacco use and society, it employed many rhetorical strategies (see Table D of the Appendix). In linking the bill to concepts such as 'totalitarian state' and 'the marginalization of smokers', the anti-Bill 112 discourse expressed the importance of social liberty and choice.

According to Angenot (1989), rhetorical systems of counter-discourse are related to the disintegrative dynamics of social discourse. In attempting to express paradoxes and gaps existing within the dominant-discourse, the counter-discourse drew up its own logics and definition. As the anti-Bill 112 discourse attempted to illustrate the incoherence existing within the legislative framework that encompassed the bill, it also endeavored to communicate its own definitions of the relationships existing between Bill 112, tobacco use, the Government of Québec, freedom and the rights of smokers. These alternative meanings attempted to symbolize the passing of Bill 112 as not only a real threat to a certain way of life, but also as an unlawful government initiative (See definitions and meanings expressed by both discourses in Table F of the Appendix).

Bill 112 as a powerful social practice. In attempting to protect the population from the harmful effects of second-hand smoke, the Government of Québec, as a powerful actor, positioned itself in support of the dominant anti-smoking discourse. The act of passing and enacting Bill 112 is a social practice by the QMHSS minister, as it represents a deliberate manifestation of power. More specifically, Bill 112 embodied, and still embodies social control, as it forbids the smoking of cigarettes in nearly all closed public areas. As sanctions have been put into place for non-complaisant behavior, the bill also represented a control instrument to manipulate the behaviors of individuals. We identified an overlap between the dominant anti-smoking discourse and the act of Bill 112 (see this overlap in Table G of the Appendix).

As a powerful social practice, the passing of Bill 112 attempted to not only construct meaning, but also to justify it by letting people gain access to it. The act of Bill 112 expressed a certain willingness to control the notion of 'space', by using various words to describe it: 'all enclosed spaces', 'businesses open to the public', 'taxis', and more. The act of Bill 112 also expressed a willingness to define the notion of time: 'hours those places (preschool, elementary and secondary school) are open'. Interestingly the act of Bill 112 does not actually mention the word 'smoker', while however reducing his/her rights, as well as symbolically reducing his/her social status. As a powerful social practice, the act of Bill 112 therefore attempted to de-normalize and de-legitimize the consumption of tobacco.

Narrative identity as a discursive practice

Here we will analyze the narrative identity of Carl's, through its semiotic structures (Greimas, 1984; Czarniawaska, 1997), within the anti-smoking controversy, as communicated by its founder. The interview with Carl's founder was conducted in the summer of 2006, shortly after the passing of Bill 112.

Carl’s, a 24 hour family-owned restaurant, established in 1958, has operated within Montréal’s smoking culture for nearly 50 years, by not only catering to smokers, but also by selling cigarettes. As an avid smoker, the founder generally perceived the passing of Bill 112 as having important financial and identity repercussions on his diner-type restaurant. In applying Carl’s narratives to Greimas’ (1983) actantial model, Table 1 describes some of the main components.

Table 1	
Actantial structures of Carl’s narrative identity	
Components	Carl’s narrative
Initial condition and sender	• Carl’s is an institution integrated in Montréal’s cultural canvas, with consistent revenues and a certain unique reputation. However, the passing of Bill 112, and more importantly its implementation has led to outcries by its clientele for resistance.
Quest	• Carl’s founder wants to keep his customers, maintain the social position of his restaurant, and protect his own right to smoke.
Strategy	• Carl’s founder decided to conform to the imposed law, but however to criticize and challenge it, by associating himself symbolically with other anti-Bill 112 groups.
Helpers	• Bars, bingos halls, Lotto-Québec, anti-Bill 112 groups, smokers, Carl’s clientele.
Opponents	• Government of Québec, government inspectors, non-smokers, healthcare providers.

The actantial model of Carl’s narratives centers on the quest for social positioning. These narratives begin by making reference to the overlap between the diner and Montréal’s smoking cultural canvas. As the right to smoke overlaps with the establishment’s historical, discretionary, open and flexible identity traits, the informant was quite weary about the negative affects of the bill, not only on his revenues, but also on his establishment’s identifying characteristics: “Smoking was ingrained in our culture. Back in the day, people use to come in here and sit down with huge cigars and play cards all night. (...) We are definitely not who we used to be.” Many of Carl’s customers actually expressed their opposition towards the passing of the bill and asked whether or not something could be done to block its requirements upon the diner. This led Carl’s founder to symbolically react, as he openly expressed his support to the anti-Bill 112 coalition.

