Journal of Kyzylorda Scholarly Review

P-ISSN:3006-0265 | E-ISSN:3007-4681. Published by the Open University of Kyzylorda
Copyright © Author(s). This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (CC-BY).
https://bulletin.ouk.kz/index.php/bulletin/index



STRATEGIC POSITIONING OF RELIGIOUS TOURISM DESTINATIONS: A RESOURCE-BASED VIEW OF NAJAF AND KARBALA

Ali Aqeel Safar
Digital Marketing and E-Commerce Management Technologies, Administrative Polytechnic College, Middle Technical University, Baghdad, Iraq
Email: [ali.aqeel@mtu.edu.iq], ORCID: [https://orcid.org/0009-0008-1317-3054]

Abstract. Najaf and Karbala have some of the biggest religious gatherings in the world, and almost no published work questions how the two cities build and defend a position against one another. This review asks whether the RBV explains that position and what it leaves out. It is a narrative, critical review of the RBV literature, destination-positioning literature, religious-tourism literature and the two cities, which adapts the RBV to a destination whose principal assets are held collectively, screens the cities' main resources against the VRIN test and produces five propositions. The screen indicates that the shrines, Wadi al-Salam cemetery and Arba'in hospitality system are all candidates for sustained advantage, while accommodation, transport and crowd management are the binding constraint, which is why the position depends less on the imitation threat than on the ability to deploy and defend the core assets. The review also argues that reported visitor and revenue figures are built on different definitions and frequently on undisclosed sources, so the resource base cannot be valued with confidence. It favor's resource-led positioning in which the two cities are treated as two sides of the same pilgrimage circuit, and it lays out a research agenda. The ratings are a judgement on published material; none is an empirical test.

Keywords: Arba'in pilgrimage destination positioning Karbala Najaf religious tourism resource-based view VRIN framework.

Introduction

Religious tourism is one of the oldest forms of tourism and Najaf and Karbala are one of the largest centres of it today. The Arba'in pilgrimage that takes place around 20 Safar was estimated in 2019 to have 18 million participants and a 80 km walk between the two cities [1], and a recent news article estimates 23 million participants in 2024, including 5.2 million from abroad, with the sector estimated to have produced around USD 9 billion in 2023 in direct and indirect revenues, which is roughly 3.3% of the GDP, based on Ministry of Planning and Tourism estimates [2]. The definitions are not given in the sources and 4.3 returns to the problem, but the figures are enough to indicate the scale and the strategic question, which is roughly what is the basis of the advantage of the two cities and how the two should position themselves around it?

Most of the research conducted on the two cities is descriptive or sectoral. [3] map the religious tourism sites. [4] investigate the pressure of the flows of the pilgrims on Old Najaf and the loss of the historic character. [1] describe the health and logistics issues of Arba'in. None of these studies in the sources reviewed asks what resources make the cities have a long-term advantage, what their position should be based on those resources, and what is missing to make it into a position that holds. RBV is a natural lens for these questions since it explains advantage in terms of the characteristics of resources and not in terms of the structure of the market [5], [6].

The paper has three aims. It reports how the RBV has been adapted to destinations and where it fits badly against sacred sites (RQ1). It reports which Najaf and Karbala resources appear to reach VRIN and which capabilities appear to be missing (RQ2). It reports which positioning logic follows and what research should follow on to test it (RQ3). The contribution is a conceptual adaptation of the RBV to collectively held sacred assets, a documented screening of the two cities' resources, a set of propositions for subsequent testing and a critical account of the evidence base. The paper does not claim to be the first on the topic because the search supporting it was targeted and not exhaustive (Section 3). Section 2 reviews the literature. Section 3 reports the review method. Section 4 reports the synthesis and propositions. Section 5 concludes.

Literature Review and Proposition Development

The resource-based view and its critics

[7] proposed that firms should be studied on their resources, not on their products, and [5] turned this into a test. A resource can sustain an advantage if it is valuable, rare, imperfectly imitable and without strategic substitutes (the VRIN attributes). [6] added his own four conditions: resource heterogeneity, limits to competition after the lead has been taken, imperfect mobility of the resources and limits to competition before the lead has been taken. [8] argued that in a changing environment it is the capacity to renew and recombine resources (dynamic capabilities) that supports advantage, while [9] reviewed the first decade.

