

Ph.D. in Management

XXIV Cycle

**Institutional Logics in Action: A Slow-Motion Analysis of
the Accreditation Process of Italian Museums**

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*What then is time? If no one asks me, I know: if
I wish to explain it to one that asketh, I know not*

**(The Confessions Of Saint Augustine,
Book XI)**

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation of the thesis

The idea of developing my dissertation thesis on the behavior of museums interpreted with the lens of *institutional logics* comes from two sources.

First of all, the museums field, as a whole (with professional associations, volunteers, institutions who for various reasons influence or regulate museums behavior, visitors, private contractors, educational institutions, etc..), is a key area of social and economic life of our country. More than ever, in the current period, marked by deep financial crisis, the dilemma - investment in culture vs. investment in other "public priorities" (public health, labor policy, infrastructure, only to mention few examples) - of the public servant (and of public opinion) is challenging. Public funds restrictions impose to find ways to maximize the *value for money* of public cultural investments through effective regulations of the field. My interest in the accreditation process of Italian museums is due to the fact that it represents the most significant effort undertaken in Italy to address the need of improvement of the cultural offer, in terms of professional human resources, quality of public services, efficiency of the museum and, more generally, of the measures taken by each museum (small or big) to approach and expand its target audience, and increase the positive impact on its own territory¹. The accreditation process has been centerstage in the policy of management and valorization of regional and local heritage, and despite its economic role (as a tool for addressing funds), its impact (potentially over 3.500 museums), and implications (for the evolution of the organization of culture), it has not gained attention from economists and management scholars to date.

Secondly, the relevance of the cultural field in Italy prompted me to capitalize on my eight-year experience as a consultant in the cultural management

¹ Accreditation is considered one of the best tools for this aim, as widely acknowledged (American Association of Museums, 2012)

and therefore to contribute to the debate from an original and rigorous perspective. During these years I realized that different logics or rationalities governed the evolution of museums and that these logics could help in explaining the relation between regulation and organizational change (or intention to change). For this reason, I believed that the sociology of organizations could offer new perspectives and a wide array of knowledge tools to disentangle their organizational complexity. This encouraged me to seek a theoretical lens of investigation (*Institutional Logics*) to observe museums as organizations, while accounting for societal influences on them. Empirically, I thought that the best way to tackle the issue was to address the analysis of museums by comparing their behavior and the effect of internal logics in different time frames, on the occasion of a critical event, the accreditation process, which posed new challenges to these organizations.

Based on this premise, I mention the main practical questions motivating my dissertation.

1. Besides the need of funds, what does motivate or discourage adaptation of museums to external regulation?
2. As a regulator, to what internal processes in museums should I pay attention to?
3. As a museum director, how could I leverage organizational heterogeneity in order to maximize the value of adaptation?

1.2 Aim of the thesis

The dissertation aims to contribute to the advancement of institutional logics perspective, by focusing on short-term periods (through, what I call a ‘slow-motion’ analysis) and cross-level dynamics. Moreover, this work intends to expand current knowledge about museums and concerning policies, by highlighting the role played by different logics that govern museums in the event of regulation.

Aiming at this, the analysis of the accreditation is carried out by adopting a neo-institutional perspective, that is, assigning a particular relevance to the institutions (i.e. the Regional Authority, but also the long-term processes that

shaped museum-as-institution) that influence the structure and behavior of organizations, the museums. Within this literature, which in recent years has gained momentum in the academic literature, my perspective builds on the so-called *institutional logics* (ILs), the complex sets of values and expectations which affect cognition and behavior of individuals and organizations. The ILs studies, which have now achieved an autonomous physiognomy within the neo-institutionalism theories (as suggested by the recent book “The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process” by P. Thornton, W. Ocasio, M. Lounsbury²), have enriched the organizational and sociological analysis, pointing out that not only ‘key institutions’ (the Church, the bureaucratic state, the capitalist market, the family) forge individuals and organizations, but also specific variants of logics and contingent rationales could influence organizational behavior. Moreover, how institutions are enacted through institutional logics is historically contingent, and thus deserves continuous attention.

The use of institutional logics to investigate the dynamics of the field of study offers interesting perspectives: it allows to directly address a peculiarity that often slowed down the analysis of the sector, and that is precisely the simultaneous presence of different logics (and even conflicting) about the functioning of museums. Despite the growing number of studies, and calls for greater integration between disciplines, the coexistence of different perspectives on the role of museums (and hence on the functions they are called upon to perform) in fact has so far hindered the formation of an *ad hoc* management (Zan, 2003).

It is therefore of particular interest to study how (and to what extent), despite this internal heterogeneity of museum organizations, a process of "standardization" as that accreditation has generated a form of convergence. More specifically, it is the heterogeneity of the response to that impulse that I find cause for concern, because I believe that the decision to apply or not is in itself the result of internal dynamics that the study of institutional logics can enlighten. Moreover, although cultural organizations and museums have been subjected to scrutiny in

² Oxford University Press, 2012.

different institutional studies (DiMaggio, 1991; Oakes *et al.*, 1998; Alexander, 1996), I believe that the investigation of the Accreditation process may shed new light on important internal dynamics and societal expectations of a mature, public-private and highly institutionalized (particularly sensitive to State regulations and policies) setting. This, in turn, may stimulate further research in this field, in the next future.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis can be read it both as a monograph and as a collection of papers.

As a monograph, it contributes to the advancement of the Intuitional Logics Perspective through a fully-fledged and in-depth analysis encompassing both the theory building, leading to the development of the “slow-motion analysis”, and the empirical investigation, based on the exploitation of an original dataset on the accreditation process of the Italian Museums, as far as a case study analysis focusing on a minority logic (namely educational). The structure of the thesis is articulated as follows.

Chapter 1., entitled “Introduction”, which this paragraph belongs to, offers the foreword of the thesis by enucleating the main aims and contributions, and explaining the structure.

Chapter 2., entitled, “THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: Neo-institutionalism and Institutional Logics”, starts from the New Institutional theory and builds on the current debate on institutional logics, which has been deemed to provide a complementary lens of analysis of the institutional processes interpreted as a results of coexistence and interplay of multiple logics.

Chapter 3., entitled “ESSAY 1. “Time After Time: The Slow Motion Analysis of Institutional Logics Influence”, focuses on the critical role of the time dimension in the investigation of institutionalization processes, by providing the ground for the introduction and development of the “slow-motion” perspective on the Institutional Logics influence.

Chapter 4., entitled “FIELD OF STUDY: Institutional Logics and the Evolution of Italian Museums”, proposes a critical review of the chronicle of the Italian museums, which allows explaining how different logics emerged over time and thus how this interesting field of study is particularly suited for the empirical investigation of the Institutional Logics influence on the institutionalization process, such as the Accreditation of the Italian museums in Italy.

Chapter 5., entitled “ESSAY 2. “Institutional Logics Influence in the Accreditation of Italian Museums”, offers the first empirical tests, based on a quantitative analysis on the basis of an original dataset, of the alleged influence of multiple logics in the accreditation process of Italian museums.

Chapter 6., entitled “ESSAY 3. “Bridging Logics: The Role of Educational Logic in Museum”, complements the previous chapter by providing a different angle on the effect of multiple logics in the accreditation process of Italian museums. The empirical investigation is qualitative and based on an exemplary case-study which provides further evidence advancing the results of the previous analysis.

Chapter 7., entitled “CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH”, in which the contributions to theory and the field of study are elicited, the limitations of the study as well as the future avenues of research are put forwarded. The analysis of the implications for practice, both for policy makers and museum management, complete the research effort.

As a collection of papers, the thesis draws together the results of three essays providing complementary angles of analysis to interpret the same phenomenon.

ESSAY 1. “Time After Time: The Slow Motion Analysis of Institutional Logics Influence” is a conceptual paper. Albeit it is intended to offer the theoretical underpinning of the following essays, it is also autonomous and thus it represents a fruitful attempt to advance the theory of the Institutional Logics at a broader level.

ESSAY 2. “Institutional Logics Influence in the Accreditation of Italian Museums” is a quantitative paper which builds upon the conceptual paper and

develops the empirical investigation based on an original dataset of Italian museums. The quantitative analysis aims at explaining the effect of the intervention and interplay of multiple logics inside the museums across different time frames through which the accreditation process is unfolded.

ESSAY 3. “Bridging Logics: The Role of Educational Logic in Museum” is a qualitative paper which builds on the results of the first and second essays and develop new insights on the phenomenon under investigation, based on an explorative case study. The case study methodology allows exploring the emergence of new logic which may bridge the dissonance among logics and impacts on the museum behaviors.

The study spans different methodologies and foci, in order to provide a broad and organic picture of the institutional logics influence on organizations.

Table 1.1 Essays, focus and methodology: dissertation highlights

<i>Essay</i>	<i>Focus</i>	<i>Methodology</i>
<i>Essay 1</i>	Epistemological analysis of institutional logics influence	Theory and methodology building
<i>Essay 2</i>	Heterogeneous effect of different logics over organizational conduct	Empirical analysis of museums applying for accreditation, through a multinomial logit
<i>Essay 3</i>	Bridging role of a minority logic	Investigation of educational logic in museums, through a case study analysis

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: Neo-institutionalism and Institutional Logics

2.1. The Neo-Institutionalism

Among the different perspectives about organizations and their evolution, I adopt a neo-institutional standpoint.

The study of institutions is not recent, as it gained the attention of sociologists since the end of nineteenth century, with the works by Spencer and Sumner about *folkways*; basically, these authors introduced the conception of institution as constituted by ‘a concept and a structure’ (Sumner, 1906: p. 53) – hence, both ideal and material - and portrayed social life as governed by different normative systems (Davis, 1949), laying the foundations for following persisting notion of institutional arenas and levels, which is still at the core of much sociological literature (Scott, 2008). Moreover, early institutionalists (like Hughes) stressed the importance of individual behavior in reproducing institutions, thus signaling a space for interaction between institutions and individual behaviors that will be the subject of many efforts in the following years.

The interest in organization as mediator between institutions and individuals is more recent, and is mainly ascribed to Merton and Selznick; Merton focused the influence exerted by the concern for conformity on leading officials, even when meeting external rules where in contrast with the goals of organization (Merton, 1940); Selznick distinguished the organization as means for achieving goals (a rational choice) from the organization as institution itself, as it is *infused with value*, and thus requiring specific efforts to be preserved and maintained (Selznick, 1957). Moreover, Selznick clarifies that institutions constrain conduct, as they reduce options for individual discretion, in two ways: ‘by bringing it [organization] within a normative order, and by making it hostage to its own history’ (Selznick, 1992: 232). More recently, one of Selznick’s students, A. Stinchcombe elaborated more on the institutionalization process, remarking the crucial role of power-holders in regenerating institutions, through their interests and commitments (Stinchcombe,

1968). What emerged in the 50s and 60s is the attention for the role of individuals in reproducing and implementing institutions: Parsons shifts the focus toward the internalization of values as a guide for actions. In this way, the American sociologist claims that the *objective nature* of the institutions (literally, the values) is intertwined with the actual behavior of individuals; put differently, institutions exist to the extent that, through individual behavior, they give life to organizations and to 'functional patterns which are necessary to implement the values' (Parsons, 1960a: 21). In particular, in proposing that social system is the 'source of meaning, legitimation, or higher-level support which makes the implementation of the organization's goals possible' (Parson, 1960b: 63-64) Parsons finds that organizations evolve towards vertical differentiation, in order to both achieve and manage their production targets, and relate to external environment; this differentiation is three-layer, as it entails a *technical system*, in charge for secure production, a *managerial system*, concerned with coordination of activities and obtaining resources, an *institutional system*, which relates organizations to norms and conventions. Since these functional needs are somewhat in conflict, organizations tend to separate in subunits which deal with concerning conducts. Interest for individuals also characterizes the work of March and Simon, who developed the argument that human rationality (implicitly assumed as a paradigm in economic theories) is highly conditioned by the organization and by cognitive schemes and routines.

The strengthening of the so-called neoinstitutional approach is due to the convergence of different disciplines (economics, sociology, political science) to a representation of reality able to pose questions about the relationship between society on the one hand, and the organization and individuals on the other. This evolution has included a decisive role of the cognitive and social psychology, in which work is evident the contrast between two main positions: the individualistic models, in which the behavior is induced only by the capabilities and limitations of persons; and situational models, in which is assigned an important role to the context in which the individual operates. An intermediate point and particularly

fruitful for the organizational analysis concerns the ability of individuals, in particular situations, to influence and even generate changes in social structures (Stryker, 1980). On this point we will return in the course of the study.

Among different contributions, it is remarkable and currently recalled the fundamental work by Berger and Luckmann's in the sociology of knowledge, in that, authors define the three-stage process of *institutionalization*, as result of:

- *Externalization*, the experience of sharing and product meanings through the symbolic structures that come from social interaction;
- *Objectification*, the recognition of exteriority and non-individual nature of knowledge;
- *Internalization*, the moment in which 'the objectivated social world is retrojected into consciousness in the course of socialization' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: p. 61), so that the object event becomes *subjectively meaningful*.

At the end of 70s and beginning of 80s appeared works which strongly seeded the institutional approach in subsequent organizational analysis field: articles by Meyer and Rowan (1977), Zucker (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and Tolbert and Zucker (1983) spawned a great set of concepts, relations and methodologies which are still at the core of organizational discourse, and of *institutional logics* perspective, which is central in our arguments (see below).

Meyer and Rowan argue that organizational formal structures derive from the conformity to "institutional myths", rules which are merely accepted ceremoniously in order for the organization to gain or maintain legitimacy in the institutional environment. Hence, legitimacy gained in the institutional environment fosters organizational survival, albeit these formal structures of legitimacy can reduce efficiency and hinder the organization's competitive position in its technical environment. In order to compound these opposite requirements, organizations will tend to *decouple* (construct introduced by Weick, 1976) their technical core from these legitimizing structures, then maintaining external (and internal) confidence in formal structures while reducing their impact on efficiency.

The exploration of dichotomy between institutional and technical-efficiency pressures led Tolbert and Zucker (1983), in their study of civil service reforms adoption, to empirically find and theoretically define a ‘two-stage model’, in which early adopters were motivated by technical reasons (the solution of administrative problems), thus spreading from city to city the reforms. Then, late adopters were forced to adopt in order to avoid disapproval or even sanctions for the lack of conformity.

From an ethnomethodological standpoint, Zucker (1977) provided empirical (experimental) evidence that the degree of institutionalization increases *uniformity* of cultural understandings, as far as *maintenance* and *resistance* of these understandings to change.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) concluded that the ultimate effect of institutional pressures is to increase the homogeneity of organizational structures in an institutional environment. They claimed that as far as a field becomes structured it exhibits more isomorphism; the structuration or rationalization of a field is mainly related to (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983): increase in interactions among parts; emergence of interorganizational structures; information overload; mutual awareness about some common conditions.

Early ‘80s then studies clarified that fields are subject both to competitive and institutional pressures, the former implying organizations struggling for resources and customers, the latter involving organizations attitude to seek for political power and legitimacy.

Tolbert and Zucker two-stage model (1983) depicts these two forms of pressure as sequential, being the competitive pressure the origin of structuration and the institutional pressures the proof of maturity of the field.

Albeit distinctions and different perspectives, neo-institutionalists in the 80s assumed the rationalization being exogenous, exerting influences and pressures over organizations (Thornton et al, 2012).

Two main new directions arose in the second half of the decade: the centrality of agency in (de-) institutionalization processes (DiMaggio, 1988), and the notion of fragmentation of social systems (Swidler, 1986). In the former stream of research, the critical relation between institutional pressures and embedded agency emerged as a prominent area of research (for a review see Leca, Battilana and Boxenbaum, 2009); in the latter vein, albeit not ever acknowledged, the concept of nearly-decomposable nature of culture in fragments fed numbers of studies about the insurgence, conflict and evolution of different forces within and among organizations and institutions which affect conduct, posing the premises for focusing *diversity*, rather than conformity.

2.2. Institutional Logics and Structural change

The emergence of *institutional logics* as a fruitful perspective in the organizational studies is relatively new, and it is usually dated back to Friedland and Alford work entitled “Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions” (1991), contained in the fundamental work "The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis", edited by W. Powell and P. DiMaggio. In that written, Friedland and Alford posit that the central institutions of the contemporary society – capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion – ‘shape individual preferences and organizational interests as well as the repertoire of behaviors by which they may attain them’ (p. 232). Moreover, authors complement previous institutional analyses by underlying that each institution gives rise to multiple institutional logics, which are ‘symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits’ (p. 248-249). As the bureaucratic state organizations for example try to convert different individual situations into some form of routine, so the families attempt to convert all relations into reciprocal obligations. Hence, institutions offer guiding principles which attract behavior towards specific *good* practices. Recalling studies about rituals in the Balinese society conducted by Geertz (1973), authors remark the symbolic-material nature of institutions, in that through representation/rituals

individuals not only display institutions' influence, but also regenerate or modify them. Symmetrically, 'institutions constrain not only the ends to which their behavior should be directed, but the means by which those ends are achieved' (p. 251). This argument implies that institutional analysis is by definition contextual and historical contingent, in the sense that scholars need to understand the *content* of institutions in order to capture what interests and preferences really *mean* for individuals. Moreover, this distinction allows for internal politics among individuals who share some beliefs: symbols and practices, indeed, exhibit heterogeneity in adoption, so that 'the ways in which individuals or organizations do so are institutionally constrained, but they are not determined' (p. 256). Finally, the authors focus the contradiction that inevitably emerges from the interdependence of institutions. This implies, therefore, the possibility that individuals exchange values, adopt practices and formulate expectations in apparent contradiction with the prevailing logic in which their values, practices and expectations are formed. 'When workers struggle for wages, for rights of representation, for influence in the workplace, for public control over capital investment, they appropriate the logic of other institutions in order to transform the places where they work – the logic of the family and human needs, the logic of democratic citizenship and participation, the logic of rationality enforced by the state' (p. 257).

This seminal work by Friedland and Alford has been influential over the next series of analysis in the institutional field, to the point that now the *institutional logics* arguments rise to the rank of 'perspective' (Thornton et al, 2012).

Albeit its recent ascendancy, the notion of *institutional logics* has many precursors, the reading of which offer a better understanding of some fundamental aspects for the definition of an exhaustive construct.

In order to substantiate a wide definition, it is useful to remind that, even implicitly, many historical treatments of institutions have led to the pointing out of a *central logic*, a sort of distinctive character which distinguishes the social system under analysis from other systems or sub-systems. So, for example, the analysis of Max Weber in 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (1905/1930) posits

that Calvinist *ethic* influenced the development of capitalism, by inducing an uncoordinated mass of people to engage in work in the secular world, and by promoting (as ‘blessed by God’) the accumulation of wealth for investment.

A central assumption of *institutional logics* rests on the view that each institution of society – families, democracy, religion, the capitalistic market, the bureaucratic state – has a central logic that constraints both the means and ends of individual behavior (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Where Friedland and Alford focus the symbolic nature of institutional logics, Jackall (1998), in his analysis of American managers, puts emphasis on the normative dimensions, when he argues that institutional logics are ‘the complicated, experientially constructed, and thereby contingent set of rules, premiums and sanctions that men and women in particular contexts create and recreate in such a way that their behavior and accompanying perspective are to some extent regularized and predictable. Put succinctly, an institutional logic is the way a particular social world works’ (p. 112).

Even in the strategic management literature the concept of institutional logic is not recent; Prahalad and Bettis (1986) provided a simple description of the ‘dominant general management logic’ as ‘the way in which managers conceptualize the business and make critical resource allocation decisions’ (p. 490). In their argument, the dominant logic explains the link between the firm’s strategy of diversification and its performance.

Thornton and Ocasio (1999) proposed a comprehensive (accounting for structural, normative and symbolic dimensions) definition: institutional logics are ‘the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality’ (p. 804).

Various definitions of institutional logics (see among others, Greenwood et al, 2011) all share the same underlying concepts (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008):

a) What constraints and enables individual action is a prevailing institutional logic (Prahalad and Bettis, 1986; Sewell, 1992; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999);

b) The institutions (and their influences) are both material and immaterial (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2002);

c) Institutions work at multiple levels (societal, field, organizational – intra and inter) and assume an historical contingency, as institutional environment is historically defined and subject to evolution, over time (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

In the last fifteen years researchers have uncovered interesting ways by which institutional logics explain heterogeneous organizational forms and behaviors, and how institutions themselves are evolving subjects (DiMaggio, 1991; Covaleski and Dirsmith, 1988; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006).

Studies have linked institutional logics with a wide range of practices, and have depicted different dynamics of their influence on organizational conduct.

In their study of the higher education publishing industry, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) found that a change from an editorial to a market logic led to different determinants of executive succession. The shift, at the industry-level, from a dominant logic to another is reflected also in the salience of ‘positional, relational and economic determinants of executive power and succession’ (p. 803).

Investigating stock market reactions, Zajac and Westphal 2004 suggest that prevailing institutional logic (agency perspective) strongly influence market’s reaction to stock repurchase plans, beyond efficiency arguments; moreover, authors find that as far as more firms adopt such policy, market value increases, independently from evidences of non-implementation (decoupling).

These works made clear the fundamental, albeit non-linear, relation between institutional logics and organizational practices; this issue has been widely proved in different settings and contexts, such as in the analysis of career migration in the bank industry (Stovel and Savage 2006), where conflicting logics (local vs. national bank physiognomy) and not the bureaucratization (as a technical response to

increase in size) influenced the modernization of employment control. Similarly, Beck and Walgenbach (2005) investigated the determinants of adoption of a quality standard as consequence of conflicting association between technical and institutional driving forces.

The general approach emerging from studies in the field is to compare *technical* expected effects (less influential than commonly predicted) with *institutional* influences (rather persuasive on organizations).

Insightfully, Lounsbury clarified that segregation of institutional and technical forces is artificial, and that even performance logics (which had been traditionally treated as related exclusively to technical logics) are institutionally derived, and may exhibit multiple variations. In his study of the diffusion of contracts between U.S. mutual funds and independent professional money management firms, Lounsbury found that the emergence of mutual funds implied specific trustee and performance logics which shaped the diffusion of contracting external firms by providing distinct forms of rationality, which in turn determined variation in the subpopulation of professional money management firms (Lounsbury 2007).

The debate about institutional logics' influence recently intertwined with the stream of inquiry related to the study of 'embedded agency' (Seo and Creed, 2002; Dacin, Goldstein and Scott, 2002), and the paradox of logics that constrain and enable change. This debate, which dates back to the 70s, relies mainly on the 'dominance hierarchy' construct introduced by DiMaggio (1983), which refers to the increasing stratification of fields as far as they mature; this stratification determines central and peripheral positions, which entails specific positional consequences for organizations and the evolution of the field. In the analysis of institutional change, in this perspective, two main perspective arose: one, and more diffused, which sees central organizations being more subject to institutional pressures and thus inertial in change (Davis, 1991; Galaskiewicz and Wasserman, 1989; Greve, 1998; Kraatz, 1998; Westphal, Gulati, and Shortell, 1997); another, which considers central organizations more prone to change, due to the relative power position the can exert

of the field (Greenwood et al., 2002; Phillips and Zuckerman, 2001; Sherer and Lee, 2002; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006).

The interest in understanding practices by observing institutional logics has been constant, and emerged as a sound lens for investigating common practices among firms (for example, Greenwood, Diaz, Li and Lorente, 2011 studied the effect of nonmarket logics – namely, the family and geographical logics – on the decision to downsize among Spanish manufacturing firms between 1994 and 2000), or comprehending governance structures (for example, Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna, 2000 investigated the role of conflicting and overlapping institutional logics in shaping U.S. healthcare field-level governance).

Taken as a whole, this stream of studies remark the great scope of potential organizational responses to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991; D’Aunno, Succi, Alexander, 2000) and how legitimacy, far from being an absolute, crystalline and static concept (as it was represented during the ‘80s), is better depicted as the temporary result of legitimacy contests and endowments (Stryker, 2000; Pache and Santos, 2010), which reveal the complexity of the interplay, overlapping and explicit contrast among different institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Intricacy of relations among these concepts is exacerbated by the fact that institutional logics are reflected in (and to some extent distinct by) ‘carriers’, vehicles of institutions (Jepperson, 1991) i.e. symbolic systems (rules, expectations, typifications), relational systems (governance and authority systems, identities), routines (protocols, roles, scripts) and artifacts (objects’ specifications, concerning conventions-standards and their symbolic value) (Scott, 2008: 79). It implies that the influences of external pressures (normative, regulative, cultural-cognitive, according the notable taxonomy portrayed by Scott, 2008) make organizational responses heterogeneous, with respect of time of reaction, depth of organizational change (whether change is real or mechanical and rhetorical), the scope of contagion over the population of organizations subjected to the same pressures, and so on. Heterogeneous responses have been differently explained, as result of the interplay between external pressures – i.e. institutional and market forces, (D’Aunno et al, 2000), professional associations

(Greenwood et al, 2002) - and organizational features, or community dynamics (Freeman and Audia, 2006). Albeit this increasing volume of research, the role of institutional logics in shaping intraorganizational dynamics of practices remain an under-investigated area of research (Kraatz and Block, 2008).

This is the reason to shift our attention towards structural change and internal dynamics, which are expected to substantiate the material-symbolic nature of institutional logics, as clearly stated by Binder (2007), when she argues that “logics are not purely top-down: real people, in real contexts, with consequential past experiences of their own, play with them, question them, combine them with institutional logics from other domains [as originally pointed out by Friedland and Alford, 1991, *see above*], take what they can from them, and make them fit their needs” (p. 568).

We adopt an (intra)organizational standpoint, recognizing that, in the analysis societal influences, organizations are ‘the most powerful and pervasive elements of modern society’ (Haveman and Rao, 1997: 1606; on the same point, see Zucker, 1988) and, moreover, we conceive this perspective under-adopted in development of neo-institutional discourse. Albeit the relationship between institutions and organizations has been centerstage in the last years, internal dynamics of institutional influences have been rather ignored, assuming organizations being ‘merely instantiations of environmental, institutional logics “out there”’ (Binder, 2007: 547).

Although an organic and comprehensive perspective about the intraorganizational dynamics of institutional logics has not yet matured, it is necessary to recall some recent efforts indicating the opportunity to proceed in this direction (Thornton et al, 2012: p. 135).

The analysis of structural change in organizations has sustained a long tradition of studies. Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian (2004) identify some established models. The models referred to are the stage-of-growth models, in which the logic of the original foundation is confronted with the difficulties associated with the growth

of organizations. The consistency between the original logic and superordinate societal patterns of beliefs and requests thus becomes the source of the change (Kazanjian, 1988).

The set of theories of complexity and self-organizing systems are an alternative vision of change in these perspectives, where the organizational structure emerges as a consequence of the gradual interplay of internal entities, according to specific rules, to finally reach an apparently static organizational state, however, transitional and temporary. These dynamics, called 'autogenesis' (Drazin and Sandelands, 1992), determine the three levels of organizational structure: the first consists of the rules related to the tasks to be performed, and therefore constitutes a profound aspect of organizational action. The second aspect is the elemental structure, and concerned with the actions and interactions of individuals, guided by the rules. Finally, the third level refers to groups, as they emerge from the continuous interaction of individuals. In this approach, the logic emerges from the interaction but does not have a specific origin, as there is no an ordering principle, and therefore this approach reflects the assumption that the organizational structure, at its core, is in the mind of the observer (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

Sometimes scholars have favored a non-evolutionary, but rather revolutionary view of change in organizational structure (Mezias and Glynn, 1993). The general interpretative scheme is as follows (Drazin et al, 2004, p. 172):

- The organization is in homeostasis and reflects its logic(s) prescriptions;
- An external event results in a significant deterioration in organizational performance;
- management seeks to remedy by introducing organizational and technological changes, even radical, thus altering/affecting the original logic;
- the organization, its components, resist to change because of friction among logics;
- managers overcome resistance through radical change in management;
- The organization takes a new form and new logic is (are) in place.

This interpretative scheme, albeit with different variations, has had numerous confirmations in the last twenty years. In particular, this approach has favored the representation of organizations as dominated by a logic, a general approach that influenced predominantly the conduct, the strategy and the specific organizational form.

Thus for example in the works of Fligstein (1987, 1990) the form multidivisional was a function of a specific conception of control, historically contingent. Similarly, Prahalad and Bettis (1986) depict the diversification as guided by a dominant logic (managerial). In these works, the organizational structure is a function of dominant logic, as it takes the form of interpretive schemes (Sewell, 1992) or the filter function information (Bettis and Prahalad, 1995) that directs the attention towards some information (internal and external) and neglects other, thus channeling the attention of individuals in a decisive manner (Ocasio, 1999).

So pictured, the process of organizational change is characterized by inertia, because only the emergence of a new logic, which replaces the previous one, can induce a significant structural change. These perspectives exhibit therefore two fundamental limits, as will become apparent during through most recent studies: on the one hand, they do not account for more rapid and radical changes that also occur in highly institutionalized settings (D'Aunno et al., 2000); on the other hand they do not clarify the role of minority logic (Durand and Jourdan, 2012) or completely ignore the role that multiple logics can exercise (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, Lorente, 2010).

Yet in other areas of studies, more directly involved in the analysis of change and innovation, have emerged many perspectives aiming at understanding the radical change and "discontinuous" growth in organizations (see Tushman and Romanelli 1994, in particular for an account of how organizational structures exhibit moments of great stability, punctuated by moments of sudden change. According to these scholars, the process of radical organizational transformation is hence not gradual, but marked by rapid and periodical changes in the history of the organization. The proponents of this theory have linked the major changes in the

organizational structure to three main reasons: the decline in performance, the presence of external events, the leadership of the CEO and managers. Even these studies have not been immune from criticism; among the criticisms of this approach, we wish to point out the one concerning the underestimation of the agency, because it is limited, in this approach, to the sole managers or CEO.

In the field of study most directly related to our work, the radical organizational change has been the focus of a few recent works. Among these Greenwood and Hinings (1996) laid the foundations for exploring the relationship between institutional change and organizational dynamics. In particular, Greenwood and Hinings have made it clear that the impact of change and the speed with which it spreads within the fields depends on the organizational dynamics, namely: 'How Organizations "respond" to institutional prescriptions, in particular, whether they undergo radical change, and, if they do, how quickly, is a function of these internal dynamics' (p. 1024).

Insightfully, Haveman and Rao (1997) focus the reciprocal influence of institutions-organizations dynamics, analyzing how a shift in institutional (the expansion of Progressive movement) and technical (push for efficiency) environment contributed to the downfall of specific organizational forms and the emergence of new ones, ultimately contributing to institutional evolution (in what they call *theories of moral sentiments*). Their study of the early thrift industry offers a clear picture of coevolution of institutions and organizations, as 'organizations render institutions material and thus potent to shape human behavior, the fates of organizational forms determine the fates of institutions; that is, the persistence and evolution of organizational forms make possible the concurrent persistence and evolution of institutions' (p. 1613).

Similarly, Thornton and Ocasio (1999), in their work about higher education publishing industry, revealed a clear relation between the shift in institutional logics (from an editorial to a market focus) and the professional orientation, determining the patterns of succession.

In a seminal paper about U.S. healthcare evolution, Ruef and Scott (1998) investigate determinants of organizational legitimacy by observing organizational survival chances among 143 hospital organizations over a 46-year period in U.S. They found that the salience of managerial and technical legitimacy (crystallized in the organizational levels) varies depending on different *institutional regimes*, suggesting that investigating internal determinants of organizational behavior (in that case, managerial and technical organizational levels) is crucial for interpreting change in fields and institutions.

In a similar vein, Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002) propose that regulatory agencies – namely professional associations play a fundamental role in endorsing local innovations and molding their diffusion in the fields. In particular, authors observed that CICA and ICAA – chartered accountant associations- in responding to organizational movements of the largest professional firms, provided support for theorization of the role of accountant and thus posed the basis for change in the field.

In sum, these works depict institutional logics ‘as a kind of underlying cognitive *glue* that lends meaning, rationality, and purpose to organizational structures’ (Drazin, Glynn and Kazanjian, 2004: 165). In other terms, each institutional logic entails a sort of tension to order and specify appropriate and congruent organizational structures to those who behave coherently with it. However, understanding to what extent organizational structures match institutional logics principles is not easy, as institutional logics may not succeed in determining forms. Moreover, in contexts in which contradicting logics emerge, institutional logics may conduct to hybrid organizations, which combine different practices from different logics, thus complicating a linear view of institutional logics-structural change relationship. (Pache and Santos, 2010).

