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The Interrelationship between Micro-Level Mechanisms in the Emergence of Hybrid Institutional Logics: A Comparative Analysis of Art Museums in the United Kingdom and France

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Research Declaration

I declare this thesis is my own work. The work of others is appropriately referenced. This research contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other academic degree or professional qualification in any university.

This thesis includes material that has been accepted in one peer reviewed journal and presented in two conferences. The development and writing up of the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself under the supervision of Prof. Soo Hee Lee.

Thesis Chapter	Publication / Paper Title	Journal / Conference	Status	Co-author Name	Co-author Nature
Chapter 6	Business Model Innovation through Digitisation in Social Purpose Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of Tate Modern and Pompidou Centre	Journal of Business Research, 2020	Accepted	Prof. Soo Hee Lee	Supervisor
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Abstract

This thesis examines the process of institutional change in the field of art museums in two countries, the United Kingdom and France, using an institutional logics perspective. Art museums have gone through significant changes due to cultural policies, pressures from the institutional environment and demands by stakeholders. This study seeks to reveal the role and interrelationship between cognitive micro-level mechanisms in the emergence of macro-level practices. Through a comparative case study analysis, the findings show that three cognitive micro-level mechanisms are operational in institutional logics emergence that influenced institutional change outcomes, which are sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. The process of change is non-linear with mutual interrelationships between cognitive mechanisms in a continuous process until major and influential stakeholders are satisfied. The process starts by decision-making from external stakeholders who put pressures on organisations in a field to change. Through sensemaking, organisational actors identify circumstances, interpret them to generate possible options and take action. Taking action is in the form of decision-making whereby actors enact new practices that either satisfy major stakeholders to end change or trigger collective mobilisation by dissatisfied stakeholders to oppose change. Organisational actors respond through sensemaking and decision-making to enact different practices that satisfy the opposition. The study focuses on the outcome of hybridity to illustrate that a hybrid logic may emerge unintentionally. As organisational actors attempt to accommodate conflicting demands, organisations innovate practices that combine competing logics in novel ways. The emerged hybridity is not a goal, but a resort by which it is intended to cope with institutional pressures, but is not optimal for competitiveness and sustainability. An emergent insight from the study is utilising digitisation by organisations to hybridise by first using digital to pursue the old logic and meet its demands, and then figure creative ways to combine the new logic that create a synergy between conflicting activities.

This research makes several contributions to institutional logics, institutional change, and hybrid organisations literatures. First, it demonstrates the process of institutional change in the context of art museums, including causes, outcomes and effects. Second, it shows the role and interrelationship between cognitive micro-level mechanisms in the emergence of institutional logics at the organisational level. Third, it highlights that low power stakeholders can influence institutional change by mobilising collectively and using digital tools to disrupt organisations and diminish legitimacy. Fourth, it identifies factors that influence change and

the unintentional rise of hybridity. Conflicting demands from the institutional environment combined with creative utilisation of digitisation enabled the emergence of a hybrid logic.

Keywords: *institutional logics, institutional change, sensemaking, collective mobilisation, decision making, hybrid logic, commercialisation, globalisation, digitisation, art museums, United Kingdom, France*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Aims

Art museums are organisations that represent the local culture of a society where they reflect opinions and ideas of various stakeholders. Changes of art museums towards commercialisation and globalisation have been of concern and interest to both academics and practitioners. This research is motivated by the recent significant developments of cultural practices by cultural institutions to represent culture in different societal contexts. Interested by the radical changes of cultural policies after the global financial crisis and their effect on art, I began a study of art museums in the United Kingdom and France. In order to gain a deep understanding of changes in this field of organisations within these specific contexts, I focused on investigating external events and internal responses that influenced cultural practices of art museums.

During the early stages of my research, an in-depth reading of the management literature brought a stream of research known as institutional logics, which emanates from institutional theory, to my attention. The perspective provides a systematic macro-level foundation to understand actors' behaviour in institutional fields that consist of organisations, and organisations that consist of individuals by assessing how the practices and identities of actors reflect values, beliefs and rules (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Nicolini et al., 2016; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Studies within this literature provided important insights on the influence of logics on institutions. Early studies have focused on the implications of logics on fields and organisations by researching the interplay between logics of actors with practices and identities in a macro-level relation (Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). Central to this stream of research is the notion that the practices of fields and organisations are shaped and constrained by institutional logics that specify which goals should be pursued within a given context (Thornton et al., 2012).

Subsequently, a stream of the literature has utilised institutional logics perspective as a framework to aid in understanding institutional change because a change of logic is conceptualised as an institutional change (e.g. Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Logics may explain institutional change and the emergence of organisational practices by uncovering the links between the institutional environment and agency. The central assumption that underpins studies of institutional change using institutional logics is that

fields and organisations may have multiple institutional logics to create a balance between multiple demands from the institutional environment (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). However, the problem is that multiple logics may be competing in nature, thus, resulting in conflicts on individual and organisational levels (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Competing logics trigger a response by organisational actors and one way to resolve the contradictions is through institutional logic change, whereby the dominant logic is abandoned and another logic rises to dominance (Kraatz & Block, 2008).

> *"In examining emergence and change of institutional logics, one important issue to consider is how cross-level processes operate. Macro, meso, and micro mechanisms are all involved in the emergence and change of institutional logics"* (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 169)

A comprehensive explanation of institutional logics emergence requires examining cross-level processes where logics are at the macro-level while social interactions are micro-level mechanisms (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2013; Thornton et al., 2012). A handful of scholars have researched institutional change in a bottom-up process by examining micro-level mechanisms and their role in the emergence of macro-level institutional logics through the enactment of new, or changed, organisational practices and identifies (Lounsbury, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). One of these micro-level mechanisms is sensemaking that is defined as "turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action" (Weick et al., 2005, p. 409). For instance, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have shown that attention to external events influences environmental sensemaking through theorisation and representation of field exemplars to result in a cognitive realignment of institutional logics. Other cognitive micro-level mechanisms include collective mobilisation that refers to collective action by actors to achieve collective goals, and decision-making by influential stakeholders that affect organisations (Thornton et al., 2012). Studies in collective mobilisation have shown that societal level logics are conveyed to the field level through pressures from stakeholders (Lounsbury, 2005). Nevertheless, many theoretical as well as empirical questions are yet unexplored, particularly in relation to the process by which micro-level mechanisms drive change at the macro-level of organisations, which is still being investigated by scholars.

Although studies have explained the role of micro-level mechanisms in driving macro-level institutional change, the mechanisms were examined separately and the question of how micro-level mechanisms interact and combine has received little attention in the literature. This called for research that explains the combination of micro-level mechanisms in the emergence of macro-level outcomes (Thornton et al., 2012). To fill this gap, this study examines the interrelationship between cognitive micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making to explore how these mechanisms combined lead to the emergence of institutional logics. These mechanisms are selected because firstly, they are cognitive mechanisms that were examined separately by scholars in previous studies while this thesis aims to contribute by examining the interrelationship between mechanisms. Secondly, the interrelationship between these mechanisms is theorised in Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework and this study aims to extend and validate the framework empirically. Based on the aforementioned reasons the selected mechanisms for this study are sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Cultural practices, particularly in art museums, which have thus far received little attention in institutional change studies, offer an opportunity to explore questions related to institutional change and yield further contributions to expand our knowledge of such institutional processes. This approach seemed to be the most relevant to research fundamental changes in art museums and particularly insightful to explain the process that underpins different outcomes of cultural practices in different countries. Thus, the study aims to:

- Explore the causes, outcomes and effects of institutional change in the field of art museums through a comparative analysis.
- Examine the process of institutional change by analysing various micro-level mechanisms and their interrelationship by which institutional logics and organisational practices emerge.
- Identify the role of stakeholders in influencing institutional change through counter mobilisation.

1.2 Research Questions

The process of institutional change can take different forms, such as changing institutional work (Gawer & Phillips, 2013) or through hiring practices (Battilana & Dorado, 2010). Institutional logics perspective posits that practices and identities are constructed

socially by individuals (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Institutional change occurs through a cross-level interaction where institutional logics are at the macro-level while the mechanisms by which organisational actors enact practices are at the micro-level (Thornton et al., 2012). Beside the calls by scholars to research the mechanisms by which institutional logics are emerged, diffused, or persisted, the relation between intra-organisational processes and institutional logics is an underdeveloped yet promising area of research to further explain how fields and organisations evolve and change (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Building on the role of agency in driving change, this study advocates the argument that social interactions are important to understand institutional change process (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2013; Thornton et al., 2012). Thus, analysing micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making can enhance our understanding of the institutional change process within organisations. Although studies have examined the role of micro-level mechanisms separately to show different outcomes (e.g. Lounsbury, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010 among others), they have shown different outcomes of change and it is not clear why a specific outcome emerges. For instance, both Townley (1997) and Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) have examined collective mobilisation as a mechanism for change but have shown contradicting outcomes. This study responds to the call of Thornton et al. (2012) to provide a further explanation by examining how mechanisms are interrelated and combined that is important to understand the emergence of a particular macro-level outcome of institutional change. While Thornton et al. (2012) have provided a theoretical framework of the interrelation between micro-level mechanisms based on evaluating different studies on institutional logics, this study aims to develop the framework and provide an empirical evidence that is important for validation and enhancing credibility of the framework (Seale, 2002).

Q1: How do micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making within organisations interact and lead to the emergence of institutional logics?

Institutional theorists have emphasised the importance of the institutional environment in influencing the development of fields and organisations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). While the argument of early research is that the institutional environment shapes organisational structure, later on, however, the literature posits that individuals are key to create, identify and interpret institutional pressures by which fields and organisations respond to the institutional environment (Greenwood et al., 2002; Thornton et

al., 2012). Organisations that are highly dependent on the institutional environment or under high operational uncertainty are more likely to conform (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Given this background, examining the institutional environment is important to understand the factors that influence institutional change. The literature identified three main factors, which are legitimacy, power and stakeholders (Greenwood et al., 2008). This study is interested in finding out the role of stakeholders which are a source of legitimacy and a force to push for, or constrain, institutional change (Lounsbury, 2005). When stakeholders take action together this is considered collective mobilisation as a micro-level mechanism. Studies have demonstrated stakeholders as an external influential factor that create pressure on organisations to change (Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003); however, how different stakeholders, both within and outside organisations, and which interact through micro-level mechanisms to influence institutional change, afford an opportunity to yield greater understanding of the link between the institutional environment and institutional change. This study aims to contribute by examining the influence of multiple stakeholders in triggering or opposing institutional change. This is important to examine the mechanism of collective mobilisation and to explain the emergence of a particular outcome of institutional change. Examining different stakeholders in the same context could extend the literature by uncovering their role in institutional change. In order to do so, the study analyses the role of stakeholders in social interactions of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Thus, the following question is formulated.

Q2: How do stakeholders influence micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making in driving the outcome of institutional change?