It has been criticized. In 2010, Kraaijenbrink et al sorted criticism into eight groups and argued that five can be answered once the theory's scope is clear, and that three cannot be answered because resource and value are indeterminate and competitive advantage is narrow. Both arguments apply. A shrine is a resource whose value is never decided in a market and never read from a price, so a VRIN rating of a sacred asset is an argument rather than a measurement.

The resource-based view applied to destinations

Destination competitiveness models separate inherited and created resources and separate the advantage deriving from endowments and the advantage deriving from the way they are deployed, [10], [11] so the RBV adds the stricter part on which endowments can be expected to last. Applications to tourism have mostly been on natural settings. [12] apply the natural-resource based view developed from [13] to U.S. coastal hotels and find that proximity to beaches and better environmental quality are associated with higher revenue. Their reasoning is useful to this paper as it holds that advantage may be based on access to resources available to anyone, not just on ownership by the firm.

[14] compare Porter-style market positioning with the RBV for Chinese urban destinations.

They argue that copying visible attractions produces homogenous destinations and fiscal pressure and that competitiveness should be built on authentic core assets, memorable experiences, sustainability and resident well-being, and that destination organisations are orchestrators of such resources. This is a conceptual paper using no primary data, set in a state-led development model, and it does not test the argument but it supports the direction. Ownership is the second difficulty in these applications. The owners of the assets of a destination are many and none of them controls the destination. This is the first RBV adaptation sacred destinations require, and Section 4.1 develops it.

Table 1. Core RBV concepts and their adaptation to destinations with sacred assets

Concept	Source	Use for destinations	Limit for sacred assets
VRIN attributes	[5]	Screen assets for sustained advantage	Value is socially constituted, not market-priced
Heterogeneity and immobility	[6]	Places cannot be moved; location-bound assets are hard to match	Immobility also means capacity cannot be exported to relieve pressure
Dynamic capabilities	[8]	Capacity to renew services and governance as flows change	Capabilities sit with several bodies, not one organisation
Natural-resource-based view	[13]; [12]	Advantage from accessing resources one does not own	Access is shared with pilgrims who are not customers in the usual sense
Critique of resource and value	[25]	Warns against vague resource lists	Ratings for sacred assets are arguments, not measurements

Source: Compiled by the author from the references listed**.**

Positioning: market-led and resource-led

Positioning, in the classic sense, is the place an offer occupies in the mind of a target audience, [15] and [16] associates' strategy with a distinctive position and with the trade-offs that defend it. In destination research it surfaces under branding and image, and [17] place positioning inside the responsibility of a destination marketing organization for competitiveness. A market-led study starts with visitor perceptions. [18], for example, surveyed 479 Kashmir visitors to find the niche markets to be used in its positioning strategy, and produced nature-based, adventure, cultural and culinary candidates.

The two logics address different questions. Market-led positioning elicits what the visitors claim to want and selects a niche. Resource-led positioning elicits what the destination has and cannot easily copy and constructs the position on that. For a destination where demand is already large and belief-driven, the market-led logic contributes little at the core attraction level, since pilgrims do not select Karbala from a list of niches. It still serves services around the core, like lodging, routes and information.

Religious tourism and pilgrimage

[19] classified forms by duration, distance and scale. [20] reviewed the literature and followed the blurring of the tourism-pilgrimage boundary that it documents under the term secular pilgrimage. [21] collect studies of how pilgrimage destinations and festivals are managed. Two points follow for this paper. The demand is obligation and devotion based, so the normal destination substitution on price or convenience is weaker. The management problems are similar across the sites. [22] report on two Indian pilgrimage sites, high spiritual satisfaction

alongside infrastructure, cleanliness and crowd management gaps. The strong core, weak support pattern is the one the Najaf and Karbala sources describe.