2.3. The problem of Logics plurality and cross-level research

Recently, the critique of institutional determinism has emerged and rapidly spreads among scholars, and some strategies to solve this impasse are appearing

(Schneiberg, 2007). The tendency to represent the fields as oriented towards a more structured form, and therefore pushing for stability, has overlooked one of the first understandings of sociology and institutional theory, that is, the coexistence of different logics that govern the functioning of society and organizations (Parsons, 1960b), undermined by the gradual emergence of the concept of dominant logic, and reinforced by the concept of loose coupling (Weick, 1976), according to which a logic continues to exercise its power even when the organization formally adopts a new orientation (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Research has clarified some important points that help to overcome the institutional determinism in favor of a more complex representation of organizations. A significant role was played by cultural and interpretations studies that have highlighted the contested meanings associated with the process of institutionalization, placing it within contextual, political and cognitive processes which highlight its relative character (Zilber, 2008; Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998). At the same time, these studies have clarified that the imaginary of institutionalization consists of interpretative processes that reshape the content and hence stability (integrity) of institutional logics (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996). These analyses are complemented by the works that have focused on the role of texts in the construction of the process of institutionalization as "discourse" (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2004), confirming that language and meaning are crucial to understanding the process of social construction of the institutions themselves (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

This literature witnesses a shift in the focus of research: from similarity to diversity. In the 80's and 90's institutional studies emphasized the tendency of organizations/institutions toward *similarity* (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Among others, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) showed how the diffusion of similar structures in municipalities was pushed by the state; Meyer and colleagues (Meyer et al., 1987) found increasing similarity among public schools in the United States over the 1940-1980 period. More recent studies have instead uncovered *diversity* as a key variable in the explanation of institutional and organizational fields (David and Bitektine, 2009). *Diversity* as a result of institutional dynamics has

recently emerged in different forms: for instance, as a shift from a one-logic dominance to a constellation of logics, as in the case of the pharmaceutical industry explored by Goodrick and Reay (2011); or a shift from a sequential view of institutional logics – as in the well-known example of the transition from an editorial logic to a market-driven logic in the higher education publishing industry (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999)³ – towards an overlap of logics. This point, concerning the co-existence of different logics, is well captured in the work by Rao, Monin and Durand (2003), that accounted for the emergence of Nouvelle Cuisine as opposed to Classical cuisine in the French gastronomic industry; another example is provided by Reay and Hinings (2005), who investigated the contrast between the dominant logic of medical professionalism in health-care and the more recent principles of *business-like care in Alberta*, finding that cooperative behavior allowed for managing competing logics. More recently, R. Meyer and Höller (2010) focused the role of cultural background (local culture and sociopolitical context) in framing contested issues (in their case, shareholder value in Austria) and the concerning struggles over the meaning (and labeling) of apparently globally institutionalized concepts. In apparent contradiction with the traditional approach, Durand and Jourdan (2012) point out that conformity can be oriented toward minority logics (in their case, the logic of SOFICA investment funds, although marginal agents in the French market, determines the choices of release of filmmakers), and not only governed by dominant logic holders. In a particularly intriguing vein, Schneiberg (2007) proposes that in organizations there are like *dormant* logics, or, in his words, ‘systems of alternative industrial orders, abandoned or partially realized institutional projects and ‘paths not taken,’ including theories of order, community associations, political networks, and organizational templates and forms. These fragments or elements of alternative systems represent legacies of constitutional struggles over order and social movements whose settlements or defeats helped fix the path that triumphed. They are remnants of previous conflicts, failed or partially successful experiments with

³ Another notable example is the work by Scott and colleagues (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Scott et al., 2000) about the transition from a medical to a managerial care logic.

alternative paths and battles against what became central axes of industrial order' (p. 48).

The dialectical nature of institutions and organizations is theoretically addressed by Seo and Creed (2002), who point out the different sources of contradiction, referred to as impulse for change. First, they suggest that the seek for legitimacy undermines functional efficiency, resembling Tolbert and Zucker argument (and two-stages model) about the predominance of institutional pressures over dependence on technical efficiency; secondly, they argue that once adaptation has been accomplished, schemas become resistant to change and organizations unresponsive. Third, the authors assert intrainstitutional conformity leading to interinstitutional incompatibilities. Fourth, as far as field become more isomorphic, divergent interests are marginalized, and asymmetries in power and status arise.

Unlike this somewhat "positive" view about internal heterogeneity, Pache and Santos (2010) predict that in the case of a 'balanced internal power structure' this could also lead to a breakup, or organizational paralysis.

Although a large group of studies focused on the simultaneous presence of multiple logics in society (Friedland and Alford, 1991), the concerning implications for organizations are to some extent underestimated (Kraatz and Block, 2008).

We contend that in order to complement current research two main limitations must be addressed: recognizing the composite array of institutional logics which work within organizations and recover the bottom-up process of institutionalization. We claim that these two issues are strictly intertwined and mutual reinforcing. As far as organizations are conceived as ruled by a single (dominant) logic, there is no space for generative internal struggle, and levels are referred to as segregated (individuals from organizations, from institutions).

This argument, albeit authoritatively introduced (Jackall, 1988; Sewell, 1992) and re-proposed as determinant in institutional analysis (Drazin et al, 2004), has been surprisingly omitted (except some works, which we will mention later on, which partially deal with it).

When a single logic is assumed to be pervasive of all organization, this is in turn depicted as homogenous in nature (Sewell, 1992); consequently, the sharing of this logic through the various components of the organization suggests that a source of change can only be external, internally not being room for agents that support multiple logics, alternative to the dominant one. ‘No possibility is allowed for internally generated change or for multiple agents with different and potentially useful logics’ (Drazin et al., 2004: p. 180).

In addition, scholars have recently pointed out that logics do not evolve only over time, but also in a sort of exchange between different levels: in their analysis of the incorporation of service-learning into educational curricula, Lounsbury and Pollack (2001) argue that albeit the call for a stronger civic responsibility was claimed since the ‘60s, the reformation of educational pedagogy required a *cultural repacking* with broader field logics in order to shift service-learning discourse from marginality to the center of the field. This example recalls the importance of considering cross-level exchange as constitutively active in institutional logics work and redefinition. Albeit the recognition of this focus of attention as increased (‘research at the level of the institutional field is importantly complemented by research on intraorganizational dynamics’ Thornton et al., 2012: p. 142), we argue that the study of intraorganizational dynamics could enlighten (directly tackling) the institutional logics influence and thus accounting for organization-institutions relationship in a more fine-grained picture (not only one-way but also *recursive and cross-level*, as the model defined by Barley and Tolbert, 1997 clearly posited).

Moreover, this standpoint would help in responding to the claim for a more organization-centered theory of fields (Kraatz and Block, 2008). In particular, since Fligstein’s works (1987, 1990), implicitly recalling the arguments introduced by Selznick, a new perspective (slowly) emerged in neo-institutionalism: that institutionalization takes place also within organizations. Fligstein, in particular, depicted the evolution of American corporation, finding evidences of the existence of contending institutional logics within it (or *variants* of the general corporation logic), and that these logics drove the adoption of specific forms and practices.

The seek for a more-comprehensive balance between societal influences and intraorganizational dynamics is therefore at the heart of our work, as will be explained in more detail in the following.

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3. ESSAY 1. “Time After Time: The Slow Motion Analysis of Institutional Logics Influence”

« Sed fugit interea fugit irreparabile tempus »
Virgilio, *Georgiche*, III, 284

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ABSTRACT

Neo-institutionalism contends that institutions shape organizations. In this essay I argue that the effort to make sense of institutions-organizations relation is hampered by the lack of a time-sensitive perspective. Albeit constantly linked to duration, historical periods, phases and cycles, institutional literature has marginalized the time issue, particularly regarding short-term effect of institutional influence. I review the neo-institutional literature in order to show a background assumption about the predominance of long-term processes, and concerning weaknesses. I then discuss the reasons for a *slow-motion* analysis of institutional influences, focusing on institutional logics influence. Finally I suggest what the theoretical and methodological payoff of such analysis might be, complementing current perspectives by resolving theoretical puzzles and revitalizing old concepts.

Keywords: Organization, Institutional logics, Time.

3.1. Introduction

‘Time’ is a suggestive term, which evokes philosophical conjectures and interdisciplinary efforts. The call for a more time-sensitive approach in management and organizational studies is not new, and has cycling emerged in the literature (see Lee and Liebenau, 1999 for a review). At the societal level scholars have accounted for how societies, establishing rhythms, transform “spatio-temporal frameworks for regulating interactions, social activities and modes of thought” (Chia, 2002: 867); what insightfully emerged, is that time is “in the events” (Clark, 1985: 40) and that “the rhythm of these events need not coincide with clock time” (Butler, 1995: 928).

Hence, in the studying of events and time altering social arrangements, we need to pay attention to how time acts with respect to individual and collective agents, institutions and organizational mechanisms. Revealing time-mechanisms can then support those contributions about the influencing role that events play in shaping institutional environment (Clark, 1985; Hoffman, 1999; Meyer, Brooks and Goes, 1990, Meyer, 1982).

This need for investigation is particularly urgent, we argue, in the neo-institutionalism perspectives, and in the institutional logics methodological approach, since it allows to overcome specific current limitations, hereafter discussed, which restrict the overall ability to explain and predict organizational evolution.

Within the institutional logics (ILs) framework, centrality of time has been substantially implicit, albeit constantly alluded to. Due to its roots in the sociology of organizations, this stream of literature draws on a vast tradition of studies about organizations’ need for stability and persistence. For instance, the experimental work by Zucker in 1977 explained persistency in time as a cognitive underpinning which has been lately recalled to justify organizational search for stability and patterns of action. The search for similarity is intertwined with the seeking of stability, in order to secure organization survival (Covaleski and Dirsmith, 1988)

through continuous adaptation to external circumstances and pressures, even symbolical (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Symmetrically, the more recent trend to investigate diversity and dialectics in organizations (Seo and Creed, 2002), let emerged the different trajectories of institutionalization (Scully and Meyerson, 1996), as far as how heterogeneity of interests and powers shape institutional change and organizational reaction to institutional pressures (Leblebici, Salancik, Copay and King, 1991; Oliver, 1991).

These two components and sources of organizational analysis converged in the debate about institutional logics, interpreted as ‘frames of reference that condition actors’ choices for sense-making, the vocabulary they use to motivate action, and their sense of self and identity’ (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012: p.2).

Each perspective conceals different assumptions about the role of time. In the former view it is conceived as related to societal facts, long lasting in nature. In the latter perspective, instead, the increasing complexity observed in organizations (filtered as multitude of elements) makes the understanding of the time factor more ambiguous and uncertain. This vagueness reflects a latent attitude of the sociology of organizations, namely the so called ‘metaphysical pathos, a rhetorical defocalization of interest and agency’ (DiMaggio, 1988: p.3), which led to overlook the more concrete elements of human action, for a glimpse of order and continuity where instead, a closer reading, would exhibit disorder and discontinuity (Weick and Quinn, 1999).

The analysis of the time is in fact closely related to the perspective of organizational analysis adopted, and therefore we intend to focus on a 'time perspective' in order to provide new elements to organizational analysis. This intertwined configuration clearly emerges from literature. Facts narrated in institutional studies are profoundly sensitive to specific events in time, periods, phases, cycles (as clearly stated in the *recursive model* by Barley and Tolbert, 1997). These conventions fix and limit the boundaries of the setting, of an “institutional

era”, of the alpha and omega of some societal phenomenon (such as the adoption of a practice), and offer a specific reference point to the researcher, by proposing (even if implicitly) a given picture-in-time of the reality, its subjects and interpretative categories. For these reasons, we argue that there could be three potential weaknesses implied in the overlooking of the “time issue” in the ILs studies. In order to address these weaknesses a specific perspective is proposed – drawn on the slow-motion metaphor.

The work aims at contributing to more comprehensive approach in institutional logics perspective, by providing evidence of benefits related to a slow-motion analysis of institutional logics influence, to our knowledge under-theorized and under-investigated.

The paper is structured as follows. First, a literature review is provided in order to account for potential weaknesses concealed in the institutional logics debate. Then, in order to address these limitations, we suggest the adoption of slow-motion analysis. Furthermore, we focus on the institutional logics influence as a fruitful ground to develop the slow-motion analysis. Finally, contributions and implications for organizational analysis are discussed.

3.2. Literature review and weaknesses

A methodological and substantive trait of institutional logics research is the focus on long-term dynamics, as a result of its main roots in the social ecology approach (see Barley, 2008 about the so called Chicago School).

As is known, in fact, the institutional logics come from institutional orders (such as the family, the state, religion, the market, the professions, the company), whose evolution is intended to proceed slowly, as social practices achieve collective meaning (Dobbin, 1994).

Generally, the process of institutionalization or “structuration” (Giddens, 1984; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991) is envisioned to unfold at the field level, “a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or

products” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 143); implicitly, change to be significant must affect most of these actors, their mechanism and relations. As a consequence, change is depicted as rare and difficult to occur, at this level of analysis. In this stream of literature, indeed, fields institutional evolution is pictured as progressing through ‘transition times until one side or the other wins and the field reforms around the winning logic’ (Reay & Hinings, 2009: 632) so that an institutional logic has been replaced by dominant one (Garud et al., 2002; Lounsbury, 2002; Thornton, 2002), and this formation seems to be evolving in the long run, as most empirical studies assume since they study long-lasting processes (see for example Hoffman, 1999; Ruef and Scott, 1998; Thornton, 2002; Purdy and Gray, 2009). Even in those works which adopt a short-term setting of investigation (D’Aunno et al, 2000; Binder, 2007), differences in time span are not theoretically grounded and not supported in their potential implications, confirming that “time is treated as given and taken-for-granted, and therefore it is thought of as if it did not deserve serious research” (Lee and Liebenau, 1999: 1051).

While oriented toward stability and persistence, this literature has recently revealed how organizations subject to multiple institutional spheres exhibit *multiple logics* (Kraatz and Block, 2008), so that a dialectical view of organization emerged (Seo and Creed, 2002). Symmetrically, some scholars have progressively focused on institutional entrepreneurs, who have the power, the interest (Leblebici et al, 1991) and the motivation (Garud, Hardy and Maguire, 2007) to depart from an accepted institutional frame or “schema” (Sewell, 1992), to establish new patterns of practices and behaviors. Once more, in this work (Maguire et al, 2004; Maguire and Phillips, 2008; Goodrick and Reay, 2011) pluralism is proposed as a potential driving force for change in organizations, with scanty attention to time and its consequences for the overall analysis.

Although the “time issue” is rarely faced explicitly, facts narrated in institutional studies are profoundly sensitive to specific events in time, periods, phases, cycles, as these conventions fix and limit the boundaries of the setting, the limits of an “institutional era”, the alpha and omega of some societal phenomenon

(such as the adoption of a practice), and offer a specific reference point to the researcher, and propose (even if implicitly) a given picture-in-time of a reality, its subjects and interpretative categories.

The epistemological weakness

Time itself sets a frame of reference for what changes are seen and how those changes are explained. The more we look at present-day events the easier it is to identify change ... The longer we stay with an emergent process and the further back we go to disentangle its origins, the more we can identify continuities. Empirically and theoretically, change and continuity need one another. Action and structure are inextricably linked (Pettigrew, 1987: 649).

Institutional logics perspective does not face time directly, as we claimed above. The first limitation we identify thus concerns the interpretative sphere: considering accidental or simply contingent the choice of the time span could be risky, since time has a *constitutive* role because it shapes the interpretative categories of observers and their methodological coherence (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998). So that any choice of the time frame – especially the distinction between the short and the long-run - within which the adoption of a specific practice is analyzed, would necessarily include a certain degree of discretionary judgment, which could affect the interpretation of the phenomenon under study.

So that this gap is more evident when time is directly called into question. Many works focus, for instance, the increasing importance of market logic over organizational conduct (Scott et al, 2000; Zajac and Wetphal, 2004; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2004). This logic, as widely acknowledged, has emerged and reinforced over last 30 years, albeit unevenly across sectors and countries (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Admitting a time relevance, would imply contrasting a unitary view of logics, as if they were monolithic, in favor of a more fine-grained picture of them, with time-sensitive scales and shades of intensity (and, consequently, different degree of influence over organizations in the field).

A second concern regards the social mechanisms that drive institutionalization, namely the theorization (Strang and Meyer, 1993), meant as ‘the elaboration of abstract models of organizing structures and practices in the organizational field’ (Nigam and Ocasio, 2010: 824). Institutional logics literature has recurrently linked sense-making processes like theorization to long lasting phases, punctuated of events, which received public attention over time (Hoffman, 1999; Nigam and Ocasio, 2010; Munir, 2005). What surprisingly has been partially neglected, in this regard, is the analysis of *event course* or sequences of events which cumulatively formed or induced institutional logics to emerge. We are not referring to historical accounts, which are core characteristics of such a literature (Thornton, Ocasio, Lounsbury, 2012: p. 12); we are rather focusing the influencing role of time along different stages of event course, or sequences of events.

Taken as a conundrum, events and institutions are sharply interpreted as determinants of institutional logics. Nonetheless, the underlying movements reveal implicit and differentiated stages of legitimation (Scully and Meyerson, 1996) as far as ambiguity in interpretation and diffusion of institutional logics (Edelman, 1992; Edelman and Suchman, 1997).

Time plays a fundamental role in both these processes, as it is time of observation that allows researchers to appreciate different degrees of institutionalization or to disentangle ambiguity.

This argument involves not only a methodological reformulation of research strategies, in order to account more sensitive theoretical perspective about institutional logics, but also an epistemic reformulation of conjectural standpoint. Once assumed to be determinant, time should be theoretically addressed as shaping factor over institutional logics emergence, development and influence.

The growing of a time relevance acknowledgement renders more complex the analysis of institutional changes, since it implies a reflection about the capability of current investigation tools to cover research designs which deal with short-term or long-term phenomena. This poses a basic issue: whether long or short term

phenomena are *constitutively* different – and this would imply a different theoretical treatment – or not, as it is implicitly assumed by the most part of the institutional literature.

The ontological weakness

'Organizations' and their attributes and 'institutions' and their cultures, are nothing more than temporarily stabilized event-clusters: momentary outcomes or effects of historical processes. [Chia, 2002:866]

Critical reviews about time in organizational studies (see Butler, 1995) reveal that organization can be seen as exception (Chia, 2002) in the flux of events and actions.

Distinguishing ‘organizing’ from ‘organizations’ is mainly a matter of ‘time’: time of events and time of observation. This in turn highlights a related *ontological* argument: while attention has been mainly posed on the “time of environment”, that is how environmental pressures enable and constrain organizational change, still remains not clear how the “time of organization” acts, that is how multiple micro-events act in the start, development, failure, stabilization of new practices or systems of meaning and beliefs. This mainly reflects the prevailing argument about top-down process of *infusing* organizational behaviors and forms, that is constantly at the core of the institutional discourse, while does not appear of similar importance the bottom-up process of institutional change.

Studies about multiple logics coexistence, or hybrid organizations, or even institutional entrepreneurs, all share the same assumption about the neutrality of time or its ancillary role. Despite the Giddens argument that institutional practices are “those deeply embedded in time and space” (Giddens, 1984: 13), the scope of this statement is in our opinion underestimated. We suggest, instead, that time *plays a role* in institutions-organizations interaction, intervening in different mechanisms. Some examples are provided:

At the individual level:

- *Prioritization*: time gives sense to (and makes real the need for) priorities and hierarchy among alternatives. Individual preferences, sentiments, expectations, for example, are sensitive to time;
- *Information delimitation*: time is a central variable affecting how individuals delimits the information available, and thus attracting specific level of attention by decision makers (March, 1994; Ocasio, 1997);

At the organizational level:

- *Reinforcement*: time allows some actions (not) to become patterns, and to diffuse as routines: beyond several elements that concur to the establishment of a new practice or routines, time plays a background role, since it is the platform on which other elements (for example, trust development, sharing of values, conflict management) unfolds and changes over;
- It allows accounting for the degree of institutionalization, whatever its metrics⁴.

More importantly, time make sense of the distinction between institution and institutionalization, since this discrepancy has led to misleading concepts (Jepperson, 1991). As a status, institution works as abstract property for many forms of coordination (Jepperson, 1991: 150); as substance, it has specific constitutive attributes, which have been identified with formal organization (March and Simon, 1958; Stinchcombe, 1965).

Briefly, we propose “time” being an influential variable; even if not per se, time influence is reflected in many aspects of institutional change, concerning the individuals decision making (and in general, their psychological conditions), organizational life and evolution, field transformation and even societal renovation.

⁴ If for example we argue, with Jepperson (1991), that the more institutionalized a fact, the more invulnerable from external interferences, than time could be a fundamental reference for seizing and understanding these shifts or changes in degrees.

If we recognize this role played by time, we need to focus it through a different investigation of its role, that is, to comprehend under which circumstances it affects the top-down (institutional pressures for organizational change) or bottom-up (organizational pressures for institutional change) processes of change, depicting a scale of different degrees of influence (or neutrality) along different organizational and institutional dimensions (and settings, as well).

Distinguishing ‘organizing’ from ‘organizations’ is mainly a matter of ‘time’: time of events and time of observation. While attention has been mainly posed on the “time of environment”, that is how environmental pressures enable and constrain organizational change, still remains unclear how the “time of organization” acts, that is how IIs affect single and multiple micro-events and, consequently, how the output of those events, cumulatively, influence the development, failure, stabilization of new practices or systems of meaning and beliefs.

The teleological weakness

Why has institutional theory had little impact on management practice? [...] Institutional theorists should attempt to reduce the gap between the perspective’s theoretical prominence and its practical relevance [David and Bitektine, 2008: p. 169-171]

The third important issue regards the aim of institutional investigation. For which purposes the analysis is carried out? We argue that institutional logics offer a valuable method for linking societal and organizational analysis (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008), and thus could represent the base for new tools and research strategies. Practitioners and managers are mainly interested in short-term determinants of long term processes, because individuals’ interest and personal legitimation are bounded by facts and events more directly linked to organization, rather than societal or field level aspects. Policy makers (should) pay attention on micro-events which are the result and stimuli for individual and collective action in

organized ways, in order to understand the degree of effectiveness of institutions and institutional arrangements.

Institutional logics debate is then exposed to the risk of being weakly influential on managerial practice; this is in part because this stream of research is ‘constitutively contingent’ – as *institutions are historically contingent* (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012: p.6) -, and results difficult-to-infer: narrations are context-specific, meaning that spatial and temporal boundaries shape techniques of inquiry, and limit the generalizability of findings. Beyond their constitutive limitations, these studies are less concerned with performance issues and their motivations ‘remain predominantly theoretical’ (David and Bitektine, 2008: p. 170).

3.3. Building up a slow-motion analysis

‘The contrast between episodic and continuous change reflects differences in the perspective of the observer. From a distance (the macro level of analysis), when observers examine the flow of events that constitute organizing, they see what looks like repetitive action, routine and inertia dotted with occasional episodes of revolutionary change. But a view from closer in (the micro level of analysis) suggests ongoing adaptation and adjustment. Although these adaptations may be small, they tend to be frequent and continuous across units, which means they are capable of altering structure and strategy’ (Weick and Quinn, 1999: 362).

Our concern about time recalls the Leibniz’s⁵ metaphysics of time (for a critical review see Futch, 2008) in that no time could exist out of events and facts. Events and facts allow researchers to account for the passage of time, and concerning implications on organizational features as well as on institutional arrangements. Both from a positivist and cognitive perspectives, burden of time rests on individuals as they confront organization’s history (path dependency), expectations (strategy), present (organizational life and identity).

In this regard, we argue, that observing organizations and how they are subject to environmental pressures requires the deep exploration of events, that cumulatively or individually concurred on the one hand to the structuration of

⁵ “Correspondence with Clarke,” Leibniz’s Fourth Paper. The same reductionist approach to time has been developed by I. Kant, in contrast with Newton and his followers.

specific logics or mechanisms by which logics interact with individuals in the organizations; and on the other hand allow to account for institutional pressures on organizational responses.

In our analysis, hence, events (and in particular, “disruptive events”⁶) are interfaces between institutional logics and organizations. Moreover, events exhibit the dual nature of institutions and institutional logics, their being both symbolic and material (Sewell, 1992), as recalled by the ‘structuration’ construct. Structuration is the social mechanism operating at the level of the organizational field as it relates to its wider environment - both material-resource and institutional (Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna, 2000). As in its original formulation (Giddens, 1979, 1984) we remark that social structure exhibits a dual nature, symbolic and material, made of “rules” and “resources”, where rules are “generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social life” (Giddens, 1984: p. 21) and resources are used to “enhance or maintain power” (Sewell, 1992: 9). Beyond juxtaposition, this duality stresses the mutual reinforcement carried on by resources and mental schemas.

Schemas not empowered or regenerated by resources would eventually be abandoned and forgotten, just as resources without cultural schemas to direct their use would eventually dissipate and decay. Sets of schemas and resources may properly be said to constitute structures only when they mutually imply and sustain each other over time [Sewell, 1992: p. 13].

Duality of structuration is to be intended also in the sense that as far as cultural beliefs and values are structured they become progressively more influential (on next actors and facts) and more autonomous (from previous actors and facts). That is, a structured set of rules and beliefs is more stable with respect to subordinates, but is more rapid in changing, with reference to superordinate orders. Once more, this duality is reflected in our point of view: seen in the moment, as a

⁶ From a methodological standpoint, disruptive events show more clearly their substance and effects on organizations and units under investigation. Especially in retroactive analysis, is quite easy to isolate great and most influential facts from more ordinary and less significant in changing organizational behaviors and forms. Distinguishing among different kinds of events is not the purpose of this work. In the literature recalled the reader could find specific addresses for this issue.

stock, structure appears the result of institutional and organizational facts; seen in the changing, structure is affecting both institutions (superordinate) and organizations (subordinates). Succinctly “social behaviors constitute institutions diachronically, while institutions constrain action synchronically” (Barley and Tolbert, 1997: p.103).

The relevance of material-ideal mutual adjustment is confirmed in the arise of new institutional logics: the setting of new institutional logics requires, indeed, the attraction of resources to support and provide legitimacy for new practices (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Oliver, 1991) and to enable structuration within a field (Morrill, 2007). In other words, “the availability of material resources influences which logics are advanced and which are constrained” (Purdy and Gray, 2009: 374). Once again, this issue posits the unavoidable question of *when* this availability is influential and how its evolution affects all the interpretative categories of organizational change.

Field formation, indeed, is not a static process; triggering events “cause a reconfiguration of field membership and interaction patterns” (Hoffman, 1999: 351). The argument that events alter social arrangements has received relevant support from other studies of organizational change (Meyer, 1982; Meyer, Brooks, & Goes, 1990; Lounsbury 2002; Greenwood et al, 2011), due to social turmoil (Zucker, 1987), technological disruptions (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), competitive discontinuities (Lee and Pennings, 2002) or regulatory change (Hoffmann, 1997, Greenwood and Hinings, 1996; D’Aunno et al, 2000). Albeit their heterogeneity, and different labels (*shocks* for Fligstein [1991], *jolts* for Meyer [1982], or *discontinuities* for Lorange and colleagues [Lorange, Scott Morton, & Ghoshal, 1986]) disruptive events are acknowledged to create high degree of uncertainty for individuals and organizations, forcing the diverging from established set of practices and beliefs (Meyer, 1982), disturbing field-level consensus, in favor of new archetypes (Greenwood and Hinings, 1988, 1993, 1996; Hinings, Greenwood, Reay and Suddaby, 2004).

When “legitimacy-related environmental pressures” (George, Chattopadhyay, Sitkin, and Barden, 2006: 349) condensed in an event, this gives rise

to a particular interesting setting for observing both event-institutions and event-organization relations, through which enlighten determinants of organizational change, and its characteristics.

Events, thus, allow for accounting institutional logics diachronically, by observing how institutional logics evolve over time, how do they affect organizations, and how they are modified by organizations and their actions. In this sense, studying “institutional logics” insulated from *duration* is meaningless. The notion of institution, in brutal terms, relies on some form of *persistence* over something else (hierarchically at a lower level of analysis) that is more rapid in change, more vulnerable, more flexible, less influential, more fragmented. This postulate resides at the base of each theory of institutions and institutions’ influence, and it is condensed in the conception of *institution as property*, that is “relative to particular context” (Jepperson, 1991: 146).

Focusing a slow-motion analysis we devote our attention mainly to the interpretative sphere, and thus on the epistemological weakness earlier pointed out. This approach entails ontological concerns about what the phenomenon under study is. Considering organizational evolution as always at work implies, indeed, a specific lens of investigation. We argue that this choice, albeit critical, did not attract much attention.

A slow-motion analysis, drawing on the recalled metaphor, remarks the need for zooming in previous-ignored details of change, and involves a time and space sensitive approach.

As a spatial metaphor, slow-motion analysis implies explicit attention to cross-level interactions. Beyond early diffusion study methodologies, relying on correlation between external change in environment and subsequent observed modification in a population of organizations, slow-motion analysis focuses specifically the top-down and bottom-up effect of each change, whether the input is intra-organizational or environmental. In this sense, it considers organization as an institution itself (Kraatz and Block, 2008). This implies rejecting the presumption of

hierarchical dominance of macro-societal change over intra-organizational dynamics, as far as the assumption that intra-organizational changes are, at least in the short-term, less influencing on subsequent organizational structure or conduct than macro-societal variations.

Cross-level research thus becomes the core nature of this perspective, not one of its attributes. Put differently, this focus shifts attention from the effect of long term processes over short-term behaviors to the combination of short-term effects (derived from institutions and organizations) on organizations and institutions.

This standpoint draws also on a processual view of organization, which is not well captured by multivariate analyses (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009), and which imposes to pay attention to the effect of time over changing phenomena. This concern is not exhaustively resolved in the adoption of duration models, which account for time directly, but requires interpretative approaches (Zilber, 2002, 2008) as far as historical accounts (Dobbin, 2004). Slow-motion analysis remarks the importance of selecting critical events, as we mentioned above.

In order to avoid the absolute relativity of temporal references, we consider the selection of ‘precipitating events’ fundamental, as it allows building up a metric for evaluating micro and macro-processes at work. Each event, especially when critical, exposes organizations and environment (for example, regulatory agencies) to decisions of change or resist. Moreover, the event offers a clear term of reference (albeit sometimes not so self-evident as pointed out by Munir, 2005; Rowlinson, 2005), upon which to compare conducts and interpretations. Events work as transitions, in the sense that they (induce to) maintain something already existing, and (induce to) open up new trajectories and spaces for conducts.

In the decision process to change or resist, we argue, is the well-suited setting for studying micro and macro processes heterogeneity and degree of convergence.

This approach assumes a strong relevance of events, which recalls Mead’s concept of the present, depicted “not a piece cut out anywhere from the temporal dimension of uniformly passing reality. Its chief reference is to the emergent event,

that is, to the occurrence of something which is more than the processes that have lead up to it and which by its change, continuance, or disappearance, adds to later passages a content they would not otherwise have possessed” (Mead, 1932, p. 52). Passage then becomes a succession of distinguishable emergences each of which arising a present as the past is reconstructed to support an anticipated future.

Epistemologically speaking, a slow-motion analysis focuses on change and discontinuity, rather than persistence and continuity, on fragments rather than trends.

The core assumption of this approach is that *before organizations and their conduct become institutionalized, there is a space and time in which diversity, inconsistencies, fragments emerge, and these contradictions are seeds for change in organizations as far as in institutions.*

In this sense, this strategy is in the tradition of those studies which rely on a dialectical view of organizational becoming (Benson, 1977; Seo and Creed, 2002).

3.4. Institutional logics influence

In the short run, actors create relations; in the long run, relations create actors.

(Padgett & Powell, 2012: p.2)

In order to better explain how a slow-motion analysis could complement current methodologies and theories about institutional logics, we provide an exemplary argument about institutional logics influence.

Institutional logics debate is becoming increasingly relevant in organization studies. As a recent perspective (Thornton, Lounsbury and Ocasio, 2012), a central question regards its methodologies and encompassing research domains.

The ILs literature has mainly been concerned with the emergence and succession of different eras, investigating how the transition from a period to another has led to consequences over specific organizational forms, attributes or conducts (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Ruef and Scott, 1998; Scott et al., 2000; Greenwood et al, 2010).