Scholars have used institutional logics perspective to examine institutional change based on the assumption that competing logics is an evolutionary period wherein institutions change to maintain legitimacy and survive (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Rao et al., 2003; Reay & Hinings, 2009). Studies show four outcomes of institutional change using institutional logics perspective, which are maintaining the old dominant logic (Cooper et al., 1996; Townley, 1997), changing to a new logic (Haveman & Rao, 1997; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010), hybridising competing logics (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Hodgson et al., 2015; Jay, 2013; Pratt & Foreman, 2000), or a continued stalemate (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Nicolini et al., 2016). Some researchers have focused on the process of change while others aimed to explain a specific outcome. Against this background, this research is focused on hybrid logic as an outcome, by

which contradictory organisational forms and practices are combined in novel ways (Battilana & Lee, 2014), to shed light on the conditions that influence this particular outcome in different contexts. Although the literature has provided several hybridisation approaches (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010), they have developed these approaches to be adopted intentionally by organisations that are created as hybrids. Nevertheless, hybridity may emerge unintentionally as traditional forms of organisations adopt hybrid forms. Researching the process by which hybridity emerges unintentionally from the interactions of actors is crucial to understand why this particular outcome emerged instead of others and how traditional forms of organisations become hybrid organisations. In order to do so, this study aims to extend the literature by examining the role of micro-level mechanisms and exploring the factors that influence institutional change outcome to result in an unintentional emergence of a hybrid logic. This leads to formulate the following research question.

Q3: How do institutional logics in organisations hybridise over time in different contexts?

1.3 Methodological Issues

The context was selected based on the criterion to maximise the opportunity to investigate institutional change in the same field, but in different societal contexts. This helps to explore similarities and differences in the change process and specific factors of the institutional environment that influence institutional logics outcomes. A preliminary assessment of the existing literature guided the context selection (e.g. Alexander, 2014; Looseley, 1997) which resulted in identifying art museums as a field that has experienced a fundamental change. As non-profit or public organisations, art museums rely on external funding to sustain their operations. The shrinkage of public funding leaves art museums confronted with a dilemma to sustain operations with a lack of resources (Greffe et al., 2017). Consequently, there is a growing trend in the practices of art museums to incorporate market principles (Rectanus, 2006).

The art museums field is studied in two countries – United Kingdom and France – which, despite similar political and economic systems, have presented some variety in the manifestation of such institutional change. It appears that, although the two countries have nearly identical cultural values, and share similar emerged cultural policies towards sustaining cultural practices, the field of art museums has evolved in divergent directions in the two countries. Since the 1980s, the cultural policies of both the British and French

governments have been pushing for the market-oriented business model on cultural institutions which demands them to function similar to private for-profit corporations in order to become self-sufficient financially through the production and exchange of value with customers (Alexander et al., 2018). Following the global financial crisis of 2008, austerity measures were imposed on the cultural field. These events have led to reduce public funding for art museums which, in turn, has prompted them to focus on diversifying income. Although they have common cultural policies, the outcomes are varied in the two countries. Particularly, art museums in the United Kingdom have adopted commercial practices to increase income, while French museums have embraced globalisation by expanding internationally.

Qualitative method is recommended to measure meaning making and answer important questions of institutional studies that are related to organisational processes to uncover the factors that trigger institutional change or lead to particular organisational outcomes (Dacin et al., 2002; Suddaby, 2010). The research focus of this study is the cognitive micro-level mechanisms and, therefore, this requires a close examination and understanding of social interactions, which leans to the qualitative method to provide a better perspective of the phenomenon researched in this study. According to Yin (2013), case study research is suitable for 'why' and 'how' questions, and when the researcher has low influence over the situation. This research examines organisations in a historical manner where the researcher has no control over the events. Case study is the appropriate method to explore such complex situations, particularly over a long period of time (Gratton & Jones, 2010). As the primary research emphasis is the comparative perspective on institutional change between the United Kingdom and France, a comparative case study method is used in this study in order to compare similarities and differences between distinct institutional contexts in order to provide more compelling and robust findings (Stake, 2005).

Considering the fact that the majority of institutional logics emergence studies are focusing on a field level (e.g. Nicolini et al., 2016; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010 among others), scholars have criticised this approach to argue that the field is the level where logics function while the emergence emanates from organisations (Greenwood et al., 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). Change process is best examined through multiple levels of analysis, but one study cannot incorporate all levels (Scott, 1995); thus, this research aims to complement the vast studies at the field level by attending at the organisational level of institutional change, which

is the level of analysis that is promising to expand insights into institutional studies (Greenwood et al., 2008). Furthermore, developing a greater understanding of micro-level mechanisms requires getting inside organisations and examining how social interactions shape institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012). Therefore, this study examines the whole organisation as the unit of analysis in order to establish a relation between individuals and organisational outcomes. A comparative analysis is applied by investigating four organisations as case studies divided on cross-national contexts in the art museums field in the United Kingdom and France by employing two art museums from each country.

As is common in case study research, the data collection is based on qualitative methods, using primary and secondary sources. First, documents, archival and online data sources, were collected to provide rich information about the phenomena investigated. Second, semi-structured interviews with the case study organisations' internal actors (senior managers) and external actors (professionals, activists and other stakeholders) were conducted to triangulate the data and achieve theoretical saturation. The study analyses the data using theory validating approach to strengthen confidence in findings and validate a theory empirically (Hyde, 2000) by producing an empirical-based pattern to connect the theory with the empirical findings. It then uses empirical findings to develop the theory as well. Thus, institutional logics emergence was systematically tracked by categorising data into related groups in order to make the data manageable and form a conceptual hierarchy (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A cross-case analysis is applied due to the fact that the research aims for a comparative perspective by analysing similarities and differences in order to identify the existing patterns. Validity and reliability were addressed through multiple data sources to increase the credibility of interpretations and maximise the robustness of the study (Bryman, 2015).

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. *Chapter 2* reviews previous works on institutional logics that are relevant to the thesis, with a focus on institutional change. It debates the literature to identify areas of research that have the potential to contribute. It concludes with an evaluation of the literature to present the gap and the intended contribution from this study, particularly the process of organisational level change in different contexts through micro-level mechanisms.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework for the research. It describes micro-level mechanisms, their relation to macro-level outcomes, their interrelationship, and influential factors. The chapter specifies the mechanisms that have been employed for examination to clarify the boundaries of the study. It concludes by elaborating how the theoretical framework is applied in this study.

Chapter 4 describes the empirical settings of the research and explains the research method that is used in this study. The chapter outlines the research design to show the process of data collection and analysis. It clarifies how methodological issues of validity and reliability were tackled and how reflexivity was used in this study to present the findings.

Chapter 5 provides a contextual analysis of art museums field in the United Kingdom and France before and after changes in practices in order to illustrate the triggers, outcomes, and effect. It summarises the emergence of new logics in the field after the global financial crisis and shows the result of this process. The chapter starts by discussing cultural policies of the two countries, the subsequent outcomes of art museums practices, and the effect on culture. It highlights the similarities and differences across the contexts.

Chapter 6 analyses institutional change process through institutional logics emergence and presents the empirical results. It explains the phases of the process, analyses the role and interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms, the role and influence of stakeholders in each phase, and the emergence of organisational practices.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the study by discussing changes of art museums, the process of institutional change, the role and interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms in driving this process, the resistance to change, and the rise of a hybrid logic.

Chapter 8 summarises the contributions of the thesis in relation to the existing literature about institutional logics and institutional change. It presents the theoretical contributions of the thesis and practical implications. It highlights limitations in the study and proposes a way forward by suggesting areas of potential future research in view of the findings of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 provided the background of this research as an attempt to highlight the usefulness of institutional logics perspective to understand institutional change. It identified the research gap as the need to advance the explanation of institutional logics emergence in a micro- to macro-level process. It also outlined the aims of the research to understand the role of micro-level mechanisms and their interrelationship in driving the process of institutional change. The focus outcome of change is hybrid logic in order to explore the factors that influence hybridisation.

This chapter aims to review the literature of institutional logics and institutional change. First, it gives an overview of neo-institutional theory as a precursor of institutional logics. Second, a review of institutional logics perspective and the implications on organisations with a discussion of different streams of literature. Third, the chapter discusses multiple and competing logics within fields and organisations and the emergent outcome of contradictions. Fourth, I evaluate the literature highlighting drawbacks, and suggest how institutional logics can be further employed to advance the study of organisations.

2.2 Neo-Institutional Theory

In late 1970s, institutional theorists Meyer and Rowan (1977) have attempted to answer an important question of organisational studies which is to explain homogeneity among organisations. Their argument, which is known as neo-institutional theory, posits that organisations conform to a rational society of what makes a proper organisation. The premise is that the institutional environment, which is composed of regulations and norms, creates pressures that affect organisational structure which makes the organisations a socially constructed reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Organisations adopt material and social practices and procedures based on institutional rules that are derived from the external environment, thus leading to isomorphism of the formal structure of organisations. Institutional rules are incorporated by organisations in order to gain legitimacy, resources, stability, and higher probability of survival.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have developed a variant of isomorphism by considering the structural dynamics of organisational fields in order to explain the environmental effects on organisational identity. According to their argument, when a field that consists of a set of organisations emerges, participants in the field change their organisations by making them more similar in an isomorphic process. Organisations that imitate others are motivated to become similar to the other field participants to gain legitimacy and decrease uncertainty but they still seek to differentiate themselves. Thus, they emphasised legitimacy as an alternative of the notion of rationality to explain organisational structure. The authors elaborate on neo-institutional theory by identifying three processes that constitute the isomorphic process. First is coercive where there are pressures from other institutions such as the state in the societal level that influence field level organisations through laws and regulations, and cultural expectations in the society. Second is mimetic where the organisation imitates and follows others because of uncertain environment and ambiguity in aspects such as goals, or to obtain rewards. Third is normative pressures whereby organisations seek to shape the condition and method of their work according to the professional standards.

"Organizations are more dependent on external appearances for legitimacy, and have to demonstrate that they are acting on collectively valued purposes in a proper and adequate manner. This enhances their susceptibility to institutionalized myths and pressures for isomorphism." (Townley, 1997, p. 264)

Employing new institutionalism to understand institutional change is based on institutional isomorphism where organisations seek conformity with external demands and expectations in order to survive (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), thus a stream of studies have advanced this theory by examining organisational responses to institutional pressures. For instance, Townley (1997) has shown that organisations respond to coercive pressures from the government which results in change of structure and practices. Scholars have investigated the process of response and they have found a variety of responses but the choice selection depends on the organisational position towards institutional pressures. Organisations either conform or resist due to the pluralistic nature of the institutional environment that offers multiple sources of legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Oliver, 1991). In that sense, organisations face multiple and conflicting pressures to conform which explain the variation in outcome of responses.

Both old and new institutionalism drew criticism from scholars (DiMaggio, 1988; Thornton et al., 2012; Friedland & Alford, 1991). As concluded in the discussion of neo-institutional theory that organisations face conflicting pressures and their responses vary, however, the dynamics that are leading to the variations are not clear. One way to find out is by investigating micro processes inside organisations which are leading to emergent outcomes. Thus, recognising social relations with different values and beliefs allows addressing the political dimensions of organisational responses to institutional pressures. DiMaggio (1988) suggests considering the role of individual interest and conflicting behaviour. Institutional models that are enacted by neo-institutional theory have to incorporate the interests and actions of actors because these models function in situations where actors are unable to act according to their interests. Under these situations, assumptions about the nature of reality decide the course of action rather than the individual or organisational interests. Structural view of institutions that constrains the initiatives of individuals and organisations has attracted criticism to neo-institutional theory because of neglecting the behaviour of actors (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). Thus, neo-institutional theory is insufficient to explain the origins and disappearance of social and organisational forms as it had not taken into account the influence of actors working in institutional contexts that promote their interests (DiMaggio, 1988).

