

Coding Scheme and Table of Polities

I. General Comment:

Documents are coded when they make a direct or indirect *positive* reference to one of the normative principles laid out in the table of polities below. This can also mean that the document positively refers to embodiments of said polity, or that it negatively refers to its particular form of insanity. For example, when the virtues of competition or of the price mechanism are praised this counts as a reference to the market polity and is coded as such. The same is true when the businessman is described as a normatively desirable role model, or when regulation is depicted as a deplorable state of affairs that is to be avoided.

II. When to Code No Polity:

In cases where no polity is referred to (e.g. very descriptive or technical statements) no polity is coded (“99”). The same is true when reports of scientific studies (e.g. their set-up, their descriptive results) are presented. Scientific studies are only coded as a particular polity when the authors use them to justify the central value of said polity. This is also the case when the references to a normative principle are ambiguous (there are several weak ones) or said reference is not really part of any of the orders of justification described in the polity table. Likewise, if there is only a weak reference to one of the polities (one that does jump at you but needs further interpretation), non-coding is preferred (99).

III. Specifying the Polity table:

The following table gives a general overview of the main dimensions of each order of justification (or order of worth), the most important being the central value and the evaluation criteria of each polity. The central value refers to a principle that justifies certain actions or positions as desirable, right, or just. The evaluation criteria operationalizes said value and is insofar generalizable as they claim to be good for everybody. They specify which elements are to be considered in order to determine if something is conducive to the central value. Also important for classifying documents are the mode of investment, the ideal type, the form of insanity and the (performance) test. *Firstly*, the mode of investment specifies the kind of sacrifice that actors have to make (or “invest”) in order to acquire worth in the particular polis. *Secondly*, the ideal type is the embodiment of the good individual in each polity. *Thirdly*, and in contrast to the ideal type, insanity characterizes what is seen as quintessentially wrong or even crazy in a given polity. *Finally*, the (performance) test refers to the central way in which worth is measured; succeeding in these tests confers worth to individuals. The last category – anthropology/cosmology – serves more as a backdrop to the others and provides them with some more depth. It shows the underlying broad philosophical view of human nature and the world in general.

Order of Justification	Market (1)	Industrial (2)	Inspiration (3)	Domestic (4)	Opinion (5)	Civic (6)	Project (7)	Green (8)	Solutionist (9)
Central Value	Free Competition	(Technical) Efficiency	Originality	Traditional/Local Authority	Recognition	Public Good	Activity (Agility)	Sustainability	Solving key social problems
Evaluation Criteria	Value, Price	Technical performance, productivity, planning	Creativity, Non-conformity, Authenticity, Epiphany	Local esteem, personal recognition	Renown, fame	Rule governed, representation, solidarity	Successful self-management, number of projects and contacts	Sufficiency, environmental friendliness	Upgrading and Enabling Humans/Humanity
Mode of investment (sacrifice)	Opportunism	Disenchantment	Not fitting in	Responsibility for and attachment to inferiors/the local	Forgoing privacy	Forgoing one's own interests	Forgoing of stability	Avoiding Externalities	Risk-Taking (Fairure)
Ideal Type	Businessman, merchant	Engineer, professional expert	Creative Genius, Misfit	(Company) Patriarch	Celebrity	Public Servant, virtuous politician	Entrepreneurial self	Environmentalist	Philanthro-Capitalist
Insanity	Regulation	Spontaneity, Squander	Mimetic Conformity	Presumption	Anonymity	Corruption	Immobility, inactivity	Unconditional Growth	Business without purpose, purpose without technology, technology without a business
Test	Competitiveness	Procedure test	Original thoughts, inventions, creations	Trustworthiness	Publicity	Equal rights and duties (contract social)	Finding new projects	Healthy Environment	Disruption
Anthropology / Cosmology	Humans follow their enlightened self-interest, markets create win-win situations (invisible hand)	Nature and Society can be mastered through calculation and planning	Aesthetic of the Genius and Conformity of the masses	Natural harmony as a result of natural hierarchy	Humans as craving for recognition	Humans as political equals	Humans as entrepreneurial self in a connected world	Humans need a harmonious, stable relationship with both their environment	Humans have flaws but also potential, technology creates win-win situations

IV. Deciding between Polities (General):

In cases where several polities are referred to, the one that is at the center of the statement, its ‘main point’, is coded. If that still applies to several polities, if there is not a single normative point that the author tries to bring home, “NA/99” is coded.