As mentioned above, institutional logics perspective sees organizations as cultural entities, so that transformation is difficult, due to need to abandon a cultural anchor – and concerning archetypes – in order to give way to something radically different (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996, 2006). This difficult-to-occur change is mainly related to the underlying assumption that every material and symbolic element which defines organizations is institutionally-derived, so that in order to an organizational change to occur it requires an *antecedent* transformation in the institutional realm (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). Literature has explained how even interests and power (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Friedland and Alford, 1991; Brint and Karabel, 1991), as far as attention (Ocasio, 1997), are institutionally driven.

This “totalizing view” of institutions, as shaping any observable instance of organizations life, conceals a wide array of options for organizational conduct and individual agency, as if institutions-organizations relation were deterministic or automatic. We argue, instead, that even institutions shape organizations and individuals conducts, they leave room for recombination of those influences, as translation studies have clarified (Czarniawska, 2008), and thus more heterogeneity in practice.

As far as organizations are exposed to multiple institutional orders, thus multiple institutional logics exert pressures over organizations, generating non-linear conducts and non-predicting behaviors (Goodrick and Reay, 2011). Once we acknowledge institutional pluralism, we need to pay attention to the subsequent organizational heterogeneity, as determinant for organizational change (Seo and Creed, 2002; Kraatz and Block, 2008). To this end, institutional logics could be a fruitful setting for investigation. Institutional logics, indeed, entail both material and symbolic traits, thus appear appropriate to reconcile top-down effects of institutions over organizations and individuals, as far as bottom-up effects of organizations and individuals over institutions (Thornton, Ocasio, Lounsbury, 2012).

The mainstream conception of organizations and organizational change – as induced by a prevailing logic – indeed, appears to be inadequate, as far as institutional pluralism is acknowledged (Kraatz and Block, 2008). First, because institutional logics plurality revamps the need for integrity among constituents, that is to assume organization being an institution itself (Selznick, 1957; Stinchcombe, 1997), something different from the institutions the influence it and from the conducts it assumes. Secondly, because as far as multiple logics arise, change appears ‘less rare and remarkable than it may appear from a neo-institutional perspective’ (Kraatz and Block, 2008:p. 257).

This profound shift in attention leads to consider organizations as a *glue* which binds, variably, organizational elements, and thus filters institutional logics influence.

As a filter, organization thus allows for some variance in the relation institutional logics-organizational conducts⁷. This heterogeneity is to be observed in the short-term, as we assume that over time institutions reinforce their role and exert increasing pressure over organizations, strengthening their mutual reinforcement role.

Early institutional studies focused on institutional isomorphism, interpreted as an overall tendency of organizations in a field to assume similar forms and attitudes, in order to gain “political power and institutional legitimacy” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 150). Symmetrically, when focusing organizational evolution, we expect ‘multiple isomorphisms’ as many as institutional logics influence organization. In doing so, we assume that *as far as organizations are exposed to one (or more) institutional logic(s), coeteris paribus, they become more coherent with that IL’s prescriptions and expected consequences.*

Taken together, these arguments let us identifying a *moment* in which is possible to disentangle institutions from organizations, and this moment is, in our account, observable in the short period, where multiplicity of institutional logics is

⁷ Same reasoning could be extended to organizational forms.

in action, and not all organizational practices and attitudes are institutionalized, in the sense of being consistent with a specific institutional logic.

This application of how institutional logics influence organizations bears two fundamental consequences for the studying of organizations. First, it is cross-level in nature, as it requires to bridge field level analysis (emergence and evolution of institutional logics) with intra-organizational investigations (organizational practices' coherence). Secondly, it requires to shift from a view in which change is exclusively induced by exterior influences (*external institutions*), by a perspective in which organization itself works as an institution, thus allowing for different level of consonance or dissonance among practices and institutional logics.

This reasoning could help in reconciling institutional logics perspective with organizational anarchies (Cohen and March, 1986), organizational unintended consequences (Selznick, 1949), organizational transformation by accidents (Kraatz and Ventresca, 2006), divergent change (D'Aunno et al, 2000; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996).

This view complements Barley and Tolbert (1997) diachronic model of structuration, by adding the focus on the short-term, as a need for investigating institutional logics influence. Our amendments complement their *recursive model* and its later reformulations (Weber and Glynn, 2006), by remarking the role played by organizational heterogeneity, which lead to reconsider the overall array of potential institutional influence outcomes, and concerning trajectories.

As evident, in order to account for these relations we need to pay attention to specific events, with respect to which observe organizational conduct and confront it with institutional logics influence.

Institutional pluralism begins in the micro-event, or at least should be visible in it, as it is in more long-lasting and higher-level movements, even if with different degrees of evidence. If complexity is detectable also in the individual event, we argue, 'time' can help in discerning those internal complexities and interpreting meanings and influences that - coming from the institutional logics - are

continuously modified by organizations subjected to them. *Like in a slow-motion analysis*, we could identify particulars which are components of wider organizational and institutional attitudes.

3.5. Contributions and implications

We claim the chance of identifying particular organizational traits, which are components of wider organizational and institutional attitudes, adopting a *slow-motion* lens of analysis. As far as institutional pluralism is recognized at the field level, the adoption of a *slow-motion* perspective may allow discerning the place and the time in which institutional logics multiplicity is in action. How it begins, and propagates over time in more long-lasting and higher-level movements at the field level. Therefore, the role of ‘time’ becomes crucial in order to disentangle internal organizational complexities and interpret their meanings and influences - exerted by the ILs - that are continuously modified by organizations subjected to them. Closer (specific traits) and slower (specific movements) observed could, for example, enlighten to what extent organization responds to institutional logics, organizational praxis converges towards institutional pressures, the degree of divergence is resistant over time.

Based on these preliminary considerations, we derive a distinctive peculiarity of *slow-motion analysis*, which could justify its employment in the institutional studies: its dual nature, both spatial and temporal. As a spatial lens, it implies a focus on intermediate or apparently partial components of an institutions-organization interaction, that is, a specific content of action. As a temporal metaphor, it entails a selection of specific momentum (event, see above) and clarifies the role of time in shaping behavior. As a combination of the two distinctive traits, a *slow-motion analysis* allows us to pay attention to *more* elements and reveal *more* relations.

Compared to the common trend in institutional logics analysis – the observation of long-lasting phenomena (typically the emergence of logics) –we claim that a short-term analysis is needed for a deeper appreciation of variance in the

moment in which institutional multiplicity is ‘in action’ (Zilber, 2011), that is when institutional logics actually affect organizational practices. Our contribution to the field is to highlight the opportunity of relying on model encompassing two time-frames: one, which is commonly employed, where institutional logics are narrated as shaped by long sequences of events (Hoffman, 1999; Munir, 2005; Nigam and Ocasio, 2010) at the field level; the other one – proposed here – which requires to slow down the analysis in order to a) freeze a specific status of multiplicity of ILs (the degree to which different logics coexist within the focal organization(s) and b) observe in detail how this complexity works.

This work confirms the importance of combining different narrations of the relationship between institutions and organizational practices. Our approach complements the evolution of the institutional discipline and emphasizes the need to combine different "times of observations". This is because, although ILs are formed often in very long periods, their influence is observable in the short term, where it is possible to unravel the complexities arising from the variety of logics and of organizational practices. We stress that observing institutional logics influences on organizational responses contributes to the shift from a field to an organizational-level of analysis, which ultimately can enlighten the dynamics at the more aggregated level. In this sense, this work shares the same starting point of Zilber (2011) whose aim was “to unpack institutional multiplicity in action. Instead of accounting for its long-term effects, I aim at analyzing how actors construct multiplicity” (p. 1541). Specifically, our work meant just to dwell on the other side of the coin, by paying attention to the consequences of the institutional logics multiplicity.

3.6. References

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4. FIELD OF STUDY: Institutional Logics and the Evolution of Italian Museums

4.1. Introduction

Museum field and cultural organizations sector have often attracted scholars attention, over time, both as setting for general investigation issues (as the notable work about “organizational lag” by Damanpour and Evan, 1984) and for specific analyses on nonprofit and cultural sector (e.g. DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990).

The famous work by DiMaggio (1991) about art museums in U.S. history reveals different ‘dominant models’ around which founders, managers, regulators, experts, publics built up their continuous re-orientation of expectations, rules and ways of conducting art museums. The shift from an educational to a curatorial orientation, and the clear opposition between two models, namely the Gilman (Boston) – ‘devoted to object’ – and the Dana (Newark) – devoted to ‘public education’ model - account for the great variety in the management of museums. This heterogeneity also points out the unavoidable persistence of multiple logics as well as the fundamental role of professionals in creating consensus in the field.

The dynamics of Museums in Italy are very well captured in the aforementioned opposition between object-oriented and public education-oriented models. The second half of the nineteenth century has been characterized by the founding of large number of civic museums, whose collections were mostly coming from the sale of ecclesiastic estates (1866), and thus the forfeiture of ecclesiastic artifacts. In the Kingdom period, after the unification of the country (1861), national and local museums were substantially autonomous, until the early twentieth century; the beginning of the twentieth century exhibited the raise of a special legislation for heritage protection which reduced the degree of autonomy of most of museums, and unexpectedly starting a long period of negligence, under the fascism and world wars period. Only with the ‘60s a new (active) approach to museology and cultural education began and led to the formation of a specific

administrative culture, which culminated with the institution of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, in 1974.

More recently, specific pieces of legislation has been developed at the beginning of the new century, which favor the rise of a peculiar configuration of museum system, in which responsibilities and competences are distributed at different levels of government (State, Regions, Provinces and Municipalities), with wide areas of disciplined private intervention. We specifically refer to the constitutional reform of the 2001, which assigned broad decision power to the regions for the planning and improvement of quality in all museums, with the exceptions of national museums, which still remain under the Ministry responsibility.

This chapter reports our investigation of institutional logics governing Italian museums. What we accounted for, is the emergence in different eras of diverse institutionalized attitudes, through which conceptions of museum evolved, not only from scholar perspective, but also in the legislation focus, and the practice of regulators and museums.

4.2. Institutional logics in museums: the case of Italy

Method

Research designs in institutional logics literature typically draw on historically account of events (Hoffman, 1999) and trends that indirectly show which institutional logics prevailed within a certain period (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). This approach is here adopted, as we in the following narrate how different institutional logics formed, but also complemented, as it differs from the antecedents in some points. Albeit we adopt a simplified description of different sequential ‘eras’, we acknowledge overlapping period and, most of all, our standpoint is retrospective with respect to the current present. It implies that we observe historical institutional logics as the sedimentation of different periods of events which ultimately converged in what museums are nowadays. Thus, differently from others (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Ruef and Scott, 1998), our segregation of eras, confirms the existence

of prevailing logics in the past, but does not implies that those logics are limited to their ‘focal’ period. Put differently, we accounted for logics which are still present in museums, albeit they emerged and formed along different periods.

In the tradition of such a studies – mostly based on Doty and Glick’s use of typologies in theory building (Doty and Glick, 1994) – we conducted several interviews to point out which institutional logics govern museums and how did they formed.

We conducted 35 in-depth interviews during 2012 and 2013, in order to complement our literature and document analysis about museums in Italy. From literature review and interviews we derived three ideal types that we labeled curatorial, managerial and relational eras and logics.

Interviewees were sampled on the base of different sources: direct participation to meeting held by Ministry of Cultural Heritage about museums; thematic literature; websites of national associations related to museum studies and promotion (such as ICOM, Italia Nostra, Federculture, Association of Contemporary Art Museums, Association for the Economy of Culture).

Informants interviewed are experts in conservation, management and promotion of museums; they mainly work in public institutions or non-profit associations (57%), have more than twenty-years of experience (65%), and have held direct high-standing positions in museums (73%).

A map of Institutional Logics

In the evolution of museum field in Italy we distinguish three main eras, namely: the curatorial/technical era, the managerial era, and the relational era.

For each era we provide below a brief description of its birth, the major events that have characterized its emergence, as well as the tangible manifestations of its predominant logic. The overall description allows us to understand fully the current multiplicity of logics that govern the operation of museums today, because, as discussed below, the logics have overlapped over time, and not replaced one each other. This results in a peculiar configuration of today museums, which are experiences tension among different logics, as they are pressured by a deep financial

crisis which makes uncertain the destiny of many small museums and requires all stakeholders (regulators, institutions, public, funders, and of course museums) to rethink the mode of operation, also to accommodate new social issues that meanwhile were formed and quickly change.

Italian Museum field is characterized by a great number of public (both national and local), private (for and non-profit oriented) and public-private (typically managed by a legal entity which has private status but its owned by public authorities and private partners⁸) museums, owned by the State, the Regional Authorities, the local-governments (provinces and municipalities), the Church, the non-profit organizations, the companies, the families. The total number is around 3,618, including 209 national museums⁹ (managed by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities - Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali) and 3.409 non-national¹⁰ (ISTAT 2013).

Curatorial era: from the Unification to the '980s

“Art galleries, painting galleries and, in general, museums open to the public are institutions that realize the goal of culture, by means of a complex of goods duly sorted and made available to the general public; to this purpose, they add that, not least, of the collection and preservation of things of artistic, historical, scientific, etc., interest, which constitute the nation's cultural heritage” (T. Alibrandi, P. Ferri, *I beni culturali e ambientali*, Milano 1985)¹¹.

The profile of Italian museums is primarily linked to the pre-unification history, namely the collections of princes and nobles who have guarded and then exhibited their collections of works of art. Italian museums (large and small) are in fact born from the evolution of large collections of princes, popes and kings of the

⁸ The “Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape” (Leg. Decree n. 42/2004) provides the possibility of establishing mixed entities: with private legal status and public majority of ownership.

⁹ Source: SISTAN-MiBAC (retrieved January 2013).

¹⁰ Source: ISTAT National Office of Statistics “I musei e gli istituti similari non statali”, 2010. The survey, launched in 2007, was conducted in close collaboration with the Regions and Provinces autonomous and the Ministry of Heritage and Culture, who participated respectively in the activities of production of data and the development of the system and data recording. Based on the data collected, it was possible to trace the mapping not just of the museums active in Italy in 2006, but also other structures which exhibit the ‘character’ of museum, because they acquire, preserve, and expose to the public items, goods and / or cultural interest collections, such as areas and archaeological sites, monuments and monumental complexes.

¹¹ This definition is reported in the Ministerial Decree n.244/2001.

ancient states, collections which originated as a display of taste and prestige, understood as essential elements of sovereignty. During the '400 and '500 flourished the 'closed collections', so called because of the narrow circle of audience, limited to the courts; but gradually the audience widened and even the commissioning party has been transformed, because cardinals, bishops, aristocrats and merchants began to create their own collections, and the market for art works with foreign countries emerged as common practice in Italy and in Europe (Settis, 2002).

The Uffizi Gallery, for example, occupies the top floor of the large building erected by Giorgio Vasari between 1560 and 1580 to house the administrative offices of the Tuscan State. The Gallery was created by Grand-duke Francesco I and subsequently enriched by various members of the Medici family, who were great collectors of paintings, sculpture and works of art. The collection was rearranged and enlarged by the Lorraine Grand-dukes, who succeeded the Medici, and finally by the Italian State.

The story of museums is hence difficult to account for, since it is influenced by the rise and decline of the families at different times. The core of the most important sculptures and paintings in the Borghese Gallery, for example, date back to Cardinal Scipione's collection (1579-1633), son of Ortensia Borghese, sister of Pope Paul V, and Francesco Caffarelli, but the events of the next three centuries, including losses and acquisitions, have left their mark, which resulted in the current state of collection.

In consideration of their origins and the need - primarily, to preserve the collections - museums have, from the beginning, assumed the role of protectors of beauty, to guarantee the maintenance of the prestige of the families by the will of which they were created.

It should also be added that the gradual expansion of the social base of clients and of the public made it clear the 'civic function' exerted by the collections. This aspect has marked the transition from private property to public office, later identifying the museum as we know it today. Examples can be traced in the laws of

the city-Italian courts, which since the end of the '500 have sought to protect the public value of the assets at the expense of private property, through constraints and limitations posed to private action (Emiliani, 1978).

This framework, confirmed in the newly unified Country, also resulted in the peculiar structure of state intervention, as it is articulated by local superintendents, specialized in areas of scientific knowledge (archaeological or monumental superintendents, for example), and finally merged into the law n. 1089 of 1939, which still today represents the inspiration of the "Italian model" and was an example to many countries in the world (Settis, 2002).

This particular attitude of legislation has crystallized two key components of the public sector: the belief that the artistic heritage is 'public by definition', and consequently, the obligation for the State to protect this asset in its entirety, guaranteeing the *inalienability*¹². This vocation was finally enshrined in the Constitution of the Italian Republic in the first part, called "fundamental principles" (art. 9) where it is stated: 'The Republic protects the landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation'.

This *ratio* has also been strengthened with the training and employment of art historians, restorers and conservators¹³, professionals in which Italy boasted an unparalleled record in Europe. Technical professions in recovery and conservation are a point of excellence recognized at the international level, through the high quality of training institutions (e.g. Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro, Istituto Centrale per il Restauro).

As a consequence of their origins and the development of professional skills in conservation, the rationales governing museum life were substantially defined by experts, an elitist group of art lovers and professionals trained in the academies, who

¹² It is important to remind that legislation has traditionally focused items and collection, not museums as organizations. So that, for example, the important law n. 1089/1939 does not mention the word museum in any of its 73 articles.

¹³ The DM May 26, 2009, n. 86 defines the skills of the restorers and other technicians engaged in activities complementary to the restoration or conservation of cultural heritage. It focuses 3 profiles: a) restorer on cultural heritage; b) technician for restoration ("assistant conservator of cultural heritage") and c) technician for the restoration of cultural heritage with specific responsibilities).

shared the passion for *antiques and fine arts*, as it was then called the cultural heritage.

Managerial Era: from the 1980's to the 1990s

In the late '70s and beginning of the '80s Western countries witnessed a radical change in the public sector with the emergence of new patterns of public service provision, later labeled as the 'New Public Management' movement (Hood, 1991; Dunsire, 1995). First practices started in the United Kingdom under Thatcher's government and the US that heavily suffered from recession and tax revolts, later expanding to most OECD countries (Gruening, 2001; OECD, 1995). This new approach emerged as a response to drastic increases in public expense and consequent budget inefficiencies and deficit, as well as citizens asking for more transparency. This eventually led to the seek for new institutional and organizational assets inspired to principles of efficiency and efficacy, or what Ferlie et al. (1996) describe as the three Ms': markets, managers and measurement. This transition was basically aimed at overcoming the bureaucratic model in favor of approaches and models closer to those of the private sector (Scaletti, 2010), with the belief that a market-oriented management of the public sector would lead to greater cost-efficiency.

This new wave was founded in some key principles and was characterized by these features:

- Adoption of budgeting methods, performance measurement and control systems for a more efficient management of human and financial resources;
- More emphasis on strategic planning and management;
- Strengthened accountability on results for public managers and officials in order to favor transparency;
- Management by objectives and processes - with attention to quality and results as opposed to traditional approaches based on respect of procedures and rules;
- Personnel management and introduction of incentive systems;

- Separation of provision and production, politics and administration (coordination/control and management);
- Increased privatization and contracting out of services;
- Downsizing, including decentralization of administrative functions and simplification of administrative procedures;
- More use of information technology.

In Italy this process occurred relatively late compared to other countries. Only in the 1990s the Italian public sector moved towards the adoption of more managerial approaches and models of governance (Anselmi, 1995; Borgonovi, 2005; Marcon, 1999). This process of reform was essentially based on two guiding principles: public policy and division of responsibilities between the State, Local Authorities and the civil service. Interestingly, this reform took place through the adoption of legislative measures, leading to a process of modernization ‘managed by law’ (Meneguzzo, 1997; Panozzo, 2000). In this scenario turning points were Law 241/1990, Law 142/1990, and Law 474/1994, which were strongly inspired to principles of decentralization of functions and narrowing of the gap between market and State. Based on criteria of economy and efficiency, these laws contributed to reform the Public Administration by widening the range of institutional forms for the management of public services and by introducing privatization measures and contracted out forms (as the D. Lgl 1992 and 1993 that regulated the healthcare sector). Extremely important in this sense was the Constitutional change caused by Law 3/2001, which introduced the principle of vertical subsidiarity: functions are allocated to the institutional level closest to citizens; therefore the State is in charge of those residual functions which cannot be exercised by other governmental levels.

These principles strongly influenced also the cultural heritage sector, whose traditional conception started being put in discussion at the beginning of the ‘90s by a series of laws and reforms. In particular the above mentioned Law 142/1990 played a significant role as it transferred the valorization function to local authorities. In the same years the minister Ronchey posed the conditions for a concrete expansion of museum services first with DL November 14, 1992, n. 433, then converted in the

Law 14 January 1993 n. 4, which endowed museums not only longer working hours but also a range of additional services (bookshop, imaging-reproduction services, education activities, cafes, as well as ticketing and vigilance) that could be given in concession to a private entity. The importance of this law lies in the affirmation that the main *raison d'être* of museums and heritage sites is their accessibility and ability to provide a cultural service to the public. The main logic behind this law was to create separate sources of profit that could sustain a museum's core activities. Therefore a series of managerial functions, from accounting to marketing, needed to be activated in order to guarantee adequate sources of profit. This clearly triggered a shift towards more entrepreneurial vision of heritage and culture, allowing the involvement of private actors and expanding the scope of services to be provided to a wide audience.

Another turning point is represented by the Law October 8, 1997, n. 352 that gave financial and administrative autonomy to the Superintendence of Pompeii, and subsequently art. 8 of Decree 368/98 that paved the way for the autonomy of Archaeological Superintendence of Rome (with DM 22.05.2001) and the four poles Museali in Rome, Naples, Florence and Venice (with DM 11.12.2001). Moreover, the DL 112/98 allowed transferring State museums' management to the Regions, emphasizing again the distinction between the function of protection -which remains the exclusive prerogative of the State- and the functions of management, enhancement and promotion that can be transferred to local authorities, and may be also subject of regional legislation. This step was further defined with the Decree Law 112/1998, which art. 150, paragraph 1 provides that a joint committee composed of five representatives of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities as far as members of local authorities appointed by the Joint Conference will have to identify the museums or other cultural national sites whose management remains at the State and for which it is transferred to the regions, provinces or municipalities; paragraph 6 also provides that the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities determines technical-scientific criteria and minimum standards to ensure an adequate level of collective fruition of sites, their safety and risk prevention. This

eventually produced as outcome the Ministerial Decree of 10 May 2001 entitled “Guideline on technical-scientific criteria and standards of operation and development of museums”, which resulted from consultation between the Ministry and local authorities.

The shift towards more managerial models has emerged as a result of both internal and external factors. As internal factors, the above mentioned 1990’s laws, the Constitutional Reform of 2001 and the new financial autonomy of Superintendences and Poli Museali have led to an more defined division of roles and responsibilities and an increased specialization of functions (preservation, management and valorization of the cultural heritage). This inevitably caused more complexity and therefore the need for coordination mechanisms: the increased specialization of governmental levels accelerated the process towards strategic planning, management by objectives, cost control and emphasis on results.

Other external factors contributed to this complexity, such as the increasing number of museums and similar institutions (collections, archeological sites, and villas): museums multiplied over the XIX and XX centuries but a real explosion occurred in the period between 1976 and 2006, with the rise of over 3.300 new institutions, above all museums of art, ethnography and archeology.

Interestingly this trend in the cultural offer found its counterpart in the demand composition: visitors and users became more demanding and their expectations started including new elements, expanding in terms of both scope and range. Nowadays museums are requested not only to exhibit items and to deliver educational services: they are expected to be public spaces that favor social cohesion, to be more attractive and adopt younger communication strategies, to be connected with others cultural and entertainment organizations, to be efficient and accountable, and to have high quality additional services.

Moreover, the range of expectations about museum supply have dramatically augmented in terms of extended opening hours (museums are expected to be open in occasion of special events, also at night), variety of services (e.g. restaurant service

must have vegetarian menu, bookshop should focus on a specific historic period, etc.), and ways of running and accounting museum activities (not only having a balance sheet but also guaranteeing transparency and providing social reports). This is further complicated by the fact that the frequency of interactions between museums and users has also increased: interests are continuously reformulated and museums are more exposed to frequent interaction, both with individuals (customer care are now implicitly relevant and active for many museums) and with external parties (the press, regulatory agencies, professional associations, local communities) in the form of personal interaction or documents which exhibit a specific attention towards stakeholder interests (annual social report, continuous disclosure of strategies and policies adopted by the museum).

Different elements and facts prove that this radical change has occurred and has given rise to debates on the role of the public administration and cultural management.

A good example is the creation in 2009 of a General Direction for the Valorization of culture, under the direction of Mario Resca, former Italian McDonald's president and CEO, whose goal was to "adopt a new language, able to understand and communicate the needs of the visitor-client". This decision caused a heated debate that led to the resignation of the Superior Council President Salvatore Settis, who claimed that "managing a big company or Italian museums is not the same thing". However, this new General Direction was clearly inspired to principles of NPM such as transparency, accountability, public-private partnership and innovation, looking at the museum primarily as a service.

This major change was also acknowledged by scholars and discussed in the academic field: it is not by coincidence that in Italy the earliest publications on these issues date at the mid-1990s, when terms such as cultural management and marketing for museums started being included in the vocabulary and culture associated with the business sphere. Books' titles of that time are emblematic in order to understand the progressive emergence of this trend: "The museum-firm: economic, managerial and organizational problems" (Roncaccioli, 1996), "The

museum as a firm: management and organization at the service of culture" (Bagdadli, 1997), "The marketing of museums" (Avorio, 1999), "Measuring and communicating results: museum accountability" (Sibilio Parri, 2004), and so forth.

Similarly, Italian universities started including in their programs courses specifically dedicated to the management of arts and culture: Bocconi University, Luiss Business School, Venice Ca' Foscari and IED (European Institute of Design) to name a few, exemplify something that nowadays proliferate eventually achieving institutional recognition also in this field.

Relational Era: recent years

The debate about the role of museum as organization whose mission is to go beyond conservation of collection has been supported by the American Association of Museums (AAM). The association, founded in 1906 brings together over 3,000 museums. Since the '40s, in the wake of the new cultural demand linked to the new middle class emerged within the post-war economic boom, the AAM had begun to call the museums and institutions to greater openness to the local context, greater accountability, and social interpretation of the finds and collections. In this way, as well as later in Europe, it triggered the development of the trend towards specialization of museums, as far as their increasing opening to the context in which they are placed. Symmetrically, the law Malraux in France in 1962, proclaiming that the context of cultural heritage is part of its value, marks an important step in European policies. The commission Franceschini in Italy reiterated the same principle in 1967, finally subtracting the notion of cultural heritage to the simple aesthetic significance that it had until then.

The beginning of a relational attitude in the evolution of Italian museums has recent origins, but important antecedents in Europe. Indeed, a conception of the museum as an organization *related to society* is not entirely new, and it is partially present since the early stages of museums history in Italy and elsewhere. However, the awareness of the public value of culture is not apparent until its institutionalization, with the creation of a concerning Ministry. So, for example, a

first important discontinuity in the European landscape is identified in the birth of the French Ministry of Culture (1959) who paid attention and addressed resources to a policy of access, interpreted as active promotion of greater public participation in the fruition of the heritage and the arts. The model, contributing to a wider process of construction of the welfare state, has also inspired many countries, including Italy which set up a specific Ministry in the mid-70s.

The Italian orientation was, for the reasons set out above, always characterized by a predominance of conservation over disclosure, and therefore many of the concepts and initiatives that have characterized Europe after World War II did not substantially affected Italian cultural policies.

As widely recognized, policies addressing relation between museums and their context have been developed in northern Europe, and in particular in the United Kingdom. The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council¹⁴ (MLA), for example, has drawn up a report entitled 'New Directions in Social Policy', designed to provide support to the museums (as well as to libraries and archives) to ensure access to all, including specific disadvantaged people. Among the instruments proposed by MLA (covering cultural diversity, disability, social inclusion, just to mention a few) there is the "'Access for All Self-Assessment Toolkit", which presents a list of widely shared barriers (physical / environmental, sensory, intellectual, cultural, attitudinal, financial and technological) and of related questions to overcoming them. The kit shows how the problems of access regard not only educational services, but all functions. So, access in museums is defined not in general terms, but also in operational ones, concerning the *ethos*, the access policies, the collections, the current and potential users, the marketing and advertising strategies, the human resource management, the partnership and network activities (MLA, 2004).

In this line of experiences, mostly Anglo-Saxon, physical and cognitive accessibility of museums in recent years has been accompanied by a tendency to

¹⁴ The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) was until May 2012 a non-departmental public body and registered charity in England with a remit to promote improvement and innovation in the area of museums, libraries and archives. Its functions relating to museums, libraries and archives were transferred on 1 October 2011 to the Arts Council England and the National Archives.

identify (legitimate) public intervention in the culture (especially in favor of museums) as a lever for local development. There are many initiatives, in Europe, which showed an increasing trend in this direction: ECOC initiative (European City / Capital of Culture) clarified for example how culture could be used as a an opportunity to reinforce (socially and economically) the status of important cultural centers such as Athens (1985), Florence (1986), Amsterdam (1987), West Berlin (1988), Paris (1989), to more recent cities like Liverpool (2008), Essen (2010), Marseille (2013).

Among the clues of this trend, there is the well-known case of the Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao (opened in 1997), with its sensational success that arose as flagship cultural artifact proposed to revitalize a city's urban and economic fabric. The initial success of the cultural investment generated a media buzz, which coined the term "Guggenheim effect", to witness the city's transformation from a run-down manufacturing city to a capital of culture.

For public cultural institutions (or publicly funded), developments the last decade have led to some fundamental consequences:

5. more energy devoted *audience development*, and more particularly to development of programs and initiatives for people in training (in school and out of school) and public traditionally "marginalized";
6. the evolution of cultural institutions as places dedicated to preserving and transmitting culture, thus working as agents of social change, which pose reference communities at the heart of their mission;
7. Research methodologies to identify and support the social benefits of short and long-term activities (in order to contribute to community development), and thus gaining access to public finance.

This increasing pressure for openness and widening cultural mission to encompass broader societal issues (Sandell, 2003; Sullivan, 1994; Milner, 2004) has led, in western countries, to a rethinking of the role of museums, balancing conflicting goals (Janes, 2004; Kotler and Kotler, 2000), and to major level of

disclosure and accountability (Boyd, 1991), as far as to more contextual interpretation of what museum is (Phillips, 1993). As a consequence, boards and relation to external parties (beyond donors and funders) have become central in the management of museums (Message, 2007).

Clear practical evidences of this change have been observed in museums, where social reporting (Christensen and Mohr, 2003) and techniques of 'civil engagement' (Black, 2010) have been widely developed.

It is worth noting that Italy remained almost immune from all this movement, because, unfortunately, the public debate has been polarized in the usual diatribe between conservation and management, without important innovations (Zan, 2003).

Exemplary in this regard is the first social report produced in Italian museums. The Social Report" produced and published in 2007 by the Museum of Natural History and Archaeology of Montebelluna (TV). An important document, which witnesses the awareness of its staff about their social commitment, as they express the need "to account for how the museum operates, how it spends the money it receives from the municipality, which are the results and the effects produced on the territory and for people and organizations with which it came in touch. It is reported how the museum intends to improve its overall performance".

The delay of Italian museums with respect to foreign countries is confirmed by institutional initiatives undertaken. Where the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in England has, since many years, a Social Policy Unit, in Italy no ministerial structure is responsible for overseeing the theme of social inclusion and accessibility in museums. Only recently (2012), the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities has engaged in a program of interventions to improve audience development, through for example a line of funding to review the communication apparatus in the State museums.

The analysis of cultural policies and delays accumulated by Italy over the years are the focus of some analyses, such as those conducted by the 'Economy of

Culture' (Bodo and Spada, 2004), by Trimarchi and Barbieri (2008), and from Bodo and Da Milano (2006) or from the center ECCOM (2005) who report an overall framework dominated by local experiences, where museums and cultural organizations, local governments and nonprofit organizations have worked in areas of social hardship for reducing disparities and promoting integration. All these studies confirm the lack of an overall cultural policy about the ways a museum should relate to its context.

Institutional logics divergence

The short narrative above, allows highlighting that with reference to the three eras is possible to identify traits that affect the operation of museums.

Although with different shades inside, the curatorial era was marked by the transition from passionate collector to the operator experienced in the preservation of items and finds. This passage, which led to the separation of the owner (noble) from his/her heritage, affirmed the importance of preserving heritage over time, for public purposes. In this period thus formed and prevailed that curatorial logic which draws on specific laws (like the n. 1039/39), schools, and interpretative categories, providing the curators their professional knowledge as a set of rules and tools to preserve (and restore if needed) the true meaning of cultural heritage¹⁵.