Najaf and Karbala as destinations

Najaf holds the shrine of Imam Ali and Karbala holds the shrines of Imam Hussein and Imam Abbas [3]. The Wadi al-Salam cemetery in Najaf was put by Iraq on the World Heritage Tentative List in 2011. A 917-hectare site that is still in use is proposed with criteria (iii), (v) and (vi) [23]. Tentative List is not inscription. The description belongs to the State Party. The services and hospitality given to the pilgrims during the Arba'in visitation were inscribed by UNESCO in 2019 as part of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The element relies on volunteers and donations to provide free services on the routes, and its practitioners include host families, cooks, volunteer guides, medical teams, donors and the staff of the two holy shrines [24].

The same sources show the pressure points. According to [4], a survey of 200 residents and 30 experts with Fes and Kyoto comparisons, the main threats to Old Najaf are unplanned growth, poor infrastructure and mass tourism and residents are most critical of electricity, water, sewage and overcrowding at Arba'in peaks. [1] report musculoskeletal, heat and respiratory symptoms among Arba'in participants and that climate change makes such risks increase. Both demand improved infrastructure and coordination of the bodies concerned. Neither measures positioning.

Methods

It is a narrative, critical review. It is not a systematic review, and it does not claim complete coverage. Its purpose is to build and apply a framework rather than to count studies. Search and selection Searches were run in Scopus and Google Scholar between 5 and 20 October 2026 and in the Iraqi Academic Scientific Journals platform for Arabic-language work on the two cities on 20 October. Terms combined theory (resource-based view OR VRIN OR dynamic capabilities), destinations (destination competitiveness OR destination positioning), religious tourism (religious tourism OR pilgrimage OR Arbaeen) and place (Najaf OR Karbala). The searches returned 214 records, 61 of which were read after duplicates were removed and titles and abstracts were screened, and 26 were kept because they satisfied at least one of three conditions.

Searches joined the resource-based view, competitive advantage, destination competitiveness, destination positioning and branding, religious tourism and pilgrimage, and the names Najaf, Karbala and Arba'in. A source was kept if it set out or criticized the RBV, applied it or a related competitiveness or positioning argument to destinations or pilgrimage, or described the resources, services or pressures of the two cities. Peer review was preferred for articles and books. UNESCO documents provided the site's status. News was used for descriptive figures in Table 3 and marked as such because the source of its figures is not stated.

VRIN screening in Section 4.2 rates each resource high, medium or low on each attribute, according to the evidence cited for it. The rating is the reviewer's judgement. An expert panel or visitor survey was not used to establish it. The rating is a proposition to be tested and not a finding. Three limits follow from the method. The search was not exhaustive, so work relevant to the question, and especially Arabic writing, may be missing. Some sources on the two cities are single-case or descriptive. A few are editorials. The most recent figures come from journalism rather than from an official statistical release.

Results and Discussion

Adapting the RBV to sacred destinations

Three adjustments are involved. The firm unit is replaced by the destination, and resources are held collectively. The shrines are owned by the religious institutions, Arba'in services are supplied by volunteers and households and public bodies provide roads and utilities [24]. The RBV assumes that a firm is able to control the resource that it exploits. In the case of Najaf and Karbala control is shared, so the question is whether the parties who control the pieces can coordinate stewardship. This is the argument for destination organizations as orchestrators

in [14], and it explains why [17] connect competitiveness with the responsibilities of destination organizations.

Second, value is a believer's community and is not marketed. This is the sense the indeterminacy of value takes in this setting [25]. This explains why the shrines have the high 'valuable' ratings, because the flows they attract are large, and it implies that the value is dependent on the continued support of a particular community and is not a general market asset. Third, the core assets cannot create advantage by themselves. The lodging, transport, utilities and crowd management resources determine whether visitors can use the core assets at all, and they rely on the dynamic capabilities that [8] describe.

Screening the resource base against VRIN

Table 2 summarises the screening. The shrines, Wadi al-Salam and the Arba'in hospitality system all have high or medium-high ratings on rarity and inimitability because they are location-bound, historic and, for the hospitality system, socially complex, with many actors and no single owner that could be copied. The hospitality system also has the argument that listing acknowledges it as a distinct practice to be preserved [24]. Accommodation and transport capacity has low ratings because it can be built and the 2024 investment plan reports it is being built [2]. It is a constraint rather than a source of lasting advantage.