V. Deciding between Polities (Specific):

There are several cases where the decision between two polities is not straightforward, i.e. intuitively clear. Here are some rules concerning the handling of these problems:

A. Solutionist vs. Civic Polity:

The solutionist polity is all about using technology (and entrepreneurial wit) to solve social problems. The civic polity, on the other hand, is about collective welfare and the importance of solidarity and a rule-based political system with equal rights. The problem is that both can sometimes advocate for a better world, but there are two important differences.

Firstly, the solutionist polity is decidedly not about improving the world with political means involving sacrifices from some groups for the greater good, whereas the civic polis decidedly is. The solutionist polity is rather about improving the world through technologically upgrading humans in a way that creates win-win situations, such as sharing or connectivity.

Secondly, in cases where it is not explicitly stated how a better world is to be achieved, the solutionist ethic is much more focused on solving problems and giving everyone equal opportunity, whereas the civic polis is much more focused on the common good and making everyone equal. Put differently, the solutionist polity is primarily against poverty and unused potential, whereas the civic polity is much more against inequality and especially political inequity. This is also why the civic polity is about making things accessible to different groups as a matter of right and as a demand of justice, not as a solution for their problems as in the solutionist polity.

B. Industrial vs. Market Polity:

The market polity focuses on enabling free exchange and unleashing the benefits of the price mechanism, but since it is so concerned with competition it is also concerned with efficiency. This can create something of an overlap with the industrial polity, which is all about increasing efficiency.

The difference, however, is that the industrial polity is not concerned with market competition per se but with the better organization of the production process and the long-term success of the company. Only if there is a clear positive reference to efficiency because it increases market share, or is in the interests of consumers, then the market polity is coded. If it’s about the value of improving organizational

routines or production processes, if inefficiency and not the loss of market share is warned of, then the industrial polity is coded.

If cases are mentioned where efficiency might be improved, but only through immediate user feedback, we code market (because the reference point is the market environment and the time horizon is short-term). If performance indicators such as ROI are mentioned, we code industry, as in this example:

“Windler reminded Mike about the margins he was looking for across all of Heartland Spindle’s businesses. “A 4% ROI is pathetic,” Windler said. “We’ve been in there ten years, Mike. The numbers should look better by now.” He said he was looking for a 20% ROI, adding that such a number could surely be achieved through greater efficiency and more automation.”

Another way to think about this is that in terms of a 2-times-2 table with two distinctions: one between short-term and long-term orientation, the other between the company itself as the central reference point versus the company in the market as the central reference point (see Table below). The future as a focal point of orientation (our company in 20 years vs. our company in the next quartal) is a central feature of the industrial polity. Markets are much more geared towards short-term goals so that even in the case where long-term competitiveness is at stake, we code industrial.

	Company itself as point of reference	Company in market as point of reference
Long-term orientation	Industry (e.g. building a “solid foundation for the future”, “following a strategy”, team “executing relentlessly against our priorities”)	Industry (e.g. “success in the long-run”, “sustainable growth”, even long-term competitiveness)
Short-term orientation	Industry (e.g. improving production process, improving the performance and reliability of products)	Market (e.g. serving our customers, increasing market share, raising the valuation of company)

C. Market vs. Solutionist Polity:

Both the market and the solutionist polity want to make people’s lives better. In case where digital elites express a strong customer/user orientation (“making it easier for customers”, etc.), we code this as market polis. Solutionism, on the other hand, is more about solving social or public problems, which of course also makes customers life easier, but only as a sort of positive externality. Plainly reducing delivery time, to give an example, is rather ‘marketish’ than solutionist. Creating a platform that enables instantaneous food-delivery and provides low entry-barrier jobs (like

Deliveroo), however, is solutionist as it tackles (or pretends to tackle) larger social problems (e.g. giving people jobs that would not otherwise find any, allowing them to shift flexibly between work and leisure). Another way of emphasizing this difference is to look at whether people are referred to as customers or users (“serving our customers”), which would indicate market. If they’re being referred to as humans, entrepreneurs or individuals, which are being enabled to solve their problems or become better and more successful in what they are doing, this is hinting at the solutionist polity.