The management era - began in Italy only in the 90s - has resulted in the growth of awareness about the proper use of public resources (in the wake of the so-called New Public Management), the transparency of administrative action, the rationality of the decision-making processes, the adoption of a direct control over inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011; Lynn, 2006). This product has a dual effect: on the one hand a wave of managerial rhetoric (Zan, 2003¹⁶) which was superimposed over the curatorial culture, without adaptation to the peculiarities of museum management (Maggi, 2009). On the other hand, a real

¹⁵ Although different views about the meaning and the role of conservation and curatorial work, there is a constant attention, in the concerning literature, towards the original desire of the artist, or the original characteristics of the building/artifact.

¹⁶ Significantly, the book is entitled: "Economics of museums and rhetoric of management" (our translation).

change in the regulatory policies and professional associations, which consolidated the administrative function and enhanced its role in the development of the sector.

Finally, the relational era revealed that museums have gradually transformed museums from closed to open spaces, from mere exhibitions of fine art (or scientific artifacts, or other items) in places of production and exchange with the public and local communities. This so far as to believe that museums can contribute to solving problems of inequality, promoting cohesion and socio-economic development (Bodo, 2012; Bodo and Bodo, 2007).

In the following table, we summarized main constitutive elements of different institutional logics emerged in the above historical account, and suggested by interviews. For each era, we reported *normative sources*, which disciplined professional roles and established ‘official knowledge and approach’, *exemplar books*, which are considered reference points for those who work in or for museums, the *constituencies* subjects, meant as organizations that entail aims and perspectives coherent with the logic they preserve, the *roles*, referring to those workers (within museums) who carry on the principles and practices consistent to institutional logics prescriptions, *formation*, intended as relevant teaching courses (at least degree and high-standing) which express the insurgence of a market need of specific professional roles, as far as the recognition of a relevant amount of knowledge to be transmitted to youngsters. Where significant, we reported years, in order to account how eras developed over time.

Table 4.1 Institutional Logics' constitutive elements

Era	Normative sources	Exemplar Books	Constituencies	Roles	Training
Curatorial	<i>Chart of Restoration</i> - approved at the IV Congress of Engineers and Architects, Rome (1883); <i>Italian Charter for Restoration</i> (1932); <i>Law n. 1089/1939</i>	A. EMILIANI, <i>Una politica dei beni culturali</i> , Einaudi, Torino 1974 [trans. A policy for cultural heritage]	Superintendences – peripheral offices of Ministry (1906); Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities (1975)	Curators, conservators, restorers,	Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro (1939); Opificio delle Pietre Dure (1932)
Managerial	<i>Law 142/90</i> <i>Decree 368/98</i> <i>Decree 112/98</i>	“Il Museo come azienda: management e organizzazione al servizio della cultura” (Bagdadli), 1997 [trans. Museum as a company: management and organization theory for culture]	Association for the Economy of Culture (1986), Civita (1987), Federculture (1997), Mecenate 90 (1990)	Directors, administratives,	Economics and Management in Arts, Culture, Media and Entertainment (1999) – Bocconi University
Relational	None.	“Il museo relazionale” (Bodo), 2000 [trans. The relational museum];	None.	Presidents, P.R., Boards members, audience developer	None ¹⁷

¹⁷ Foreign example: Course in Audience Development, University of Warwick, UK.

Despite this rich variety of impulses that forged the international and national landscape of museums, Italian museums have developed over time a common three-layers organizational form: the relational layer, not always present, associated to those who look after societal issues and maintain and develop institutional and local relations; the administrative layer, in charge of management, thus cost and revenues control, HR management; the curatorial layer, entailing technicians in charge of care and conservation of items, collection and facilities.

It is particularly interesting noting that no specific regulations have addressed how a museum should organize its activities. Notably, one of the most important laws about heritage in Italy, the 1089/1939, does not even mention the word museum in its 73 articles. It means that, traditionally, attention has been paid to collections and artifacts, treating recipients as marginal, unless of historical value.

The shift from a collection-focus to a broader and organic view about museums and their management (in general terms) is more recent, and thus originated specific studies about museum as organizations, converging those streams of study (museology, museography, economics of museums, conservation, HR management, and so on) that used to develop separately.

The observation of museums as *complete* organizations (dealing with relational, managerial and curatorial tasks), thus, has made it clear how differences in approaches and practices lead to different forms of tensions in museum management, as far as in cultural production in general (Alexander, 2003).

While curators devote their attention to the conservation, the study and the preserving of correct divulgation of cultural meanings and artifacts, managers and administrative staff are more concern with efficiency, cost-saving, communication, promotion and visitors satisfaction issues. Moreover, board members, political representatives, and to some extent educators, develop and maintain relations with the community (whether local, regional, national or international), and seek support from stakeholders in general (Pfeffer, 1972; Zald, 1969; Mizruchi and Stearns, 1988).

According to scholars in the field of museum management (Zan, 2003) management rhetoric has dramatically set the pace in last twenty years, also in Italy, generating continuous tension between curators and administrative staff.

This situation culminated in the highly-debated antithesis between the Superior Council of Cultural Heritage (traditionally composed by archeologists, curators and art historians) and the new General Directorate of Management and Promotion (led by a market-oriented manager) - both belonging to the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities - in 2008.

Since the 70s, indeed, legislation, education and professionalization about museum mission and activities has been traditionally developed by curators and art historians, or scholars, devoting specific attention to science (mostly scholarly oriented) and preservation. This has led, as it is widely acknowledged, Italian museums to privilege a more “conservative culture”, which reflects a more skeptical approach to mix cultural and economic aspects, and a resistance against new forms of art, as compared, for example, with Anglo-Saxon orientation. Relational attitude of museum has been substantially implicit, albeit constant, as every museum requires building up and maintaining relations in order to survive and to be legitimated.

The extent to which professionals and organizations are influenced by these logics may vary considerably. As already advanced, a curatorial logic focuses on development of knowledge and its ‘treatment’, based on research and investigation, whereas a managerial logic highlights commercial success, and is based on visitors’ satisfaction. Relational logic deals with activating, developing and maintaining adequate relations with environment – persons, institutions, sponsor and main stakeholders in general. Relational logic, as explained, appears to be increasingly important for bridging organizations and professionals in the museum sector, and to secure publicly consensus and most of all resources (Rentschler and Kirchner, 2012; Christianson, Farkas, Sutcliffe, Weick 2009; Janes, 2010).

Tensions between “mission and market” (Ames, 1994) has gained the attention of an increasing number scholars, especially in the Institutional and Sociological field (DiMaggio, 1991; Alexander, 1996a, 1996b; Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998; Townley, 2002). Given the fact that museums are currently confronting several challenges¹⁸ (for example, the emerging need for addressing inclusion/exclusion concerns, see Sandell, 2003), the simplistic dichotomy between market and culture has been to some extent overcome, in favor of a more comprehensive understanding and deployment of means through which it is possible to balance diverging interests and foster mutual support. Stakeholders have, indeed, increased their expectations, so threatening a unitary vision of mission and market issues in museums, and calling for a more dynamic exchange between museum organizations and their audiences.

Based on these considerations, and through a typification of institutional logics (in the stream inaugurated by Greenwood and Hinings, 1988; Doty and Glick, 1994), we propose three *ideal types*, reflecting and reflected in the three-layer organization of museums.

Albeit some authors assume that ‘institutional logics cannot be directly measured through any one variable or set of variables’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: p. 807), we suggest that as far as logics are materially condensed in organizations, and specifically in people who inhabit them, observing organizational levels could enlighten institutional logics ‘conduct’. This claim is in line with the literature focusing on levels of organizations in order to investigate major societal trends or systems of beliefs (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Scott et al, 2000). Institutional logics work as far as they are enacted in organization members (Heimer, 1999; Glynn, 2000; Zilber, 2002) and as they organize in groups which have the power to sustain those

¹⁸ For example, the population of financers has been traditionally various in Italy, with a great heterogeneity of donors, from individuals to great grant-giving foundations. In the last twenty years, with the overall contraction of public investments and financial support by national public entities, the contribution of private (usually nonprofit) and international organizations has dramatically increased, changing the ways museum management addresses this fundamental function, and giving raise to specific roles (such as the fundraising expert) and concerning educational and professionalization world, and changing the relations of power within and across organizations in the field.

logics (Leblebici et al, 1991). This observation recalls findings from the identity literature on the relevance of organizational identity for organizations to incorporate multiplicity (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Whetten, 2006; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Pratt & Kraatz, 2009) as well as with findings from the institutional literature on the role of organizational factors in how actors handle tensions between institutional logics (Fine, 1995; Binder, 2007).

Different interests develop upon different professionals and professional communities (Alexander, 1996a, 2003; Hinings et al, 2004). Since administrators, board members and curators professional communities developed separately, for example, the coexistence is expected to foster different degrees of dialectics (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Battilana and Dorado, 2010), and even intractable identity conflicts (Fiol, Pratt, & O' Connor, 2009), but also some overlapping and convergence (Thornton, Jones, and Kury, 2005). Boundaries between professional groups are, indeed, not static, rather perpetually in quarrel, thus creating “the dynamics of institutional pluralism” (Dunn and Jones, 2010: 126)¹⁹.

Albeit this three-logics distinction may result artificial, we agree with others in that a separation allows us to account for different sources and dynamics of change (see Dunn and Jones, 2010: 141; Edelman and Stryker, 2005), and possible conflicts between logics (Lewicki, Gray, and Elliott, 2003).

Moreover, we accounted how different roles in museums evolved over time, separately. This led to high professional differentiation, so that museums faced important shifts in societal demand, for example for greater transparency and accountability or cost and quality from visitors and public opinion.

Furthermore, the community of museum professionals emerged and evolved independently, so their associations, which play fundamental roles (Greenwood et al, 2002), as places for auto-representation towards (and as opposite to) external

¹⁹ These different images of museum, not necessarily mutual-exclusive, reflect a somewhat related “good way” of conducting museum activities, so that exhibit different institutional logics (final expected outcomes, system of beliefs, main actors, most influential stakeholders).

parties, as conserving their own predominant logic(s), and thus reinforcing beliefs and shared values.

In the context of museums in Italy, which is here considered, this segregation of professionals has accentuated differences among logics. We are not arguing that professional roles are conservative in nature, but that their separate trajectory of development led museums to exhibit profound differences in how museum-as-organization should be run.

On the base of our literature review, historical account and interviews we typified the three logics as follows.

Table 4.2 Institutional logics in museums

Characteristic	Curatorial logic	Managerial logic	Relational logic
Source of identity	Aesthetic and historical value	Financial control	Relations
Source of legitimacy	Reputation	Balance sheet/budget	Audience
Source of authority	Prestige	Organizational hierarchy	Influences
Basis of strategy	Philology	Efficiency	Outcome
Logic of investment	Minimize risk for heritage	Minimize resources	Maximize activities

Source: our elaboration

4.1 References

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5. ESSAY 2. “Institutional Logics Influence in the Accreditation of Italian Museums”

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**An early version of this paper has been presented at 2012 EURAM annual conference - track “Governance in sustainable models for production and consumption of cultural goods”, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 6-8 June 2012.*

ABSTRACT

This article contributes to disentangle the role and the effect of coexisting divergent logics that shape the patterns of behavior in museums. Drawing on *Institutional Logics* as a theoretical lens for investigation, we analyze the impact of managerial, curatorial and relational logics on the likelihood of adaptation to an external stimulus. The setting is that of Lombardy Region, where museums are called to apply or not for accreditation over three time-windows. Prior research suggests that institutional logics may exert divergent influences over organizations. We extend this argument, by providing a more precise and time-sensitive model of organizational response to critical regulatory events.

Keywords: Institutional Logics, Organizational Adaptation, Museums

5.1 Introduction

One of the central issues of institutional analysis is to what extent socially defined values shape organizations and their conduct. The notion of organizations and their environment draws on a social constructionist view, in which collective beliefs emerge from patterns of interactions among organizations (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Zucker, 1977). Organizations, thus, are exposed to an increasing pressure to behave in accordance to socially constructed reality, in order to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

More recently, institutional analysis has put emphasis on the political processes that form and reform institutions and their influence, in order to explain institutional change (Holm, 1995; Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Dacin, Goodstein and Scott, 2002; Seo and Creed, 2002). This efforts let emerge a new area of interest, in which heterogeneity of institutional pressures are at the center, providing a multi-faceted interpretation of institutions and their transformation.

This stream of literature focuses on the institutional logics perspective, according to which organizations evolve coherently with ‘a set of material practices and symbolic constructions – which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate’ (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 238).

This shift of attention from institutions to institutional logics bears a change in analytical perspectives about organizations, progressively seen not only exposed to general institutions (the market, the Church, the family, and so on), but also historically influenced by specific logics that, as a ‘glue’ (Drazin et al., 2004), shape organizational and managerial action (Walsh, 1995).

The paper proposes a closer observation of the multiplicity of logics that govern museums in a particular time span. The analysis is carried out investigating organizations’ (museums) reaction to a strong regulatory event: the accreditation scheme, introduced in Italy in 2001 and adopted by the Regional Authority of Lombardy in 2002 (first application allowed in 2004), the first region to adopt. Although cultural organizations and museums have been subjected to scrutiny in

different institutional studies (DiMaggio, 1991; Oakes *et al.*, 1998; Alexander, 1996), we believe that the investigation of the Accreditation process may shed new light on important internal dynamics and societal expectations of a mature, public-private and highly institutionalized (particularly sensitive to State regulations and policies) setting. This, in turn, may stimulate further empirical research in this field, in the next future.

The main argument of this work is that when subject to multiple logics, organizations may react to external pressure (here exemplified by accreditation) unevenly. A core assumption of the paper is that as far as organizations are exposed to institutional logics they tend to behave consistently. Consequently, when observed in the short-time, differences in degree of influences become evident, providing insights about how the relation institutions-organizations coevolve over time.

Drawing on *Institutional Logics* (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999) as a theoretical lens for investigation - which offers a more detailed picture of organizational complexity, as it was pointed out by the recent literature (see Greenwood *et al.*, 2011 for a review) - we embrace an intra-organizational perspective, which has largely been neglected in the institutional literature (Kraatz and Block, 2008) a part some recent exceptions (Pache and Santos, 2010; Smets, Morris, and Greenwood, 2012). By accounting for *logics* plurality (at the field level, and as a result of long-lasting processes) and for intra-organizational dynamics (unfolding in the short-term), this work contributes to respond the need for cross-level research in Institutional Theory (Chreim *et al.*, 2007; Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

The centrality of time - which has been overlooked in the majority of studies focused on organizational change - is reflected in the choice of observing the phenomenon comparing different time frames within a finite short time period (from 2004 till 2009). We believe this perspective will complement the traditional analysis of organizational change, built on the well-known concepts of *coercive*, *mimetic* and *normative* processes (Scott, 2001) deployed over a long-term period.

Empirically, the paper explores heterogeneity in terms of *likelihood to adapt*, in different time frames, after a specific regulatory stimulus (Accreditation) that involved Museums in the Lombardy region (northern part of Italy) over the period 2004-2009. The adaption is conceived in terms of application to the accreditation process. We therefore conduct a quantitative analysis of the application process by investigating how the opportunity for accreditation triggers important organizational and institutional dynamics which can eventually explain differences in the application rate across organizations. The analysis is an attempt to explain how institutional logics affect the organizational rate of response in the short-run. I extend institutional logics perspective's account of external pressures over organizational change, by focusing on heterogeneity in time, thus prompting rethinking of the classical isomorphic-driven model.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In the first section, building on the current debate on institutional logics, we introduce our theoretical framework and perspective; we then propose a critical re-view and a chronological history of the Italian museums, which allows explaining how now-active different logics emerged over time; we then focus on the main features of the accreditation process, intended as a temporally and geographically delimited event. Consequently, we explain data and methodology, based on a multinomial logit regression analysis, explaining differences across groups of museums which applied for accreditation at different times. The paper finalizes with the discussion of the main findings and limitations of the analysis and a conclusion focused on implications and possible directions for future research.

5.1. Theoretical Framework

The concept of *Institutional Logics* is inextricably linked to the study of institutions and their evolution over time. In this view, each institution of society – families, democracy, religion, the capitalistic market, the bureaucratic state – has a central logic that constraints both the means and ends of individual behavior and are constitutive of individual, organizations, and society (Friedland and Alford,

1991). Thornton and Ocasio proposed a more comprehensive definition: institutional logics are ‘the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). Various definitions of institutional logics (see among others, Jackall, 1988; Greenwood et al, 2011) all share the same underlying concepts (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008): a) what constraints and enables individual action is a prevailing institutional logic (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999); b) the institutions (and their influences) are both material and immaterial (Sewell, 1992; Thornton, 2002; Scott, 2008); c) institutions work at multiple levels (societal, field, organizational – intra and inter) and assume an historical contingency, as institutional environment is historically defined and subject to evolution, over time.

In the last fifteen years researchers have uncovered interesting ways by which institutional logics explain heterogeneous organizational forms and behaviors, and how institutions themselves are evolving subjects (DiMaggio, 1991; Hinings, Greenwood, Reay and Suddaby, 2004), focused on gaining legitimacy, securing and mobilizing resources and control, and ultimately surviving (Covaleski and Dirsmith, 1988). More recent studies have uncovered the coexistence of multiple logics, which strongly influence the governance structure of organizations (Thornton et al, 2005; Pache and Santos, 2010), through the pressure exerted by professions, the market, the state. Others remarked the great scope of potential organizational responses to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991; D’Aunno, Succi, Alexander, 2000) and how legitimacy, far from being an absolute, crystalline and static concept, is better depicted as the temporary result of legitimacy contests and endowments (Stryker, 2000; Pache and Santos, 2010), which reveal the complexity of the interplay, overlapping and explicit contrast among different institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Intricacy of relations among these concepts is exacerbated by the fact that institutional logics are reflected in (and to some extent distinct by) ‘carriers’, vehicles of institutions (Jepperson, 1991) i.e. symbolic systems (rules, expectations,

typifications), relational systems (governance and authority systems, identities), routines (protocols, roles, scripts) and artifacts (objects' specifications, concerning conventions-standards and their symbolic value) (Scott, 2008: 79). It implies that the influences of external pressures (*normative, regulative, cultural-cognitive*, according the notable taxonomy portrayed by Scott, 2008) make organizational responses heterogeneous (Greenwood et al., 2010). Heterogeneous responses have been differently explained, as result of the interplay between external pressures – i.e. institutional and market forces, (D'Aunno et al, 2000), professional associations (Greenwood et al, 2002) - and organizational features, or community dynamics (Freeman and Audia, 2006).

To our knowledge, institutional logics perspective has not directly included or developed specific temporal schemes in explaining organizational behavior. As known, institutional theory has relied mainly on the two-stage model of practice diffusion introduced by Tolbert and Zucker in 1983. According to their proposal, while early adopters seek technical gains, late adopters struggle for legitimacy. This model, which has encountered critics due to lack of a direct assessment of motivations, which are only inferred (Donaldson, 1995), has promoted further research on time patterns of diffusion (Westphal et al., 1997). More recent contributions highlighted that economic and social motivations for adoption coexist (Kennedy and Fiss, 2009).

While temporal arguments have cycling emerged in institutional analyses, institutional logics debate seems to be immune from it. Therefore, albeit the establishment of a logic is historically contingent (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008), the multiplicity of logics implies different emerging trajectories (Durand and Jourdan, 2012), the practices under investigation are specifically time-sensitive (Greenwood et al., 2010), a comprehensive approach to time is missing.

More explicitly, whether logics influence organizations and their practices in the short time or in the long run is under-theorized and under-investigated. And this is surprising, precisely because events (Hoffman, 1999; Munir, 2005) and eras (Scott et al., 2000), for example, are instantiations of time, so that their full explanation

should imply a theoretical implication for institutional logics framework. Something that, conversely, has happened in the exploration of how local cultures and sociopolitical contexts influence framing contested meanings in public discourse (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010).

Thus we explore how institutional logics could help in theorizing organizational response to external stimuli, in the short term period.

5.2. The Setting

Evolution of Italian Museums and related institutional logics

Museum field and cultural organizations sector have often attracted scholars attention, over time, both as setting for general investigation issues (as the notable work about “organizational lag” by Damanpour and Evan, 1984) and for specific analyses on nonprofit and cultural sector (e.g. DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990).

The famous work by DiMaggio (1991) about art museums in U.S. history reveals different ‘dominant models’ around which founders, managers, regulators, experts, publics built up their continuous re-orientation of expectations, rules and ways of conducting art museums. The shift from an educational to a curatorial orientation, and the clear opposition between two models, namely the Gilman (Boston) – ‘devoted to object’ – and the Dana (Newark) – devoted to ‘public education’ model - accounts for the great variety of coexisting ‘archetypes’ in the management of museums. This heterogeneity also points out the unavoidable persistence of multiple logics and the fundamental role played by professionals in creating consensus in the field and thus sustaining logics (Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings, 2002).

Museums in Italy experienced a quite different story, which is reflected in nowadays configuration of museums²⁰, so that the aforementioned opposition

²⁰ This historical account reports, synthetically, an analysis of field of study which is based on interviews and archival data (see *Field of Study* chapter).

between object-oriented and public education-oriented models does not fully capture reality.

The second half of the nineteenth century has been characterized by the founding of large number of civic museums, whose collections were mostly coming from the sale of ecclesiastic estates (1866), and thus the forfeiture of ecclesiastic artifacts. In the Kingdom period, after the unification of the country (1861), national and local museums were substantially autonomous, until the early twentieth century, when a special legislation for heritage protection arose, reducing the degree of autonomy of most of museums, and unexpectedly starting a long period of negligence, under the fascism and world wars period. Only with the '60s a new (active) approach to museology and cultural heritage emerged, and led to the formation of a specific administrative culture, which culminated with the institution of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, in 1974.

More recently, specific pieces of legislation has been developed at the beginning of the new century, which favor the rise of a peculiar configuration of museum field, in which responsibilities and competences are distributed at different levels of government (State, Regions, Provinces and Municipalities). We specifically refer to the constitutional reform of the 2001, which assigned broad decision power to the regions for the planning and improvement of quality in all museums, with the exceptions of national museums, which still remain under the responsibility of Ministry. Yet, legislation on museums has mainly emphasized the conservation-preservation role of the State, without specific attention to managerial and valorization implications²¹, as only in the last twenty years efficiency, effectiveness and transparency issues have become centerstage, according to New Public Management imperative (Hood, 1991; Ferlie et al., 1996).

²¹ This is confirmed by the fact that only recently has been set up the General Directorate of Management and Promotion of Cultural Heritage within the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, in 2008. Legislation is mainly condensed in the Code of cultural heritage property and of the landscape - decree N°42/2004.

Besides public museums, Italy is characterized by a great number of independent museums, owned by local communities, Church, non-profit organizations, companies, families, amounting to almost 3.800 organizations. Despite this variety, Italian museums have developed a common organizational form, built on a trichotomy: the relational, the administrative and the curatorial structure. This three-layer configuration is easily observable in everyday life, where boards or presidents –who are in charge of establishing and maintaining relations – seek legitimation from stakeholders, administrative staff and managers try to control costs while increasing sources of revenues, curators preserve collections and their correct meaning communication.

Among the three levels of organizational staff tension cyclically emerges, since they bear different views about what a museum is, which is its role and about which priorities design its administration. Hence, in the scholar literature as far as in the daily life of museum organizations, oppositions are frequent and even exacerbated during political transitions.

For a museologist, for example, “Managerial or administrative management is inherently detached from the intellectual reality of the museum and as such not recognized on a scientific level.... [to the conclusion that] the need for management which guarantees greater cost saving, can only be seen as the reduction or possible elimination of the cultural function of museums” (Pinna, 2005: p. 54-55)²².

Symmetrically, for curators and art historians even education is a threat to cultural heritage. An illustrious Italian art historian Roberto Longhi, for example, stated: ‘The end of the museums is therefore in high sense aesthetic culture, and not didactic. Contemplative and not pedagogic’ (Ferretti, 1987).

These trends are not exclusively Italian (Kotler and Kotler, 2000), but in Italy oppositions have been reinforced by a romantic culture which preserved an

²² Prof. Pinna is maybe the most famous museologist in Italy, President of the Associazione Italiana di Studi Museologici, Milano. Director of the Journal *Nuova Museologia*

elitist and aesthetic approach to museums and cultural heritage in general (Da Milano and De Luca, 2006).

Hence, while curators devote their attention to the conservation, the study and the divulgation of cultural meanings and artifacts, managers and administrative staff are more concern with efficiency, cost-saving, communication, promotion and visitors satisfaction issues; boards members or, in small-size museums, directors seek external support and legitimation, by financing scholarships, engaging activities with audience, join institutional networks

The extent to which professionals and organizations are influenced by these logics may vary considerably. As already advanced, a curatorial logic focuses on development of knowledge and its ‘treatment’, based on research and investigation, whereas a managerial logic highlights commercial success, and is based on visitors’ satisfaction. This tension between “curators and administrative”, or in other words between “mission and market” (Ames, 1994) has gained the attention of an increasing number scholars, especially in the institutional and sociological field (DiMaggio, 1991; Alexander, 1996a, 1996b, 2003; Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998; Townley, 2002). Given the fact that museums are currently confronting several challenges²³ (for example, the emerging need for addressing inclusion/exclusion concerns, see Sandell, 2003), the simplistic dichotomy between market and culture has been to some extent overcome, in favor of a more comprehensive understanding and deployment of means through which it is possible to balance diverging interests and foster mutual support. Stakeholders have, indeed, strengthened their requests in terms of expectations, so that relational orientation of museums has become salient.

²³ For example, the population of financers has been traditionally various in Italy, with a great heterogeneity of donors, from individuals to great grant-giving foundations. In the last twenty years, with the overall contraction of public investments and financial support by national public entities, the contribution of private (usually nonprofit) and international organizations has dramatically increased, changing the ways museum management addresses this fundamental function, and giving raise to specific roles (such as the fundraising expert) and concerning educational and professionalization world, and changing the relations of power within and across organizations in the field.

While curatorial and managerial logics have gathered attention over years, relational logic appears to be not fully-investigated in literature, due to its recent emergence (Sandell, 2003; Bodo, 2003). Despite its far origins in the early museums (whose owners exhibited collections to show their social prestige), relational logic become more autonomous and relevant in the studying of museums as far as the sector increases in size, the organizations change structure to closer resemble companies, the interpenetration between the state, the economy and civil society progresses (Moore et al., 2002: 729). Relational logic, as explained, appears to be increasingly important for bridging organizations and professionals in the museum sector, and to secure publicly consensus and most of all resources (Rentschler, 2011; Christianson, Farkas, Sutcliffe, 2009; Janes, 2009).

Based on these considerations, and drawing on institutional logics' typification (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, 2008; Greenwood and Hinings, 1993) we propose three *ideal types* accounting for the different logics governing museums.

Table 5.1 Institutional logics in museum

Characteristic	Curatorial logic	Managerial logic	Relational logic
Source of identity	Aesthetic and historical value	Financial control	Relations
Source of legitimacy	Reputation	Balance sheet/budget	Audience/stakeholders
Source of authority	Prestige	Organizational hierarchy	Influences
Basis of strategy	Philology	Efficiency	Outcome
Logic of investment	Minimize risk for heritage	Minimize resources	Maximize activities

Source: our elaboration

Institutional logics work as far as they are enacted in organization members (Heimer, 1999; Glynn, 2000; Zilber, 2002) and as they organize in groups which have the power to sustain those logics (Leblebici et al, 1991). This observation recalls findings from the identity literature on the relevance of organizational identity for organizations to incorporate multiplicity (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Pratt & Kraatz, 2009) as well as with findings from the institutional literature on the role of organizational factors in how actors handle tensions between institutional logics (Fine, 1995; Binder, 2007).

Different interests develop upon different professionals and professional communities (Alexander, 1996a, 2008; Hinings et al, 2004). Since administrative and curators professional communities developed separately, the coexistence foster different degrees of dialectics (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005; Battilana and Dorado, 2010), and even intractable identity conflicts (Fiol, Pratt, & O'Connor 2009) but also some overlapping and convergence (Thornton, Jones, and Kury, 2005). Boundaries between professional groups are, indeed, not static, rather perpetually in quarrel, thus creating “the dynamics of institutional pluralism” (Dunn and Jones, 2010: 126). Logics are reflected in different groups and “levels” within organizations (Ruef and Scott, 1998) and when different groups of professionals are associated with different roles, conflict can arise, and the logics may become divergent from each other. If distinct logics are necessary but are advocated by different groups, then they may oscillate over time, as a group’s power increases and decreases (Dunn and Jones, 2010: 140).

The Regional Accreditation Scheme - Lombardy Region (Italy)

Empirically we draw on data about the accreditation process in the Lombardy region, northern Italy.

With the issue of the Ministerial Decree dated May 10, 2001 "Guidelines on technical and scientific criteria and on operation and development standards of museums" (art. 150, par. 6, dl. N. 112/1998), each Region was required to fulfill the national guidelines provided by the decree, through the definition of a regional accreditation scheme. The first region that has accomplished the task was the Lombardy region, in 2002. Our study is therefore focused on the accreditation scheme defined by the Regional Authority of Lombardy (Directorate of Museums)²⁴.

Accreditation is expected to ensure high quality services delivery. This is much relevant in case of organizations that deliver services associated with ‘public

²⁴ The experience of accreditation in Lombardy is also narrated in “Accreditare i Musei” [trans. *Accrediting Museums*] (2005). Pub. Guerini & Associati: Milan.

value', like museums, that even when private contribute to the welfare and social well-being (Scott, 2006).

The committee responsible for drawing up guidelines has defined different groups of requisites which were expected to represent what a museum should be, in order to secure adequate levels of services. The approach adopted by the committee has privileged the verification of 'specific endowments requirements (administrative and physical) rather than the extent to which they are successfully deployed' (Maggi, 2009: 129). Requisites in the accreditation process are gathered in 8 groups (labeled *scopes*), concerning legal status (sc.1), financial structure (sc.2), physical structure (sc.3), personnel (sc.4), security (sc.5), collections (sc.6), relations with audience and concerning services (sc.7), relations with territory (sc.8).

Coherently with the purposes of the Ministry, accreditation requirements are intended to serve the public interest and thus promote museums' social role. Accredited museums are expected not only to benefit from a higher reputation, but also from privileged (not exclusive) access to financial resources. However application for accreditation is time-expansive, as it requires the filing of a long questionnaire over many issues related to the eight scopes mentioned above.

Accreditation in Lombardy took place every three years in the time span 2004-2009²⁵. The first accreditation round ended up in 2004 (applications in 2003); the second round was finalized in 2007 (applications in 2006); the third one has been concluded in 2009 (applications in 2008). Every period, a certain number of museums applied for accreditation but only certain portions were award the accreditation. Two consequences follow. First, the accreditation is conditional on application, which takes place the year before. Second, given the nature of the process, we have cohorts of organizations that are speedier than others to apply for accreditation.

²⁵ From 2013 on museums can apply in every period of the year.

Museums that want to apply have to fill a survey which enucleated the minimum requirements for accreditation. The valuation procedure, conducted by the Cultures, Identities and Territory Department of the Region Lombardy²⁶, ascertains whether the required standards are accomplished - in this case the organization will be accredited - or not²⁷. Given the characteristics of this process, it is, in principle, possible to keep track of the “status quo” of each museum that has applied, although it were not accredited afterwards, through the examination of the questionnaire they have handed in.

The ‘application’ is hence at the core of our empirical investigation, due to the fact that we need to disentangle the organizational behavior, not the evaluator’s one (involving the decision process of the commission).

Applying museums could demand two different statuses: “permanent exhibition venue” or “museum”; the former requires museums to be mainly in charge of conservation and exhibition of items; the latter requires museums to have, in addition, an organic collection, and a specific organization (means, persons, knowledge) for research and communication. Hence, a museum top ambition is to be recognized as museum, but could be accredited as “permanent exhibition venue”. Therefore, the result of an application could be:

- not accredited (rejected)
- accredited
 - accredited as permanent exhibition venue
 - accredited as museum
 - temporary accredited.

The last option, temporary accredited, reveals the missing of some requirements that the Commission considers potentially to be met in short-time.

²⁶ In cooperation with Ministry of Cultural Heritage – Lombardy Directorate, and museums specialists.

²⁷ Accreditation could be even suspended or revoked through monitoring activities (started in 2006).