To resolve the setback, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) suggest a shift from the structural view of organisations to a cognitive and cultural view. They propose considering cognitive factors such as norms in the analysis of institutions as they are essential part of organisational actions for gaining legitimacy. However, the suggested cognitive factors are collective and more like routines that function with limited awareness or attention. Thus, their approach is criticised by Thornton et al. (2012) where they call their cognitive approach as 'mindless cognition' because it fails to consider agency. Agency means the ability of actors to influence rules, relations, or allocation of resources. Scott (1995) has attempted to examine the role of agency aspect in organisations by developing institutional pillars and aligning them to the isomorphic processes of neo-institutional theory. According to Scott (1995), there are three pillars that enable or constrain organisational actors which are regulative, normative, and cognitive pillars. Regulative pillar refers to rules and policies, normative pillar refers to norms and values, and cognitive pillar refers to the interpretation of identity and the meaning of reality. Nevertheless, while Scott (1995) has tried to incorporate agency through institutional pillars, however, his approach is considered a categorisation of institutional

approaches and fails to achieve an integration among them (Thornton et al., 2012). Therefore, it affirms the need to explain institutional maintenance and change of organisations by incorporating the role of individual interests in institutional analysis (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Examining individuals in organisations is crucial to understand the effect on institutions. Thus, Friedland and Alford (1991) suggest that relations between actors are not limited to structures, but extend to include the influence of culture and symbols by considering the behaviour of actors in a social context. This has led to the development of institutional logics perspective.

2.3 Institutional Logics

While old and new institutionalism emphasised isomorphism and the dynamics of this process (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), institutional logics focuses on the content of institutions with an emphasis on the role of individuals (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Institutional logics is defined as "patterns, symbols, and practices which include values and beliefs that guide the daily activities, organizing of time and space, and reproduction of life and experience of individuals and organisations" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). The definition posits a link between individuals and socially constructed institutional rules by integrating structural, normative, and symbolic as complementary dimensions of institutions. Thornton et al. (2012) have researched how institutional logics transforms neo-institutional theory and argue that the concept represents a framework to analyse the relation between individuals, organisations, and fields. The value of the concept lies in employing it to investigate how organisational actors are influenced by the situation in which they are involved and thereafter there influence on organisational behaviour. Thus, institutional logics perspective creates a bridge between the macro-level structural perspective (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) with a micro-level approach and vice versa by linking values and beliefs to institutional analysis.

"The focus is no longer on isomorphism, whether in the world system, society, or organizational fields, but on the effects of differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organizations in a larger variety of contexts, including markets, industries, and populations of organizational forms." (Greenwood et al., 2008, p. 100)

The premise of institutional logics is that it represents interests, identities, values, and assumptions of organisational actors (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This is the main distinction

between institutional logics and the neo-institutional perspective which emphasises structure over action (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). A key characteristic of institutional logics is explaining the behaviour of actors within a social context to increase our understanding of organisational behaviour (Greenwood et al., 2008). In other words, it provides a macro-level foundation to understand organisational behaviour through the effect of logics on agency. The influence of institutional logics is evident in organisational fields as, for instance, logics establish institutional rules that determine legitimate actions (Greenwood et al., 2008; March & Olsen, 2010).

There are a variety of implications of institutional logics in organisational studies to understand the influence on organisational behaviour. A logic shapes the collective identity of actors that includes cognitive, normative, and emotional elements (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). It is conceptualised as a cognitive template that influences the perception of organisational actors which, in turn, guide objectives and practices (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2002). Organisational actors are obliged to conform to the collective identity by cooperating with others in the group and protect the norms, interests, and prescriptions of the identity. Jackall (1988) has shown that a logic facilitates competition for power and status within corporations, while Thornton and Ocasio (1999) have demonstrated that logics determine power structures. Business departments such as governance, human resources, marketing and others are socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Another important implication of institutional logics is directing the attention of actors (Ocasio, 1997). For instance, Lounsbury (2007) has found that logics in mutual funds industry directed the attention of non-growth funds to product costs problems, while growth funds focus on performance and this difference is due to the co-existence of multiple logics that result in diverting attentions.

2.3.1 Different Views of Institutional Logics

Scholars have developed different ways to conceptualise the institutional logics perspective (see Table 2.1). Friedland and Alford (1991), the pioneers of the perspective, have extended the structural view of institutions to include a symbolic view where a logic defines material practices and symbolic identities. According to them, an institutional logic provides "organising principles" (p. 248) that set rules to organisational actors of how work should be carried out.

"Without content–that is, the distinctive categories, beliefs, and motives created by a specific institutional logic–it will be impossible to explain what kinds of social relations have what kind of effect on the behaviour of organizations and individuals" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 252)

In this conceptualisation, Friedland and Alford (1991) propose that organisations are systems of symbols and material practices. Cultural symbols are sources of individual and organisational behaviour. Organisations behave according to that symbolic system of identity facets which give meaning to the activity. The symbolic system is constructed theoretically at the organisational level producing material and organising time and space to make the experience meaningful. The behaviour makes sense in relation to the symbolic system and vice versa. Through these symbolic systems, individuals and organisations aim to achieve their ends, and reshape their experiences as well. The origin of this conceptualisation is attributed to their view of societies as an inter-institutional system that is composed of central institutions that contain institutional orders. Central institutions including market, state, democracy, family, and religion shape institutional orders which, in turn, shape individual and organisational behaviour where each order is associated with a logic. As there are different institutional orders, hence sources of logics, this formulates the soil for conflicts between or within institutions. Based on this view, institutional fields or organisations carry a logic or different logics which explain institutional contradictions that may lead to change. Examining the various dimensions of logics requires paying attention to content as described by Friedland and Alford (1991) which represent belief systems that are interpreted by organisational actors to guide their behaviour. For instance, Scott (2000) argues that the medical field in the United States is shaped by the institutional logics of the market and state which are central institutions that carry institutional orders and thus convey logics to institutional fields.

The normative dimension and the role it plays in influencing contradictions is highlighted by Jackall (1988) where institutional logics in this context is defined as constructed rules that are created by individuals to guide their behaviour which makes it predictable. Similar to Friedland and Alford (1991), Jackall views institutional logics as represented by practices and constructed in organisations. However, the difference in Jackall's view is the consideration of the normative dimensions which was neglected by Friedland and Alford (1991). Institutions provide organisational actors with social norms that

guide their behaviour where norms imply shared principles. The position of Jackall (1988) is based on the view that norms are a critical dimension of institutions and their tacit institutional logics because ignoring norms implies a view of individual and organisational behaviour that lacks social consideration. Thus, norms represent part of institutional logics and are drawn from experiences of organisational actors.

A more holistic approach has been attempted by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) who integrated structural, symbolic, and normative dimensions. According to them, institutional logics are derived externally from the societal level into the field and organisational levels. They define institutional logics as practices, beliefs, assumptions, and values that guide the behaviour of individuals to provide a meaning for their reality. Their premise is that logics guide behaviour through cognition which is stimulated externally from the societal level. Understanding institutional processes such as institutional change requires understanding the construction of interests and preferences by the external stimuli. Thus, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) have extended the definition of Friedland and Alford (1991) by claiming that the contents of societal institutions are transformed to individual and organisational behaviour in fields and organisations. This occurs through the process of stimulation of the external environment into internal mental cognition of organisational actors in the form of assumptions, values, and beliefs. The understanding of institutional logics that is proposed by Thornton and Ocasio (1999) is further confirmed later by Thornton et al. (2012) as offering a tool for empirical analysis. It provides an analytical tool for analysis by theorising a link between multiple levels where organisational actors behave based on their socialisation of cultural norms and values from the societal level such as market or family. Overall, the three studies have different interpretations of institutional logics but all share a common aspect which is explaining organisational behaviour from a social context.

Although institutional logics perspective has enhanced our understanding of organisations by explaining the role of agency, some scholars including Greenwood et al. (2008) are not satisfied and criticised the previous conceptualisations of institutional logics. They expressed their doubts that institutional logics emerge from institutional fields as some studies suggest (e.g. Lounsbury, 2007), but rather logics are emerged from lower levels as was proposed initially by Friedland and Alford (1991). Greenwood et al. (2008) claim that the institutional field is the level of analysis where institutional logics function but not the level where logics emerge. Thus, they argue that institutional logics' conceptualisations are not

clear about how institutional logics emerge within fields. As a result of this flaw, Greenwood et al. (2008) have called for more research to understand the internal mechanisms of institutions that interact on multiple levels, i.e. how micro and macro levels of organisations interact. This may enhance our understanding of why and how some fields adopt a logic over other logics. For instance, it is not clear why the mutual funds field adopted multiple and different logics that diverted the attention of actors to costs problems and performance as proposed by (Lounsbury, 2007) whether they were under regulative pressures, market pressures, or others. Thus, examining multiple levels relations is likely to fill this gap and may help us to improve our understanding of institutional logics emergence in institutional fields.

The response came from Thornton et al. (2012) who have developed a framework to explain cross-level interactions of institutional logics by conceptualising that institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis. The origin of this conceptualisation is based on combining material and symbolic elements of institutional logics. They have extended the view of Friedland and Alford (1991) by positing that the external environment on the societal level influences institutional logics emergence in institutional fields but are mediated through micro-level processes of change. Thornton et al. (2012) argue that this relation is essential to understand agency and explain institutional change within fields and organisations. This conceptualisation resulted in the development of institutional logics cross-level framework which identifies multiple levels of interactions.

Cross-level interactions are between micro and macro levels of analysis where social interactions at the micro-level while institutional logics at the macro-level. The premise is that social actors are crucial to understand institutional change. Social interactions generate both material practices and symbolic identities where interactions such as negotiations are central to institutional logics emergence. Organisational actors through social interactions generate different goals based on guidance by institutional logics to transform organisational practices. Institutional logics are mediated through cognition and social interactions by which organisational actors negotiate and cooperate in a transformation process. Thus, institutional logics perspective enables a comprehensive understanding of situations on both micro – individual– and macro –organisational– levels of analysis to explain the observed links between individuals and organisations in the emergence or change of institutional fields.

Until recently, institutional logics was limited to cognition to research institutional change processes (Thornton et al., 2012). Microfoundations is a rising stream of the literature with studies arguing that the aggregation of microfoundations explains the emergence of macro outcomes by analysing multiple levels conceptualisation of institutions (Barney & Felin, 2013; Gavetti, 2005; Van de Ven & Lifschitz, 2013). Specifically, the literature is focusing on organisational level as the optimal level of analysis to establish a relation between individual actions and the emergence of organisations. For instance, a study by Gavetti (2005) established a relation between individual cognition and learning as leading to the emergence of organisational level outcomes. Consequently, researchers in microfoundations literature followed that path and examined the role and influence of micro factors and how they provide an explanation of macro organisational outcomes in a range of organisational related topics including institutional change (Van de Ven & Lifschitz, 2013). In their study of organisational behaviour Van de Ven and Lifschitz (2013) investigated collective reasonable behaviour that represent institutional standards such as values and rules which are acceptable to the society. In relation to neo-institutional theory, the authors argue that reasonable behaviour is important as it draws attention to organisational actors and their interactions that are imported from the societal level which, in turn, give rise to institutions at the field and organisational levels.

In an effort to develop microfoundations in institutional analysis, recent work in institutional studies is considering the role and effect of emotions on institutions and the implications on institutional logics (Lok et al., 2017; Fan & Zietsma, 2017). From an institutional perspective, emotions are active within social contexts that influence social interactions and outcome of maintaining or changing institutions, in line with social constructionist foundation in institutional logics. Emotions in relation to institutional logics are conceptualised as the emotional attachment of organisational actors to a logic (Fan & Zietsma, 2017). While there are many feelings that are considered emotions, however, studies have classified emotions mainly as either positive or negative towards a particular situation or stimuli.