For something to be really coded as solutionist and not “merely” market, however, there needs to be some concrete reference that the products and services of a company either enable or upgrade individuals (e.g. by providing them with information, by allowing them to become entrepreneurs, or by strengthening their communities); or contribute to the solution of non-trivial social problems they face (e.g. lack of access to information, to customers, or to the tools to connect and organize).

Finally, we prefer the coding of the market polity if tech companies make a region richer and better off (and therefore solving some of its problems) but merely because they create (high-paying) jobs. After all, this is what oil or finance companies would do as well. This would be an example for market:

“Since 1980, as Bangalore has become a high tech superpower at the heart of the Silicon Plateau, hundreds of millionaires - even a few billionaires - have been minted here. What's more, high tech has given thousands their first chance to buy into the middle-class life that's taken for granted in the United States.”

VI. Clarification of specific issues: There are some more specific issue that require clarification as they are not sufficiently specified in the polity table.

A. Failing, Hustling, Learning:

There are often documents that refer to situations in which life doesn’t treat one well, in which there are ups and downs. These documents encourage one to keep going, to not give up because at some point an opportunity *will* arise. This should be coded as market polity, as it just accepts the normal ups and downs of a competitive economy which any businessman has to accept.

In contrast to this “hustling-through narrative”, when failing itself is depicted as a positive life experience, as something that conveys a lesson, it should be coded as solutionist. Here, failing is something that occurs naturally when you tackle the really big problems, it’s a kind of ordinary step to take when having a shot at one of those seemingly impossible problems. Thus, the solutionist notion of failing is restricted to cases where there is an emphasis on risk-taking as positive and necessary experience for those who aim high, i.e. at the most pressing social problems.

To give an example, the following statement should be coded as an instance of the

market and not of the solution polity, because its gist is not that people kept pursuing social networks for the transformative potential but failed at first. Rather it is about changing consumer habits, a changed market environment that at some point led to the advent of social networks (which are primarily deemed economically lucrative):

"It was people were probably too negative on these social networking companies at the time because there had been a few that had sort of come and gone, so there was a sense it was this faddish thing that would maybe get users for a year and then collapse. But if you actually looked at the intensity of usage that people had on Facebook, how much time people were spending on it, how much they were using it, and the sort of network effects it had, it seemed to be very powerful."

Finally, when there are references to the desirability of incessant, life-long learning, to expand one's knowledge (of multiple domains), of being persistent, then this is coded as project, because it reflects the ideal type of the entrepreneurial self. This is an example of the project-learning narrative:

"My life has always been about understanding what I don't know so I can learn and take the next step, and about being open to mistakes along the way. I think that's the definition of entrepreneurship: you do whatever it takes to make it work! You work hard, and eventually you figure it out."

The difference to the market-hustling narrative is that it's not so much about the normal ups and downs of markets but more about the mentality of the individual to stay active and engaged, to never let opportunities of self-amelioration go to waste. It's different from the solutionist failing-narrative as it doesn't necessarily involve the taking of big risks, it's not an active praise of failure but more an estimation of continued learning.

B. Anti-Regulation (vs. Disruption vs. Non-Conformity):

If there are references that diminish, condemn, or ridicule governmental regulations we code this as market polity, as regulation is its peculiar form of insanity. This is different from positive references to original and potentially non-conformist ideas, which would be coded as inspiration. It is also different from disruption, which refers to the radical creative destruction of an entire sector by the introduction of some breakthrough technological (or organizational) innovation, and which would be coded as solutionist. The following paragraph provides a difficult example:

"I became an entrepreneur during the 90s, the boom time of what you might now call Web 1.0. Yahoo created a directory of all the sites they could find without asking anyone for permission. Ebay quickly became the largest auction company in the world without having to pay a portion of revenue to any ISP. Paypal became the most successful payment company and Amazon soared in e-commerce also without such tolls or any particular company's permission."

This paragraph should be coded as solutionist for two reasons.