Accreditation and legitimacy

Literature has clarified that differences exist among “peer” administered’ accreditation and ‘external’ accreditation (Hedmo et al. 2001; Brunsson and Jacobsson 2002). Largely under-investigated in museum field, external accreditation works as a legitimating agent, in that it signals legitimacy beyond the competitive dynamics of museum field (Cohen and March, 1974; Weick, 1976; Zajac and Kraatz, 1993; Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; Hedmo et al. 2001; Castile and Davis-Blake 2002).

As externally driven, accreditation under analysis potentially reduces contextual ambiguity of museums (Oliver, 1991, 1997), provide them with strategic flexibility (Baum and Oliver 1991) and insulate them from selection pressures (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Durand and McGuire, 2005).

5.3. Hypotheses Development

Museums are both market and non-market organizations: as market organizations their effectiveness “is directly determined by their customers” (Scott, 1998: 351) and external pressures on resources are expected to be more salient; as non-market organizations their survival depends more on the capability to satisfy socially determined criteria of evaluation (Thompson, 1967), and to adopt formalized procedures and structures “because they cannot, in most cases, be judged on the basis of profitability” (Dobbin et al, 1993: 408).

Adopting the ILs perspective allows us a more detailed picture of museums, beyond the dichotomy market vs. non-market orientation, and offers us the opportunity to better explain why organizational responses to norms is often uneven across an organizational field.

Accreditation works on the organizational form of museums, as it requires museums to have specific professional roles. As far as accreditation impacts on organizational forms it faces the organizations’ background; organizations, indeed, reflect configurations of privilege and influence (Perrow, 2002) and every departing from that background requires a strong effort of “entrepreneurship” (Ingram, 1998).

Moreover, accreditation speeds process of transformation that usually takes long times (Rao, 1998; Ruef & Scott, 1998). And it works as accelerator because it makes clear the internal dialectics among professionals within organizations.

Above we argued that museums share different institutional logics, whose interplay affects the way museums are managed and face external pressures. Museums as organizations are here conceived as ‘manifestations of, and legitimated by, institutional logics’ (Greenwood et al. 2010:p. 521), namely relational, managerial and curatorial.

In order to empirically analyze the core argument of our thesis – the role played by institutional logics in explaining the speed of application exhibited by museums – we adopt a specific standpoint about institutional logics: we refer to organizational levels, as main ‘subjects of legitimation’ (Deephouse and Suchman, 2008: 54). This argument slightly contrasts with some early research designs in institutional logics literature, where it is assumed that ‘institutional logics cannot be directly measured through any one variable or set of variables’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 807). We suggest, in line with others (Hinings et al., 2004), that as far as institutional logics are enacted in organizations, their persistence rely on specific groups of people, who have the power to maintain those logics (Leblebici et al, 1991).

There, albeit characterized by political claims and counterclaims (Abbott, 1988), professional communities, especially when observed in a short period of time, appear internally consistent and externally diversified.

Moreover, professional groups are progressively recognized as drivers of institutionalization (Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings, 2002; Greenwood and Viale, 2011), thus remarking that professional communities do play a role in reshaping not only organizations but also institutions.

What emerged in literature is that this ability to affect institutions and organizations could be undermined by intra-organizational dialectics (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Fiol, Pratt, & O’Connor 2009) or conflicting environmental demands (Pache and Santos, 2010).

Taken together, these considerations lead us to explicitly acknowledge that different groups of professionals *mainly* adopt a specific logic as framework, and that each group of professional is distinct by the others. When asserting that a professional group adopts a logic, we argue that it works as a carrier (Jepperson, 1991) of that logic, and thus behaves consistently with logic's prescriptions or values. Put differently, when proposing that sub-organizational groups are mainly influenced by an institutional logic, we are not excluding that other logics could exert some pressure, but we highlight a sort of predominance. Moreover, we argue, instead, that each group seeks legitimacy through devoting major attention and resources to the related logic's guiding principles.

Confirmations emerged also in organization culture literature (Bloor and Dawson, 1994) and organization identity studies (Milton, 2009; Pratt and Kraatz, 2009), where groups respectively bear specific sub-culture or multiple identities, to which they conform.

The adoption of organizational levels as instances of societal influences and instantiations is not entirely new. As Ruef and Scott argue, 'From an intraorganizational perspective, it is also possible to separate legitimating processes operating with respect to different organizational functions' (Ruef and Scott, 1998: 881), to the extent that those functions have developed separately, as in the in case under analysis.

In addition, a wide range of studies (Abbott, 1988, 1991; Light, 1993, 1995; see Leicht and Fennell, 2008 for a review) focused the systems of professions and the concerning competition; competition, indeed, emerges when some group's prerogatives and prestige are contrasted, or task domains are contested.

Besides their 'structural heterogeneity' (depending on differentiated historical paths), different levels of organizations and professionals may exhibit dialectics when organization faces a critical event, which triggers internal struggle among constituent parts (Meyer, Brooks, Goes, 1990).

We then consider organizational and professional groups as crucial in explaining how institutional logics (namely, curatorial and managerial) influence

organizational response to a critical event. In particular, we do not assume a one-way relation between groups and ‘change’, as despite their presumed role of ‘conformity-agents’, professional groups are not monolithic, and their political nature (Abbott, 1988) expose them to continuous internal and external contestation, resulting in a complex array of interests, beliefs and eventually tensions.

Furthermore, we rely on organizational relations in order to account for relational logics, as it is more evident in how a museum interacts with its environment, rather than specific roles or human resources employed in the organizations (Bodo, 2006).

The first application and the sprint of museums

Although our primary concern is to explore institutional complexity arising from the influence of different logics, we establish a baseline condition that museum behavior (in our case, application for accreditation) is at the outset shaped by an overall conundrum of contingent forces.

As is known, the field of museums is not particularly dynamic and the announcement of an accreditation system in 2002 was a moment of true exceptionality. A substantial lack of qualification of museums in self-analysis and external audit procedures produced certain confusion, so it was not clear what would have been the outcome of this process. Initially, in fact, it was believed that only accredited museums have had access to regional funding. This consideration, only partially confirmed by the institutional press releases, attracted a lot of attention from museums. At the same time, however, it overshadowed the other important reasons that the process entailed.

“Despite the institutional communication had immediately made clear the importance of the scheme to trigger processes of organizational improvement, it is undeniable that museums have perceived at the beginning this tool as a simple funding opportunity” (officer of the Museums Department in charge of accreditation – Regional Authority).

A close view about institutional literature reveals that in responding to institutional pressures, organizations are affected by the perception of gaining or loosing resources; and that gaining legitimacy is strictly intertwined to the gaining of resources (Arthur, 2003; Galaskiewicz, 1991; Oliver, 1991; Tolbert and Zucker, 1983) and control (Holm, 1995; Zilber, 2002). In particular, this literature shown that “legitimacy can be conceptualized as being related to the potential loss or gain of resources for the firm” (George et al. 2006).

Moreover, for museums research of public resources has traditionally been the main way of survival, since public grants cover on average the 75% of total revenues. This implies that, due to the lack of real discretion (Oliver, 1991), the sudden emergence of a wide and detailed evaluation system on museums has produced a kind of automatism, a ‘rush to application’. This is particularly true when organization have to redesign they financial strategy facing time constraints²⁸, as in the case under analysis. It is argued they are expected to react immediately to the accreditation call.

Furthermore, it has been shown that especially when performance measures are ill defined (Kondra and Hinings, 1998) organizations are more likely to conform to external standard, which are widely recognized as positive, even if they could appear as inefficient. This is more intensive where organizations are not profit-oriented (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983; Hinings and Greenwood, 1988).

The “rush hypothesis” is confirmed by those studies suggesting that mimetic behavior, and specifically the adoption of standards, is driven by risk aversion, as “operating within institutional norms provides a high probability (low risk) that the organization will receive an acceptable return for its efforts: that is, performance will be acceptable, based on the standards of the organizational field” (Kondra and Hinings, 1998: p. 748).

²⁸ The first application procedure was launched in 2004, after two years from the first announcement.

Logics' effect

Managerial logic

Managerial logic, as pointed out, aims at increase the level of efficiency, through financial control of revenues and expenses.

Administrative/managerial structures are responsible for two main functions within museums organization: secure control and accessing to resources. With respect to control, the administrative level (HR management, contract office, secretary, ...) is the locus of persistence and change. Managers work to reduce variability, through procedures and plan. Managerial level tends to universalism in order to gain legitimacy, to standardize procedures in order to keep/exert control over the activities of the organization (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Beck and Walgenbach, 2005).

Previous studies confirmed the importance of administrative level in determining the degree of organizational change (see the “administrative configuration” effect in Beck and Walgenbach, 2005; Damanpour 1987). We argue that administrative level, which aims to increase the control over the organizational activities, is particularly prone to adapt to a regulation which is also aimed at standardizing behaviors among museums. Standardization, such as in the case of accreditation, increases the illusion of control (Langer, 1975), in the sense that managers perceive their role and responsibilities as knowledgeable (Heat and Tversky, 1991) and therefore they conceive the result of the standardization as a source of their legitimacy. According to George et al (2006) the illusion of control may even drive the decision to make the transition to a new status, albeit is risky in terms of costs to bear and scarce information for decisions available (Durand 2003).

Accreditation scheme, indeed, is at the core a *standardization* process, in that it adopts minimum common requirements, and implies a convergence among museums, which traditionally have different organizational configurations. Thus,

accreditation and specifically the Regional Authority faces ‘the ‘double-edged sword’ of legitimacy maintenance and extension’ (Durand and McGuire, 2005: 166).

Then museums in which managerial logic prevails are expected to be more proactive in applying for accreditation.

Hp 1: the higher the intensity of managerial logic, the more likely the application for accreditation

Curatorial logic

The curatorial logic, entailed in curatorial level of museum organization is in charge of quality and level of output. It is the locus of specificity, in the sense of Thompson’s *technical core*, and it is strictly related to the reason-why-exist of the organizations. As a technical level constitutive part, curators gain legitimacy to the extent that they are specialized, as for organizations, where *market niche* has been recognized as a fundamental predictor of technical legitimacy (Hannan and Freeman, 1989). Indeed, both regulators and clients are positively attracted by specialization of the organization’s market offer. The narrower focus of expertise in specialist organizations (e.g., exclusive items of activities) will often enhance their technical legitimacy above that of comparable generalist organizations. Not only does specialism lead to distinctive competencies in an objective sense, but external evaluators can be swayed by an organization's strong commitment to a limited set of services or products. After all, folk wisdom regarding the division of technical labor in modern society favors social actors that strive to be best at one function over those that attempt a wide variety of functions (Ruef and Scott, 1998). Conversely, has been remarked that benefits of specialization (of personnel) are associated with problems in gaining managerial legitimacy, since the more specialized an organization is, the more difficult is to apply on it general managerial practices (Ruef and Scott, 1998).

Adopting the correspondence between logic and organizational level in museums, we predict that as far as technical (mainly curatorial) logic is encapsulated in technicians, the prevalence of these professionals over the others slows down the

application process; accreditation scheme, indeed, is mainly seen as a *management-oriented* tool for signaling a better *status* and to gather (financial) resources.

The threat-rigidity paradigm (Staw et al, 1981; Chattopadhyay et al, 2001) confirms that when “a probability distribution of outcomes is not known” (Ocasio, 1995: 297) and the environment evolution is unpredictable, “individuals and organizations tend to rigidly pursue routine activities” (George et al, 2006). It implies that technicians, for which evidently a process of standardization produces results unknown, are expected to abandon any effort of involving in the application process, or even slow it down (contrasting), in order to keep the focus of attention on the cultural tasks they are in charge of (their routinized behavior). Then follows:

Hp 2: the higher the intensity of curatorial logic, the less likely the application for accreditation

Relational logic

Relational level refers to that part of the museum that relates to its wider environment, determines its domain, establishes its boundaries, and secures resources and visibility. Even for museums, the relational level is the level of political debate and negotiation among museum representatives, towards public, local and regional authorities and stakeholders in general (Bodo, 2006). The museum field is characterized by an increasing importance of relations (with local community, with organizations from other sectors – such as tourism, social assistance, design, and others), which resulted in the establishment of specific network organizational form, called museum systems (through which museum members could share a wide array of administrative and technical functions, activities and services), which are sometimes regionally disciplined (and promoted), such as in Lombardy. Museums as organizations interact at the relational level in order to cope with uncertainty with which they cannot cope alone (Cummings, 1984), by relying on privileged channel of communication and coordination (Mark 1999) and to gain resources or legitimacy, or from negotiating a more stable competitive order that will reduce turbulence (Goes and Park, 1997).

As far as accreditation is expected to influence both the reputation and the ability to access resources of museums, museums in which relational logic prevails are expected to be particularly reactive to it. Hence:

H_p 3: the higher the intensity of relational logic, the more likely the application for accreditation

5.4. Data and Method

In this section we describe the sample and the variables used in the analysis. We provide some descriptive statistics to better understand the data and to explain the choice of the analytical model applied.

5.4.1 The sample

In this study, we investigated the role of institutional logics in shaping the accreditation process of Italian Museums of the Lombardy Region, in response to the Regional Accreditation Act, which imposes minimum requirements to Museums to be formally accredited at the Regional level.

Accreditation in Lombardy takes place on a three-year period basis. The first round was in 2004, the second round in 2007 and the third in 2010. In each round, a certain number of museums do not apply for accreditation, some other do, but only a certain portion is accredited. This type of process has some implications econometrically. First, the museums can only apply in fixed time windows (i.e. every three years). This aspect has affected the choice of the right model to conduct the analysis. Secondly, the accreditation is conditional on application. While the accreditation process and outcome mirrors the evaluation process and decisions of the Regional Accreditation Committee; the application procedure is the result of the organizational behavior of each museum and may be affected by the interplay of the institutional logics operating inside the organization²⁹. This aspect has influenced

²⁹ Museums that want to apply have to fill a survey which enucleated the minimum requirements for accreditation. The valuation procedure will ascertain whether (all) the required standards are

the choice of the right dependent variable to test the research questions of interest. Thirdly, for each year there are a certain number of museums, which, for some reasons, decide not to apply. Unfortunately, for these museums we only have basic information on their characteristics and very few observations for the main variables of interest (i.e. institutional logics), due to the original architecture of the dataset we relied on. This may cause some problems of selection bias which has to be addressed. Finally, since the Accreditation is a process unfolded over time, it may be that new museums come into birth every year, thus replenishing the initial cohort of possible applying museums operating in 2004. This may raise issue of “temporal” selection bias which should be taken into account. Museums that were born after 2004 had not chance to apply in 2004³⁰ and, it may even be argued that, they were set up according to the Accreditation requirements from the beginning. This may lead to say that they were more likely to apply and get accredited.

Data on museums accreditation were extracted from a proprietary confidential database maintained by The Lombardy Authority - Department of Culture (Museum Area). The original dataset contained 526 museums - almost the entire population of museums in Lombardy; among these, 218 museums have never applied, 221 applied in 2004, 70 in 2007 and 17 in 2009, as summarized in Table 4.2³¹.

accomplished - in this case the organization will be accredited - or not. Given the characteristics of this process, it is possible to keep track of the “status quo” of each museum that has applied regardless of whether it has been accredited or not, by examining the questionnaire that they have handed in.

³⁰ The same reasoning applies for museums born after 2007 which had no chance to apply neither in 2004 nor in 2007.

³¹ The few discrepancies found when comparing these statistics with the official numbers depend on the fact that we have counted re-applicant museums only once and we have recorded them in the year of their first application.

Table 5.2 Application Process over time

Application Time	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	218	41,44	41,44
2004	221	42,02	83,46
2007	70	13,31	96,77
2009	17	3,23	100
Total	526	100	

As concerns the accreditation, around 50% (163) of applicant museums (308=221+70+17) were accredited during the three rounds. The fact that the groups of accredited and not accredited museums are almost of the same size is a clear indication of the difference between the drivers of the application and the accreditation process and encourages further investigation of the data as proposed in the supplementary analysis. Table 5.3 summarizes the findings for each year. What is interesting to highlight is the change in this trend in 2009. Out of 17 applicants, 12 were accredited.

Table 5.3 Accreditation outcome over time

Application Time	Not Applicant	Rejected	Accredited	Total
0	218	0	0	218
2004	0	104	117	221
2007	0	36	34	70
2009	0	5	12	17
Total	218	145	163	526

The original dataset contained a rich set of information about applicant museums and only general information for not applicants. The dataset is articulated in several sub-sets of information about museums which refers to: 1) the identity information, including whether they have applied, not applied and when and whether they were accredited or rejected; 2) the legal status; 3) the main financial data; 4) the location equipment; 5) the personnel equipment (role and numbers); 6) the security equipment; 7) the collection management; 8) the management of

relations with the territory; 9) the management of relations with the public. For the purpose of the present study, we mainly relied on the sub-sets 1, 2, 5, 8 and 9, since they provided the most relevant information needed for the construction of the variables used in the analysis. Sub-set 3 about financial data, albeit very relevant, was neglected for lack of information on the majority of the museums.

5.4.2 *Dependent Variable*

ApplicationTime. Following previous work (i.e. Rowley et al 2011), that have studies the factors explaining if an organization is at risk of adopting a particular practice in a given year, we create a multichotomous variable to account whether the museums have applied for accreditation either in 2004 or in 2007 or in 2009. In theoretical terms, we interpreted the different outcomes on the basis of a temporal scale: *early* application (2004), *late* application (2007), and *very late* application (2009).

5.4.3 *Explanatory Variables*

For the construction of the two main independent variables which reflect the organizational levels inside the museums, we have followed Beck & Walgenbach, 2005, who created the variable administrative intensity as the ratio of employees in administration to total number of employees. We therefore created two measures of intensity related to managerial figures and technical figure respectively.

Managerial Logic. We create a percentage measure of the incidence of managerial figures³² over the total numbers of employees.

Curatorial Logic. As for the managerial logic, we create a percentage measure of the incidence of curatorial figures³³ over the total numbers of employees.

³² We tried two different measures of managerial logic, based on employees. In the first one, which is broader, we include all the professional figures which are considered as being the expression of the overall managerial logic of the organization: directors and administrative. In the second one, which is stricter, we only include administrative, because the presence of directors is listed among the minimum requirements for accreditation and we thought that this would have affect the robustness of the analysis. We believe museums would have never applied if they do not have this figure at all. For the sake of consistency, we re-iterated the analysis with these two types of measures and the results did not change significantly.

³³ We follow the same reasoning as for the managerial logic measures. We therefore constructed two variables which account for a broader and narrower definition of the curatorial logic. In the first one,

Relational Logic. Inspired by Goes and Park (1997)'s measure accounting for whether hospitals were a part of a multihospital system or not, we create a dummy which is equal to 1 if museums have close ties with their pairs within a formal network of museums, 0 otherwise. In other words, this variable suggests if the museum is structurally linked to its community.

5.4.4 Control Variables

We also included a number of control variables, accounting for the main characteristics of the museums, which echo the different aspects of these organizations, according to the sub-set articulation of the data-source, described above.

About the legal status, we took the information whether the statute of the museum reports information on museum governance structure and we named it as *Accountability*. Regarding the relations with public we account for the market orientation of the museums in terms of attention paid to the customer's preferences and satisfaction. We measure this as a dummy, termed *MarketOrientation*, which is equal to 1 if the museum has activated a service card for its public, 0 otherwise. Coupled with this indicator, we also added a variable related to museum's *Visibility*, in terms of online availability of its services. We account for the incidence of the educators in the personal equipment of the museum, since this professional figure is increasingly gaining attention by scholars and in practice (e.g. Bodo, 2006; ICOM, 2008). As for managerial and curatorial logics, we measure this variable, called *Education*, as the proportion of educators over the total number of employees. Moreover, we believed that there could be a difference between museums located in a

we include all the professional figures which are considered as being the expression of the overall curatorial logic of the organization: restorer, curator, librarian, photo librarian, and photographer, preparer. In the second one, which is stricter, we only disregard curator, because the presence of curators is listed among the minimum requirements for accreditation and we thought that this would have affect the robustness of the analysis. We believe museums would have never applied if they do not have this figure at all. For the sake of consistency, we re-iterated the analysis with these two types of measures and the results did not change significantly.

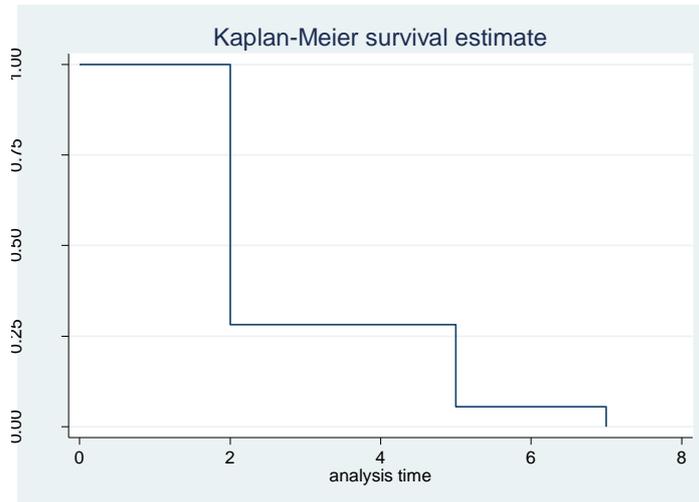
City compared to museums located in town - small municipalities, in terms of exposure to a livelier environment and thus objected to a more mimetic behavior. The original data reported the name of either the city or the town. We created a dummy based on these data, named *InCity*, which is equal to 1 if the museum is in City, 0 otherwise. We also believed that the type of ownership would have made the difference in terms of propensity towards institutionalized process. For this reason we create a dummy, *PrivateOwner* accounting for the difference between private and public owner. For the construction of the binary 0/1 variable we collapsed the 6 types of owners, available in the original dataset as follows. “Association”, “Cooperative”, “Foundation”, “Institution” and “Other” merged into 0, while “Company” turned into 1. It is argued that museums characterized by the same ownership structure (e.g. private vs. public) share the same goals and practices. Finally, we included a measure of *Size*, based on total number of employees and *RelativeAge*, computed as the sum of the years since the birthday of the museums until the date of first application, 2004. The former variable is a continuous variable ranging from a minimum number of 2 to a maximum number of 106 employees, suggesting a wide heterogeneity among museums in terms of relevance, strength and role of museums. The latter variable allows distinguishing between old and recent museums. More recent museums may be more prone to change or they may even come into birth with the right requirements to apply; however, at the same time they lack a historical record track which may ensure the most favorable conditions for application.

5.4.5 *Model Specification*

Given the time nature of the dependent variable, we initially shaped the data into event history data and applied a model specification that explains the different time length as specified by our dependent variable. We created a discrete hazard function, allowing only for three time windows, 2, 5, 7, corresponding to 2004, 2007 and 2009, respectively. The hazard was computed as the difference between the year of application and the date of announcement of the opening of the accreditation process in 2002. We disregarded not applying museums since they have never made

the transition by definition. Figure 5.1 illustrates the Kaplan-Meier survival estimates, suggesting, as Table 4.2 already showed, that about 70% of applicant museums have made the application in 2004.

Figure 5.1 Kaplan-Meier survival estimates



We expected a decreasing function, meaning that an increasing number of museums have made the transition, say have applied time after time; however the overcrowding in time $t=2$, raised several issues relevant to mention. While, such declining trend represent a preliminary confirmatory test of the dynamics of an institutionalization process deployed over a long time span, the shape of the curve suggests that we could lose information by pooling the data since the coefficients may be driven by the overwhelming effect of the sample of early applicants (in 2004)³⁴. In addition, from a theoretical point of view, the survival set-up of the data may not offer the desired empirical method to test the divergence of institutional logics influences across time periods, which, instead, calls for an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon in each time period.

As a result, we decided to transform the dependent variable into a categorical variable with multiple levels, namely 2004, 2007, and 2009. Again, we disregard the

³⁴ We run the Cox Duration model and we found results in line to those we found in the final regression analysis; we decided not to include these findings in this article, but they are available upon request.

not applicant museums cause we could not make a comparison across the main independent variables for lack of data, as previously described. We account for possible selection bias in the following paragraph. As first step, we checked whether our dependent variable had ordinal properties. Accordingly, we first rely on an ordered logit model, which assume the odds are proportional across all level of the dependent variable (Proportional Odd Assumption). This means that there is only one set of coefficients of the independent variables, because the relationship between all pairs of groups is the same. Following Long and Freese (2001), we tested if this assumption was valid by running the *omodel* command in STATA (10), which went against the POA. We were forced to reject the null hypothesis that the coefficient were identical across the three outcome categories ($\chi^2(11)=37.67$; Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.0001$).

As a consequence, we turned the attention to the multinomial model specification, in which the order of the categories of the outcome variables does not play a particular role (nominal categories) and that there is no proportionality in the relationship between each pair of outcome groups. The multinomial logit can be thought of as a simultaneous estimation of separate binary logit for each pair of outcome categories. This model relies on the assumption that the odds associated to each pair of outcome categories do not dependent of the availability of other alternatives (Independence of Irrelevant Assumption - IIA, Long and Freese, 2001). We tested the IIA by conducting the Hausman test in STATA (10). Given the fact the IIA was not violated in none of the reduced models, we considered this as a proof of the validity of our categories. We also run the Wald test to explore if the categories were indistinguishable across the main independent variables (Anderson, 1981). Given the positive feedbacks of the tests, we opted for this model. We consequently looked at our dependent variable, *ApplicationTime*, as a multichotomous variable to account whether the museums have applied for accreditation either in 2004, or in 2007, or in 2009. From a conceptual point of view, this model specification, which confronts three *frames* of the application process on a three-year base, allows us to understand the dynamics of each logic and how does

their influence changes in the different time frames. The baseline outcome category was set automatically to 2004, since is the most frequent outcome in the estimation (Long and Freese, 2001). Accordingly, the regression calculates two coefficients for each independent variables of which the first (β_{i2007}) describes the effect of the explanatory variable (x_i) on the probability that museums applied in 2007 as compared to the baseline category (2004); the second coefficient (β_{i2009}) shows how the same explanatory variable (x_i) influences the probability of the museum being a 2009 applicant as compared to the baseline outcome (2004). Since, by construction, the multinomial logit only shows two of the possible outcome – we lose the information on the comparison between the outcomes 2007 and 2009 – we applied the Wald test to explore if the *betas* of all the x variables were statistically different from each other.

5.4.6 Selectivity

As anticipated earlier, the econometric analysis potentially suffers from two different types of selectivity. First of all, almost 50% (218 out of 526) of the entire population of museums have never applied. There could be many reasons for this, that could not however be explored with the current data, as noted before. We can only make sure that the analysis is not affected by selection bias in case we don't include them in the regression. For this purpose, we run the Independent group t-test in STATA (10) on the full set of variables used in the analysis³⁵. Evidently, there are no significant differences between the two groups in terms of the main independent variables, *ManageriaLogic* and *CuratoriaLogic*. We found the same similarity for *MarketOrientation*, *Education*, *InCity*, *PrivateOwner* and *Size*.

³⁵ If we consider the full set of variables employed in the analysis, we were able to gather the following data for not applicant museums: 30 values for *ManageriaLogic*, *CuratoriaLogic*, *Education* and *Size*; 55 values for *MarketOrientation*; 65 values for *Visibility*; 203 values for *RelationaLogic*, 204 values for *Accountability*, 218 for *InCity* and *PrivateOwner* and *RelativeAge*, since these sets of data are among those included in the general information sheet available for the majority of museums. For only 21 not applicant museums we have all the information needed for the analysis. Given the lack of data the t-test comparison is carry out on the basis of very different pool of data in terms of size between the two samples. We decided not to include the tabular representation of these findings in this article, but they are available upon request.

However, it can be noted that not applicant museums differ significantly from the applicant museums in terms of *RelationaLogic* (t statistics= -7.0496; p-value=.000). On average, only 5% of not applicants belong to a system of pair museums, compared to almost 30% of applicant counterparts. In addition, they are significantly less accountable, at mean only 11% compared to 43% of applicants (t statistics= -8.6909; p-value=.000). Finally, not applicant museums are significantly younger than applicant museums (t statistics= -6.8591; p-value=.000). To account for the differences, albeit they only partially refer to the main independent variables, we run the multinomial logit including the not applicants and we found the same significant results³⁶.

The second selectivity concern refers to the fact that, since we are investigating a process unfolded over a decade, it might be that there are museums that came into birth during this period³⁷. These museums had by definition no chance to apply in 2004 because they were born after this date and they could have even been set to meet the accreditation requirements after they had known how the process worked in the first round. We therefore applied the Independent group t-test in STATA (10), to see whether there were statistically differences across the two samples. We made a comparison between museums born before 2004 (first year of application) and those born after 2004, on the full set of variables used in the analysis³⁸. The two samples are similar on all accounts, with the exception of *Accountability* (t statistics= 2.6357; p-value=.008) and, not surprisingly, *RelativeAge*

³⁶ We decided not to include the results of the new regression, but they are available upon request. We are planning to run multinomial regression accounting for sample selection in the future version of the paper.

³⁷ There are 59 museums that were born after 2004, of which 21 are among the not applicants; 27 belong to the cohort of museums applying in 2007 and 11 among those that made the application in 2009. If we focus on the museums for which we have all non-missing values, we find the following distribution: 5 among not applicants; 16 among those applying in 2007 and 8 among those that have applied in 2009.

³⁸ If we consider the full set of variables employed in the analysis, we were able to gather the following data for applicant museums born after 2004: 36 values for *ManageriaLogic*, *CuratoriaLogic*, *Education* and *Size*; 47 values for *MarketOrientation*; 54 values for *Visibility*; 59 values for *RelationaLogic*, 59 values for *Accountability*, 59 for *InCity* and *PrivateOwner* and *RelativeAge*. For only 29 applicant museums, born after 2004, we have all the information needed for the analysis. We decided not to include the tabular representation of these findings in this article, but they are available upon request.

(t statistics= -4.2615; p-value=.000), which of course is significantly negative for post-2004 museums by construction. Given this result, we decided to include these observations in the analysis and we explain the possible variance in the interpretation of the *RelativeAge* variable.

5.4.7 Descriptive Statistics

Albeit the initial dataset provided a very rich and original source of data for our research purposes, however it also required us a certain amount of data mining efforts to clean and merge the data across the three years. After this cleaning and integration activity, we lost observations for two main reasons. First of all, because we decided to disregard the not applicant museums (218), as already noted; second, because we had to drop missing values for all the variables included in the analysis. We therefore dropped 104 observations for missing values in the main independent variables based on number of employees and we reduced the dataset size of additional 24 observations, given the lack of data on two control variables: *MarketOrientation* and *Visibility*.

The final sample used in the analysis holds 180 museums, which are distributed across outcome categories, as depicted in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Application Process over time (excluding not applicants and missing values)

Application Time	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
2004	121	67,22	67,22
2007	46	25,56	92,78
2009	13	7,22	100
Total	180	100	

Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables are presented in Table 5.5. The coefficients reveal that the analysis is unlikely to suffer from multicollinearity.

Table 5.5 Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ApplicationTime	180	2005	1.688	2004	2009	1.00											
ManageriaLogic	180	.097	.095	0	.4	0.11 (0.15)	1.00										
CuratoriaLogic	180	.134	.144	0	.625	-0.17 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.08)	1.00									
RelationaLogic	180	.277	.449	0	1	-0.05 (0.53)	0.04 (0.56)	-0.04 (0.62)	1.00								
Accountability	180	.511	.501	0	1	-0.31 (0.00)	-0.17 (0.02)	0.10 (0.19)	0.09 (0.25)	1.00							
MarketOrientation	180	.055	.229	0	1	-0.00 (0.96)	-0.02 (0.83)	-0.01 (0.93)	-0.10 (0.20)	-0.10 (0.17)	1.00						
Visibility	180	.361	.481	0	1	0.09 (0.21)	-0.21 (0.01)	-0.06 (0.45)	0.02 (0.75)	0.16 (0.04)	0.02 (0.79)	1.00					
Education	180	.093	.148	0	.907	-0.10 (0.20)	-0.20 (0.01)	-0.15 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.94)	0.09 (0.24)	-0.02 (0.82)	-0.03 (0.69)	1.00				
InCity	180	.294	.457	0	1	-0.05 (0.51)	0.07 (0.33)	-0.12 (0.10)	0.01 (0.92)	0.07 (0.34)	0.06 (0.45)	-0.05 (0.47)	0.08 (0.26)	1.00			
PrivateOwner	180	.261	.440	0	1	-0.02 (0.84)	-0.14 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.87)	-0.06 (0.44)	-0.05 (0.50)	0.02 (0.77)	0.16 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.35)	-0.11 (0.15)	1.00		
Size	180	16.688	15.119	2	106	-0.14 (0.06)	-0.20 (0.01)	-0.07 (0.33)	-0.06 (0.39)	0.18 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.98)	0.12 (0.12)	0.21 (0.00)	0.23 (0.00)	0.05 (0.49)	1.00	
RelativeAge	180	29.877	54.588	-5	443	-0.27 (0.00)	0.03 (0.67)	0.07 (0.37)	0.06 (0.45)	0.15 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.68)	-0.01 (0.85)	0.12 (0.10)	0.31 (0.00)	-0.10 (0.18)	0.05 (0.54)	1.00

Regarding the main logics, the statistics vary substantially. While managers may account on average for the 9% (at maximum for the 40%) of the total personal equipment, the curatorial side of the coin is represents on average the 13% (at its maximum the 60%) of the total employees of the organizations. In addition, almost 30% of museums belong to systems of pairs, as shown in the relational logic statistics. What is very much interesting to highlight is the information related to the incidence of educators within the organization. While on average the educators account for the 9% of the total personnel, it reaches almost the 90% in one museum, indicating the relevance of this new professional profile. Moreover, about 30% of museums are located in City and 26% have private ownership. Regarding size, the average museum employs 16 employees across different functions; the largest museum can rely on the activity of 106 operators. Regarding the age of the museums, while their relative average longevity is set at around 30 years from the year of first application (2004), it is worth noting that some museums display a negative age (-5 at minimum). The reason for this depends on the way the relative measure was created and thus, on the fact that some museums may have come into birth after the 2004, as noted before.