"The socially embedded, interdependent, relational, and emotional nature of persons' lived experiences of institutional arrangements." (Creed et al., 2014, p. 278)

Studies of emotions and institutional change are few and emerging, I discuss two. Fan and Zietsma (2017) have investigated the role of emotions in the emergence of institutional

logics to propose that positive emotions influenced reflexivity, commitment, and engagement between actors who carry competing logics. Thus, emotions facilitated collaboration between competing actors which resulted eventually in the construction of a hybrid logic that homogenised competing logics in a hybrid arrangement. While not examining the emergence of institutional logics per se, Voronov and Vince (2012) have examined the emergence of institutional work as an indicator of institutional change. They observed that field actors produce emotions and desires during social interactions in relation to their role in the field. The release of negative emotions has imposed limitations on actors' negotiations while positive emotions enabled agreement and conformity with the dominant logic through the interplay of thinking 'cognition' and feeling 'emotions'. Interestingly, the authors argue that the emotional influence is stronger than cognition in maintaining, changing, or creating institutions. Table 2.1 summarises the conceptualisations of institutional logics.

Table 2.1 Different Views of Institutional Logics

Conceptualisation of Institutional Logics	Reference
Institutional orders shape individual and organisational behaviour where each order is associated with a field logic.	Friedland and Alford (1991)
Constructed rules created by individuals to guide their behaviour which makes organisational behaviour predictable.	Jackall (1988)
Practices, beliefs, assumptions, and values that guide the behaviour of individuals to provide a meaning for their reality.	Thornton and Ocasio (1999)
Institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis where institutional logics is a macro-level foundation for organisational behaviour and altered by micro-level processes that result in the emergence or change of fields and organisations.	Thornton et al. (2012)
Emotions are influential in enabling conformity to institutional logics or imposing limitations on institutional change.	Lok et al. (2017)

2.3.2 Adopted Conceptualisation of Institutional Logics in this Study

Since the theoretical interest of this research is to uncover the process of institutional logics emergence at the organisational level, this thesis adopts a conceptualisation of logics elaborated in previous studies, which investigates emergence of practices through social interactions (Thornton et al., 2012). Logics as a set of values, beliefs, and rules that guide the behaviour of organisational actors, are emerged through social interactions in a bottom-up approach. Cross-level relation framework that was developed by Thornton et al. (2012) is useful in understanding the role of individuals in shaping practices in response to institutional pressures. It is believed to be a viable framework to understand how cultural beliefs structure cognition, guide decisions, and shape practices. Thus, the framework provides an ideal guide to examine how organisational behaviour reflects the beliefs and interests of organisational actors which is the central assumption of institutional logics perspective (Friendland & Alford, 1991).

As the focus of this research is organisational level logics, examining micro-level mechanisms inside organisations is essential in the analysis of the enactment of practices. The relation between institutional logics and actors' action is reciprocal where logics influence action while actors influence how logics are instantiated in fields and organisations (Besharov & Smith, 2014). Besides the bottom-up approach, Thornton et al.'s (2012) cross-level framework considers the impact of the institutional environment in a top-down approach. A key assumption of Thornton et al.'s (2012) conceptualisation is that micro- and macro-level relation is reciprocal where micro-level mechanisms feed into macro-level practices, as well as both institutional logics and the institutional environment influence social interactions. In that sense, the institutional environment through public pressures, laws and regulations, policies, among others influences social interactions in a macro- to micro-level relation, thereby triggering a response from organisational actors which is then reflected in institutional change. In summary, social interactions in the micro-level is the area of focus in this study in order to understand how organisational actors respond to pressures from the institutional environment and the resultant macro-level institutional logics from this process.

2.4 Multiple and Competing Logics

"Individuals learn multiple contrasting and often contradictory institutional logics through social interactions and socialization. The multiple institutional logics comprise the cultural knowledge available to social actors in society, institutional fields, and organizations." (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 83)

Organisational fields differ in their adoption of institutional logics where some fields are characterised by one logic while other fields contain multiple logics that compete for dominance. Pluralistic fields face challenges in relation to legitimacy, governance, and institutional change (Kraatz & Block, 2008). For instance, Scott (2000) investigated the division of medical field in the United States during the 1960s. The author noted that the decline of the central medical association and the rise of speciality association are the result of the adoption of an alternative medicine and managed care logic. Conceptualising multiple logics on the organisational level, an organisation may have more than one institutional logic in order to create a balance between multiple demands, actions, and identities (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Lounsbury, 2007; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Reay & Hinings, 2009).

Multiple logics enable reaping benefits that are not possible with one logic such as meeting the demands of different stakeholders, pursue several goals, improve performance, and generate innovative solutions (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Jay, 2013). For instance, Dunn and Jones (2010) have shown that a medical education institution is embedded with care logic as dominant but also carries elements of science logic, thus influencing a variation in practices. However, the elements of institutional logics such as norms, values, and commitments may not be convergent (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). Thus, multiple logics may make a contradictory influence on fields or organisations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Corley et al., 2006; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Combining competing logics may result in conflicts between actors that are promoting them (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Conflicts emerge because the organisation needs to conform to opposing demands from the adopted competing logics (Bruneel et al., 2016). On the individual level, conflicting demands result in tensions between actors such as power struggle (Kraatz & Block, 2008). On the organisational level, competing logics may result in fragmentation, incoherence, conflict, goal-uncertainty, and eventually paralyses (Stryker, 2000). For instance, Battilana and Lee

(2014) have shown that social enterprises experience external conflicts in managing relations with stakeholders, and internal in managing resources allocation.

Therefore, practices within fields and organisations are guided either by a dominant logic or multiple logics that compete for dominance. This makes the incompatibility of logics as the driving force that triggers institutional change. Thus, examining the rivalry between logics may explain organisational contradictions and behavioural variations that lead eventually to different outcomes (Rao & Hirsch, 2003). When multiple logics are competing, social interactions are important to explain the rise and dominance of a logic (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2013). The institutional logic that becomes dominant indicates institutional change as explained by Thornton:

> *"Institutional logics, once they become dominant, affect the decision of organizations ... by focusing the attention of executives and toward the set of issues and solutions that are consistent with the dominant logic and away from those issues and solutions that are not"* (2004, p. 12-13)

This study observes four streams of literature with regard to competing logics and institutional change (see Table 2.2). First, the struggle of competing logics leads an organisation to abandon the new logic and resort to the dominant old logic. Second, other researchers found that organisations will move to adopt a new logic and delete old logic. Third, the literature of hybrid organisations shows that multiple logics can be hybridised thus allowing organisations to pursue both logics simultaneously. Fourth, some studies have demonstrated that organisations operate with a co-existence of competing logics for a long period.

2.4.1 Maintaining a Dominant Logic

Organisations trying to adopt a new logic may end with practices of the old logic that maintains dominance (Cooper et al., 1996). Resorting to the old logic can result from collective mobilisation to resist change (Townley, 1997; Rao & Hirsch, 2003). Studying universities in the United Kingdom on a field level, Townley (1997) have examined strategies employed by actors to resist institutional pressures. Universities were dependent on public funds at the time of the study and were required by the government to introduce performance appraisal for staff as a management tool in order to enhance organisational effectiveness. While universities initially welcomed performance appraisal system in principle, however,

they expressed objections to some elements which constrain their autonomy and turn them intrinsically similar to corporations. The response from universities is the adoption of the performance appraisal but with modifications to adopt new advanced practices but without contradicting their old logic, thus successfully preserved their dominant logic. Resistance to new logic can be through different strategies as illustrated by Rao and Hirsch (2003). In Czech Republic, state-owned banks are refusing to adopt privatised organisational forms that are being pushed by the neoliberal government in order to increase efficiency. State-owned banks followed a collective action strategy to resist change with several tactics by developing cross-ownership of banks instead of full privatisation, lobbying with political figures to enact laws against private takeover, and small private banks were acquired by state-owned banks as a counteraction to limit the threat of private banks. A notable characteristic of the resistance strategy employed by the state-owned banks is the utilisation of power to constrain logic change and maintain the dominant logic of public ownership.

Studies that researched institutional change have shown that competing logics may not lead to a fundamental change but to maintaining a dominant logic with insights of the factors that impede change. They have explored the role of collective mobilisation to resist change and focused on the field level to shed light on the outcome of institutional change in different contexts. While studies have shown different tactics to preserve the old logic that are related to collective mobilisation, however, examining other mechanisms that interacted may enhance our understanding of why and how the old logic is maintained. Sensemaking is one potential mechanism that could explain the variation in response. Understanding the reaction of organisational actors and their sensemaking may provide the potential to unleash the reasons why actors chose and are able to resist in some situations while adhere in others. Another drawback is that studies have focused on specific single contexts that have different political, economic, and cultural systems. Generalisation to other contexts is questioned because some countries have privatised economies with free market rules while others have higher state-owned enterprises and stronger governmental control of the market. Thus, a comparative analysis as this study is intending could either conform to these results or provide different insights of the means by which organisations or stakeholders stimulate or resist change.

2.4.2 Changing to a New Logic

During the turbulent period of combining competing logics, organisations may resort to the rising new logic to become the dominant logic and replace the old logic (Haveman & Rao, 1997). The choice to change depends on a variety of factors as it can be a response to the external environment to maintain legitimacy (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010) or emerges internally to gain advantage (Gawer & Phillips, 2013). In their study of healthcare reforms in the United States, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have shown that attention to pressures created by the institutional environment, which is allowed by availability and accessibility of information, triggered a process of institutional change. Through representation of exemplars that made salient by the event, actors pay attention to field changing practices followed by theorisation to elaborate practices that conform to external pressures. This process is part of sensemaking and resulted in field actors making a cognitive shift to a new managed care logic. External trigger is not the only stimulus to institutional logics emergence as it can emerge internally as demonstrated by Gawer and Phillips (2013) through institutional work which refers to the purposive actions of individuals and organisations to create, change, or maintain institutions. Examining Intel Corporation as the case study, Gawer and Phillips (2013) have shown that the pursuit of a competitive advantage led to logic change through innovating new practices, engaging employees in new practices, and managing tensions. Thus, institutional work manifested by new organisational practices is mechanism for institutional logics emergence.

Although the literature has revealed that organisations may change to a new logic in order to conform to external pressures or change internally, and have unpacked the process of change, however, there are some limitations I observed and others are acknowledged by scholars. Both studies of Nigam and Ocasio (2010) and Gawer and Phillips (2013) have successfully established a multiple level change relation between micro-level mechanisms to macro-level institutional logics, in line with the framework of cross-level relation by Thornton et al. (2012). Studies have focused on uncovering one mechanism that is driving change and the underpinned process, however, other components of organisations could play a role in influencing the mechanisms and the outcome of change. One way to tackle this gap is to investigate other mechanisms as well as examine multiple case studies as suggested by Nigam and Ocasio (2010) which could lead to a better understanding of the interrelationship between the mechanisms of change. By analysing data of organisations that adhered to healthcare reforms, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have revealed the role of sensemaking on a

field level which focused on change of several healthcare organisations in the field rather than separate organisations. Sensemaking can be different by distinct organisations, thus examining sensemaking on the organisational level as well as other mechanisms may yield discoveries of how mechanisms are interrelated. In a nutshell, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have examined the micro-level mechanism of sensemaking on a field level while Gawer and Phillips (2013) have examined the mechanism of institutional work on organisational level, and both have demonstrated how micro-level mechanisms lead to institutional logics emergence. However, studying other mechanisms in addition to sensemaking inside organisations using multiple case studies has the potential to contribute to the current stream of literature on institutional logics emergence.