Firstly, it is not specifically about governmental regulation but also about powerful company's in these sectors ("any particular company's permission"). *Secondly*, it suggests that these prosperous companies are successful because they introduced technological innovations that apparently solved some big problems consumers/humans had (such as finding information or goods on the internet), without which they wouldn't have conquered these markets in such a short time.

C. Authenticity:

Documents which positively refer to or encourage things like living an authentic life, following one's desires, using one's time meaningfully, or having great experiences are coded as inspiration. This is also true for cases where standard-life choices are rejected because everyone could do them, because they are uniform. An example is:

"And sort of had this rolling quarter-life crisis where I finally concluded that I should that it made sense to try to do something where with your life where if you wouldn't do it, it wouldn't happen versus these tracked careers where if you don't do it, there are a hundred other people who will take your place, do the exact the exact same thing."

D. Inclusivity:

When giving everyone access is positively referred to and not directly linked to growing market shares or solving a problem of humankind, we code this as an instance of the civic polity.

E. Privacy:

When there are positive reference to online privacy, data protection, or encryption as a matter of right, we code this as an instance of the civic polity. These basic rights protects people from powerful interests. Importantly, however, we do not code it as civic when privacy is merely respected/positively referred to because customers demand this, are wary about their privacy. In that case – one of market-driven corporate self-regulation – market is coded. This, for example, would be coded as market:

"But there is an element of targeting which is that, because we understand what you're interested in, we can show you more relevant ads to you. And people, overall, people want to know that their information is secure, and that if they give it to you, they want you to use it to make their experience good, but they don't want you to give it to other people."

F. Transparency:

If transparency is coded in a positive way and as a positive thing in itself (and not for some other purpose like equality, or the solving of problems, or efficiency), we code it as an instance of the opinion polity.

It is not enough, however, if transparency is mentioned in the context of being just a legal requirement or an economic necessity (e.g. publishing business reports).

We also code opinion polity if the reference to transparency entails a control dimension (in a Foucauldian sense). An example is this:

“At Bridgewater every meeting is recorded, and unless proprietary client information was discussed, all employees have access to every recording. All offices are equipped with audio or video recording technology. If an employee’s bosses discuss his performance and he wasn’t invited to the meeting, the tape is available to him. And he doesn’t have to scour every tape to find out if he was the subject of some closed-door conversation. In fact, he’s likely to be given a heads-up so that he will review the tape.”

G. The Local:

If there are references to the particular importance of the local, to a specific local entity (not entire areas like the American heartlands) as an important source of moral authority or as something that deserves particular protection, we code it as domestic. An example of this would be a company embracing the notion that it needs to adapt to and support local contexts such as cities. This would be an example:

“People in Amsterdam feel like there’s too many tourists to Amsterdam. Now you also have big bus tours coming to Amsterdam and so I think this is a major backlash against mass tourism. On Airbnb, most people stay much longer, typically around a week, not a few days. It’s a pretty different use case.”

Similarly, if individuals express a certain special responsibility for the local, i.e. for their region/town or, in a more paternalistic way, for their company/employees/suppliers, we code it as domestic. An example for the paternalistic variety of this responsibility for the local would be:

“I mean, I don’t ever sell any stock unless I have to for taxes, so publicly, I’m not going to take money off the table. I’m going down with the ship. I’ll be the last to do it.”

If, on the other hand, the responsibility is for society at large or big parts of it (like, again, the American heartland or poor regions in general), is framed in general and rather universalistic terms, we code civic.

H. Connectivity/Networks:

If there are references to connectivity or networks, we do *not* always code this as an instance of the project polity. We code solutionist if networks are but a means to the end of upgrading individuals and societies (and thereby solving social problems).

And we code industrial if references to networks are in the context of efficiency-enhancing organizational practices (such as just in time production within complex networks of supply chains). In case of such company networks, and the efficiency benefits they convey, we code industrial polity.

We code project polity if networks themselves are portrayed as something inherently good and normatively desirable or if networks are (perhaps in some emphatic sense) seen as prototypes or ideals of future organizations and societies at large.

Furthermore, we also code project if there are references to the open-source/free-ware culture, and its values of decentralized collaboration, flat hierarchies, etc.