5.5. Results

Table 5.6 summarizes the results of the multinomial logistic regression with robust standard errors, displaying findings for the two separate binary logit for each pair of outcome categories compared to baseline (2004). The Pseudo R^2 of the model, which increases from 0.2098 to 0.2975 when the main independent variables are introduced³⁹, ensures that there is little chance that all the parameters are simultaneously equal to zero. The variance inflation factor (VIF)⁴⁰, which is very low, at 1.13, strongly confirms the results of the correlation matrix and indicates that the analysis does not raise concerns of multicollinearity.

³⁹ We run the same model only including the control variables and we found results in line to those we found in the final regression analysis; the Chi^2 was 46.69 and the Pseudo R^2 0.2098; we decided not to include these findings in this articles, but they are available upon request.

⁴⁰ Following Menard (2010), as preliminary test, we treated the model as a linear regression model to evaluate multicollinearity among the independent variable; we could therefore computed the VIF as the reciprocal of the Tolerance test, which is equal to $1-R^2$.

Table 5.6 Multinomial Logit Analysis

	2007	2009
ManageriaLogic	4.966 ** (2.380)	-0.642 (4.217)
CuratoriaLogic	-0.062 (1.504)	-8.443 *** (2.959)
RelationaLogic	-1.391 ** (0.560)	1.464 * (0.883)
Accountability	-1.201 *** (0.424)	-1.393 (0.863)
MarketOrientatio	-0.819 (1.021)	-1.239 (1.659)
Visibiility	1.000 ** (0.466)	0.380 (0.894)
Education	0.414 (1.335)	-7.031 ** (3.311)
InCity	0.240 (0.465)	0.170 (0.882)
PrivateOwner	-0.212 (0.457)	-0.772 (0.757)
Size	-0.030 (0.021)	0.023 (0.024)
RelativeAge	-0.033 (0.020)	-0.138 *** (0.045)
Constant	0.031 (0.640)	-0.139 (1.129)
N		180
Chi2		62.102 ***
Pr2		0.2975
VIF		1.13
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01		

The overall findings of the analysis confirm the heterogeneous influence of institutional logics, which is captured thanks to the time-frame set-up of the analysis. With only one exception, the expected signs of the logics are also confirmed, with different statistically significance.

More specifically, concerning the managerial logic, we found that the higher intensity of managerial logic increases the likelihood that a given museums apply in 2007 as compared to our baseline 2004. This result suggest that after “the rush effect” – which may have explained the evidence of the large number of museums in

2004 - faded away, the most proactive museums were those in which the managerial logics exerted the most influence in favor of application.

The pattern is consistent also with argument that high intensity of curatorial logic inhibits application. While the sign is negative in both comparisons, it is significant only for the second logit, 2009. *Strictu sensu*, the result suggests that the museums with higher percentage of technicians, and therefore more subjected to curatorial logic guiding principles, are less likely to apply to 2009 as compared to the baseline outcome. While this results may be weak, since we would have expected as well a significant and negative sign in the category 2007 as compared to 2004, apparently it is suggestive of the fact that curatorial logic never overturns the direction of its influence in favor of change and, moreover, it requires more time to become significantly relevant to influence the museums' behavior.

To some extent unexpectedly, the relational logic display an erratic influence across the different time frames as compared to the baseline. While it is significantly negative in 2007, suggesting that the fact that museums belong to a systems of pairs decrease the probability that museums applied in 2007 compared to applicants in 2004; it is instead significantly positive for museums applying in 2009, still compared to the 2004 pairs. The reasons for the negative relation may be very much in line with the "rush effect", as proposed in the hypotheses section, according to which first round museums applied without responding to rational internal demands or under the pressure of a particular organization levels, but only for the fear to be cut off. Accordingly, this effect could be potentially ascribed to the relational logic itself, that amplifies the communication and induces mimetic behavior and which is the easiest and just-ready to be activated in the short time. The change in sign for 2009, suggesting that the membership to a system of museums increase the likelihood the museums applied in 2009 as compared to 2004 is rather more complicated to understand and requires a more in-depth analysis.

5.6. Supplementary Analysis

Application vs. Accreditation

The aim of the paper is to understand the effect of different logics on the reaction time of organization, in terms of time to application. We have decided to not consider the outcome of the accreditation process as our dependent variable, since it could have been affected by other factors, besides the institutional logics of the organization. As noted before, while the application procedure is the result of the organizational behavior of each museum and may be affected by the interplay of the institutional logics operating inside the organization, the accreditation process and outcome, instead, also depends on the evaluation process and decisions of the Regional Accreditation Committee. Nevertheless, we believed that this aspect was worth investigating further to better understand the dynamics of the process under study. We run the Independent group t-test in STATA (10) between Accredited and non-accredited museums in order to understand whether there is any difference between the organizational behavior of museums leading to application and the evaluation behavior of the accreditation commission leading to the final decision of accreditation. We found that the two groups significantly differ on the basis of the majority of the variables included in the analysis, *ManageriaLogic*, *CuratoriaLogic*, *Accountability*, *Visibility*, *InCity*, and *Size*⁴¹. This evidence is a preliminary proof that the two processes may not be identical with each other and that can be driven by different factors. This information encourages further analysis which, however, goes beyond the scope of the current paper, paving the way for future research on the topic.

5.7. Conclusion

Once we acknowledge institutional pluralism, we require accounting for how it works in organizational life (Kraatz and Block, 2008). In recent times, a number of scholars have posited the importance of investigating organizational dialectics (Seo and Creed, 2002) and even conflicts among groups adopting different guiding principles (Pache and Santos, 2010). We extend this stream of reasoning to the

⁴¹ We decided not to display the overall findings but they are available upon request.

museum field in general, and Italian museums in particular, by showing how managerial, curatorial and relational logics undergird organizational response to external pressures. We focused on a critical event, namely the accreditation process, which is the most relevant initiative undertaken by an institutional regulator (the Ministry of Culture and the Regional Authorities) to address museums towards improving of quality in service delivery.

This paper differs from most others dealing with institutional logics in that it looks at the institutional logics influence in the short time, focusing on how they influence unevenly organizational response to external stimulus, rather than probing continuity or convergence. Moreover, we accounted how institutional logics formed over time (in different periods), but we observe their guidance role in a specific event in time, the application for accreditation.

The findings confirm that this ‘slow-motion’ analysis of ILs influence is fruitful, as it enlightens multiple shades about institutional constraints over organizations, and their erratic trajectories even in short time spans.

The work, thus, suggests that both in institutionalization and de-institutionalization processes paying attention not only to positive and confirmative organizational behavior but also to the complex array of behaviors resulting from the ILs-induced repertoire could help in explaining moments of institutional logic success or subordination.

Some scholars have covered short-time periods to investigate institutional logics influences (Greenwood et al, 2010; Rowley et al., 2011). However, such studies do not recognize any effects played by time in their arguments, so that they do not leave room for insights about institutional change and persistence. So, even as institutional pluralism is intended to be the source of change (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Seo and Creed, 2002), its explanatory power may be limited, when not supported with a dynamic perspective about what persists and what changes (Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

By contrast, we observed institutional logics effect diachronically, so that their relative power continuous recombination variably explains organizational conduct over time.

A natural extension of this study includes the analysis of the cumulative effect of such interactions over institutional logics and institutions, so accounting for *content, direction, richness* of potential change. Research on ILs through direct confrontation in different time spans has the potential to resolve the prominent question about determinants of institutional and organizational change.

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6. ESSAY 3. “Bridging Logics: The Role Of Educational Logic in Museum”

*«C’était bête de
ne pas écrire les sujets sur les cadres»*

E. Zola - L’assommoir (1877)

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Abstract

The paper intends to contribute to organization studies by providing new insights about the role played by education in museums. Through a case study analysis, the study offers a deep investigation of how a minority logic (namely, the educational logic) could affect prevailing logics by bridging them, in rhetoric, practice and metrics. The work thus complements current literature about institutional logics, by focusing an under-theorized and under-investigated area of research: the effect of minority logics on organizational conduct. Moreover, this work tackles the implicit assumption that institutional logics evolve in the long-run, by providing evidences that in the short-run fundamental dynamics take place, requiring a close-up and diachronically-sensitive observation. Implications for organization studies are discussed.

Key words: Minority logics, museums, education

6.1. Introduction

In their approach to organizational change, Greenwood and Hinings (1996) have stimulated future research to address the question of how “precipitating” and “enabling dynamics” interact in response to pressures for change (p. 1044). They interrogated about what makes organizations accept or disregard “archetypes” (templates for organizing), and reveal the need for approaches that will “permit the careful assessment of nonlinear processes” (p. 1045).

In this debate it is gaining growing centrality an analytical perspective, which tends to see organizations through the lens of the institutional logics that govern them (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). This perspective makes it possible to go beyond a simplistic view of the organization, by complementing the analysis through the investigation of the fragments (people, practices and values), say portions of the organization, which may even be in conflict with one and another, however, at the same time, may explain, as a whole, the behavior of the organization (Schneiberg, 2007; Schneiberg and Soule, 2005). This fragmentation reflects the field multiplicity of logics (Lounsbury, 2007) which influence the spread and variation of practice, as far as the specific structure of organizations (Fligstein, 1990).

This topic is important because it insists on the neglected and under-theorized issue of how institutional logics and organizations are mutually-influential. Recently, scholarly attention has been directed to understand, on the one hand, how the institutions work (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006, Lawrence et al., 2009); on the other hand, the role that organizations have in confirming, modifying or abandoning institutional frameworks (Drazin, Ann Glynn and Kazanjian, 2004; Hinings, Greenwood, Reay and Suddaby, 2004; Kraatz and Block, 2008).

Lately, prominent contributions have focused their attention to the analysis of the logic multiplicity (i.e. Zilber, 2011; Greenwood et al, 2010) and their impact on organizations. For instance, in her study of the Israeli high-tech field based on the analysis of two high-tech conferences held nationwide in Israel in the year 2002, Zilber (2011) highlighted the “differential constructions of the field, the political

dynamics of field multiplicity, and the role of social distribution in allowing field multiplicity” (p.1539). Similarly, in the study of the birth of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) - a new global regulatory institution born in 2004, Maguire and Hardy (2006) made clear that “discursive struggle” leads to the emergence of institutions. Lounsbury (2007) investigated the mutual fund industry, observing how trustee and performance logics that were rooted in different areas (Boston and New York) directed to variation in how mutual funds established contracts with independent professional money management firms. Greenwood and colleagues (2010) explained the influence of nonmarket logics on market behavior, by analyzing how Spanish firms downsizing is affected by family and regional state logics.

Overall, the tendency of the authors is to look at the relation (conflict or convergence) between multiple logics *in the field*, rather than the actual relations that can arise *within* organizations. The only exception is the article by Durand and Jourdan (2012), who made a distinction between dominant and minority logics and argued that adhering to the latter promotes the insurgence of new logics and entails different forms of control over the organizations. Following this reasoning, we believe there is the need to understand the micro-processes that act at organizational level to influence the multiple logics that are essential to explain the conduct of the organization. The emergence of the so-called “minority logics”, besides being themselves the result of an institutional development as other logics, may also exert an influence on the ‘majority logics’ that has to be acknowledged and investigated further.

Hence, if at the organizational level of analysis it is possible to explain the organizational behavior as a result of the intervention of institutional logics well-established and influential in the organization, so at the intra-organizational level of analysis it is possible to focus the alleged marginal role that minority logics have in changing major logics.

Our work intends to contribute to this field of studies, by focusing on minority logic, the educational logic, which emerged in the field of Italian museums. By investigating educational logic, the work tends to contribute to the study of institutional logics interaction, focusing on how a minority logic could bridge different logics, with reference to specific symbolic and materials issues, and thus reduce the presumed level of conflicts among them and ultimately result in a strong cooperation among people.

The organizational structure of the museums is traditionally represented as split into two portions: on the one hand the orientation to the preservation of the collections, on the other hand the management and administration of resources. The field of museums is hence considered a well-suited context for an analysis of logics' multiplicity, as it shows tensions among different views of museums (inhabited by professionals) and because, recently, it has been under pressure for changing and surviving, in a period of increasing lack of resources.

The research has been conducted in the form of field work, and thus the structure of the article does not reflect its development. Actually, the investigation began by analyzing the three major logics which govern museums, namely relational, managerial and curatorial and their level of convergence/divergence. What emerged since the beginning of the work was a specific role played by education activities, albeit marginal. This role, as explained in the rest of the paper, relies on how educators (main vehicles of this logic) interact with others, on the peculiarities of their job, on the rhetoric they maintain.

The article opens with a theoretical argument of minority logics and organizational change. After offering an overview of the emergence of the educational logic as a minority logic in Italian museums, the paper explains how this logic is combined with preexisting logics in a specific case study, the MUSIL (museum of industry and labor) in Brescia, in the Lombardy region. Following the presentation of the case, the author provides an analysis of the *bridging role* played by educational logic toward relational, managerial and curatorial logics. The paper finalizes by discussing the implications of the findings for the institutional theory

and the contribution they offer to the advancement of institutional logics perspective.

6.2. Minority logics and organizational conduct

One central question entailed in the institutional logics debate concerns the mutual influence of institutional logics. Approaching the institutional logics as permeable and mutually influential elements is not so common. The analysis of the ILs, in fact, is traditionally linked to long-term processes, to transformations that take place at field level, and often focuses on the emergence, evolution and disappearance, rather than the array of combinations among them. This has led to use ILs as a lens to explain macro-processes of change, or to highlight historical contingencies affecting the structure or behaviors of organizations.

Implicitly, the Neo-Institutional literature has sometimes taken organizations as unitary, neglecting the internal complexity (variety, multiplicity) which can lead to heterogeneous responses of organizations to external change and stimuli (Ruef and Scott, 1998). Research in the field of institutional logics has complemented this work, illustrating how ILs influence the salience and scope of traditional relationships under study (this is the case for instance of the study about the determinants of succession in the publishing industry, in the famous study by Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), therefore, clarifying how the ILs have a direct impact on organizational practices (as in the study on the choice of downsizing among Spanish companies, and the role played by nonmarket logics in limiting that practice, conducted by Greenwood and colleagues in 2010).

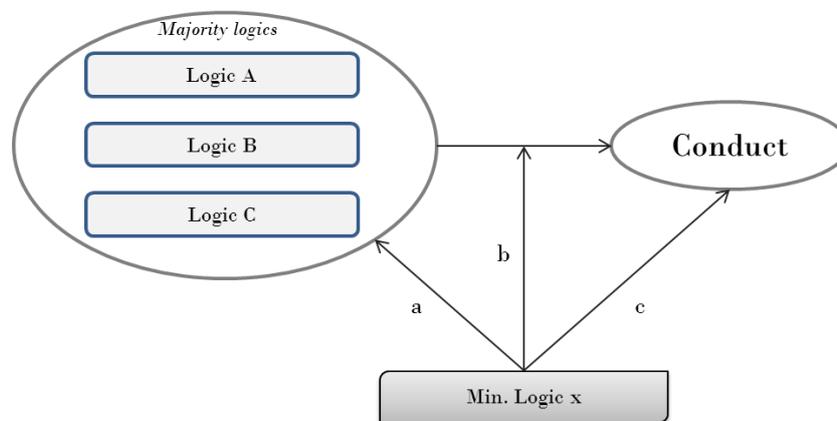
Nevertheless, this stream of studies left unexplained the internal relationships among ILs, assuming a sort of sharp autonomy of each logics, and a relative stable nature of its attributes. In this regard, the research on ILs has mainly focus on the predominant logics, while scant attention has been paid to weak or minority logics, apart from some exceptions (Durand and Jourdan, 2012; Alexy and George, 2013).

Acknowledging the active role of minority logics lead to refining the research lens, in order to account for organizational internal dynamics, revealing the hierarchical layers reflecting different institutional logics, and focusing on more

subtle changes that may derive from the reciprocal influence that each institutional logic could exert over the other.

Once we recognize that ILs influence organizational conduct in a specific time span, we could then explore what determined or influenced (or what could *prospectively* determine/influence) that conduct, or its determinants. Analytically, it implies to disentangle the relations of power and to embrace a time-sensitive framework of analysis. In order to enucleate the possible relations, we propose the following analytical framework:

Figure 6.1 stylized schema of potential influences of minority logics over organizational conduct



Source: our elaboration

Alternative influences exerted by minority logic(s) are represented in the form of arrows *a*, *b* and *c*. With the *a* arrow, we account for potential influence over the conundrum of majority logics; with the *b* arrow, we represent potential influence over the way in which majority logics affect organizational conduct; by arrow *c*, we account for potential direct influence of minority logic over the organizational conduct (as, for instance, in Durand and Jourdan, 2012).

While some authors argue that alternative conformity could even lead a minority logic to predominate over the rest (Durand and Jourdan, 2012), we pay attention to the array (*a,b,c arrows*) of possible influences exerted by minority logics, by investigating the way in which education logic (our focal minority logic) in museums recently arose and influenced museum practice, by affecting the relationship among preexisting majority logics (managerial and curatorial ones).

We claim that the role of minority logic may not be strong enough to directly influence organizational behavior (arrow *c*), but can be influential on other logics, which are more likely related to organizational practice (arrow *a*), or eventually on the magnitude or the scope of the conduct derived from ILs.

It is not possible, *a priori*, to rule out that there are minority ILs (at least at a given time, and in relation to other more influential ILs) which exert influences over other logics, thus leading to new and unexpected organizational behaviors or, retroactively, to enlighten details of the observed conduct. This brings up a more general and epistemological point: our observation of the ILs is inevitably conditioned by the events that organizations face. Those events trigger specific logics and exclude others that contingencies do not call into question. Put differently, events strongly contribute to the placing (the mapping) of logics, their hierarchical stratification, and contingent power of influence they take (Hoffman, 1999; Munir, 2005).

In the view put forward here, observing internal dynamics of ILs allows to tackle different under-investigated and under-theorized questions. First, understanding organization as ‘an emergent property of change’ (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002: 570), and not the contrary; this means accounting for open-ended micro-processes. Secondly, it offers the opportunity to observe not only intentional managerial action, but also the constitutively ‘*always already-changing* texture of organizations’ (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002: 570), and thus focusing those internal dynamics that could shape the direction of change (Zilber, 2002).

6.3. Educational logic in museum: chronicle of a ‘minority logic’

The museums have always been considered ‘special’ organizations, as characterized by being simultaneously oriented to survival - in terms of fund raising and therefore of management of financial resources - and the delivery of very specific products and services. This duality of purpose has garnered interest even

among institutionalists, who have highlighted different museum approaches (DiMaggio, 1991) and evolutions (Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998). More in general and for a long time, museums have attracted attention from sociologists and organization scholars which have explored the heterogeneous nature of these cultural-market organizations (Alexander, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999), pointing out peculiar tensions among purely cultural beliefs and needed managerial requirements.

Our attention towards education in museums comes from the observation of its increasing recognition at the international level, as a discipline which *defines* the core functions of museums (and other cultural institutions as well). This emerging recognition, we argue, is fruitful also beyond the scope of sectorial studies, and offers the opportunity to better understand museums as organizations, in the light of neo-institutional approach. And it is therefore of particular relevance today understand whether and to what extent the claim of a specific educational practice, which itself includes specific values, methodologies and objectives can affect the life of museum..

Nowadays, especially in some countries, museum education has taken on the characteristics of a real discipline that involves specific skills and expertise, slightly different from those provided by curators and teachers. As far as audience expectations evolve, so the need for ad hoc professionals for education increases; audience is nowadays intended beyond schools, and includes also adult persons, families, and people with special needs, just to mention few examples.

In this new scenario, the acknowledgement of museum as a place of education for all has gained increasing attention in policy makers, scholars and gave rise to specific professional roles, conducting to the formation of the category of museum educators.

Logic of education

The 'public' function of Italian museums – that is, the orientation toward 'interpret and exhibit' (Weil, 1990) – has been often invoked and evoked, as if it were natural and obvious. But it is not so, and certainly has not always been the case.

Although it may seem unthinkable today a museum that does not declare this vocation, in fact, the history of museums in Italy bears witness to a controversial relationship between collections and audiences. In particular, although the public value inherent in the care of the heritage was noted and stressed since the '800, it is only recently that the importance of didactics and, more generally, museum education has become highly widely recognized. This is not only limited to Italian museums.

The first public museums in Europe were born for a limited audience, composed by art students, connoisseur, merchants - and their educational function was closely related to 'artistic training'. Only in the early twentieth century, and under the stimulus of the museums of applied art, it is clear that a popularization of culture, albeit rudimentary, expresses the need to bring large groups of people to the museum, and thereby initiating a series of interventions in favor of a proper cultural mediation (panels, captions, etc. ...).

The drive to a museum education grows mainly in the United Kingdom, where, on the initiative of pedagogical theory of Friedrich Fröbel - "education through play" - it has been the tendency to use the museum spaces as areas of learning. In Italy, however, the romantic culture has increasingly affirmed the primacy of conservation on dissemination, and aesthetic contemplation on pedagogy (Da Milano and De Luca, 2005). So, for example, an illustrious Italian art historian Roberto Longhi stated: 'The end of the museums is therefore in high sense aesthetic culture, and not didactic. Contemplative and not pedagogic' (Ferretti, 1987).

In the '60s and '70s orientation to teaching and to the education coincided with a greater openness of museums to schools, but only to so-called guided tours, a view of education limited to young people - in most cases children. And so, despite the development of the Academies of Fine Arts and the increasing attention to the history of art in schools, the gap between education (limited to schools and 'places of learning') and museums has for a long time widened (De Luca 2007). Thus, despite the debate on the so-called 'forum-museum' (recalling the museum as a place for debate) or 'museum-laboratory' introduced by D. Cameron in the 70s had echoed even in Italy, the prevailing view sees the museum as a 'collection of works of art,

objects, artifacts and value of historical and scientific interest' (Encyclopedia Treccani⁴²).

Broadly speaking, there is a substantial fragmentation of experience in the field of museum education in Italy. If, on the one hand, there exist and develop a number of important initiatives (Da Milano and De Luca, 2006), on the other hand, it has not emerged a clear organizational framework for operators, institutions and visitors in the understanding of what the 'museum education' is, and what options actually offers. Compared with the curatorial discipline, for example, the didactics suffers some obvious limitations, confirmed by the sector regulations. In the Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape (the main source of legislation in the sector) services like "guidance and educational assistance" are reported in Article 117, among the services for the public that "may" be established. In addition, the article refers to services that are not necessarily publicly administrated and that, in practice, are often entrusted to private external parties, because it is implicitly assumed they are non-core activities for public mission (this configuration has been introduced in 1994 through the law Ronchey, n. 4/1993, and substantially holds until today) (Gremigni, 2001)⁴³.

Among the empirical studies that more closely have investigated this issue in Italy, we recall the work led by Solima (2000, 2012) who, through a comparative analysis carried out in two phases, in 1999 and repeated in 2011, addressed the perception of museums by the public. Insightfully, the perception of museum-as-a-temple (stressing both the conservative nature and the distance from daily life of audience) remains largely prevalent, with over 40% of responses, and this very high threshold remains stable in the first and second survey, despite numerous legislative measures and changes occurred in over the last few years. A second aspect emerging from these surveys concerns the perception of the museum as a *laboratory*, which amounted to the average value of 13.8% of the words-associations, with a value of

⁴² Retrieved on march 2013.

⁴³ To have a more detailed account of the debate about the inclusion of education services among the potentially-outsourced activities see Gremigni, 2001.

8.4% among the population aged 15-24, ideally the target on which should be mostly obvious the effect of such museum configuration.

A further confirmation of the apparent marginalization of education in museums comes from analyses of the labor market and the profession of museum educator. Institutional initiatives devoted to the recognition of the profession have seen a significant growth over the last ten years, with interesting results. Among those, it is worthy the *Charter of Museum Professions* (merged into the *Museum Professions – A European Frame of Reference*, ICOM, 2008), developed by Italian Museum associations in 2004 and approved by ICOM in 2006 (Conference of Pesaro), in which, for the first time, the role of museum educator was recognized as fundamental for museum organization. For professionals of museum education, the survey conducted in 2006 by ISFOL⁴⁴ revealed a potential trend of employment, given the scarcity of their presence in museums. In addition, other studies have recognized that the need to expand the service of education is widespread, but always subordinate to the most pressing issues, such as custody, scientific research and fundraising (ECCOM, 2010).

Two last substantive issues recall the marginality of education in museum management. The first concerns the actual financial commitment of the institutions. The second concerns the legal recognition of museum educators as professionals. Concerning the first point, it is remarkable that the expenses for education in museums are estimated being no more than 10% of the total expenses (Federculture, 2012). Similarly, the recent trend of Public Administration -ever more widespread in last years, due to financial constraints - to outsource the education services, retaining low (or even no) royalties testifies to an increasing inability to adequately support such a function, as repeatedly invoked. In terms of professional recognition, there have been calls for a definitive recognition of the role of the museum educator. Among these is the bill no. 3214/2012 on the establishment of a National Register of Educators of Museums. The bill has not gained interest, and to date there is no a specific legal recognition for museum educators.

⁴⁴ Isfol - Institute for the Development of Vocational Training of workers - is a national research under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Despite these weaknesses, the *logic of education* has nevertheless continued to establish itself as a set of beliefs and methods, cared by a professional community, which is increasingly evident to public, as well as to the scientific community. A clear confirmation of this evolution is the *specialization* of museum education, in the sense of a continuous specification of approaches in relation to the characteristics of the museums. An example of this trend is the development of the document "Guidelines for the organization of educational services in science museums," in 2011 (Celi et al, 2011). This document was elaborated with the autonomous initiative of the National Association of Scientific Museums.

6.4. Methods

Actually, the identification of an educational logic, its centrality in the life of the museum, its interdependence with other essential organizational functions have not been in our minds at the beginning of the work. Initially, indeed, our focus was to understand which of the logic governing the museum had prevailed when deciding whether or not to apply for museum accreditation process initiated by the Lombardy Region in 2003. The first interviews, instead, clearly showed a climate of cooperation that has marked the time of analysis of the accreditation process, and the application process itself.

Hence, this study did not begin as a study about educational logic. Rather, it grew out of an inquiry into the decision processes used at the MUSIL regarding the accreditation process, but what emerged was a story about educational logic, and its role in bringing together different logics.

So, our research was conducted to understand whether the high level of cooperation reported by the director, the curator and the manager, during the early interviews, was due to a particular logic. Interviews, direct observation of life museum and analysis of available data has allowed us to understand that the decisive factor was the museum didactics, intended as educational logic that permeates the entire museum, influencing the prevailing logics.

In order to investigate the role of educational logic we used a case study analysis (Pettigrew, Woodman, Cameron, 2001), since it offers the opportunity to create organizational knowledge about a specific topic where existing theory and empirical research are scanty (Gibbert, Ruigrok, Wicki, 2008). In particular, we adopted an inductive method, in that we became increasingly aware of the pervasiveness of educational logic, and few pre-existing general categories were known (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). These categories refer to our knowledge about institutional logics in museum and the concerning literature (theoretical and methodological).

Methodologically, we were interested in *process explanation* (Mohr, 1982; Langley 2009) as we aimed at accounting for the diachronic pattern of logics' merging and combining, rather than observing a pre-determined relationship between independent and dependent variables. Consequently, our focus has been placed on full narrations of events and daily life by persons working in the museum, allowing for very broad personal descriptions and portrayals of museum.

Case study approach

As we were interested in *how* and *why* educational logic influenced major institutional logics in museum, a case study approach seemed to be appropriate. Case studies, indeed, "are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed" (Yin, 2003: 1). This choice allowed for a detailed account of organizational micro-processes and in-depth analysis of different perspectives hold by professionals involved in museum activities.

In collecting data and interpreting emerging results, we adopted an interpretative standpoint about organization (Scott, 2003; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009). By doing so, we stress that the focus of our attention is on how actors experience institutions and organizations (Gephart, 2004), that is how subjective experiences such as social and organizational roles, routines, and patterns of

interaction, become typified and incorporated in the organization structure and perception.

Case study selection

The MUSIL – Museum of Industry and Labour of Brescia (Lombardy region, Italy) – is a project promoted by the Luigi Micheletti Foundation (private entity), through a long preparation started in the '80s and continued in the '90s with the first collections of items (the first item was bought by Luigi Micheletti on the 5th September 1989).

The choice to analyze the MUSIL comes from some methodological issues. The first concerns the fact that it took part to the *accreditation process* initiated by the Lombardy Region (Regional Authority – Culture Department) in 2003. Accreditation is a process of recognition with which the Region, based on national guidelines, checks the meeting of certain requirements in museums that apply for: requirements regard the legal and financial autonomy, the presence of specific infrastructural facilities, a minimum amount of opening hours, the presence of specific professionals, the implementation of conservation, research and exhibition tasks. The process has provided over the years 2003, 2006 and 2008, every museum in the region, public or private, the chance to apply for accreditation. The accredited museums have preferential access to regional public funds and benefit from a sort of 'quality mark' in the public opinion and perception, from operators and the audience.

Our goal was to find a museum in which it was evident the decision-making process behind the decision to apply or not for accreditation. In this way, we wanted to focus on the internal debate that preceded and followed the formal request. This requirement was not easy to observe on a statistical basis, because it would require a thorough direct analysis of each applying museum organization, that were more than 200 in 2003, more than 120 in 2006 and over 30 in 2008.

For this reason we ask regional offices responsible for accreditation for advice. The regional offices, in fact, play a crucial role in the accreditation process, because they respond to the questions of the museums, support museums in the preparation of the application, and finally carry out inspections and assessments that determine the judgment of Accreditation (positive or negative). Moreover, the person in charge of accreditation has always been the same, thus establishing over time a "relationship of trust with all regional museums". For this reason, we asked this person to select museums that in her view had witnessed a non-formal process of application. By non-formal process, we intended an application connoted by internal debate among the different professionals working at the applicant museum, as reflected in continuous dialogue between museum director and the Regional offices (requests for clarification, document exchange, signaling of concrete problems).

The head of the office then selected a shortlist of three museums, from which, once verified the willingness to collaborate in the research, has been selected the MUSIL.

The MUSIL

The MUSIL – Museum of Industry and Labour – is a multi-venues museum, designed since the late eighties, driven by the Foundation ‘Luigi Micheletti’, an important center of research and documentation, that purchased in 1989 the first specimen of the collection. The Micheletti Foundation was established in 1981 by Luigi Micheletti, an entrepreneur from Brescia with an interest in the history of Italian industrialization and an omnivorous curiosity that took him years to collect thousands of books, posters, photographs and oral testimonies. After a long incubation period during which the Musil has expanded its collection, an initial turning point was in 2000 when it has been undertaken a feasibility study on behalf of the Regional Authority of Lombardy, with the aim of realizing the project to develop the Museum and complete the work of collecting and documenting lasted many years. In 2001, the Municipality of Brescia provided the Tempini former metallurgical plant to the headquarters of the MUSIL. In June 2002, the agreement was initiated with the consequent integration of the Iron Museum of St.