Table 2. VRIN screening of selected resources of Najaf and Karbala (reviewer's ratings)

Resource	Evidence	V	R	I	N	Main caveat
Shrines of Imam Ali (Najaf), Imam Hussein and Imam Abbas (Karbala)	[3]	High	High	High	Medium	Value tied to one community of believers; substitutes exist only for non-pilgrim visitors
Wadi al-Salam cemetery, Najaf	[23]	Medium	High	High	Medium	Tentative List only; size and criteria are self-reported by the State Party
Arba'in hospitality system	[24]; [1]	High	High	High	Medium	No controlling body; depends on donations and goodwill; strain at peak
Historic urban fabric of Old Najaf	[4]	Medium	Medium	High	Low	Under pressure from unplanned growth and weak utilities
Accommodation and transport capacity	[2]	High	Low	Low	Low	Can be built; supply figures inconsistent (Table 3)
Crowd, health and utilities management	[1]; [4]	High	Low	Medium	Low	Capability rather than asset; shared among several bodies
Destination-level data and coordination	None found in the sources reviewed	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Not assessable; treated as a gap (Section 4.3)

Source: Reviewer's ratings (V = valuable, R = rare, I = imperfectly imitable, N = non-substitutable) based on the sources cited in the table. Ratings are propositions for testing, not empirical results.

Two things are in the table. The strongest rated resources are the ones no organisation can build or buy, and the easiest ones to build are the ones now under strain. The RBV prediction would run the other way, that imitation was the threat. The threat here is that the core asset

cannot be used or enjoyed under the overload, and that the overload damages the asset in the way [4] describe for Old Najaf. [22]'s comparison fits the pattern, high core experience satisfaction and weak facilities.

What the reported figures can and cannot show.

Table 3 presents the main quantitative claims found. They are useful as orders of magnitude rather than as a series. The 2019 figure of more than 18 million is an editorial drawing on other sources [1], and the 2024 estimate of about 23 million is a news report that does not attribute the estimate [2]. The figures cannot be used to measure growth, because the sources do not explain how pilgrims were counted, whether a person travelling through several provinces was counted once, and whether domestic and foreign visitors were treated alike. The same report also provides two figures for hotels in Karbala, 450 in one place and about 1,200 licensed hotels and guesthouses in another. The supply figures remain unsettled.

Table 3. Reported quantitative indicators and their reliability

Indicator	Reported value	Reported in	Reliability note
Arba'in participants, 2019	More than 18 million	[1]	Editorial citing other sources; counting method not given
Arba'in participants, 2024	About 23 million, including more than 5.2 million from abroad	[2]	Described as an estimate; producer not named
Direct and indirect revenue, 2023	More than USD 9 billion; about 3.3% of GDP	[2]	Attributed to the Ministry of Planning and Tourism; method not given
Entries through one border crossing (Zurbatiyah), Arba'in 2023	More than 2.1 million	[2]	Source not specified
Hotels in Najaf	About 250	[2]	Industry figure from the hotel association head
Hotels in Karbala	450, and elsewhere in the same report about 1,200 hotels and guesthouses	[2]	Internally inconsistent

Source: Compiled by the author from the sources listed. News figures are descriptive only.

This is important to the RBV because a resource-based argument needs some way of stating what is valuable about the resource, and with no comparable visitor and spending and capacity data, the 'valuable' rating has to be indirect evidence. The first practical gap in the strategic-positioning picture, then, for the two cities is an information gap, and it sits in Table 2 as a missing rating row.

Positioning implications

The screening supports a resource-led position on what cannot be copied, on the depth and authenticity of the ritual, on heritage setting and on the hospitality tradition. A volume or facility-based position would rely on assets that would score low on rarity and inimitability and would also expose the cities to the overload that the threat to the core addresses. [16]'s trade-offs point is relevant here. A position that protects the core assets requires decisions on what to limit, including how peaks are spread across routes and across the year, the kind of decision that [4] propose for Old Najaf. The decision affects religious practice and is a religious-authority, community and public-bodies matter, not a review matter.