As Greimas (1984) explained, narratives are based on systems of values and their developed representation of the world and of the social relationships inherent to this representation. Our analysis of narratives highlights a complex network of relationships connecting Carl’s to its societal reality. In this view, each event (Bill 112 for instance) is understood in light of Carl’s past, as well as in light of its quest to remain authentic.

We therefore understand that Carl’s narratives tell a story of strategic change. As the founder expressed the transformation of his organisation’s identity, the diner faced an existential problem, where the passing of the bill therefore required a certain level of adaptation by the restaurant. Our analysis reveals that this transformation embodies not only compliance to the new law, but also changes in the way in which the founder talks about his establishment. In fact, we noted that the founder developed new landmarks and spheres of meaning in describing his restaurant (see the comparison on Carl’s narrative identity in Table H of the Appendix).

We understand, then, that Carl’s narrative identity changed with the implementation of Bill 112. The worldview integrated within the founder’s narratives express transformation and adaptation. However, some continuity in the expression of his value system still remained: “Being an owner of an establishment, why can you not make your own decisions. For instance if I want this to be a smoking restaurant, why can I not put up a sign saying that ‘here we smoke’. (...) people would then have the choice. Why is that not possible, why can we not have a choice. People either smoke or don’t smoke,

why couldn't there be places for both types of people". Based on Czarniawaska's (1997) theory, we observed that Carl's value system supported the coherence, continuity and commitment of his original identity. Even though the social context faced a symbolic cultural transformation, the founder's narratives remained coherent to his original value system.

Narrative identity as a social practice and as resistance

Last, but not least, we constructed a synthesis by examining how the narratives expressed by the founder actually affected the social discourse, and acted as a micro-process of resistance. In referencing the results from the first two analyses, the objective was to develop an understanding of Carl's identity as a social practice and as resistance, by comparing its founder's narratives to the anti-Bill 112 discourse categories.

To understand the meaning associated with the transformation of Carl's narrative identity, we also considered the social and discursive contexts. In the analysis, we noted that the anti-smoking debate developed different worldviews and categories. More specifically, the act of Bill 112, as a powerful social practice, instituted new definitions in reference to tobacco use in public spaces, as well as new time references, where it attempted to create a social classification (smokers/non smokers). Bill 112 therefore imposed a way to interpret social relationships, marked by a willingness to control the population of Québec.

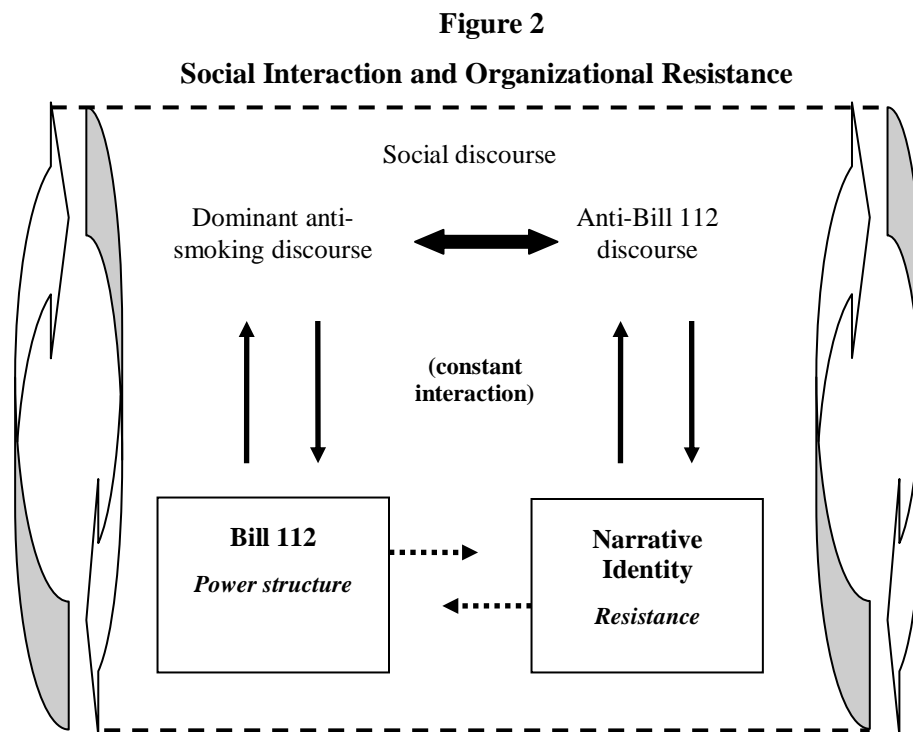
In conforming to the new institutional requirements of its social context, Carl's founder today prohibits smoking in his establishment. The founder therefore recognizes the differences between smokers/non-smokers, inside/outside and natural/chemical products. Hence, this supports the existence of a certain adaptation process by Carl's to its new social context. However, our analysis also demonstrated the complexity inherent to the passing of Bill 112. In fact, from the founder's perspective, his new narrative identity was associated with a certain level of resistance to the newly imposed worldview of society. Indeed, we noted that the founder developed his narratives within the framework of a rhetorical system. This system attempted to re-question and challenge the newly imposed worldview of society that is now expressed by the dominant anti-smoking discourse.