2.4.3 Hybridising Competing Logics

A growing stream of management literature is researching what is called hybrid organisations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; among others). Hybrid organisations combine more than one model at the core of the organisation whereby the functionality of the organisational model depends on operating successfully multiple organisational forms simultaneously. Battilana and Lee (2014) conceptualised the main areas of hybrid organising as including activities, structures, and processes. A common example that is proposed by the literature is social enterprises which combine business and charity forms. This is considered a distinctive organisational category unlike departmental activities such as corporate social responsibility. As hybridity requires novelty in combining organisational forms (Battilana & Lee, 2014), the literature of hybrid organisation has attempted to identify areas where hybridity functions, explore potential conflicts, and develop hybridisation approaches.

A handful of scholars have employed institutional logics perspective to examine organisational hybridity (e.g. Dunn & Jones, 2010; Mair & Marti 2006; Battilana & Dorado, 2010). A hybrid logic is conceptualised as combining aspects of multiple and often contradictory organisational forms in novel ways (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Jay, 2013). The combined multiple logics are essential parts of the organisation such as social enterprises where they constitute the organisation's core (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013). Mair and Marti (2006) have shown an example of hybridity in the medical field. While a hospital is in essence a business that requires cash flow in order to cover operational costs and finance research, Mair and Marti (2006) have

investigated a hybrid hospital that innovated a tiered pricing model based on the patients' ability to pay, thus receiving subsidies from and serving wealthy patients, which then enabled the hospital to serve patients who could not afford medical services.

Hybridity is not without challenges. Dunn and Jones (2010) have found that hybridity is not an optimal organisational form because multiple logics are supported by different stakeholders who carry conflicting interests, thus creating environmental tensions. Investors typically demand return on investment and higher profit, while charitable practices are demanded by the public. Pursuing charitable practices at the core of the organisation side-by-side with a for-profit form confuses the organisational identity and leads to lower performance for the business side, thus diminishing profits which is not ideal for investors in a for-profit organisation. Consequently, approaching separate logics together is unsustainable as the organisation will experience periods of balance and imbalance with tensions that require change to resolve. Thus, in the long-term an organisation with a hybrid logic is likely to go through major shifts to delete a logic and focus on a dominant logic.

Developing a hybrid logic requires institutional change. A range of studies aimed to develop hybridisation approaches as blueprints for organisational transformation (e.g. Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Bruneel et al, 2016; among others). Battilana and Lee (2014) propose hybrid organising approach to integrate multiple logics in five organisational dimensions which are activities, workforce, structure, inter-organisational relationships, and culture. Hybridisation through hiring practices as suggested by Battilana and Dorado (2010) to hire employees that carry both logics and socialise them. Bruneel et al. (2016) suggest a hybrid governance by aligning goals and resources of multiple logics, and evaluate organisational activities based on the expectations of stakeholders. While the suggested approaches have focused on merging organisational functions, however, they are more intended for deliberate hybridisation. Given that hybridity is not an optimal form with challenges that make organisations better off resorting to a dominant logic, thus deliberate hybridisation is questioned. In order to understand whether organisations are hybridising as a strategic choice or in response to external factors, examining social interactions during institutional change that resulted in hybridity can yield more insights into why organisations adopt a hybrid logic.

2.4.4 Continuing with Competing Logics

A stream of the literature points out that competing logics may co-exist in the same field or organisation for a long period of time, and studies have focused on exploring the conditions that allow such truce (Scott, 2000; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Nicolini et al., 2016). Examining banking as the case study, Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) have shown that communities in the United States are resisting acquisition of local banks by national banks which aim to expand and increase efficiency. They have found that the source of resistance is rooted in geography where the existence of community banking logic arises from the beliefs of local citizens that may view the banking logic of acquisition as a threat to local control. The resistance by the community logic depends on the availability of local professional bankers who can provide a service that matches the level of national banks. Therefore, communities have created new banks as a form of resistance to the banking logic of acquisition which resulted in a co-existence of both logics. While Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) have focused on the national and local contexts, Nicolini et al. (2016) have researched the co-existence of competing logics by multiple cases in several countries. Through a comparative study of community pharmacy field in four countries in the Western world, they have examined the ongoing conflict between the professional logic that emphasises the exclusive right of pharmacists to own pharmacies, and the corporate logic that allows corporate ownership and chain stores. They have found that logics co-exist in a long period while separated in a form of compromise without maintaining dominance of one logic, changing to a new logic, or hybridisation of multiple logics. Particularly, they introduced the term 'knots' to argue that the co-existence depends on institutional arrangement at the societal level. In other words, the combination of multiple logics is persistent by laws or policies imposed by the institutional environment with several factors influencing each period of policies, thus resulting in the rise of the corporate logic while the professional logic remains operational.

While studies have shown that competing logics can co-exist and have provided insights of why and how that occurs (see Table 2.2), however, there are some limitations. First, Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) have shown that the co-existence of logics is resulting from the resistance of communities. Thus, they traced the outcome to the mechanism of community movements, however, they have focused on one mechanism. Collective mobilisation is one of several mechanisms that influences the outcome and Thornton et al. (2012) have called to examine multiple mechanisms and their interrelationship which may

yield better insights to explain change outcomes. For instance, in the case of Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) banking case study, examining decision-making of actors and sensemaking of how they interpreted the events along with collective mobilisation may give different or additional explanation of how the community logic resisted the banking logic to result in co-existence. Second, studies have focused on the field level (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007; Nicolini et al., 2016), while consideration to the organisational level may yield more insights of the mechanisms that support the existence of logics inside organisations that constitute the field. Nicolini et al. (2016) have conducted a comparative analysis between countries on a field level and have found that the outcome depends on the societal and governmental levels where logics co-exist but with variations as in some countries one logic is stronger than the other, why and how this variation of strength exists is not clear. In order to find out, there is a need to research inside organisations to understand the variance by investigating the process of organisational adoption of different logics. By understanding how separate organisations receive, interpret, and respond to the policies of the institutional environment, the variance of the outcomes could be explained.

Table 2.2 Stimuli, Mechanisms, and Outcomes of Institutional Change using Institutional Logics Perspective

Stimulus	Mechanism	Outcome	Reference
Institutional logic change contradicts with the existing logic	Resistance to the new logic	Maintaining the dominant logic	Townley (1997)
Institutional logic change contradicts with the existing logic	Constraining the takeover of the new logic through political alliances	Maintaining the dominant logic	Rao and Hirsch (2003)
External events impose a competing logic	Environmental sensemaking	Changing to a new logic	Nigam and Ocasio (2010)

External institutional work contradicts with the existing logic	Internal institutional work and identity work	Changing to a new logic	Gawer and Phillips (2013)
Attempt to combine multiple logics	Hybrid organising approach	Hybridising competing logics	Battilana and Lee (2014)
Attempt to combine multiple logics	Hiring practices	Hybridising competing logics	Battilana and Dorado (2010)
Attempt to combine multiple logics	Hybrid governance	Hybridising competing logics	Bruneel et al. (2016)
Institutional logic change contradicts with the existing logic	Long-term compromise	Continuing with the competing logics	Nicolini et al. (2016)
Institutional logic change contradicts with the existing logic	Resistance to the new logic	Continuing with the competing logics	Marquis and Lounsbury (2007)

2.5 Critical Evaluation of the Literature and Anticipated Contributions of this Study

The literature on institutional logics emergence shows two cross-level research streams; the relation between institutional logics and organisational practices to explain organisational behaviour, and the interaction between micro- and macro-levels of institutional fields to shed light on the processes that explain the development of institutional logics and institutional change. Competing logics are conceptualised as a transformation stage of

institutional fields where the struggle of conflicting logics pushes for change. Thus, studies of institutional change employed competing logics as a phenomenon to understand how organisations and fields response to contradictions in order to explore institutional logics emergence processes. Despite the advances in institutional logics and institutional change research, the evaluation of the literature reveals five shortcomings which I discuss in this section and then propose how this thesis is aiming to contribute to the literature.

First, studies of micro-level mechanisms and their role in the emergence of institutional logics have tended to focus on a single mechanism (e.g. Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007). For instance, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have examined sensemaking as a mechanism that lead to new field logics while Marquis and Lounsbury (2007) have demonstrated the role of collective mobilisation in resisting change. Although studies have applied different mechanisms and conceptions to explain institutional logics emergence, the literature lacks an integrative explanation of how these micro-level are interrelated. How micro-level mechanisms interact such as decision-making and sensemaking along with other mechanisms is a missed opportunity that is promising to provide a better explanation of change at the macro-level. This gap is in line with the call of Thornton et al. (2012) who argued that adequate explanation of institutional logics emergence is by researching the combination of social interactions i.e. the interrelationship between cognitive micro-level mechanisms including sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Thornton et al. (2012) have conceptualised a cross-level theoretical framework of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms, but it is subject to empirical validation which is further elaborated in Chapter 3.

This thesis intends to expand current knowledge of micro-level mechanisms of change by addressing their interrelationship. This is studied by examining multiple mechanisms inside organisations and analyse their interrelationship through a comparative analysis of different mechanisms in the same field in two countries, in order to uncover how mechanisms are interrelated and combined to result in institutional change outcomes. The premise of institutional logics emergence is that the pressures created by the institutional environment are the starting point to trigger institutional change (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). This study focuses on the stage after external pressures by which organisational actors respond cognitively through sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making

in order to unleash how they function collectively. Thus, this thesis offers a number of insights which may contribute to expand our current knowledge of institutional change.

Second, studies of hybrid organisations have focused on hybridisation strategies to combine conflicting practices in order to achieve intentional hybridity (see Table 2.3). Scholars have called for a process-based explanation for institutional change outcomes (Pache & Santos, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2011) in order to explore why certain strategies are adopted instead of others. This study responds to this call by examining institutional change process with a focus on hybrid outcome to understand the emergence of unintentional responses rather than intentional approaches. Intentional hybridisation refers to organisations that are created as hybrids or a strategic decision by organisations to become hybrid organisations, while unintentional hybridisation refers to the emergent outcome whereby traditional organisations become hybrids because of factors or circumstantial events. Jay (2013) has responded to this call and examined the role of sensemaking in the emergence of a hybrid logic to show that hybridity emerges when actors view organisational outcomes from competing logics and attempt to synthesise them in order to maximise returns. In this study, I aim to extend this line of research by examining a combination of micro-level mechanisms that resulted in unintentional emergence of a hybrid logic and the factors that influence this outcome. The following Table 2.3 summarises hybridisation strategies suggested by the literature. It includes intentional hybridisation approaches for organisations that are founded as hybrids or want to become hybrid organisations, unintentional hybridisation responses that emerge because of conflicting demands, and unintentional hybridisation processes of how traditional organisations are transformed to hybrid organisations.

Table 2.3 Intentional and Unintentional Hybridisation Approaches, Responses, and Processes

Intentional Hybridisation	Unintentional Hybridisation	
Approaches to Create a Hybrid Organisation	**Macro-Level Responses to Conflicting Demands to Hybridise Organisations**	**Micro-Level Processes to Hybridise Organisations**
Hybrid organising (Battilana & Lee, 2014): Hybridise five	Compromise: Attempt to achieve partial conformity	Sensemaking (Jay, 2013): Actors'

dimensions which are activities, workforce, organisational design, inter-organisational relationships, and culture. Hiring and socialisation (Battilana & Dorado, 2010): Create a common organisational identity through hiring personnel that carry competing logics and integrate through socialisation. Hybrid governance (Bruneel et al., 2016): Internal and external governance. Internal governance implies alignment of goals and resources. External governance implies judging activities based on the expectation of stakeholders.	with all institutional expectations through satisfying partially all demands (Pache & Santos, 2010; Nicolini et al., 2016). Manipulation: Modify the content of the competing logics to harmonise (Oliver, 1991). Compartmentalisation (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Pratt & Foreman, 2000): Pursue the demands of both logics simultaneously. Aggregation (Pratt & Foreman, 2000): Keep all identities separate and make links between them. Integration (Pratt & Foreman, 2000): Merge multiple identities into a new identity. Selective coupling (Pache & Santos, 2013): The organisation selects elements from each logic.	interpretations of potential organisational outcomes result in hybrid transformation of the organisation by synthesising competing logics.