The two cities can also be combined into the same circuit rather than treated as rivals. The sources have different anchors, the shrine of Imam Ali, Wadi al-Salam and the old city of Najaf, and the shrines of Imam Hussein and Imam Abbas plus the main destination of Arba'in in Karbala ([3]; [4]; UNESCO, 2011; [24]). The walking route of around 80 km already connects the two [1]. A joint circuit could allow each city to demonstrate its own resource and distribute the cost of hosting and services. The market-led approaches, including the visitor survey in [18], are useful evidence on the services around the core assets. The border figure in Table 3 suggests the flows will be concentrated on a small number of entries and source markets, which is a concentration risk a position built on one segment should not ignore. The last one is an inference from limited evidence.

Propositions and research agenda

The synthesis produces five propositions, reported in Table 4 along with the evidence on which it rests and a means of testing it. They are propositions and not hypotheses because the review contains no primary data.

Table 4. Propositions, basis and suggested tests

Proposition	Basis	Suggested test
P1. The shrines, Wadi al-Salam and the Arba'in hospitality system meet the VRIN criteria at the destination level, but only where stewardship is coordinated among the parties that hold them.	Sections 4.1 and 4.2	Expert panel (Delphi) rating of each resource; case study of coordination mechanisms
P2. Advantage is limited more by gaps in complementary capabilities than by imitation of the core assets.	Table 2; [4]; [1]	Pilgrim survey linking experience of services to overall satisfaction and intention to return
P3. Resource-led positioning is more defensible than positioning led by volume or facilities.	[14]; Section 4.4	Comparative case study of positioning statements and outcomes across pilgrimage destinations
P4. Treating Najaf and Karbala as complementary parts of one circuit improves capacity use and visitor experience compared with separate positioning.	Section 4.4	Route and flow analysis; stakeholder interviews
P5. Without common definitions for visitor and revenue data, the strategic value of the resource base cannot be assessed reliably.	Table 3	Audit of counting methods across agencies; harmonised definitions pilot

Source**:** Proposed by the author.

Three limits of the RBV itself ought to determine that agenda. The theory has little to say about resources whose value is spiritual, so their measurement must be developed with the communities concerned rather than borrowed from commercial settings [25]. The destination-level adaptation assumes that holders can coordinate with each other, and that assumption is empirical. And the RBV explains advantage but not the responsibilities holders may feel towards visitors and towards the sites, so the commercial logic positioning usually assumes may not follow.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The review asked if RBV explains Najaf and Karbala's position, and it does, correct. On RQ1 the RBV has to move from the firm to the destination, to treat value as socially constituted and to acknowledge that the core assets depend on complementary capability. On RQ2 Wadi al-Salam and the Arba'in hospitality system can be candidates of sustained advantage and accommodation, transport and crowd management are the binding constraint. The ratings are a judgement, and the tests belong to the empirical work. On RQ3 the logic is resource-led positioning to defend the core assets and to treat the two cities as complementary, and the data are not available in comparable form.

The practical message to planners and destination bodies is small and concrete: spend on the capability that protects the core assets, agree joint definitions of visitor and revenue evidence and consult religious authorities and communities ahead of a positioning move that alters ritual practice. The limits on it are the constrained search, the small academic evidence set for the two cities, the news figures and the absence of evidence, and the propositions in Table 4 lay some of those questions out for later work.

Acknowledgment

The author is grateful to the colleagues at the Administrative Polytechnic College who read an earlier version of this paper.

References

[1] M. Nouri, "The Arba'een annual congregation in Karbala: An overview," Mass Gathering Medical Journal, 1(1), Art. no. e156387. doi: 10.69107/mgmj-156387, 2024.

[2] Shafaq News, "Faith and finances: Religious tourism fuels Iraq's economy," https://shafaq.com/en/Report/Faith-and-finances-Religious-tourism-fuels-Iraq-s-economy, 2025.

[3] W. F. Y. Al-Yasiri, and I. A. Al-Yasiri, "Spatial analysis of religious tourism sites in the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala," Kufa Arts Journal, 1(56). doi: 10.36317/kaj/2023/v1.i56.11601, 2023.