The data generated by the interview schedule makes inferences to the categories and arguments expressed by the anti-Bill 112 coalition. As a social practice, Carl's narrative identity reproduced and enacted a certain symbolic social association with the anti-Bill 112 discourse. Table I (see in the Appendix) compares categories of Carl's narrative identity with categories expressed by the anti-Bill 112 discourse. As 75% of Carl's customers were smokers in 2006, where the founder is himself a smoker, and as the restaurant sells cigarettes, we recognized that the new worldview imposed by Bill 112 threatened Carl's social position and reputation. The new classifications imposed by Bill 112 transformed what was once accepted, correct and legitimate (diner that sells tobacco and that has a smoking clientele) to something that is rather wrong and immoral.

In maintaining and defending his initial position of legitimacy, Carl's founder made reference to many of the same categories existing within the anti-Bill 112 discourse. Although without physically intervening, Carl's founder engages in a symbolic practice of resistance, by emphasizing categories such as 'individual freedom', 'unconstitutional governance', 'tolerance' and 'freedom'. In a certain way, the passing of Bill 112 has actually reinforced Carl's position, where today and more than ever, its founder expresses identity attributes with the objective of not only reinforcing his organization's authenticity, but also with the purpose of strengthening his support towards the societal values that are represented in his organization's '*raison d'être*'. As narratives were used here as a strategic practice for resistance purposes, the legitimacy of Carl's rests on the strength of its founder's narratives.

Discussion and conclusion

In referring to our initial conceptual framework while summarizing our findings, Carl’s narrative identity was transformed by an alteration in the social and discursive context in which the diner operated. As the anti-smoking debate generated new categories of meaning (dominant anti-smoking discourse/anti-Bill 112 discourse), the anti-smoking discourse imposed its agenda through the implementation of Bill 112. Through a social practice of control, Bill 112 justified and consolidated a power position upon society, where it de-legitimized the use of tobacco, and in return alienated the social acceptance of the ‘smoker’. Placed in survival mode, Carl’s founder developed a new narrative identity, through a strategic practice of resistance by identifying his restaurant and himself to the anti-Bill 112 discourse, with the objective of expressing continuity, commitment and coherence in his restaurant’s value system. In doing so, the meanings associated with the restaurant’s values were transformed, but it nevertheless consolidated the restaurant’s position within its historical legitimacy. Figure 2 expresses this new conceptualization.



This paper contributes to the literature on organizational identity, and especially within the context of narration. In this paper, organizational identity is a narrative construct composed and confined by a discursive space and only existing within a linguistic context. This research thus not only contributes to the narrative approach of organizational identity through its methodological considerations, but also by its emphasis on the anchorage of micro-processes of resistance in the realms of a large discursive social space. Through the use of new ‘categories’, as well as Carl’s identification with other groups who vehemently oppose Bill 112, the semiotic analysis demonstrated a transformation of the diner’s narrative identity. Within this framework, narrative structures and enunciative modalities transformed in function of the frame of references that were imposed by the passing of the bill, as well as in function of the new ‘categories’ that were expressed. The narratives supported both the coherence and continuity of the diner within its ‘moral horizons of meaning’, which were and still are today recognized by its stakeholders. In such a fashion Carl’s founder developed and expressed a new narrative

construction for his restaurant's identity, while remaining authentic. The diner's new narrative identity thus resisted to Bill 112, by positioning itself within the anti-Bill 112 social discourse, by expressing its legitimacy, as well as by reinforcing its cultural expression.