Moreover, we also code project when connectivity and networks are portrayed as good because they confer social capital to individuals and enables them to move from one project to another and thereby increase their “personal brand value”.

We also code the project polity when there are positive references to a (trust-based) decentralized economy in which everyone is a self-entrepreneur.

In the same way, we code positive references to collaborative networks or communities (in which everyone wants to belong yet will also be a bit different than everybody else) as project (unless this explicitly framed in the context of technology enabling these communities, which would mean solutionist). This is because the project polity conceives humans as animals in need of contact and social relations and also as benefitting from these communities and networks (Beziehungswesen).

A final example when we code project is when there are references to **role models** (unless these references serve to proof a wider point, for example when an inspiring role model is evoked because he wanted to use technology to make the world a better place, in which case solutionist is coded).

If there are mere references to role models, e.g. one that helped an individual with this and another one with this, or inspired them in a general sense, we code it as project. The reason for this is that it refers to a connected world where people constantly learn from each other and are constantly collaborating. An example thereof:

“As we’ve matured, become bigger and more successful, our mentors have changed as well. Now we look at different role models on different issues. When we wanted to learn how to build out world-class customer support, we reached out to Zappos founder Tony Hsieh. When it came to scaling the company, we asked Salesforce founder Marc Benioff for advice.”

I. Political Dimensions:

If documents identify political solution to social problems (e.g. reducing the work week in response to automation), this is coded as civic and not solutionist.

We also code as civic if there are positive references to the value and legitimacy of processes of collective will formation along the line of “the public needs to make up its mind, the public needs to decide whether or not it wants x”.

Similarly, if certain (even anti-regulationist) policies are advocated for in the name of the common good, e.g. security or protection values, this is coded as civic and not as market. One example would be if (potentially economically harmful) sanctions against another country are advocated for because of national security reasons.

Another example would be the following:

“So I think you have this question from a policy perspective, which is, do we want American companies to be exporting across the world? We grew up here, I think we share a lot of values that I think people hold very dear here, and I think it’s generally very good that we’re doing this, both for security reasons and from a values perspective. Because I think that the alternative, frankly, is going to be the Chinese companies.”

We also code civic if there are positive references as to the inclusion of different marginalized groups (e.g. women, minorities, disabled people, autistic/neurodiverse people) or critical references about harassment/discrimination against them.

J. Enabling:

A central feature of the solutionist polis is the notion of enabling. If there are positive references to a technology or technology company enabling user to make profoundly new experiences, we code this as solutionist. This would be an example for such enabling via VR technology:

“The canvas of VR cannot be the external world—it has to be your body. An example of this is when you create out-of-body sensations of touch and feel. When you’re really changing yourself, that’s so much more interesting than watching something in the external world—and it really improves your sensation of reality.”

However, not all enabling of experiences is solutionist. If technology enables experiences that are new but not profound in the sense of really being a new category of experience, we code them as market.

An example would be 3D-cinema, which was something technologically enabled and new, but also relatively mundane in the sense of just continuing existing experiences to a new medium and being in line with traditional consumer products.

Moreover, if there are references to technology enabling people to share and use goods and services in really new ways (sharing economy), build entirely new communities, or to become entrepreneurs in ways they could not before, we code this as solutionist. This is because these technologies are in a way upgrading humans by enabling them to do things they could not do before or by making themselves better/more successful in what they are doing. Enabling humans is a crucial element of solving humanity’s problems and making the world a better place. There is, in other words, a clear link between the rhetoric of sharing, community, entrepreneurship and the solutionist idea of creating a better world through technology platforms.

Note, however, that if the main focus is on self-entrepreneurship in a trust-based decentralized economy, or the intrinsic value of community, and not on enabling entrepreneurship of communities via technology, we code project polis (see chapter H. Connectivity).

K. Efficiency and Anti-Regulationism:

There is a certain complementarity/overlap between anti-regulationist ideas and the value of efficiency, as the former is often justified in the name of the later.

However, we only code market (i.e. anti-regulationist) if there is a clear argument against market-containing or decommodifying regulations.

If it's just about the inefficiency of an overly complex regulatory apparatus we code industry. In other words, when efficiency is the main point, and not the deregulation of markets, we code industry.