Third, studies of institutional logics emergence have focused overwhelmingly on institutional fields (Nicolini et al., 2016; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; among others). For example, Nicolini et al. (2016) have shown that the pharmaceutical field adopted different logics based

on dynamics of the countries where the organisations are operating. This focus on the field level is because institutional logics perspective is conceptualised as conveying institutional orders from the societal to field level institutions (Friedland & Alford, 1991). While institutional logics emergence studies have employed competing logics to explain institutional change at the field level, however, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) suggest that institutional logics are operational at different levels including societal, field, and organisational. Thus, several institutional theorists have called to examine lower levels specifically organisational level in order to understand change at the micro-level in a bottom-up approach (Thornton et al., 2012; Greenwood et al., 2008). Organisational studies at the organisational level have examined other issues such as practices variation (Goodrick & Salancik, 1996), but have ignored institutional logics emergence within organisations. Greenwood et al. (2008) argues that organisational level of analysis is promising to provide more insights into institutional studies. Thornton et al. (2012) emphasised the need to research drivers that lead to the development of organisational practices inside organisations. Thus, the literature lacks an explanation of institutional logics emergence within organisations that may enhance the understanding of institutional change. Additionally, a comparative study of several organisations in a field could provide insights of how logics become institutionalised into a field level.

Given that the literature has focused on field level change (e.g. Townley, 1997; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010), this study responds to the call to examine institutional logics emergence inside organisations (Thornton et al., 2012; Kraatz & Block, 2008). This allows explaining internal changes in order to uncover cross-level interaction of micro-level mechanisms to macro-level practices. Nevertheless, this study is aiming to contribute to change at the organisational as well as the field level because it is employing a comparative approach of several organisations in the same field, thus it shows change on field level but goes deeper to explain change from a micro perspective within organisations to highlight the role and interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional logics emergence.

Fourth, until recently the institutional logics literature is focused on cognitive mechanisms which is traced back to the cognitive turn of organisational institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The emphasis on cognition is challenged by scholars who are working on developing microfoundations of institutions as means for institutional creation, maintenance, and change (Lok et al., 2017). In line with institutional logics emergence

conceptualisation, emotions were suggested as an element that bridges the relation between micro and macro levels of institutional analysis. Microfoundations are not limited to emotions but extend to include micro-level factors that are related to social interactions. For instance, a study by Gavetti (2005) established a relation between individual learning as a micro factor and cognition which are leading to the emergence of organisational level outcomes. Microfoundations is emerging as a separate category of the literature, however, there are similarities and differences between microfoundations and institutional logics. Both literatures share the pursuit of explaining macro-level outcomes by examining the micro-level with a focus on individual actions and interactions. However, what distinguishes microfoundations is the flexibility to employ concepts from psychology as micro-level mechanisms while logics are limited to cognition. Microfoundations is focused on micro-macro relation unlike institutional logics perspective that considers macro-micro relation as well. Studies of cognitive mechanisms and institutional logics have shown, for instance, that sensemaking explains the emergence of field logics (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010), however, the literature had not explained why sensemaking works in particular situations and struggle in others and why it leads to different outcomes (Balogun & Johnson, 2005). Linking cognitive mechanisms to emotions may explain such variations. Nevertheless, this study is focused on cognitive micro-level mechanisms while emotions and microfoundations are out of scope. They are highlighted as part of the literature review while future research can further advance the study in this area.

Fifth, the influence of the institutional environment has to be realised. A key premise of institutional analysis is the influence of the institutional environment that affects legitimacy, power, and stakeholders (Greenwood et al., 2008). Institutions aim to establish legitimacy in order to secure funds and increase their chance of survival (Scott, 1983). Power struggle is found to influence the control of organisational dynamics (Fligstein, 1987). Stakeholders such as investors, general public, customers, and employees are influential in establishing legitimacy and exchange resources (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994). Although studies have examined the effects of these environmental factors in organisations, however, how they relate to micro-level mechanisms to influence the outcome is a gap which could provide a holistic and accurate explanation of institutional change (Thornton et al., 2012). While the literature has investigated legitimacy and power and their role in organisational behaviour (Greenwood et al., 2008; Scott, 1983; Fligstein, 1987), however, the role and influence of stakeholders is an under investigated area. A main assumption of institutional logics

emergence is the link between the institutional environment and agency to explain the emergence of practices. This thesis aims to contribute by analysing how different stakeholders in the institutional environment influence change in order to understand the divergence in outcomes. It examines how social actors respond to institutional pressures and create organisational practices, emphasising agency in contexts of institutional change. Stakeholders may possess different powers and authorities, while typically they support one specific logic in a situation of competing logics. Thus, examining different stakeholders in the same context could extend the literature by uncovering their role in institutional change.

Sixth, the last takeaway of the literature is the way studies operationalise institutional analysis empirically and the methods. Studies have employed qualitative and quantitative methods with a slight majority of qualitative analysis (e.g. Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Nicolini et al., 2016). The choice of a method depends on the choice of the mechanism employed to assess institutional change. For instance, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have analysed sensemaking of a change process by analysing vocabulary and interpretation of organisational actors to the institutional environment. Additionally, the majority of institutional change studies aimed to generate a theory of how institutional change occurs. Nicolini et al. (2016) for example have developed a theory of how multiple logics co-exist for a long period. However, predominant inductive approaches deprive the literature from useful perspectives to enhance our understanding of a phenomenon and strengthen the confidence in findings (Parkhe, 1993; Hyde, 2000). Thus, there is a gap to validate the abundance of theories provided by the literature. This study contributes empirically to the literature of institutional logics by developing and validating institutional logics emergence cross-level framework (Thornton et al., 2012). The framework suggests a theoretical interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms and provides a template for examining institutional logics emergence. While the framework was developed theoretically based on compiling and evaluating studies on institutional logics, however, the framework is subject to empirical validation. This research employs this framework to examine institutional logics emergence with a focus on micro-level mechanisms in order to understand their role in institutional change in a specific context, their interrelationship, and how they feed into macro-level practices in a cross-level relation.

2.6 Summary

Chapter 2 discussed institutional logics perspective as an approach to understand organisational behaviour with a focus on institutional change. It shows that multiple and competing logics is the phenomena that prompts institutional change and result in different outcomes of institutional logics emergence. The chapter demonstrates that the literature lacks an integrative explanation of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms that drive institutional logics emergence process at the organisational level and the influence of stakeholders as a factor of the institutional environment that influences institutional change. The conception of institutional logics emergence at the micro-level of organisations and the influence of the institutional environment will be discussed in-depth in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 has discussed the existence of an ongoing debate in the literature – since at least 1990s – seeking answers for two main questions: how institutional logics can explain organisational behaviour, and how competing logics influence institutional change. The literature emphasised that organisations combine multiple logics in order to serve multiple demands from the institutional environment while competing logics are leading to a variety of outcomes. While studies have focused on the processes of institutional change, the debate had not stopped in other mechanisms that drive change process. Chapter 3 thus aims to outline the theoretical framework of the study by describing micro-level mechanisms and their importance in institutional logics emergence. It discusses the interrelationship between the mechanisms and the influence of the institutional environment.

3.2 The Emergence of Institutional Logics

Since the theoretical and empirical interests underpinning this research is uncovering processes of organisational level change, this thesis advocates Thornton et al. (2012) multiple levels of analysis to advance studies of institutional logics. The cross-level framework integrates processes and outcomes that have not been realised in previous conceptions of institutional change. It recognises the role of social interactions through a bottom-up relation of micro-level processes to macro-level institutional logics. As discussed in Chapter 2, practices within fields and organisations are guided either by a dominant logic or multiple logics that compete for dominance while social interactions are crucial to end the conflict and adopt a dominant logic. Multiple logics operate through different organisational forms to result in competing organisational practices which result in institutional complexity in fields and organisations. Thus, understanding social interactions and their role in the emergence of institutional logics leads to a better understanding of micro- to macro-level institutional change.

Studies have demonstrated that institutional change process can take different forms such as top-down or bottom-up approaches with a variety of mechanisms (e.g. Balogun & Johnson, 2005; Gawer & Phillips, 2013; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; among others). This study

draws from institutional logics perspective to outline the process of change. Thornton et al. (2012) have developed an integrative cross-level framework to theorise that the emergence of institutional logics is triggered by disconformity between external demands and the status quo. External demands can be, for instance, regulative (Cho & Hambrick, 2006) or industry evolution (Thornton, 2002) to add pressures on organisational actors to cope. When an organisation depends on external referents for resources, funding, or license, it is likely to comply with the demands of these stakeholders (Pache & Santos, 2010). The availability and accessibility of information make actors focus their attention on the external stimulus (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Organisational actors respond by reinforcing or challenging the contents of logics that are considered appropriate for the organisation (DiMaggio, 1997). As a result, actors start to identify goals that conform to the external pressures and theorise and adopt new practices.

> *"In examining emergence and change of institutional logics, one important issue to consider is how cross-level processes operate. Macro, meso, and micro mechanisms are all involved in the emergence and change of institutional logics"* (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 169)

Accordingly, advancing the explanation of a logic emergence at the micro-level is by first examining more mechanisms, and second examine a combination of micro mechanisms such as sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making (Thornton et al., 2012). Friedland and Alford (1991) advocate the importance of micro processes in institutional logics where individual behaviour and interpretation of rationality may change depending on how individuals' reference sensemaking and decision-making within a particular institutional order.

3.2.1 From Macro-Level Practices to Institutional Logics

The evolution of institutional logics establishes a link between organisational practices on one hand, and institutional logics on the other (Thornton et al., 2012). The relationship is at the macro-level where it is mutual as institutional logics establish rules that enable and constrain organisational practices, while new practices lead to the development of new institutional logics. For instance, Haveman and Rao (1997) have shown that institutional logics in the savings and loans industry acted as theories to shape organisational forms by which the rise of a progressive logic created rules to favour voluntary forms of savings.

Practices are activities that carry a specific meaning because of a common understanding between organisational actors of how activities should be accomplished (Jarzabkowski, 2005). The meaning of organisational practices reflects a shared understanding that is derived from institutional logics as well as the enactment of logics by organisational actors occurs through new practices (Thornton et al., 2012). In that sense, institutional logics perspective has been used to examine how organisational practices reflect a broader belief of organisational actors (Nicolini et al., 2016). The practices of organisational actors evolve from the relation between individuals and structure where logics are described as symbolic meanings and are associated with material practices (Friendland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The institutional logic is reflected in organisational practices which are the established socially meaningful activities. Thus, a logic provides organising principles by which actors base their decisions and actions. The behaviour of actors is both enabled and constrained by the logic (Sewell, 1992). By identifying expectations and legitimate activities, an institutional logic shapes organisational practices (March & Olsen, 2010). For instance, Argento et al. (2016) have shown that public service corporations are influenced by the meaning of a logic when making organisational choices. On the other hand, change or creation of organisational practices is directly linked to the organising principles that constitute institutional logics. An example is the study by Nigam and Ocasio (2010) who have shown that the development of new organisational practices as a response to healthcare reforms at the societal level resulted in new institutional logics at field level.