Bartholomew (outskirts of Brescia), the hydroelectric museum in Cedegolo (Vallecamonica), and the accessible repository of Rodengo Saiano (Franciacorta) in the system MUSIL (we consider it a single museum and not a System of Museums, since the different venues share the owner, the aims, the organizational structure and costs⁴⁵). On 11 March 2005 was signed a Framework Agreement for the creation of the Museum of Industry and Labour, by different public or public-owned entities (such as the Regional Authority of Lombardy, the Province of Brescia, the Municipality of Cedegolo, the Municipality of Rodengo Saiano, and others). On May of the same year was founded the Musil Foundation, with the task of coordinating the activities of museums and constructing the new headquarter, which has not been built up, to date.

Although it was born from a European conception of museum and labour role in modern society, the issues being examined in the museum are aimed in particular at the local community. The history of industrial development is represented by a wide variety of materials, with more than 3,000 items exhibited, which refer to last two centuries. The contents of the collection include machines, large-sized objects related to the history of technology, labor and the environment, as well as archival and documentary sources on the industrial history of the twentieth century and the evolution of communication and printing techniques (with about 100,000 volumes and 15,000 heads). The buildings, former plants, reflect the traces of local industrial history, preserving its cultural heritage.

The MUSIL currently includes the following venues:

- MUSIL in Rodengo Saiano, in the region of Franciacorta, a visited warehouse of 4,000 square meters which houses several exhibition areas including: The warehouse where the machines are located, with more than 2,000 industrial pieces, referring to various productive sectors; permanent exhibition dedicated to cinema; spaces for offices and classrooms activities; laboratory for transferring movies from tape to digital; functional spaces, divided into three blocks, with entrance hall, wall for

⁴⁵ This is also the formal definition of museum adopted in the accreditation process.

projections and multimedia installations, multi-purpose rooms for conferences, exhibitions and concerts, and space used as a local technical and mechanical workshop, and finally a display of large specimens which also serves as the facade of the museum.

- Hydroelectric Museum, located in the former hydroelectric power plant held by Enel in Cedegolo - Vallecamonica. The building covers an area of 2,660 square meters, is owned by the City of Cedegolo but was assigned with a loan of 99 years to the MUSIL Foundation. Beyond the set-up, highly interactive and sensory (spatially and thematically divided into entrance hall, the rooms of dams and spheres, the turbine hall, and finally "the tree of electricity") in the museum there is an area devoted to didactic representations with experiments and demonstrations, bar-cafeteria, offices for staff and a store.

- Iron Museum, housed in the historic forge Caccagni of St. Bartholomew, on the outskirts of Brescia. Born in 1984 from the initiative of the Foundation of Civilization of Brescia, the museum houses a laboratory that shows the historical development of hydropower and the stages of the artisanal making, with particular attention to environmental, economic and social territory. The tour is developed in different spaces, with a temporary exhibition hall, a video and conference area and classroom for educational activities.

With approximately 10,000 visitors per year, the Museum is experiencing a congenital financial trouble to ensure a balanced budget. In fact, despite public funding, the budget records contained losses since the first year of operation. It should be noted, however, that the public-entities expected contributions have been uneven and uncertain, despite the contractual agreements.

What emerges from the data of financial statements also report that the Foundation has developed MUSIL with the public and, in particular, the role played by the Ministry of Research and Education: Based on a three-year agreement, the Ministry grants museum, as well as other research institutions, a contribution of € 100,000 each year. The inclusion of MUSIL in the Ministerial list occurred as a

natural consequence of the previous presence of the Foundation Micheletti among beneficiary organizations. The relationship with other public bodies was first governed by a Framework Agreement in 2005 and later on in the Statute of MUSIL, since contributing institutions became participating members of the Foundation. In this sense, it is clear that the nature of MUSIL, originally born as a private initiative by a desire to Luigi Micheletti and his successors, was transformed and became increasingly linked to the public sector.

The application for accreditation was launched in 2008 with the birth - or reopening in the case of St. Bartholomew - of the museum. Before this date, the Museum of Iron was already recognized as a museum collection. MUSIL initially aimed to be credited as a museum system, pending the opening of its headquarters and the separation of the peripheral venues. With the delay of the constructions work and so the lack of the 'center' of the system, the MUSIL has been recognized as unique museum, with three sections. Today, however, seems to prevail the need to make more autonomous individual museums: the open challenge in this regard is to work because of accreditation requirements are met for each museum venues.

According to the director, the reasons for the application for accreditation were substantially related to the need to acquire legitimacy nationally and internationally, and to motivate those professionals who over the years had invested a lot of energy in the project MUSIL. This is confirmed by the spread enthusiasm which accompanied the application process. Additional expected benefits reported were the easy access to calls for funding issued by Regional Authority.

Interviews, observation, archival data

We conducted semi-structured interviews to different respondents involved in museum activities. At the very beginning we interviewed the director, which had been identified as the person who had followed the museum project from the beginning, even co-opting other professionals.

This two-hours and open-ended interview with the director, at the outset, was aimed at accessing his understanding and views of the 'accreditation issue'

which was the core of our empirical investigation. Rather than seeking to standardize responses, our purpose was then to gather *new elements* and to take into consideration *traces* of influences exerted by specific logics – logics well known in advance: relational, curatorial and managerial. This standpoint lead us to prefer an open-ended interview, with general questions, long talks around each subject, reshaping the direction of the interview (King, 2004; Cassell, 2009). We did not develop, ex ante, any grid, apart from our institutional logics framework (reported in tab. 6.1), which guided us in the interpretation of interviewee’s concepts. Then, our research emerged and progressed during the period of analysis, and in particular on the base of this first in-depth interview (something similar is reported in McCabe, 2007).

Table 6.1 Major institutional logics in museum

Characteristic	Curatorial logic	Managerial logic	Relational logic
Source of identity	Aesthetic and historical value	Financial control	Relations
Source of legitimacy	Reputation	Balance sheet/budget	Audience
Source of authority	Prestige	Organizational hierarchy	Influences
Basis of strategy	Philology	Efficiency	Outcome
Logic of investment	Minimize risk for heritage	Minimize resources	Maximize activities

Source: our elaboration

Retrospective interviews (see, for some antecedents, Isabella 1990; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991) were built around a critical event – the accreditation process – both as an area of interest and a pretext to contextualize individual experiences, and let the individuals assume an active role, talking about things they did and perception they had, and not general answers about ‘desirable responses’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Flanagan, 1954; Chell, 2004). To ensure consistency and narrative continuity, we selected key informants (Daft and Weick, 1984; Kumar, Stern, and Anderson, 1993) who had personally experienced the accreditation process. They were contacted by the director, first, and then by the researchers.

Interviews took place face-to-face, with two interviewers - a senior and a junior – in order to have different perspectives and power relations among

interviewee and interviewers (Cassell, 2005; Lawthom, 1998). Each interview has been recorded, and transcribed within 24 hours, and details - such as facial expressions of approval, doubt, conviction - have been noted during the interview, in order to account for *visual cues and small utterances* (Stephens, 2007: 211). Each interview was conducted through an interview guideline, focusing on museum story, interviewee profile and accreditation process experienced by him/her, and lasted from 45 to 120 minutes. To minimize cognitive bias interviewees were asked to present facts, then to account for their personal background and finally to report impressions and evaluations (Huber and Power, 1985). Two main elements support the decision to conduct retrospective interviews focusing the accreditation process: the application for accreditation has been a high-involvement activity for the museum and the interviewed persons, so that interviewees should be able to recall it accurately (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986); effects of application/accreditation process are generally long-lasting, and may be referred to or evoked by interviewees in recent decisions (Tulving and Pearlstone, 1966)⁴⁶.

Interviews have been conducted in the place of work of respondents; this was particularly fruitful, because the location allowed for a detailed account of daily work and a better description of concepts interviewees exposed during the talk. In this sense, context had an active role (Herzog, 2005). Moreover, the interviews implied a tour in the museum that allowed us to gain insight about the general process discussed in the interviews (Burns, 2004).

We conceived interviews not as isolated sources of data, but complemented them with archival documents (financial and planning reports) and direct observation (on-the-spot investigations). Triangulation of data (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003) has been ensured by the following process: each relevant issue emerging

⁴⁶ Discussion about application for accreditation has been fruitful, because it allowed to talk about many issues and mixing ideal/symbolic arguments with concrete facts and numbers. For example, the requirement of opening hours, involving a schedule of 5 days per week including weekends was easily associated to symbolic issues (the importance of being open) and concrete problems 'in the location of Rodengo Saiano, given that 80% of visitors focuses on the weekends and the schools have scheduled visits, it becomes therefore counterproductive to keep the site open with very high costs of utilities and little response in terms of visitors').

from interviews was confronted with reports, press releases, other museum documents, and notes taken during inspections and tours. Multiple respondents were chosen in order to detect potentially idealized responses, sometimes present in retrospective interviews (Schwenk, 1985). We focused on verifiable actions, and stressed the correlation between declared beliefs and concerning behaviors (Golden, 2002). We asked colleagues to review our findings and conclusions as the study progressed.

We rejected those elements that did not find overall support from triangulation of data, thus increasing the credibility, accuracy and internal consistency of our emerging findings (Langley and Abdallah, 2011). When we had the chance to read archival materials (such as projects, plans and promotional documents) we related them to specific words, constructs and impressions emerged in interviews.

We interviewed 7 respondents over a total amount of 15 members (including one secretary, and six temporary volunteers), theoretically sampled (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to represent the different logics governing museum: the director, who is in charge of the relational logic; the curators, in charge of the curatorial logic and the administrative officer, who is in charge of the managerial logic. Then we focused on educators.

Table 6.2 List of interviewees

Interviewee	Role
Pier Paolo Poggio	Director of MUSIL and Micheletti Foundation
René Capovin	Person in charge of Communication, Cultural activities planning and international relations
Michela Capra	Person in charge of education (Iron Museum - Brescia)
Fabio Ghidini	Person in charge of IT systems and website
Stefano Guerrini	Person in charge of education (Machine Store - Rodengo Saiano)
Daniela Poetini	Guide for visitors and person in charge for

	management (Hydroelectric Power Museum - Cedegolo)
Giovanni Tampalini	Accountant and person in charge of bookkeeping; vice-president of Micheletti Foundation

Coding and categorizing

Coherently with grounded theory research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994), two researchers coded data, by splitting raw materials, transcriptions and notes and by independently observe patterns and recurrences through reading and rereading all the material. Each researcher coded data by focusing on three basic points: what constitutes the ‘educational logic’ emerging from analyses; how educational logics influenced majority logics; which is the nature and what are the attributes of those influences.

In line with our theoretical focus, we devoted attention both to ideal and material aspects of such influences, in order to ‘explore the interplay between them’ (Zilber, 2002: 239).

Following grounded theory processes (in particular, Goulding 2009) we coded findings searching for key words and phrases which seemed to be insightful. Then, we subsumed coding results in categories, and re-discuss categories and personal memos in order to derive higher-level categories and relate codes to them.

6.5. Bridging logics: the role of educational logic

Relational logic

Each museum is a complex matter, given by the dense network of internal and external relationships, between people, with the territory and with the public. This complexity creates new roles, with the presence of dedicated people - formally or informally - to building and maintaining these relationships. This is also the case of MUSIL, which over the years has developed a series of relationships with different actors. The type of activities and relationships that have been established over time operate on very different levels, from contacts with the local community to the relations with international institutions. In particular, the efforts of MUSIL are

directed to support the activities of:

- Communicating the mission, image and value the museum to visitors and the community;
- Relating and promoting the museum with public institutions and funders to search for support in projects and cultural activities of the museum;
- Relating and promoting with institutions and museums internationally;
- Relating with associations, organizations already on the territory (including other local museums);
- Relating with companies and entrepreneurs in the area, to promote collaborative projects as well as funding;
- Relating with schools and teachers to ensure a steady flow of requests;
- Relating with the local community, neighboring communities and former employees of the plant of Cedegolo (such as the Association of Friends of the Museum).

Relational activities are supported in two ways:

1) Institutional communication: participation in competitions and meetings, promotion and 'traditional' communication tools. In this case there is a coordinated effort between locations in order to convey the image of an integrated MUSIL. The activities have therefore originated from centralized functions of MUSIL.

2) Direct relations: human relations and personal contacts, especially with regard to the relationship with the territory. In this sense, the individual branches of the MUSIL operate in relative autonomy, especially some key people involved to maintain direct contacts.

There are several people that in MUSIL play a role that is part of the relational logic of the museum. To understand how the activities of people who work for the MUSIL fall into a logical rather than another is, however, necessary to make a premise: because of the condition of insecurity and lack of economic resources, there are no well-defined roles and boundaries are sometimes unclear, leaving room for overlap. This is a limitation that was highlighted by all respondents:

"In reality we are all a bit 'all, then we exchange part of the job" Fabio Ghidini

"There are no jobs if not formally" Michela Capra

"As is organized MUSIL, as they are organized almost all Italian museums specialization is impossible. you look after a number of things ..." René Capovin

"People will have to adapt, so they do also something else .." Pier Paolo Poggio.

That said, it is possible to identify individuals whose role involves the development and maintenance of internal and external relationships to MUSIL. The museum's director, Pier Paolo Poggio, is the person who coordinates the main relationships with institutions and government agencies, partners and sponsors, and not least the public and the local community. Its activity is closely linked to the concept that the museum and its mission, which is to "gather knowledge and makes it available." This knowledge is the knowledge contained in the industrial and artisan artifacts and materials collected. Poggio refers to it in these terms: *"These stories seemed to us beautiful and little known. Such stories are not told. We believe it is important to communicate."* In this sense, the greatest criticality was to be able to effectively communicate the value of the cultural offer of MUSIL. This is the biggest challenge of the museum and one of the aspects that engages Pier Paolo Poggio firsthand. *"This case is almost unique. Yet we have not been good at communicating. Here are the people, there is the continuity of human capital, intangible heritage. Yet this is not considered culturally relevant, in the sense that is perceived as part of the ordinary life, of the local economy not of the national culture (...) The culture was and still is mainly conceived to be a beautiful painting, and to sustain culture is not something related to industrial heritage. So you can find people ready to help in restoring a church, but do not maintain this dimension of the material culture of the area"*.

The relationship with the other museums in the area was very important, especially at the beginning. Around the end of 2006 was launched a project to create a Brescian museum system, funded by the Ministry of Education and the Province of Brescia. In that phase, strengthening links with other cultural institutions for the purpose of creating a network in the area was one of the objectives of MUSIL, that tried to lead the system. However, the project never took off, and right now the priority of MUSIL is to cope with financial difficulties and management of its venues.

To ensure the survival of the museum were also strengthened relationships

with companies and entrepreneurs in the area, with which it is sought to work together especially for the rental of museum spaces for events and conferences. These activities have become increasingly frequent in recent times especially in Rodengo Saiano and Cedegolo. The Director Poggio deals with this type of activity, which, however, are not without drawbacks in terms of cost for the museum: "*There are growing demands of diverse use of space between them. From the artist who seeks to show his / her items, to the company who wishes to make a demonstration of its products. we are trying to satisfy them as much as possible, not because of money (what we gain is less than what we spend), but because it makes the museum living. (...) it's good for the relationship, not good because it means that we need to employ people to assist the business*".

René Capovin is the person in charge of developing the cultural projects of the Foundation and look after the communication of the museum. Communication is mainly intended as "*enhance the presence of MUSIL especially at higher European networks, and secondly, to liaise with local realities. Rather than the 'Department of Communication', I would say that it is the 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs'*". Capovin takes care to maintain institutional relations at the international level in several ways: participating as a representative of the Foundation in the jury Micheletti, visiting museums participating the prize, liaising with the various museum directors and secretary EMA (European Museum Academy). He also works at the local level, as in the promotion of cultural activities in collaboration with the film club 'Beyond the image' of Rodengo Saiano and the organization of a theater project with schools nearby. Efforts seem to be winning, but not without difficulty: "*We are quite rooting in the town but it is not easy. It is a small city and the museum is seen as a kind of spaceship planed there to drain money*".

In addition to Pier Paolo Poggio and René Capovin, other people in MUSIL deal with consistently maintain relationships with a variety of actors. This generates sometimes overlapping roles, as in the case of Camilla Cremonesi, responsible for guided tours and employed in Rodengo Saiano: she maintains the relationships with schools and local communities. This is confirmed by the words of Fabio Ghidini, according to which "*especially Camilla was the last year the interface with the public and*

schools. From the point of view of the human relationship is very good". The same goes for Michela Capra, curator of the Museum of Iron in San Bartolomeo. She is in charge along with her colleagues of maintaining relationships with schools and the North District of the City of Brescia, with which the museum has initiated an educational project.

In the case of Daniela Poetini instead it can be said that the relational role over time become one of the predominant activity of its job in Cedegolo. Although not officially responsible for maintaining external relations at the museum, Daniela Poetini is definitely the person, due to her personal relations and contacts with local authorities. *"Daniela Poetini has a great relationship with the territory. This is a great resource: meeting people, administrators, companies, and so on. Maybe this is a treasure that is not seen immediately, but we need people like that"* (Pier Paolo Poggio).

The Museum of Cedegolo had initially met some resistance from the community as it was perceived as an institution rather than a museum immersed in the local community. As pointed out by René Capovin: *"We lacked perhaps a rooting in the local dynamics: MUSIL is networked with local institutions, but it had not the ability to forge stronger relationships with community organizations (such as associations, groups of citizens) of the town. This has meant that MUSIL is perceived very much as an exterior institution, so that people do not perceive it as a resource. This is something that we have in mind"*. In this sense, the contribution of Daniela Poetini was crucial: *"Daniela is the most important resource we have to tackle this limit, we intend to face in the coming years"*(René Capovin).

Daniela Poetini in particular deals with, among other things, to maintain contact with members of the Friends of the Museum, which brings together retired people from Enel and Edison, people who in the past had worked on the plant of Cedegolo and still feel part of that story. *"They come down to me and tell their story. They see a piece of iron and explain why it exists, how it worked... something that we lack. They go into detail: tell the life of the plant and also tell the life of the equipment"*.

According to Daniela Poetini maintaining relations with them is extremely important: *"They are very willing to tell their story, however, they must be looked after. If you organize initiatives they gladly participate but they must also be involved in many*

ways. They need to be contacted, they expect the museum adapts to their available hours ... they must feel, however, that the museum is also theirs, or they give up and do not participate. This is the relation with the local people".

Apart from the members of the Association, there is a constant effort to maintain contacts with schools and, most of all, with teachers: *"I have personal contacts with local teachers, in Cedegolo, Sellero and other neighboring towns, so that if I have proposals I can send directly to more active teachers.. the best strategy is to go there, into the school, talk with teachers".* This approach is replicated towards elderly people, which are mainly members of the Association. *"They have no email addresses, so I usually call them by phone, I use the dialect so they feel more emotionally involved".*

In this sense it is also important to keep a network of relations with the surroundings, that involve even local associations. To promote museum, thus, means to have *"a network rooted in the community, a web of personal connections. What was missing at the beginning was a knowledge of those who already used to operate in here. We discovered and still discover associations that have ideas, projects... it is important to know what already exists. We develop project with them, we do not overlap, but use the knowledge that already exists and develop it in common".*

In this continuous dialogue with external parties it is reported to be relevant the request for feedbacks after educational activities. These feedbacks, collected through questionnaires, are particularly appreciated by teachers, because they perceive the chance to improve the quality of the service.

The relation with surroundings implies also specific tasks and skills for guides. *"Many students, and even teachers, do not know much about ValCamonica, and so they ask many questions, beyond the content of museum. After visit, they usually ask 'where could we go right now?', so the guides need to be prepared about the context, the petroglyphs or other scientific museums".* But relation with locals is also critical, because of the traditional industrial culture, which leads people to a certain skepticism in the face of a cultural - and seemingly ephemeral - project. *"Let's say that someone sees the museum as a useless thing. A waste of money, according to them, because funds (especially if public) should be addressed towards industry, then plants – because they produce profits - not culture".*

Managerial logic

The relational and managerial logics are, in practice, inevitably intertwined. Every relational attitudes implies or derive from a managerial decision, as for example relation with donors drives management and vice versa. This is particularly true where public relations with the external parties is strictly related to economic survival of the museum. Management of museum mainly regards:

- Administration and Accounting;
- Personnel management;
- Coordination activities of the three museum spaces;
- Management of revenue and the cost of heating and maintenance of premises;
- Definition of target visitors;
- Definition of the mode of communication of the offer to the target audience;
- Agreements with partners to attract visitors and increase the accessibility of the museum (in particular with the outlet stores of Rodengo Saiano and the public transport company).

Pier Paolo Poggio is the reference point for the MUSIL as regards the aspects of management. The Director shall preside at all meetings and is in constant communication with the representatives of the individual sites. There are several people who are concerned with the ordinary life of the premises. As previously indicated, due to lack of resources do not exist very defined roles. All workers refer to Poggio for the most important issues which may relate to opening, press releases, technical problems related to utilities and failures, educational activities and accounting for revenue, and everything that falls in activity out of the ordinary (such as 'rent space for events, exhibitions, conferences). Giovanni Tampalini deals with the financial statements of the Foundation MUSIL: he is the responsible for the administrative and accounting aspects. Tampalini has also developed the statute and oversaw the establishment of the foundation, in its preparatory phase.

At the time of establishment of the Foundation was created a board of directors, whose members were appointed by the founders and promoters on the basis of contributions. *“The Board is responsible for making decisions concerning the management of the museum. Giovanni Tampalini has an administrative delegation and presides together with Pier Paolo Poggio ordinary activities: the living costs of management and ordinary expenses. However, is the board that makes strategy and addresses. Then Dr. Poggio and I execute it. There is a general trend, then Poggio is the general manager, a bit 'as if it were a CEO, he is signing on the ordinary, then sometimes I sign too. All decisions are still related to strategic decisions taken by the Board of Directors over the years. Then everything is condensed in the budget, where there is a lot of transparency”* (Giovanni Tampalini).

Pier Paolo Poggio is also responsible for the management of the museum staff and the coordination of the three sites. These two aspects in particular have some problems, arising from the scarcity of resources. First, since there is no real salaried staff of MUSIL (except for 3 people), everything is outsourced and labor relations are on an occasional basis. This is a serious deficit for the museum, which instead aims to have a continuous relationship over time: *“We focus a lot on continuity even if we are forced to insecurity, but we realized that it takes a long time to train people. But when we are forced to let them go away, it is a disaster”* (Pier Paolo Poggio).

One of the most critical issues for MUSIL is the cost of heating, inevitably linked to the opening days of the museum. *“One of the tricky points are the fixed costs of this structure, we have some important costs for heating and cooling, terrible for us because it is very difficult to sustain”* (Pier Paolo Poggio). This is true for all three locations MUSIL, but in particular for Rodengo Saiano that has an architectural structure not designed to be a museum. The high heating costs have a major impact on the activities of the offices, which are forced to close during the colder months or reduce days open to the public: *“The heating in the warehouse is crucial because we cannot have the guided tours in January and we place them in the spring”* (Stefano Guerrini). Same goes for the premises in San Bartholomew: *“We have reduced opening hours for the costs of heating, too expensive: since there are no resources to pay for utilities*

and heating we are forced to keep open only in the warmer months, from April to October" (Michela Capra).

The overall economic sustainability of the museum is critical, given that *"revenue tickets are little more than symbolic"* (Pier Paolo Poggio). Ancillary activities such as rental space for corporate events and conferences provide some revenue but are also a source of expenses for the museum: *"the return is minimal because they are activities that require a strong commitment of the staff. In Rodengo especially, having the collections at hand, for security reasons, we cannot rely on someone other than our staff. We did some things, not many, with an economic return, a thousand Euros, but you cannot go much beyond"*(Pier Paolo Poggio). This causes the MUSIL is in a state of great dependence on membership fees and public and private funding. The situation is precarious because the partners decide each year whether and how much to contribute and do not always allocate public funding for the museum: *"This makes it even more random the life of the museum because we have no certainty"* (Pier Paolo Poggio) .

There is no a person in charge of the marketing of the museum: *"At this moment we have no resources available to it. It is an issue that we know to be important, but we do not invest in this because it costs"*(Giovanni Tampalini). In general, the majority of visitors come from the schools. The venue of Rodengo Saiano has however identified other target visitors, related to its very different position: the museum is actually located in a warehouse inside the mall Franciacorta Outlet Village. *"The targets are four: the local community of Rodengo Saiano and schools; workers, entrepreneurs, and the 'visitor with no quality' of the outlet mall: the person who is shopping and would spend an hour of his day there at the museum. To reach these targets was our most ambitious challenge. So far it is still to seek"*(René Capovin).

The museum aimed to reach the general public of the outlet mall to attract new visitors: *"Our idea was to draw an infinitesimal percentage of that public to have quite significant numbers of people who maybe do not usually visit museums. So we decided to keep low the prices, make policies in collaboration with the outlet stores to invite*

people to come. It seemed to be a cakewalk! We thought: people are already there, you just have to convince them to do 100 meters more. But we failed"(René Capovin).

Even in relation to the lenders the problem seems to be to find a language appropriate and effective. This particular aspect was highlighted by Fabio Ghidini: *"We lack a little know-how, not so much on the content of a project rather in the form of presentation of a project. Like the statistics, or the type of content that the evaluators analyze. Hence in this we are actually lacking. Demonstrating with numbers where you want to go, with some statistics and expected results ... who reads our projects finds something that could find in a history book, maybe original, with ideas, but you know, packed not so well"*.

Curatorial logic

The curatorial logic is closely linked to the mission of MUSIL, which is divulgation, *"but attached to documentation"* (Pier Paolo Poggio). The MUSIL is characterized by a double identity: research and dissemination. The museum *"is not only a place where educational activities and collections are displayed. It is a place where scientific research, internally cultivated, is exposed"* (René Capovin). In this sense, the research activities are pursued constantly from the curator – person in charge of collections. The curator is the architect Daniel Mor, who has followed the evolution of the museum and the collections from the beginning. In particular Mor works at the site of Rodengo Saiano. The role of Daniel Mor is to deal with all aspects of the organization of the exhibition, conservation and cataloging of the finds. This work is constantly in progress, given the amount of material and documents in the collection of MUSIL. *"The Museum of Rodengo was born as a visitable storage, but mainly as a warehouse. Now we are trying to make it even more visited. Only recently, we labeled the items. The curator himself moved objects, even jumbo, as to create thematic islands, although the initial purpose was to maximize storage of objects in space, without any exhibition purposes"* (Fabio Ghidini).

This aspect, together with that of safety, it is one of the main objectives of the work of Mor, who is responsible for the daily care of the machines and artifacts.

His approach – which comes from his role - it is very oriented to conservation⁴⁷. *"The curator is a conservative. The role is very typical and specific, as it requires specific knowledge. As I've seen in other museums, curators are people very focused in what they believe is a museum... and you cannot change their mind. So for them if the museum is full or empty, it is almost the same. I do not say that they do not care, but it is not among their priorities to make heritage accessible here"* (René Capovin). As curator, Mor is understandably jealous sometimes of the findings, upon which he spends hours and energy every day. *"Consider that the conservator is a person of great quality and has a lot of knowledge, but it is very jealous. Because for him a machine, a finding is to be preserved"* (Pier Paolo Poggio). Very similar words are also used by Fabio Ghidini: *"He is very jealous of the objects...because he placed and preserved all the machines that you have seen. So from that point of view is a bit 'jealous', but – let's say - it is his nature"* (Fabio Ghidini).

Educational logic

The emergence in practice

In spite of the marginality of this logic in the existing theory (see above), the MUSIL showed that educational function is of fundamental importance. The main practical reason, which allows us to observe it, is that the guided tours with schools represent the majority of visitors to the museum. And indeed school visitors have been continuously mentioned by interviewees, highlighting the importance of maintaining relationships with teachers and to improve the educational offer. In the words of the director of the museum *"the education is looked after constantly... We are trying to increase the offer of the workshops, which are starting to have some feedback. Organizing the workshop, see the materials you need, see the contents, this is a point in which we work together"* (Pier Paolo Poggio).

⁴⁷ We conducted a long visit at the site of Rodengo Saiano with the architect Mor. The interview was conducted essentially walking while he was showing us the space, the items. The personal reserved nature of the curator has made it difficult to address explicitly points established in the interview, but having spent a whole morning with him has allowed us to see him at work, in relationships with objects and other operators.

That education is a priority is also proven by the fact that the few available resources are focused on the development of this area to the detriment of other investments: "*Having a great promotional campaign investing 30 or 40000 euros to have few visitors more, seemed to us, due to the resources we had, useless. We decided to save the money to build up a teaching plan and train guides, design an itinerary and gather machines of a certain type ... gradually we made small museum installations also in the warehouse*" (René Capovin). The same applies to the site of St. Bartholomew, where educational activities are at the heart of the museum: "*We managed to get contributions to get a nice workshop for doing activities with schools, complete the museum exhibition with a nice plastic ... this project lasted three years and called into activity the museum*" (Michela Capra). In this sense, it should be stressed the importance of teaching activities as they ensure the achievement of certain funds, as in the case of the museum of Cedegolo where the company Enel delivers consistently contributions for visits combined with its plant of Edolo.

Main characteristics

People who are concerned with the educational activities of the three museum spaces are:

- For the Iron Museum of St. Bartholomew: Michela Capra, helped by Samantha Margoni and Irene Zorzetti.
- For MUSIL Rodengo Saiano: Stefano Guerrini, Camilla Cremonesi, Fausto Clemente, Massimo Morelli and Silvia Zinchetti.
- For Energy Museum of Cedegolo: Daniela Poetini, Simona Rivetta, Nadia Gelmini, Alina and Barbara Cavestro Valentini.

In particular with regard to Cedegolo guides refer to the cooperative Inexodus, which has contracted tours and was already active in the area prior to the opening of the museum in 2008. The guides were formed with the activities of this cooperative with visits to the central Edolo, with which they are combined, 80% of visits to Cedegolo. In Rodengo Saiano instead the reference point of the educational

team is Stefano Guerrini, who cares, however, to emphasize that *"we are a close-knit team, we do meetings where we talk about the teaching program (...) However, it is a lot of teamwork, also for temporary exhibitions. For example, when there is to move a machine we try to decide all together in which context to put it, in which position"* (Stefano Guerrini).

Daniela Poetini works in a teaching team too, even if it is a different team from the one she formed in 2008: *"In 2008, when the museum opened I had some colleagues with whom I had formed a close-knit group and there was like a combination of guided tour before to the plant and then to the museum or vice versa. We were three, we used to start from the museum and then we used to go to the plant, with the same guide throughout the day. Only one discourse, which encompasses both the museum and the plant. And I think it was very important, because you can deepen the discussion without having to return on the same topics. At this time, however, things are a little changed, my colleagues changed jobs, and guides from cooperative were employed. They are very well trained about technical information in the plant, but the museum is much complex of a plant, in my opinion"* (Daniela Poetini).

Different are her priorities. For Daniela Poetini is essential being able to communicate the cultural value and not only technical-scientific information. All must be conveyed in a language suitable for different age groups. *"There is a cultural part of our service, in my opinion much more extensive than technical knowledge about machines. If the plant offers many insights into the technical side of industrial story, maybe more interesting for technical students, here the aim is to involve the children in the nursery school: you have to have a different preparation. The children are young and you have to be more prepared, more available"* (Daniela Poetini).

The priority for those responsible for educational in Rodengo is to make the collection accessible as possible through an exhibition divided into themes that can reach an audience not only of experts. This was also a major challenge due to the characteristics of the space of Rodengo Saiano and the number of finds to be reordered. *"At first the museum was very confused. As my role is also to write the texts for guided tours of course I had to create a thread. So we decided to divide the museum in*

this way. But it is a job that is not finished yet, because many things need to be reviewed, there are still a few things to move and check"(Stefano Guerrini).

However, there are difficulties of a more structural nature that have slowed the start of teaching activities: the opening of the headquarters of Rodengo for example, *"the museum had not the resources to enable an educational activity, a full educational program"* (René Capovin). This point was also highlighted by Fabio Ghidini: *"Basically we are ready only since last September. Before actually there was a collection but it was just a collection of exhibits, with nothing of the museological path.*

Conservation vs education

Traditionally, the curatorial logic, linked to the need for conservation, is opposed to educational logic which has as priority to divulge the collections to an external audience, putting in some way 'at risk' the integrity of the findings. The MUSIL in this sense is not an exception, since there is a dialectic between the priorities of the guides and those of curator: *"If something becomes an object of teaching he (the curator) cares [Daniel Mor, ed.] Maybe it's something he has restored ... so there is a dialectical conflict, which is fine unless it becomes a fight. The perspectives are opposed. He tends to keep the findings at their the best status of conservation, while educators strive to let each item available for the audience, allowing people to touch it, and to play with it"*(Pier Paolo Poggio).