[4] S. L. Farhan, S. A. Hasan, L. A. L. Rahim, A. K. Ebraheem, Z. I. H. Al-Hussaini, M. A. Ebraheem, A. S. Alkinani, M. K. AL-Rawe, A. H. Jassim, and M. Shok, "Balancing heritage preservation and sustainable development in historic cities: A case study of Old Najaf in the context of global best practices," International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 1041–1051. doi: 10.18280/ijsdp.200311, 2025.

[5] Barney, J, "Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage," Journal of Management, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 99–120. doi: 10.1177/014920639101700108, 1991.

[6] M. Peteraf, "The cornerstones of competitive advantage: A resource-based view," Strategic Management Journal, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 179–191. doi: 10.1002/smj.4250140303, 1993.

[7] Wernerfelt, B, "A resource-based view of the firm," Strategic Management Journal, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 171–180. doi: 10.1002/smj.4250050207, 1984.

[8] D. J. Teece, and G. Pisano, "Dynamic capabilities and strategic management," Strategic Management Journal, vol. 18, no. 7, pp. 509–533. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199708)18:7<509::AID-SMJ882>3.0.CO;2-Z, 1997.

[9] J. Barney, M. Wright, and D. Ketchen, "The resource-based view of the firm: Ten years after 1991," Journal of Management, vol. 27, no. 6, pp. 625–641. doi: 10.1016/S0149-2063(01)00114-3, 2001.

[10] G. I. Crouch, and J. R. Ritchie, "Tourism, competitiveness, and societal prosperity," Journal of Business Research, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 137–152. doi: 10.1016/S0148-2963(97)00196-3, 1999.

[11] L. Dwyer, "Destination competitiveness: Determinants and indicators," Current Issues in Tourism, vol. 6, no. 5, pp. 369–414. doi: 10.1080/13683500308667962, 2003.

[12] X. Wang, J. Kim, and J. Kim, "Application of natural-resource-based view to nature-based tourism destinations," Sustainability, 16(6), Art. no. 2375. doi: 10.3390/su16062375, 2024.



[13] S. Hart, "A natural-resource-based view of the firm," Academy of Management Review, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 986–1014. doi: 10.5465/amr.1995.9512280033, 1995.

[14] W. Tong, and S. Omar, "Beyond Porterian positioning: A resource-based view of tourism destination competitiveness in China," International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences, 16(8), 199– 210. http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v16-i8/28786, 2026.

[15] A. Ries, "Positioning: The battle for your mind," McGraw-Hill., 1981.

[16] M. Porter, "What is strategy? Harvard Business Review, 74(6), 61–78.," 1996.

[17] S. Pike, and S. Page, "Destination marketing organizations and destination marketing: A narrative analysis of the literature," Tourism Management, vol. 41, pp. 202–227. doi: 10.1016/j.tourman.2013.09.009, 2014.

[18] Saqib, N, "A positioning strategy for a tourist destination, based on analysis of customers' perceptions and satisfactions: A case of Kashmir, India," Journal of Tourism Analysis: Revista de Análisis Turístico, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 131–151. doi: 10.1108/JTA-05-2019-0019, 2019.

[19] Rinschede, G, "Forms of religious tourism," Annals of Tourism Research, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 51–67. doi: 10.1016/0160-7383(92)90006-Z, 1992.

[20] Collins-Kreiner, N, "Researching pilgrimage: Continuity and transformations," Annals of Tourism Research, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 440–456. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2009.10.016, 2010.

[21] R. Raj, and K. Griffin, "Religious tourism and pilgrimage management: An international perspective (2nd ed.)," CABI., 2015.

[22] V. Singh, "From pilgrimage to policy: Actionable strategies for sustainable religious tourism in India," International Hospitality Review. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1108/IHR-03-2025-0030, 2025.

[23] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Wadi Al-Salam Cemetery in Najaf [Tentative List submission]," https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5578, 2011.

[24] UNESCO, "Provision of services and hospitality during the Arba'in visitation [Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity]," https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/provision-of-services-and-hospitality-during-the-arba-in-visitation-01474, 2019.

[25] J. Kraaijenbrink, J.-C. Spender, and A. Groen, "The resource-based view: A review and assessment of its critiques," Journal of Management, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 349–372. doi: 10.1177/0149206309350775, 2010.