Other elements of institutional logics at the macro-level have been noted by the literature. The construction of identities is central for the emergence of institutional logics where identities and relationships between organisational actors are key in shaping institutions. Collective identities develop from social interactions between the involved actors. The collective identity becomes institutionalised, thus construct the institutional logic that dominates the organisation (Jackall, 1988). For instance, Townley (1997) have studied institutional logics of universities in the United Kingdom and have shown that the interplay between professional identities and institutional logics that guide the field contributed to the adoption of performance appraisal systems. Authority structure is another part of institutional logics where organisational actors have different status and abilities to manage resources (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Institutional logics emergence incurs a change in actors' status and thus brings different management or leadership team. Organisational forms are manifestations of logics where a change of institutional logics leads to change in

organisational types and structures (Rao et al., 2003). While there are different implications of institutional logics, in this study Thornton et al.'s (2012) cross-level framework is adopted where practices are the major element for logics representation and construction. Thus, this thesis focuses on change or creation of organisational practices at the macro-level as an indication of institutional logics emergence (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Evolution of Institutional Logics

Macro-Level

```
┌─────────────────┐
│   Practices     │─────────┐
└─────────────────┘         ↘
                         ┌─────────────────┐
                         │  Institutional  │
                         │     Logics      │
                         └─────────────────┘
┌─────────────────┐         ↗
│   Identities    │─────────┘
└─────────────────┘
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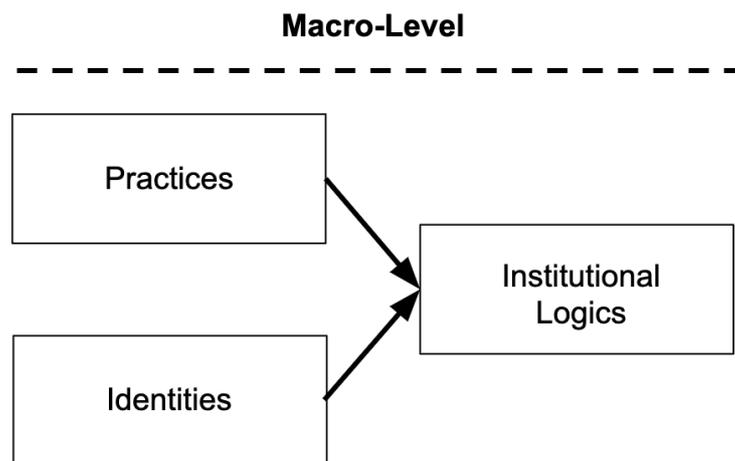
3.2.2 From Micro-Level Mechanisms to Macro-Level Practices

Macro-level organisational practices are consequences of micro-level actions (Thornton et al., 2012). Micro-level mechanisms feed into the development of macro-level organisational practices which, in turn, lead to the evolution of institutional logics (see Figure 2). Organisational actors interact socially through micro-level processes to interpret the meaning of external pressures. Social interactions result in communication and resources allocation which lead to new material practices (Thornton et al., 2012). For instance, Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have shown that a focus of attention on external events triggered environmental sensemaking for cognitive realignment that resulted in change of field practices.

"We need a richer understanding of how individuals locate themselves in social relations and interpret their context. How do organizational participants maintain or transform the institutional forces that guide daily practice? … In our view, the development

of micro-level explanations will give more depth to accounts of macro-level events and relationships." (Colyvas & Powell, 2009, p. 2)

As discussed previously, the role and relation between micro-level mechanisms in organisations are not a fully developed area of research (Kraatz & Block, 2008). This study focuses on the effect of social interactions on change or creation of organisational practices in a micro-to-macro relation in order to explain institutional logics emergence at the organisational level. In social interactions, organisational actors communicate to direct actions and allocate resources to transform organisational practices.

Figure 2 From Micro-Level Mechanisms to Macro-Level Practices and Identities
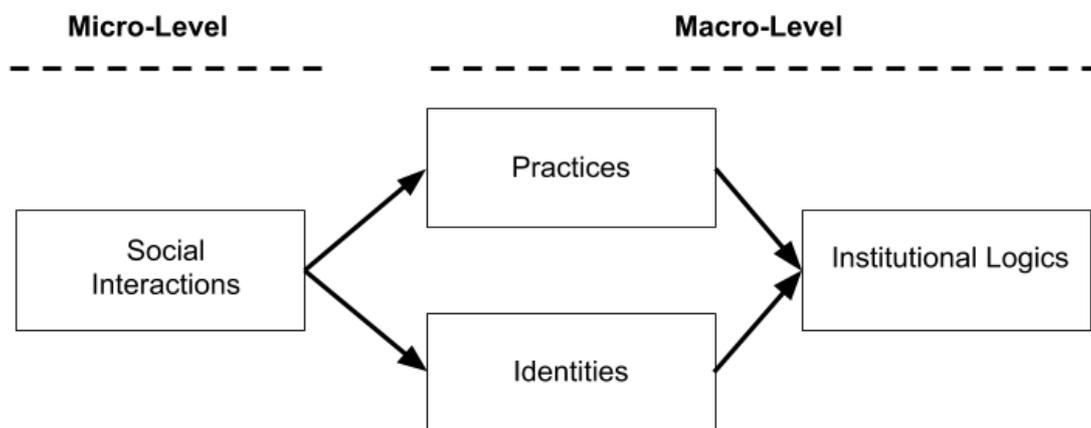
3.3 Micro-Level Mechanisms

This study focuses on investigating three cognitive mechanisms; sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making (see Figure 3). These mechanisms are linking micro-level social interactions to macro-level organisational practices (Thornton et al., 2012).

3.3.1 Sensemaking

Sensemaking is defined as "turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action" (Weick et al., 2005, p. 409). It is the interplay between action and interpretation where action is the central focus. In the process of sensemaking, actors interact socially to identify circumstances, assign meaning to them, and build on that meaning to define a course of action (Weick et al., 2005). Sensegiving is the contrary of sensemaking by which individuals attempt to influence

sensemaking and interpretations of others and can occur in line with sensemaking in a reciprocal relation (Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007; Gioia & Chippiteddi, 1991).

Sensemaking can take different types including environmental, strategic, and organisational (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Garreau et al., 2015; Maitlis, 2005). Environmental sensemaking have been demonstrated by Nigam and Ocasio (2010) to show that exemplars and environmental features facilitate sensemaking by field participants. Strategic sensemaking concerns causal thinking and decisions to formulate a strategy as a response to environmental triggers which may influences success or failure (Garreau et al., 2015; Samdanis & Lee, 2019). Organisational sensemaking relates to the sensemaking by organisational actors as a response to the demands or influence of stakeholders (Maitlis, 2005). This study focuses on organisational sensemaking by actors inside organisations in response to triggers and influences. Organisational actors engage in conversational and social practices such as meetings to negotiate, exchange thoughts, and discuss issues, among other interactions in order to make meaning of events. Creating a meaning is at the core of sensemaking which allows actors to make sense of what is going on followed by the interplay between action and interpretation to conclude with emerging practices (Weick et al., 2005).

Building on sensemaking which focuses on interpreting circumstances by assigning them meaning, institutional perspectives can be understood as involving sensemaking because attaching meaning is part of the institutional environment (Suddaby, 2010). As sensemaking is a method to construct and coordinate actions (Taylor & van Every, 2000), it can be understood as a mediator that transforms institutional logics to organisational practices where logics condition actors' choice, vocabulary to motivate action, and self-identity (Thornton et al., 2012). On the other hand, sensemaking is a mediator that transforms external stimuli to shape new organisational practices which eventually redefine institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Sensemaking turns external stimuli such as circumstances into explicit words that serve as bases for the development of action (Weick et al., 2005). Through communication and narratives, sensemaking rationalises organisational behaviour.

A few studies have examined sensemaking as a mechanism for institutional change. Balogun and Johnson (2005) have shown that even though organisations attempt to make intended change, however, sensemaking process results in unintended change outcomes. This is because middle managers who are assigned change tasks from senior managers interpret

change plans differently due to sensemaking, thus shaping different actions. While Balogun and Johnson (2005) focused on cognition and sensemaking, however, they haven't employed institutional logics to examine change but identified change in the analysis. Additionally, they have overlooked the role of the institutional environment in directing change and whether actors conformed to institutional pressures which is a main premise of neo-institutional theory (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Thornton et al. (2012) have pointed at sensemaking and emphasised the importance of language and vocabularies in the transformation of institutional logics where logics are central to meaning making that explains organisational behaviour and change by linking cognition and social interactions to actions in the field and organisational levels. The study by Nigam and Ocasio (2010) has filled this gap by examining the effect of external events on institutional logics emergence with sensemaking as the change process mechanism. Through analysis of trade journal articles and inductive theory generating approach, they have shown that attention to external events triggered environmental sensemaking through the interplay of theorisation and representation of field exemplars to result in a cognitive realignment and eventually a change of field practices. Their study has analysed journal articles and used an inductive approach coding in groups of change and use of language to illustrate sensemaking. Nigam and Ocasio (2010) have called, in line with other scholars, to examine other mechanisms that are related to sensemaking in order to draw a more comprehensive picture of the role of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change. Thus, how organisational sensemaking interrelates with other mechanisms such as collective mobilisation and leads to institutional logics emergence is not clear.

3.3.2 Collective Mobilisation

Social movements are institutionalised by utilising contentious politics and tactics to diffuse particular field or organisational practices (Strang & Soule, 1998). Institutional studies term social movements as collective mobilisation and define it as "the process by which collective actors acquire symbolic and material resources and motivate people towards the accomplishment of group or collective goals" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 97). A focus on collective action shifts the attention away from powerful actors such as policymakers to the influence of groups in opposing extant arrangements or pushing for new thoughts and behaviours. It occurs because of either an aim to advance practices for a cause or public good, or results from a confrontation between the status quo and a desired change (Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003). Through social movements actors are considered agents that theorise,

classify, and diffuse arguments, frames, and resources in order to constitute a pressure force for creation or change of field and organisational practices (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008; Lounsbury, 2005).