L. Organizational or Business Culture:

If there are references to a particular business culture as a foundation of productivity or as a boosting factor to innovation, we code it as industrial.

Only when there are explicit references to a business culture as a source of creative, ingenious inventions or thoughts we code inspiration.

If, on the other hand, there are explicit references to flat, fluid, agile values as an important part of business culture, we code project. We also code project if there are strong positive references to a business culture that actively promotes reciprocal feedback between peers. Via helping the employees discover their respective strengths and weaknesses and foster their talents, this kind of business culture is complicit in unfolding the best possible versions of the “entrepreneurial selves”. The strategic side of this commitment to managing talents is a managerial focus on human capital. Statements that explicitly state that the management of talents and human capital in general is a central task of a successful company, we code project. Likewise, if the importance of information/knowledge sharing among employees and individuals/teams (as opposed to knowledge silos or knowledge hoarding) is emphasized in a positive manner, we code project as well.

Moreover, we code the domestic polity if there is an explicit reference to the importance of hierarchies in an organizational culture, such as a reference to the importance of a clear role for supervisors in this example:

“Supervisor briefings may not sound revolutionary, but they are. In a company that institutes such briefings, a frontline employee who wants to know what’s happening has only one way to get that information: by asking the supervisor. And that information probably will be communicated one-on-one and will be in the supervisor’s own words. No big meeting, no grand announcement, no executive road shows, no speeches relayed by satellite. All the resources previously spent communicating indiscriminately are aimed at communicating with supervisors, who are given information, influence, and thereby increased power and status. As a result, they are more likely to help implement change.”

M. Incremental vs Disruptive Change:

If there are references to technological change or progress as a positive force we either code industrial or solutionist.

We code industrial when the focus is on incremental change, about honing of production processes and gradually improving existing procedures.

We code solutionist when the focus is on radical, disruptive change that fundamentally alters existing arrangements (sometimes even with a certain disdain for piecemeal, gradual change). An example for a solutionist coding of change would be the following:

“So you, I think Einstein apocryphally said that compound interest was the most powerful force in the universe. And if you can get something that has this snowballing effect going, it’s very powerful, whether it’s in technology or culture, politics, all sorts of aspects. You want to get positive feedback, things like that, not things where as you make progress, every incremental step gets much harder. You don’t want to have sort of trench warfare on the Western front in World War I where you can make a push for maybe a hundred feet. You want to do something where as you make progress, it cascades.”

N. Publicity:

Where there are positive reference to popular marketing campaigns or publicity stunts, this is coded as opinion. We also code the opinion polity if there are reference to the importance of testimonials, branding, brand perception, recommendations, and reputation in general, of course only if these references are generally positive. We also code opinion in the case of references to failed marketing campaigns, where the general relevance or importance of marketing is not called into question, such as in this example (notice that the author speaks of “unknown” personalities, suggesting that better known ones could have done a better job, and of a “misguided” campaign, suggesting that a less misguided campaign might have been successful):

“The Europeans were proved to be right. The testimonials by “unknown” personalities left consumers cold. The commercials never achieved much impact in either raising awareness of Polaroid for instant photography or pulling consumers into the stores for a closer look at the camera. Even though the SX-70 later became a winner in Europe, local management believes that the misguided introductory campaign in no way helped its performance.”

The same is true if there are references to the importance of superficial appearance (e.g. clothing, looks), as in this example:

“When the generic product is undifferentiated, the offered product makes the difference in getting customers and the delivered product in keeping them. When the knowledgeable senior partner of a well-known Chicago brokerage firm appeared at a New York City bank in a tight-fitting, lime green polyester suit and Gucci shoes to solicit business in financial instrument futures, the outcome was predictably poor. The unintended offering implied by his sartorial appearance contradicted the intended offering of his carefully prepared presentation. No wonder that Thomas Watson the elder insisted so uncompromisingly that his salespeople be attired in their famous IBM “uniforms.” While clothes may not make the person, they may help make the sale.”