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Appendix

Table A	
Main events surrounding the anti-smoking controversy 2005-2006	
Time	Events
January 2005	QMHSS lunch public consultation about the Tobacco Act.
February 2005	563 documents are presented to government.
April 2005	Interest groups and trade associations carry out publicity campaign, lobbying and public display.
May 2005	QMHSS present Bill 112 to government. Bill 112 is debated in the Parliamentary Commission of Québec.
June 2005	National Assembly adopt the act of Bill 112.
September 2005	Group of Bar owners and citizens lunch lawsuit against the act of Bill 112 to Superior Court of Québec.
March 2006	Corporation of bars owners get an amendment on the Act of Bill 112.
May 2006	Act of Bill 112 become effective.
July 2006	Association of bars owners presents the request for an injunction against the act of Bill 112 to Superior Court of Québec.
November 2006	Superior Court of Québec rejects the injunction.

Table B		
Major social actors in the anti-smoking controversy 2005-2006		
Social actors	Characteristics	Position and legitimacy
QMHSS (Couillard)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry • Mission: maintain, improve and restore the health and well-being of the population by making a set of health services and social services • Foundation: 1971 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation power • Legitimacy to interfere in public health issue • Administrate provincial health policy and resources
QNPHI (Gervais)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governmental Centre of expertise in public health • Mission: improve the coordination, development and use of expertise in public health • Foundation: 1998 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge power • Legitimacy to produce knowledge and inform Government and population of Quebec
QCAT (Gauvin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association: network of 700 organizations including medical association, school, hospital, research institute • Mission: exhort and support the government to implement anti-tobacco legislation. • Foundation: 1996 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representational power • Legitimacy to speak for their members about tobacco issue • Support of 700 private and public organization
QRA (Descôteaux)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association: network of 3900 restaurant owners • Mission: provide informations, trainings, discounts, insurances and gouvernemental representation services to restaurant owners. • Fondation: 1938 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic and representational power • Legitimacy to speak for their members • Support of 3900 restaurant owners
CBPTO (Poulin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association: network of 5000 bar, pub and tavern owners • Mission: stand up for owners right • Foundation: 1993 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic and representational Power • Legitimacy to speak for their members • Support of 5000 bars owners
UTBQ (Sergakis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association: network of 500 bars owners • Mission: stand up for owners right • Foundation 2006 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic and representational Power • Legitimacy to speak for their members • Support of 500 bars owners

Social actors	Strategies used	Communication mediums
QMHSS (Couillard)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement a law which ban public use of tobacco • Put pressure on smokers to quit • Make a public consultation to legitimize the Bill • Develop collaboration with the main social actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QMHSS website and anti-smoking website • Medias: press releases, public statement • Discourse in Assemblée Nationale • Consultation process • Debate in Parliamentary Commission of Québec
QNPHI (Gervais)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring scientific knowledge of the impact of tobacco • Inform population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QNPHI website • Medias: press releases, public statement • Consultation process: official document • Statement in Commission of Québec 2008
QCAT (Gauvin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confront smoking group, tobacco companies and anti-Bill 112 group • Lobbying • Develop collaboration with institutional actors • Inform population • Discredit opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QCAT website, member's news reports • Medias: press releases, public statement, open letter in newspaper • Consultation process: official document • Statement in Commission of Québec 2008 • Private meeting with ministers
QRA (Descôteaux)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make government and population aware of economic impacts • Negotiate with QMHSS to have some amendments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QRA website, member's news reports • Medias: press releases, public statement • Consultation process: official document • Statement in Commission of Québec 2008 • Private meeting with ministers
CBPTO (Poulin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confront anti-smoking group • Lobbying • Make government and population aware of impacts • Negotiate with QMHSS to have some amendments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infobar Magazine (for their members) • Medias: press releases, public statement • Private meeting with ministers • Consultation process: official document • Statement in Commission of Québec 2008
UTBQ (Sergakis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confront anti-smoking group • Attack Bill 112 in Court • Lobbying • Make population aware of impacts • Discredit opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medias: press releases, public statement, open letter in newspaper • Superior Court of Québec • Private meeting with ministers