Occasions when the curator suggests not to use a particular finding are, according to Pier Paolo Poggio, frequent. *"For example, our most popular exhibit is a Cinemobile of the '30s, a truck restored with enormous efforts which projects images in the squares. There's a conflict quite often, even for the use of this machine in the museum, because anyone who sees it wants to open the door, go inside, and take it out. This is an edge case. It happens quite frequently. We have hundreds of thousands of drawings, a large collection of animated cartoons. At the time was necessary to make 12 per minute, so it means a huge amount. This would be nice to show, make known, but some are fragile, and then we use them to involve schools and the younger children or preserve them? This problem is constant I would say, because one thing is the virtual interactive museum, an*

account is a museum that provides the historical objects of authentic relics. This is a contradiction inevitable and you have to find a compromise. The most beautiful things are the most difficult, but on the other hand, if we put everything under a glass, people cannot see... well, maybe a specialist but not the common people".

Fabio Ghidini confirms the 'Cinemobile issue', explaining that "*the simple fact that we have placed it in that position, that seems like a trivial thing, is the result of compromise*". He also confirmed that in many cases there is a 'veto' by the curator, "*but then he changes his mind. Let's say he needs time to absorb things. For example when we needed to move machines in order to create thematic islands – so to avoid guides to make 500 meters back and forth to find items. The typical response of curator is "no, no, you cannot do", then, after some days, we find a solution. Sometimes we need to make compromises, but this is normal in our job*"(Fabio Ghidini).

It's just getting on with little compromises that the logic of teaching and that of conservation can go hand in hand: "*Of course the actual result, which is not yet final, is the result of compromise between the needs of conservation (and security problems) and the needs of the education... for example, one thing we are thinking about right now is trying to operate a linotype: this, however, should lead to a whole range of security issues. Even there we will seek a compromise between the objectives of education and security and conservation needs*"(Fabio Ghidini).

The dialogue between curator and educators is constant, because when something deals with collection then "*everything must go through him (the curator, ed.)*" (Stefano Guerrini). In particular, Stefano Guerrini confronts with Daniel Mor for choices regarding the exhibition. The relationship has evolved over time and has resulted in a very positive dialogue, with only some minor difficulties at the beginning, "*but I think this arose from the fact that the staff was put together in a short time and the curator, who used to work here for many years, did not know us ... so maybe he needed to spend time with us to see if we were reliable. But now I honestly do not find any difficulties. Also because he seems very open, when we ask him to move something or to review a few things in the path*" (Stefano Guerrini).

According to Rene Capovin, Stefano Guerrini is *"the person in charge of mediating, because besides being a guide, he is assisted by the curator in finding the best way to calibrate the guidance and planning laboratories about the collections and materials that we have. He is the crucial person to merge the conservation and restoration duties with the provision of information and knowledge in the laboratories"*.

In particular, Stefano Guerrini seems to play a key role in the relationship with Daniel Mor, in a constant mediation between preservation and dissemination. What characterized Stefano's work is 'very physical approach with the findings', as way of interpreting objects. Something that he shares with the curator.

As a result, the educational approach of MUSIL, in particular in Rodengo Saiano, is very physical, *"We have also invested a lot in the teaching using the findings and the machines. So when we do, for example, the educational workshop on typography we tend to use both the movable types of the 800s and the historic machines. (...) Thus, the relationship between teaching and conservation tries to go hand in hand"*(Stefano Guerrini).

"We try to bring children towards working with machines, with collections. According to us, this should be the hallmark" (René Capovin). And this kind of physical -oriented teaching relationship is what brings the educators closer to curator, and the visitors too. So the vast collection available to MUSIL is its main source of advantage. *"We must enhance our distinguishing characteristic that is: the fact that we have the collections. Even when we arrange laboratories, we try to focus on something that you cannot get to school. We seek for a physical relation between students and machines, and a typical example is the laboratory of typography. Mainly a result of Stefano Guerrini's efforts, in the laboratory of typography every one is able to use the machines. Teaching is peculiar, more than preserving and exposing. We not only have to communicate the pieces to teachers, we need to do more, by also entering the collections in the learning process. This is the basis of our philosophy"*(René Capovin).

This approach to teaching is also useful to stimulate the attention and curiosity of young visitors: "*There is a very physical relationship in laboratories. This is also because we have noticed that when tell a guy who is working with a machine that that machine has been working for 4-5 generations ago, he is much more interested*" (Stefano Guerrini).

The attitude of educators of working with hands has been widely remarked as a common approach because it creates a bridge between these two ways of interpreting museum and its work: "*These people (educators, ed.) have proven to have not only an attitude, I would say, theoretical but also to be able to 'get their hands dirty' and they proved to be able to handle the findings*" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

This aspect clearly emerged during the interviews. "*If the curator has to move a machine I help him willingly. Because I like to be on the field right to decide whether the machine is to be moved in one way or another, also as a matter teaching. I do not want arrive later, I want to be active at the time*"(Stefano Guerrini).

"*I would like to be there if it comes to move pallets, clean the machines ..this facilitates a dialogue with the curator about concrete things*" (Fabio Ghidini).

To ensure that a material knowledge emerges and is transmitted in an even more effective way, they are trying to engage in guided tours people who have worked for years with the machines on exhibition. "*Our ambition would be to do workshops where not only teachers are involved: we want to pull in the technicians, workers who could add value, because they lived with those machines. We have seen that when we get, success is very different, even with the kids. Kids capture the difference between those who have learned on the books certain things and those who speak about something that come from thirty years of work. This is a work of human relations*"(Pier Paolo Poggio).

In this sense, the teaching activities contribute to increase the intensity of the relationship with the territory, which is part of the relational logic that distinguishes the museum. This means to activate a series of contacts and relationships with associations and local authorities, former workers, artisans and laborers. "*We always*

meet people like that in guided tours. For example pensioners: even though I'm doing the tour, they narrate and interact. So many of these people could be useful as narrators, and indeed we take contact with them" (Stefano Guerrini).

As interactive visits, guided tours encourage an intergenerational exchange, which is precisely the desire to transmit material knowledge from generation to generation. *"When we saw the grandfather explaining to the grandson how he used to work with that machine for several years, brightening the face of joy, we saw that it was something that could become explosive"* (Pier Paolo Poggio).

Thus the logic of education comes into play in the dichotomy research-disclosure, the dual spirit that distinguishes the MUSIL museum. Teaching in fact has a double profile: on the one hand meets the needs of conservation and research, and on the other hand helps to push the relational aspect of the museum, that is dealing with the public. Therefore allows to resolve the tension between research and dissemination, integrating different aspects. The data and information gathered from research are reprocessed for a visit or an educational workshop, *"become part of what is said during the tour. The historical machines that for long time were simply stored, now become the objects at the center of the teaching laboratory. (...) Now, not only the machines are retrieved but we do research on them, and promote studies about machinery"*(Fabio Ghidini).

Teaching contributes to the development of personal relationships with teachers and local communities, working toward an increase in the value of the collection, concretizing the mission of the museum, and attracting new visitors.

6.6. Results and discussion

Museums are experiencing major changes in expectations and internal re-configuration (Weil, 1990; Ames, 1992; Skramstad, 1999). Through a case study analysis we intended to offer new insights about how change is produced internally, while acknowledging that external stimuli are relevant, especially when mirrored in values, practices, beliefs which we condensed in the term *institutional logic*. We started by focusing major institutional logics (ILs) which predominate the operation

of museums. These IIs are: the relational, the managerial and the curatorial logic, which deal with specific views of museum – what it is (role, identity) and on which priorities it should be focused on (practice, activities). While accounting for their relevance, profile and contrasting expectations and practices, in the case under analysis, we observed that a seemingly minority logic emerged in the confrontation with respondents – through interviews.

Table 6.3 Map of logics emerged in the case study analysis

	Relational	Managerial	Curatorial	Educational
Who embodies it	Pier Paolo Poggio René Capovin Daniela Poetini Camilla Cremonesi	Pier Paolo Poggio Giovanni Tampalini Board	Daniele Mor Michela Capra	Team in Rodengo Saiano: Stefano Guerrini, Camilla Cremonesi, Fausto Clemente, Massimo Morelli, Silvia Zinchetti. Team in Cedegolo: Daniela Poetini, Simona Rivetta, Nadia Gelmini, Barbara Cavestro, Alina Valentini. Team in San Bartolomeo: Michela Capra, Samantha Margoni, Irene Zorzetti.

<p style="text-align: center;">Activities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication of the mission, image and value of the museum to visitors and citizens • Relationship-building and promotion with public authorities and financiers in order to gain financial support for the museum's cultural projects • Relationship-building with institutions and museums at the international level • Relationship-building with existing associations, institutions and informal organizations at the local level • Relationship-building with local firms and entrepreneurs in order to promote cooperation and gain financial support • Relationship-building with teachers and schools • Relationship-building with local Community, neighboring Municipalities, former workers of Cedegolo powerhouse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative tasks and bookkeeping • Personnel administration • Coordination of the three museum branches • Monitoring of revenues and costs (heating and maintenance) • Definition of target visitors • Definition of communication strategy to address to each target range • Drafting of agreements with partners in order to attract visitors/increase museum accessibility (Franciacorta Outlet and public transport company) • Museum strategy definition (Board's responsibility) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research activities, cataloguing of documents and materials • Conservation and maintenance of exhibits and relics • Organization and display of exhibits into thematic areas, design of exhibition itinerary • Management of new acquisitions • Security issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan and design of contents and methods of guided tours and didactic workshops • Design of exhibition itinerary • Bookings • Implementation of educational activities • Keeping contacts with teachers and schools • Research and refresher courses
<p style="text-align: center;">Objectives/priorities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening of long lasting relationships with key stakeholders in order to gain legitimacy at the local level, develop new projects and broaden the visitor range • Institution of a network of collaborations with local actors • Visibility and prestige at the national and international level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reducing operative expenses • Increasing visitors number • Increasing financiers' contributions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection conservation • Security • Cataloguing of collection • Scientific research on exhibits and archive documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stimulating participation and active involvement of visitors through guided tours and workshops • Transferring material knowledge across generations • Incentivizing physicality of the experience through the use of machines and exhibits

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in revenues from accessory activities • Feedback acquisition in order to improve the educational offer 			<p>during the tour</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involving former workers and artisans in the didactic experience
Criticalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrowness of mind of part of the local population • General lack of effective and coordinated communication activities in the area • Expenditure of energy and resources • Lack of know-how of presenting projects in an appealing way to authorities and potential investors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of resources and precariousness • High fixed costs (heating expenses) • Understaffed • Decreasing financial contributions • Hostile attitude from the Outlet • Poor accessibility of the museum locations • Difficulties in reaching a broader target range (the 'unqualified visitor') 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of resources and dedicated personnel • Maintenance and operative expenses • Security norms to respect • Structural features of the spaces (Rodengo Saiano) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of resources and precariousness • Difficulty in defining a long-term plan • Lack of coordination between the three branches • Poor accessibility of the museum locations

This logic, namely the educational logic, has been traditionally marginal in the representation of museums. Only in 2005, for example, the Charter of the museum professions - who found a its compliance at European level in European Handbook of museum professions (2007) - for the first time includes among the top figures of the person responsible for educational services, which has among its professional skills to "coordinate and develop educational services, arranging activities to promote lifelong learning and recurrent, social integration and dialogue with other cultures'

Despite this peripheral position, educational logic arose to be central in the formation and consolidation of a collaborative climate within the museum in the occasion of the accreditation process, which was the *critical event* we adopted as an instance to better observe personal positions of employees and indirectly let emerge their view about museum and its daily life.

Table 6.4. Exemplary quotations and coding

Context	Exemplary quotations referred to educational logic (educators and their work)	Interviewee	Coding	Ascribing logic
Work on the site	“These people do not only have a theoretical approach, they demonstrated they can get their hands dirty and deal with a machine”	Poggio (director)	Practice	Curatorial
Work on the site	“The same historical machines that some time ago were merely conserved have now become object of the educational workshops” (Research on finds and items - integral part of the didactic experience)	Ghidini	Practice	Curatorial
Planning	Shake hands of teachers, create a personal relation with them	Poetini	Practice	Relational
Identity	“When elderly people transmit knowledge to younger, that’s the value of what we do”	Poggio	Metrics/Rhetoric	Relational/Curatorial
Identity	“Museum is much more than a plant, it entails a cultural value”	Poetini	Rhetoric	Curatorial/Relational
Identity/Planning	“The guide should be prepared to a total vision of the territory”	Poetini	Practice/Rhetoric	Relational
Planning	“It was important the word of mouth of teachers”	Poetini	Practice	Relational/Managerial
Identity	“Last year I had a satisfaction because some kids who previously came with their class came back with their friends”	Poetini	Metrics	Relational
Planning	“With them I manage to form a group with whom I can <i>plan</i> ”	Poetini	Practice	Curatorial/Managerial
Planning	“If children are young it doesn’t mean you can improvise, indeed you must be even more prepared”	Poetini	Practice	Relational
Planning/identity	“We want to create didactic itineraries on the territory”	Poetini	Practice/Rhetoric	Relational

Planning	“Involve primary school teachers in order to understand how to set workshops”	Poetini	Practice	Relational
Work on the site	“Dialogue on concrete things”	Ghidini	Practice	Curatorial
Planning	“We are essentially ready from September. Before there was just a collection of items ... we had to work on it planning guided tours and workshops”	Ghidini	Metrics/Practice	Curatorial
Planning/work on the site	“Guerrini is the person with most resources because besides being a guide he cooperates with the curator in order to best tare guided tours and workshops according to the type of items and collection we have. He’s the decisive person to make conservation and divulgation go at the same pace”	Capovin	Practice	Curatorial
Identity	“We try to make children work with the machines, the real collection. In our point of view this must be the distinctive feature”	Capovin	Practice/Rhetoric	Curatorial
Identity	“Our attempt is to make items dialogue with the educational activity”	Capovin	Practice/Rhetoric	Curatorial
Planning	“We worked on building contacts with schools therefore now we start seeing results: now they begin to know us and the voice is spreading”	Guerrini	Practice	Relational
Planning/work on the site	“I like to take the field to decide if that machine needs to be put in one place or another, also for didactic purposes. I don’t want to arrive afterwards, I want to be active in that very stage”	Guerrini	Practice	Curatorial
Planning/work on the site	“At the beginning the museum was very confused. ...I need to create a logical thread and that’s why we decided to arrange the museum in this way”	Guerrini	Practice	Curatorial
Planning/identity	“We are doing research at the moment, it is related to some aspects of our work”	Guerrini	Practice	Curatorial
Planning/work	“We focused a lot on using machines and items in the	Guerrini	Practice	Curatorial

on the site/identity	educational activities (...) Workshops are very physical”			
Work on the site	“We noticed that when you explain to a kid that he’s working on a machinery that used to function 4-5 generations before, he’s much more interested”	Guerrini	Practice/Metrics	Curatorial
Planning	“I met former workers, I’m building relationships with them”	Guerrini	Practice	Relational
Identity	“Our ambition is to create workshops were there are not only teachers, we want to involve technicians, workers. We saw that when we manage to do this the success is much greater, also with kids – as they realize immediately the difference”	Poggio	Metrics/Practice /Rhetoric	Relational/Curatorial
Identity	“The educational approach is to make items available, let people touch them, let people do things”	Poggio	Practice	Curatorial

The contingent centrality of this marginal logic has been hence deep-investigated, and has been confirmed in several ways: it influences the rhetoric and the practice of work in museum. In particular, it plays a role that we labeled *bridging* in the sense that it connects and let converge the major logics which govern museum. Hence, educational logic works at the rhetorical level, by *spanning its vocabulary* from managerial and relational-sensitive terms (such as cost control and promotion, openness and access) to curatorial ones (to respect the authentic nature of collections and recipients, to communicate contents which are philologically correct). Moreover, it bridges logics by *connecting practices*, as educators ‘get their hands dirty’ (resembling the work of curators), maintain and develop relations with local context (as director does), adopt managerial instruments and tools to coordinate, monitor and report their work and results. Finally, educational logic *bridges* logics by providing metrics that encompasses elements from different logics.

This role of educational logic has been represented through exemplary quotations, in which we coded main sentences and reported the ascribing logics, on which the educational logic draws.

The literature on ILs has explored different organizational dynamics in several areas over time (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton et al., 2012 for a review), often pointing out that the logics emerge and take form in the long term, albeit they are particularly influential on organizations’ conduct, as well as on their structure (Greenwood et al., 2010). A central question remain under-theorized: how do institutional logics emerge, evolve and change over time. This question lies on a more general epistemological approach, which sees change as continuous and emergent, rather than sudden and sharp. Continuity and emergence do not imply any assumption of slow gradualism about organizational evolution, but simply tends to remark the texture of the different sources of emerging change (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002), the intraorganizational determinants of societal institutional logics (Kraatz and Block, 2008), and the internal diachronic combination of material and symbolic structures, which ultimately affect institutional logics (Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

The adoption of this perspective led us to pay attention mainly on institutional logics in action, rather than on their emergence (on the same point, see Zilber, 2002). Investigating museum as a complex organization, governed by a multiplicity of logics – some prevalent, some marginal – allowed us to observe how, in the short term (we cannot infer anything about the ultimate effect in the long run), marginal logics could play a role in bridging major logics.

The case under analysis revealed an apparently subtle role played by educators, and thus the influence of their logic over the others. These results offer different contributions to extant literature, as they point out a neglected area of analysis, related to the internal dynamics of institutional logics, and in particular to the influence that marginal logics could play over the major.

In the institutional logics perspective, this result points out the importance of observing in the short term how ILs work, in order to explain the overall array of possible determinants of observable outcomes. As in the case of MUSIL, where we better understand the role played by the educational logic, through rhetoric, metrics and practices, in the accreditation process. Symmetrically, this view allows accounting for specific moments of convergence or divergence among institutional logics, albeit these moments could be temporary. Even if we assume that short-term dynamics are constitutively intermediate, indeed, this does not necessarily imply that they are not influential or irrelevant. Moreover, this focus could enlighten how institutional logics evolve, that is, change under the effect of minority logic's influences.

The paper intends to contribute also to the recent literature engaged in the investigation of minority logics' influence (see for example Durand and Jourdan, 2012), as determinant in organizational conduct. Actually, albeit we began by investigating the accreditation process, we cannot infer that educational logic has been determinant over it, but we observed its influence on the cooperation climate that has been acknowledged as effective in the application process for accreditation.

The results contribute also to museum studies, insisting on some of its ‘persistent paradoxes’ (Janes, 1997): to widen public without commercializing or debasing culture. The role played by educators in bridging rhetoric and practices among workers in museum confirms that educational activities should become central both in management of change and policy making, where regulators expect change to be shared and speed.

The work aims at contributing to research methodologies in organizational studies. We adopt a case study analysis in order to observe organization diachronically (Yin, 2003). Analytically, we separated institutional logics and coded their relations, namely the influence exerted by a minority logic over the majors. This choice is not without limitations: first of all, operationalization of institutional logics is controversial. When referring to persons who carry the values, beliefs, tools, and methodologies we could misinterpret the phenomenon. Sometimes are scripts or events that witness the existence and nature of some logics. We preferred to focus on persons, because in the museum organization their influence is, to our knowledge, predominant over means or specific events. In that, we found support in previous studies (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Scott et al., 2000). Another potential weakness comes from the methodology adopted: a case study in which we followed a grounded theory approach. This implied an interpretative effort, subject to problems of validity and generalizability (Gephart, 2004). Validity issue has been addressed above; generalizability problem is obviously present, and invokes further tests and analysis, with different methodologies to complement current results.

6.7. References

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7. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

I opened this dissertation by posing questions about what trigger museums' behavior when facing external stimuli to change, focusing on institutionally-driven intra-organizational features that affect conduct.

In addressing these questions, at the outset I needed to recompose current theoretical and methodological lens about institutional logics, adopted as key perspective to investigate the phenomenon under analysis. This reformulation ended up with the proposal of a 'slow-motion analysis' of institutional logics influence, a little investigated and under-theorized area of knowledge (*Essay 1*).

I then shifted my attention to deal with the issue of how organizations alter their conduct in the short-term, through the analysis of a critical regulation event. The accreditation scheme offered me the opportunity to investigate the drivers of application for museums in the Lombardy region (the first region, in Italy, that designed its own accreditation scheme). With *Essay 2*, hence, I empirically explored how managerial, curatorial and relational logics influenced, with different intensity and sign the likelihood to apply over three different periods.

Finally, I devoted attention to a minority logic, the educational logic, which has not emerged in a fully-fledged fashion neither in the literature review nor in the empirical analysis conducted by previous scholars. This logic appeared to be crucial in reducing tension among major logics, thus favoring organizational cooperation (*Essay 3*).

Taken together, the three papers, with the remaining chapters, 1 (Introduction), 2 (Theoretical Background) and 4 (Field Of Study) outline a cross-level perspective on the influence of institutional logics over organizations, thus providing insights about how institutional logics work and to what extent organizations are passive or active subject in recombining locally those influences.

In this chapter I draw general conclusions and provide elements for future research.

7.1. Contributions to the Institutional Logics Perspective

The work makes different contributions for the advancement of the institutional logics perspective.

Linking institutional logics to the process of institutionalization

By suggesting a ‘slow-motion analysis’ of institutional logics influence, I recognize that as far as organizations are exposed to institutional logics they tend to become more consistent with them. This assumption leads to reconsider the overall approach to institutional logics, as we propose to pay attention to those intra-organizational attributes and practices that let organizations diverge from institutional logics ‘prescriptions’. Acknowledging institutional pluralism, indeed, requires pushing the analysis to uncover inconsistencies, and thus paying attention to short-term dynamics, when organizational practices are not yet institutionally-smoothed.

This approach necessarily draws on a diachronic and cross-level lens of investigation, in which societal issues affect organizations not deterministically. While literature has mainly stressed the *positive* relation between some institutional logics and some specific organizational conducts (conduct A is explained by logic X, conduct B is explained by logic Y), I remark that in the short-term we could observe a wider array of options, in which a conduct is not an automatic response to an institutional influence, but it could entail many other drivers, which are not – in a specific moment in time – already institutionalized, and are ascribing to ‘organization’ as institution itself.

This point then reconciles institutional logics with ‘organizational self’ (Kraatz and Block, 2008), proposing that the key determinant of hierarchies in power within organizations is time. As a consequence, I claim that investigating institutional logics without drawing on duration of processes involved is meaningless. Methodologically, I adopt a framework, in which: a) historical accounts

explain how institutional logics shape organizations and individuals; b) different institutional logics (peaceful) coexist within organizations; c) a critical event lets emerge (exacerbates) divergence among institutional logics; d) divergence explains heterogeneity of responses in the short term and potentially lead to a new equilibrium among institutional logics in the long term.

Therefore, a critical issue of my theoretical contribution resides in helping understanding how the contradictions within organization could differ from those at the field level, depending on *when* and *for how long* we observe the phenomenon. In the short term we offer a more fine-grained picture of *organizational self*, which is the specific configuration or elaboration of institutional logics which are common among organizations in the field, but differently manipulated (deliberately or not) due to a specific commitment exerted by the organization story or strategy.

I propose to shift attention to organization-level, not to dismantle the analysis of institutions, but to better understand the *implication* of institutional logics on behavior. In doing so, I claim a *slow-motion analysis*, due to the need of investigating organizational dynamics ‘before’ contradictions have been recomposed (emergence of new logics, combination of different logics,..), but in the moment of maximum divergence – when possible. In this regard, the studying of critical event could help, epistemologically, in disentangling phenomena that are usually treated as homogenous in nature.

By doing so, I seek to respond to the call for a more comprehensive approach about institutional and organizational change, by focusing on fragments rather than blocks, thus directly investigating the contested process of institutionalization (Schneiberg and Clemens, 2006).

Focusing on institutional pluralism and minority logics

Following the metaphor of slow-motion, I focused on institutional pluralism in order to detect whether any minority logic was relevant. What I found, through a case study analysis, is that minority logics could play a crucial role in bridging major logics.

This finding proves the results of recent efforts in underlying the under-investigated yet influential role of minority logics (Durand and Jourdan, 2012), and contributes to qualifying the potential wide array of effects that a minority logic can exert over organizations, either on organizational behavior (direct effect) or over other logics (indirect effect).

Complementing current perspective about institutional entrepreneurs (DiMaggio, 1988; Battilana et al., 2009), about which I express some skepticism - in line with others (Powell and Colyvas, 2008), this work uncovered a bridging role exerted by educational logic through rhetoric, practice and metrics. My feeling is that, rather than persons and their attributes, what counts in reciprocal influences among logics is to what extent they converge or not, beyond personal powers and influences.

7.2. Contributions to the field of museums

The book *Der Kulturinfarkt* (cultural heart-attack) is currently disrupting the German artistic sector. According to the controversial thesis by the authors Armin Klein, Pius Knüsel, Stephan Opitz and Dieter Hanselbach, there is too much cultural supply in the country. As explained on the webpage of the German channel 3sat, they suggest closing half the cultural institutions and redistributing funds. Numerous museum directors, theatre paymasters and politicians were indignant. According to the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, more than 50 artists including Rosemarie Trockel, Klaus Staeck and Harun Farocki, along with the film director Wim Wenders and the writer Günter Grass, are protesting against this idea. In an open letter, from the Academy of the Arts, Berlin, they appeal to defending culture in Germany. (*Art Media Agency* – 23 april 2012, *online*)

Management *in* and *of* museums is gaining increasing attention in scholar literature, in political institutions and public opinion (Moore, 1999). As the crisis progresses, debates about priorities in public expenditure and efficiency of museums bloom.

A vibrant line of reasoning in the political and ‘technical’ debate concerns how to implement effectively cultural policies, and how to address improvement in the quality of service delivery among cultural institutions and museums, in particular. Accreditation is, in this regard, the main conceptual and instrumental tool for meeting policy needs, as it is a relative inexpensive and effective way to enhance organizations in the field.

Therefore, the focus of this work, centered on accreditation and the determinants of application, aims to contribute to this debate.

One central finding of this study regards the capability to discern short-term and long-term effects of accreditation. By focusing on organizational behavior, I found support to the predictions about a more proactive adaptation by managers and by those museums which are more related in the field.

This in turn allows pointing out where policy maker are required to work more, that is toward curators and technicians in general, who perceive accreditation not necessarily as an opportunity, apart from its expected financial benefits.

In the three time-frames under analysis, indeed, I observed distinctively three phases. In the first application, due to the announcement effect, most museums applied, not responding to precise strategies or internal commitments. This result, that shall require further investigation, should imply to re-address the communication strategy in those regions that are setting up their own accreditation scheme (like Sicily, for example).

In the second application, managers (administrative staff) became salient in determining the application rate, more than in 2004. Their responsiveness, which requires further analyses, could offer interesting opportunities to those Regional Authorities engaging a dialogue with groups in museum, beyond the institutional relation usually maintained with directors or presidents.

In the third and last application under analysis, I observed how curatorial logic negatively (with respect to 2004) affects the likelihood of application. This result, as mentioned, clearly entails a warning for policy makers about innovations and their implementation in the field.

Moreover, the findings of this work point out the role exerted by educational logic (educators) in museum. Through the case study analysis emerged the mediating role that this 'minority logic' played by allowing major logics (namely managerial, relational and curatorial) converge in cooperation.

Albeit drawn heavily on a dialectical perspective about organizations (Seo and Creed, 2002), the work enlightened also activities and characteristics that contribute to a positive organizational climate within museums, due to educational logic. This conclusion, which needs to be tested empirically beyond our results, could open up a stream of studies about determinants and consequences of this *bridging role* exerted by educational logic (or others) over major logics.

A further contribution comes from the information used. The original dataset about museums in the Lombardy region I relied on, could provide important insights for future research. Unfortunately, in Italy regional accreditation schemes did not yet converge towards a unique informative system, which dramatically would improve the opportunities for research across regions and museums. The availability of info about cultural organizations would provoke scholar and public debate.

7.3. Limitations

One of the purposes of my dissertation was to coherently define a lens of investigation which has theoretically substance and pragmatic implications. I feel that the development of the ‘slow-motion analysis’ in institutional analysis could offer new insights about organizational pluralism and evolution, as above explained. Nonetheless, this analysis suffers from some limitations.

The first limitation regards the use of ideal-types in describing institutional logics. Albeit widely adopted and recursively justified (see Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012 for a review), typification are abstractions, and thus exposed to criticism. I tried to secure validity to the overall process, but as an interpretative effort, it could entail some fallacies.

Secondly, the operationalization of institutional logics presents many potential pitfalls. It is not a case that many research designs assume ‘that institutional logics cannot be directly measured through any one variable or set of variables’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 807). I faced this issue directly, and suggested to consider organizational levels as proxy for institutional logics presence

(and relative strength) in organizations. This standpoint is not entirely new, and draws on similar representations here and there sparse in literature. Institutional logics work as far as they are enacted in organization members (Heimer, 1999; Glynn, 2000; Zilber, 2002) and as they organize in groups which have the power to sustain those logics (Leblebici et al, 1991). Hence, logics are reflected in different groups and “levels” within organizations (Ruef and Scott, 1998) and when different groups of professionals are associated with different logics, conflict may arise, exhibiting logics divergence.

Both the two limitations recall and originate from the duality of institutional logics, as being symbolic and material. Prior work simply suggested that duality of institutions is intertwined in individuals’ motivation structures. From an organizational standpoint, this argument does not appear sufficient.

A third limitation is due to the case study analysis conducted in essay n.3. As clarified, in the paper I found evidence of minority logic influence over majority logics. The adopted methodology, however, does not allow discerning to what extent this influence is robust, and how long it will last before disappearing or evolving over time. One subtle prediction of institutional analysis is that persistence is stronger on higher levels of analysis (Jepperson, 1991). So an intriguing and problematic question arises: to what extent a minority logic could be influential on the focal organization even *before* it has gained ‘institutional power’ in the field. Our methodology does not allow disentangling this issue.

A fourth limitation concerns the external validity of results. As previously remarked, both essay 2 and 3 share the same field of study – museum sector in Lombardy region. Albeit the history of museums shows many similarities across countries, a first concern for validity comes from the peculiarity of museums in Lombardy. As is known, in fact, like other industrial and cultural organizations, museums in Lombardy are particularly dynamic. Even in the absence of accurate data at the national level, it is necessary to assume a certain lack of homogeneity between the museums under analysis and those from other regions or countries. A second critical point concerns the possibility to infer the conclusions of this work

beyond the confines of the museum field. Certainly, change and dynamics of museums mirror societal trends, and reflect changes in the larger field of Lombardy public administration reform. Albeit this continuity, further verifications and analyses in different setting and contexts will surely enrich these findings.

7.4. Ideas for a Research Agenda

As noted in several parts of the study, the focus of this dissertation is the analysis of the influences exerted by institutional logics over organizational behavior. The analysis of organizational dynamics, both in theoretical reformulation of 'slow-motion', and in the emergence of educational logic through the case study, leads us to believe that there is room for interesting reflections on institutional change. More specifically, the reconciliation here offered between micro-and macro-events seems to open up interesting opportunities to understand closely the emergence, development, transformation and abandonment of institutional logics and the parallel organizational behavior. This will make it possible to appreciate how the duration and persistence of logics, at the social and organizational level, impact on the institutional and organizational change. So, for example, it will be possible to better comprehend the effect produced by the regulatory policies of museums through accreditation.

A second venue for research regards the adoption of a practice-based view of institutional change (Jarzabkowski, 2008; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Schatzki et al., 2001), where practices could be seen as enactment of institutional logics (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Smets et al., 2012). In line with the reasoning here proposed, I intend to focus on how practices in museums influence institutional transformation.

A third element of development is represented by the need to explore the accreditation directly. As explained above, our methodological model (Essay 2) focused on the time of application, in order to study organizational behavior, isolating it from that of the committee called upon to judge (regulator's behavior). However, a thorough analysis of the final result (accredited or not) can provide useful elements about organizational change and strategy of the museums. This analysis will include a performance assessment (preceding and following the

accreditation), and the concerning necessity to deal with different metrics. As notable, museum “performance” is a construct required to reconcile different metrics, to capture, for example, the ability of being social inclusive, to be financially well managed, or the aptitude to satisfy its audiences.

7.5. References

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