O. Sustainability:

Positive references to the value of sustainability (e.g. importance of a clean environment) are generally coded as environmental. An example, with regard to negative effects of nuclear energy on a healthy environment is the following:

“Scary. You pull in the driveway, and it’s like the twilight zone. You think, When I walk into the house, will there be some kind of radiation lingering? It came into your house, and it’s going to stay there. You think, Is the food in the refrigerator safe to eat? So you still have that insecure feeling of wondering what is going to happen at TMI (Three Mile Island). Are they telling us everything? You always have that insecure feeling. I’ll always have it.”

If there are explicit references with regards to the potential of technology to solve environmental problems (e.g. Tesla’s to reduce carbon emissions) we code them as solutionist.

If there are explicit references with regards to the potential of policies and regulations as the way to solve environmental problems (e.g. we need the EPA to solve this), we code them as civic.

P. Delegation, Trust, and Streamlining:

When there are positive references of delegating tasks to other people and also of trusting them, this is coded as project (Boltanski/Chiapello: “With the decline of close monitoring by superiors, we witness the rapid development in management literature (...) of the theme of trust.”).

The other side of this, however, is what Boltanski/Chiapello call the “requirement to be streamlined” (“Ungebundenheitsimperativ”), which means that despite the trust that leaders put in their employees, the latter can always be fired, i.e. removed from the project. Stable employment with long-term employer-employee relationships are a sentimental relict from the past. Statements showing these motifs should be coded as project. An example that captures both dimensions is:

“I accomplish everything through other people. (...) It shows trust. I’m here to counsel, not preempt. But I’m not soft: If somebody’s not doing the job, they’re gone. Now, that said, the most junior person on my executive staff has been with me six years.”

Q. Quick Decisions vs Perfect Plans:

Part of the opportunism of the market polity (in stark contrast to the industrial polity) is the making of quick, satisficing decisions as opposed to optimizing strategies (“*A good plan violently executed today is far and away better than a perfect plan tomorrow.*”)

R. Real Identities:

If there are positive references to the importance of real (as opposed to virtual) identities, this is coded as an instance of the opinion polity.

S. Technology:

If there are positive references to the important role of new, especially digital technologies (e.g. IT-systems, data analytics, AI, open-source, cloud/crowdsourcing, etc.), we code this as solutionist *as long as* the benefits do not *only* accrue to the organization/company employing these technologies. Here is an example where we code solutionist, as it is really about how these technologies transform and upgrade entire sectors:

“Analytics and decision automation are among the most powerful tools for improving decision making. A growing number of firms are embracing the former both strategically and tactically, building competitive strategies around their analytical capabilities and making decisions on the basis of data and analytics. Analytics are even more effective when they have been embedded in automated systems, which can make many decisions virtually in real time. (Few mortgages or insurance policies in the United States are drawn up without decision automation.)”

Only if the benefits from such technologies clearly accrue to the company – and the company alone – we code industrial, as in this example:

“Improving how businesses extract value from data requires more than analytical tools. It involves creating an environment where people can use the company’s data and their own knowledge to improve the firm’s operational and strategic performance. In this new paradigm, the manager’s priority is to make discoveries that could benefit the organization and identify unknowns that could put it at risk.”

T. Promoting the Common Good:

We code the civic polity if there are positive reference to social entrepreneurship/companies or philanthropic endeavors that do what they do for their own good but *explicitly* also for the greater good (if, importantly, they don’t use technology to do so, in which case it would be solutionist). An example would be the following:

“Narayana knows it can’t plug every gap, but it isn’t just in the business of providing care. In India its expenditures on direct services are nearly matched by the resources it puts into ensuring that people can use its services—and many of those latter investments benefit other players as much as they benefit the organization and its customers. In the Caymans, Narayana will make the same commitment to strengthening the institutional fabric, for its own good and for the public good.”

U. Creativity/Non-Conformity/Ingenuity:

We code inspiration if a statement put things like creativity and ingenuity center stage, regardless of whether they are ends in themselves or means to another end (they need to be central to the statement though).