	Dominant anti-smoking discourse	Anti-Bill 112 discourse
Principal topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondhand smoke • Health • Security • Collective freedom • Social consensus • Children and vulnerable people • Illness, cancer and death • Dependence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bill 112 • Control and social engineering • Democracy • Individual freedom and individual responsibilities • Pleasure, nightlife and culture • Business and economic profit • Environment, pollution and smog

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dirtiness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smokers and citizens
Main arguments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toxicity of tobacco: illness • Dependence and death • Social and economic costs of tobacco • Majority of population want a smoke-free environment. Bill 112 is based on a social consensus • Other countries and provinces have similar legislations • High rate of smokers in Québec • Conform to values of health, well being, security, non-smoking right, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislative incoherence: tobacco is legal but use of tobacco becomes illegal • Right of smoker and free choice • Excessive, paternalistic and puritan Bill • Modalities of Bill 112 • Economic and cultural impact of Bill 112 • Bill 112 does not recognize smokers as normal citizen • Conform to values of individual freedom, business right, “joie de vivre”, tolerance, etc.
Rhetorical strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define and fix the meaning of tobacco • Define the relationship between tobacco and society • Define Bill 112 as a good • Define the relationship between Bill 112, tobacco and society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define the relationship between government and society • Define Bill 112 • Define the relationship between Bill 112 and society • Define the smoker

<p align="center">Table E Examples of the rhetorical analysis of the anti-smoking discourse</p>		
Examples	Type of argument	Interpretations
<p>“But even without the health statistics, smoke is a public menace, odious for all non-smokers to inhale and a detriment to both relaxation and productivity.”</p> <p>(Editorial/ The Gazette, 12 May 2005, p. A26)</p>	<p>Causal relationship between cigarettes and loss of productivity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Second-hand smoke is a public menace because of the consequences associated with the inhalation of smoke, relaxation and productivity
<p>« La fumée secondaire dans les lieux publics demeure une question de protection de la santé publique. On ne permet pas aux commerce la discrétion d’offrir ou non de la viande périmée ou de l’eau contaminée à leur clientèles, selon les grès du marché : il y a des lois qui contrôlent la sécurité des aliments. Le même principe devrait s’appliquer à l’aire ambiante. »</p> <p>(Louis Gauvin, Press Release, Montréal, 5 avril 2005)</p>	<p>Analogy between food safety and the control of the air that people breathe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In order to protect public health we need to use the same logics that are associated with food protection and safety ▪ The quality of air is similar to food safety
<p>« On considère que la fumée secondaire est un agent cancérigène très dangereux qu’il faut éliminer. Il ne viendrait jamais à l’esprit de quiconque d’exposer les gens à un peu de particules d’amiante dans l’air, cela devrait être la même chose avec la cigarette, qui est tout aussi nocive. »</p> <p>(Louise-Maude, Rioux Soucy, Le Devoir, jeudi 19 mai, 2005, p.A4)</p>	<p>The causal link between cigarettes and their negative effects</p> <p>The link between asbestos and cigarettes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Smoking leads to second-hand smoke ▪ Second-hand smoke can lead to cancer ▪ The smoking of tobacco should be constrained ▪ Second-hand smoke is similar to asbestos particles that are airborne, thus if we protect citizens against airborne asbestos, we should do the same in terms of second-hand smoke

<p>« La nicotine contenue dans la cigarette provoque une dépendance aussi forte que celle causée par la cocaïne et l’héroïne .»</p> <p>(Breton Pascale, La Presse, 21 mai 2006, p. Actuel6)</p>	<p>Operational definition of cigarettes in terms of its negative effects</p> <p>Comparing tobacco to other highly addictive drugs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cigarettes are legal, even though they are similar to other illicit drugs ▪ Defining tobacco in terms of its nicotine content ▪ The effects of nicotine are similar to other illegal products: harmful and unhealthy ▪ If cigarettes are comparable to other illegal products, they should thus also be illegal
<p>« Car moins de fumeurs, c’est aussi moins de cancers, moins d’hospitalisations, moins de médicaments et moins d’absentéisme au travail. »</p> <p>(Pascale, Breton, La Presse, dimanche, 21 mai 2006, p. Actuel6)</p>	<p>Less smoking leads to less negative health consequences</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ If less smokers lead to less negative consequences, then the new bill should be passed

<p align="center">Table F Worldview and discourse categories surrounding the anti-smoking debate 2005-2006</p>		
	<p align="center">Dominant anti-smoking discourse</p>	<p align="center">Anti-Bill 112 discourse</p>
<p align="center">Worldview</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humans are not always good and need support to protect the well-being of society • The Government has a social responsibility to protect society • Societies must respect international norms • Initiatives and actions must be long-term oriented • Fundamental values of security, collective well-being, social development, equality, health and efficiency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humans are responsible, sociable and search for pleasure • The government needs to protect values of individual liberty, tolerance and economic development • Societies should strive to protect their unique cultural characteristics • Initiatives and actions should be short-term oriented and based on cultural tradition • Fundamental values of freedom, flexibility, tolerance, openness, pleasure and economic development
<p align="center">Reality defining categories</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People: health/illness, security/danger • Governance: collective rights/individual right, social consensus/opposition • Place: Québec/world • Tobacco use: healthy/unhealthy • Humans: life/death • Moral priorities: health/economic development • Gouvernemental action: help/abandon, efficient/inefficient • Social: smoker/non-smoker, child/adult, sick/healthy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People: freedom/control • Governance: democracy/freedom, human rights/totalitarian • Society: pleasure/constraints • Legislation: coherent/incoherent, excessive/moderate • Tobacco use: clandestine/legal, pleasure/suffering, individual/collective • Governmental action: attack/assist, economic development/bankruptcy • Social: smoker/non-smoker

<p>Table G Reality defining category comparison</p>

	Dominant anti-smoking discourse	Act of Bill 112
Reality defining categories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People: health/illness, security/danger • Governance: collective rights/individual right, social consensus/opposition • Place: Québec/world • Tobacco use: healthy/unhealthy • Humans: life/death • Moral priorities: health/economic development • Gouvernemental action: help/abandon, efficient/inefficient • Social: smoker/non-smoker, child/adult, sick/healthy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place: public/private, smoker/non-smoker • Governance: choice/imposition, social consensus/opposition, democracy/dictatorship • Bill 112: unanimity/partial agreement, regulative implementation/democracy, constitutional/unconstitutional • Society: change/continuity • Tobacco use: natural/chemicals • People: compliance/disobedience • Social: smoker/non smoker, child/adult, us/them

Table H
Comparison of the initial identity and of the post-Bill 112 Identity

	Initial identity	Post-Bill 112 identity
Competitors	Franchises (organization without a soul)	No-smoking restaurants
Similarities	Cosmo, Ben’s, Swartz (other institutions (restaurants in Montréal))	Bars, bingos, Lotto-Québec (organizations against Bill 112)
Place	Downtown, near work place, next to Montréal forum, next to bars, etc. Homey, little diner, forty seats	Public space, outdoor/private space indoor
Customers	Rock stars, old hockey players, student, young, old, black white, Chinese, bars crowd, etc.	Smoker/non-smokers
Particularity of the diner	Open 24h/24, meals are not pre-cook, homey food, the ‘diner specials’	Cigarettes are still sold

Table I
Comparison of categories of Carl’s narrative identity and of the anti-Bill 112 discourse

	Anti-Bill 112 discourse	Carl’s narrative identity
Reality defining categories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People: freedom/control • Governance: democracy/freedom, human rights/totalitarian • Society: pleasure/constraints • Legislation: coherent/incoherent, excessive/moderate • Tobacco use: clandestine/legal, pleasure/suffering, individual/collective • Governmental action: attack/assist, economic development/bankruptcy • Social: smoker/non-smoker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People: control/freedom, equality • Governance: democracy/totalitarian, owner’s right/unconstitutional, human rights • Society: traditional/modern, choice/control, routine/change • Legislation: excessive, control • Tobacco use: legal, pleasure, individual rights, cultural trait, natural/unnatural • Governmental action: economic development/bankruptcy, taxes/law • Social: customers/non customers, smoker/non-smokers, montrealers/non-montrealers, rich/poor, old/young, flexible/rigid, to be real/to pretend