This is an example of a statement that we code as inspiration even though the last sentence is hinting at elements of the project polity (but notice the strong references to imagination, design-thinking, new ideas, etc):

“For instance, some people are able to look at a product and immediately sense that it isn’t going to meet the needs of the people who are going to use it. And then they’re able to spot the anomalies, improve the design, and create a product that people will buy. This takes imagination, acute observation, and the ability to internalize observations and use them to come up with new ideas. This is a tremendously exciting enterprise. And leaders who can pass on that excitement to their followers are tapping into the contagious power of identification. If you have it, people will ask themselves, “What am I good at? How can I hone my talents and make them work for me and for other people?””

Likewise, statements that express the value of non-conformity, but also have an anti-hierarchical bent – in other words, statements that rail against an overly bureaucratic, conformity-based, almost Weberian (iron cage) or Orwellian (1984) state of affairs, will be coded as inspiration. Here is an example:

“Primarily, shutting down means disconnecting intellectually and emotionally. Subordinates simply stop giving their best. They grow tired of being overruled, and they lose the will to fight for their ideas. As one subordinate put it, “My boss tells me how to execute every detail. Rather than arguing with him, I’ve ended up wanting to say, ‘Come on, just tell me what you want me to do, and I’ll go do it.’ You become a robot.” Another perceived weak performer explained, “When my boss tells me to do something, I just do it mechanically.”

V. Compliance/Ethical Guidelines:

When there are positive references to ethical guidelines, compliance rules, diversity codes, etc. (e.g. that they are important, that they are good things in themselves), we code civic polity.

On the flipside, if there are references to legal consequences of fraud, of punishment for breaking the law we also code them as civic.

W. Domestic Leadership:

We code domestic polity when authority is justified in a traditional sense (as described by Weber), i.e., when it is not based on activity or performance or some meritocratic criteria but ‘just plainly is’. This also holds when there is a reference to either the necessity of strong subordination and ascription of prestige to a leader in a state of dependency (everybody waits for her, she is at the steering wheel, etc.) or the responsibility she has for everyone else (she feels an obligation to take care of her underlings). This is an example for the later:

“The first approach we call hub and spoke: The CEO (or general manager) sits at the center of a wheel surrounded by business unit leaders, each of whom confers and communicates only with the CEO, not with one another. The CEO manages each spoke of the wheel separately, and each business unit relies heavily on the leader. Analog Devices has thrived for more than 40 years using this method of management. Each time the organization developed a new stream of revenue, it created a new unit with its own leaders, engineers, and local culture. Cofounder Ray Stata took personal responsibility for the integration across these revenue streams so that his other leaders could focus on their own products.”

X. Participation:

If there are positive references to individuals being valued for their contributions to a project or the company (instead of being treated as an anonymous cog in the wheel) we code project. An example would be:

“I was so impressed by this man’s level of commitment. He recognized how important the project was to the success of the company. I give a lot of credit to the people who lead that manufacturing operation. They have been able to create an environment where the people on the line really believe they can make a major contribution.”

If, on the other hand, the reference is about harnessing people and their capacities for some important ‘higher purpose’ we code solutionist (e.g. when protein folding tasks are crowd-sourced to people lending their private laptop processing capacity).

Y. Incentives:

References to different incentives structures are generally context dependent as employers can draw on the normative resources of different polities to motivate/incen-tivize their employees. Here are nonetheless two examples for when we would code market and inspiration respectively.

If there is a positive references to the importance of monetary incentives, and espe-cially of aligning the interests of managers and shareholders, i.e. property owners, we code market (if managers are paid according to shareholder value criteria, this will incentivize them to do what is most profitable for the organization because it is most profitable for themselves). An example would be:

“Senior executives will benefit from their options only after shareholders have realized at least 10% growth in their investments—that is, the strike price is 10% higher than the market price on the day the options are issued. Look at it this way: IBM’s market value would have to increase by \$17 billion from that date before any of the execs realize a penny of benefit. We think we are the first large company to take such a radical step—and it grew out of our values.”

If, on the other hand, money is assumed to crowd out more intrinsic types of moti-vation and financial pressure is assumed to suffocate creativity, etc, we code inspira-tion. An example of this would be:

“And here is the root of the problem. Whenever people are encouraged to think about what they will get for engaging in a task, they become less inclined to take risks or explore possibilities, to play hunches or to consider incidental stimuli. In a word, the number one casualty of rewards is creativity.”