There are two streams of literature on collective mobilisation as a mechanism for institutional change; the first considers movements outside institutional fields, and the second stream examines movements within fields. This study focuses on movements within fields, in particular, on organisational level where collective actions are considered an institutional force that pushes organisations to respond. Research on collective mobilisation is based on the premise that to achieve legitimacy it is necessary for field and organisational practices to conform to external pressures (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008) – thus meeting a critical condition for survival. Legitimacy can be moral by which the activities of an organisation are not judged based on their benefits but whether they are the right thing to do and this judgment comes from social audiences (Palthe, 2014). Lounsbury (2005) has shown that changes in solid waste management occurred as a response to collective community action. Eco-activists pushed for the adoption of recycling logic by working against the waste industry to mobilise non-profit and recycling organisations who provided the conditions for the implementation of recycling practices which resulted eventually in a domination of the recycling logic. They have revealed tactics to mobilise including using the press, online tools such as social media, protests, or lobbying with politicians to enact legislations. A study by Rao et al. (2003) have examined cuisine movement in France in changing the institutional logic of the French cuisine to show that activists facilitated a shift from haute cuisine logic that focuses on long menus with huge inventory and little freshness, to nouvelle cuisine logic that embraces light, simplicity, and imagination. Therefore, through a bottom-up process of collective mobilisation, actors use networks and resources to impose demands and pressure fields and organisations for maintaining existing practices or diffusion of new ones to legitimise institutions (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008)

In a nutshell, collective mobilisation is a key mechanism that links the demands of actors within or outside fields to a bottom-up institutional change. It can help to understand how fields and organisations are constructed around multiple logics to explain practices variation, and how multiple logics trigger contradictions to push for institutional change (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). While researchers have shown the role of collective mobilisation in the emergence of a new dominant logic and displacing the existing logic,

however, they have not shown how it results in other outcomes to resist change, preserve the existing logic, or result in hybridisation. Additionally, studies have focused on collective mobilisation and linked it to change, but how movements relate to other mechanisms is not clear. This study considers how the relation between collective mobilisation of stakeholders and other mechanisms within organisations determines the outcome of change.

3.3.3 Decision-making

Organisational decision-making differs from individual because organisational decisions are characterised by ambiguity, influenced by incentives and survival, must conform to the rules, and conflict and power are pervasive (Shapira, 2002). Decision-making is at the core of institutional processes including institutional change. Institutional logics perspective can be incorporated in organisational decision-making by examining the relation through decisions that determines practices, identities, roles, and goals (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The relation between organisational decisions and institutional logics has been highlighted in the literature (e.g. Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Jackall, 1988) where the relation occurs through two-way interactions (Ocasio, 1997).

First, institutional logics reflect cognitive, normative, and material forces and embodied in vocabularies and communication, thus logics provide rules and values that define the importance and relevance of issues and solutions to guide the actions of decision makers (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The attention of decision makers is influenced by institutional logics where the focus is to conform with the dominant logic in order to make a legitimate action (Ocasio, 1997; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). For instance, Townley (1997) has shown that institutional logics influenced the decision of universities to resist the government policy to impose a performance appraisal system in order to maintain their dominant logic. Thus, institutional logics determine the issues of importance for decision makers to shape organisational decisions (Ocasio, 1997).

Second, organisational decisions shape organisational practices which lead to the emergence of institutional logics. This process can take the form of a top-down approach (e.g. strategic decisions by top managers), however, it can also be a bottom-up process where external stakeholders decide to pressure fields or organisations for institutional change enforcing top managers to adhere to their decision thus resulting in the enactment of organisational practices (Rao et al., 2003). Although institutional change studies have not

examined decision-making directly as a mechanism that drives change process, it was examined indirectly (e.g. Balogun & Johnson, 2005; Rao et al., 2003). For instance, Balogun and Johnson (2005) have shown inexplicitly that the decisions of middle managers have resulted in unintended change outcomes, thus decision-making influenced institutional change. While organisational decisions can explain the enactment of new practices, however, decision-making is one of a variety of mechanisms that influence institutional logics emergence. Decision-making partially explains institutional change because it is linked to a complex environment (March & Olsen, 2010). Thus, Thornton et al. (2012) call to research other factors and mechanisms and their relation to decision-making in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of institutional logics emergence.

Figure 3 Micro-Level Mechanisms
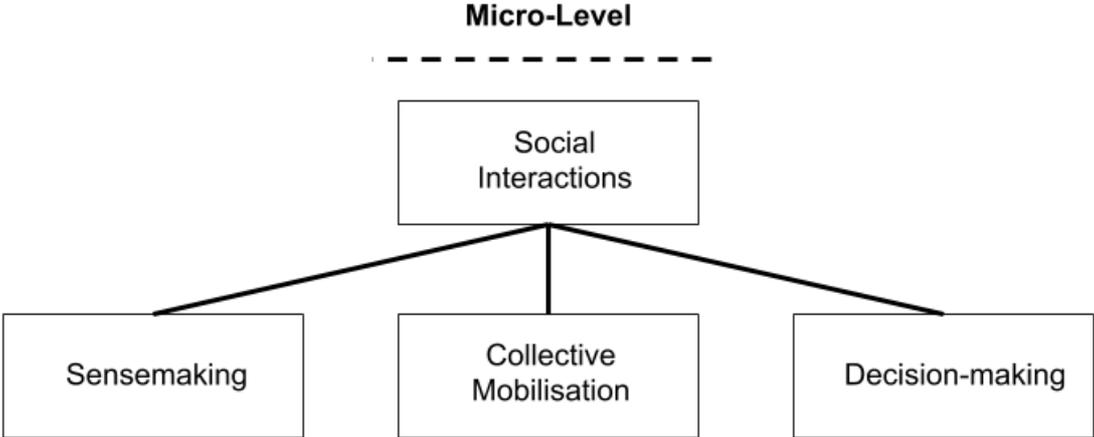
3.4 Interrelationship between Micro-Level Mechanisms

Institutional logics emergence cross-level framework that is proposed by Thornton et al. (2012) highlights that organisations are transformed through a cross-level interaction of micro- to macro-level of analysis. However, the interplay of social interactions at the micro-level is not clear. Thus, Thornton et al. (2012) further developed the framework to theorise how micro-level mechanisms and the institutional environment are interrelated (see Figure 4). Although the cross-level framework is intended for the effect of societal level logics on the evolution of field level institutional logics, I utilise the framework in this study to explore the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms that result in the emergence of institutional

logics at the organisational level. The findings of this study may either confirm this framework empirically or propose a modified process.

Figure 4 Thornton et al.'s Cross-Level Framework of Institutional Logics Emergence (2012, p. 144)
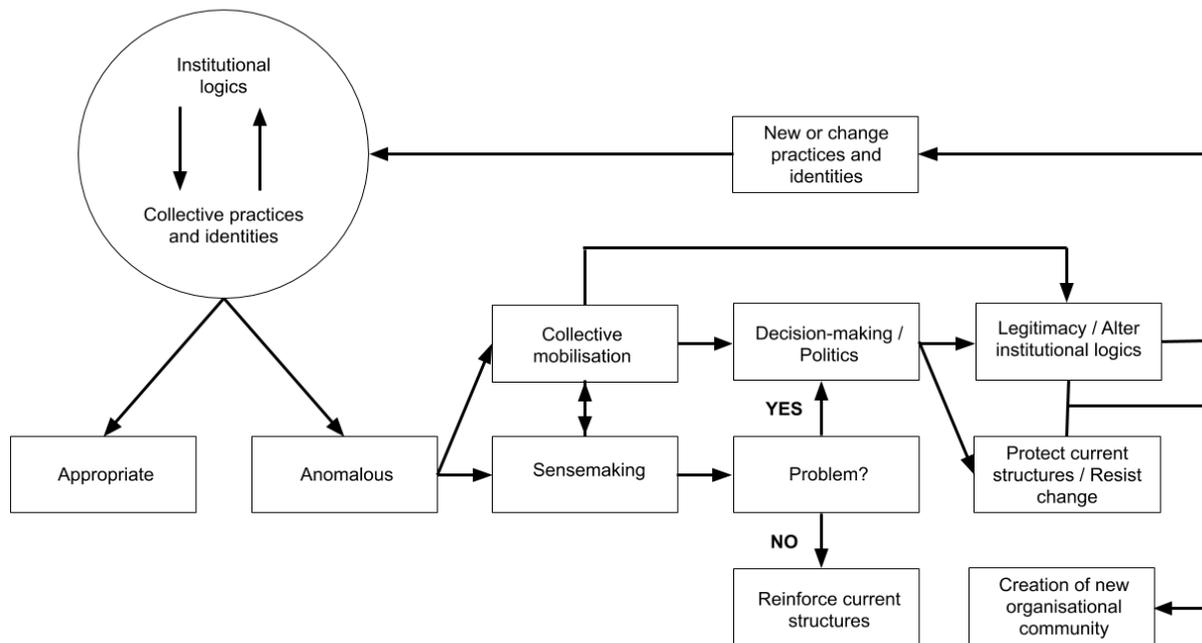
3.4.1 Mechanisms, Practices, and Outcomes

As shown in Figure 4, institutional logics are both material by facilitating organisational practices, and symbolic by representing beliefs and values that construct an organisational identity (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). The first stage of the framework posits that there is a relation between institutional logics and organisational practices. If institutional logics are conforming to practices then the relation is appropriate, while if they are conflicting then the relation is anomalous. As discussed in Chapter 2 that combining competing logics results in conflicts between actors that are promoting them (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Thus, an anomalous relation where there is a disconformity between institutional logics i.e. competing logics and organisational practices triggers institutional change.

Institutional logics emergence process can start either from the institutional environment i.e. regulative or collective mobilisation pressures (Rao et al., 2003; Lounsbury, 2005), or from inside the organisation through sensemaking (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). In both

cases, organisational actors enact new organisational practices through decision-making. The framework illustrates that stakeholders create pressures on the organisation to change, and/or organisational actors react to the institutional environment through sensemaking. Decision-making can occur directly in response to the demands of collective mobilisation or after a sensemaking process of the institutional environment. Thus, the first interaction for change can be either sensemaking that influences collective mobilisation or collective mobilisation that influences sensemaking in a reciprocal relation, and both influence decision-making that is the final interaction to enact new organisational practices.

The outcome of the framework is alteration of institutional logics. As discussed in Chapter 2, institutional logics emergence can result in four outcomes; an organisation with competing logics may reside eventually with the old dominant logic (Cooper et al., 1996), opt to enforce a new logic that replaces the old logic to become dominant (Haveman & Rao, 1997), combine aspects of the competing logics in a novel way to create a hybrid logic (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Jay, 2013), or a long-term co-existence of competing logics in a stalemate situation (Scott, 2000; Reay & Hinings, 2009).

3.4.2 Influential Factors

Institutional logics emergence cross-level framework (Thornton et al., 2012) emphasised the importance of the institutional environment in influencing change. Influential factors that are illustrated in the framework are legitimacy, power, and stakeholders. The framework depicts that stakeholders are outside the organisation in the institutional environment and are represented by collective mobilisation, and inside are represented by organisational actors. A decision to change or alter institutional logics depends on the power that organisational actors exercise to impose or constrain change (Fligstein, 1987; Holm, 1995). Eventually, legitimacy is required to enforce a change of institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2008). I briefly describe three factors which are legitimacy, power, and stakeholders.

Legitimacy is a major influential factor on organisational behaviour (Greenwood et al., 2008). Meyer and Rowan (1977) have emphasised that organisations seek legitimacy to survive as a top priority rather than efficiency. However, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) argues that organisations gain legitimacy by becoming efficient and rational. Scott (1995) has developed three dimensions of legitimacy which are regulative, normative, and cognitive by

which organisations need to conform to these dimensions in order to be legitimate. A handful of studies attempted to examine legitimacy as an explanatory factor of organisational stability and change (e.g. Westphal et al., 1997; Ruef & Scott, 1998; among others). Westphal et al. (1997) have found that conformity to industry standards is a condition for hospitals to receive accreditation which is a major source of legitimacy. In this case, legitimacy is conceptualised as conforming to the institutional environment. Ruef and Scott (1998) have found that managerial and technical legitimacy resulted in reduction of failure rates in hospitals. Legitimacy, therefore, is linked to organisational survival. Overall, the literature argues that legitimacy is a condition for enacting organisational practices. Thus, institutional logics emergence needs to be a legitimate transformation in order for change to take place.

Power is identified as a factor that influences control of organisations (Fligstein, 1987). The power of an organisation establishes the boundaries of controlling the behaviours, beliefs, and opportunities of organisational actors which lead eventually to the evolution of organisations and fields (Greenwood et al., 2008). The exercise of power in organisations is determined by the agency and interests of organisational actors (DiMaggio, 1988). Studies have demonstrated the role of power as a dynamic of institutional change (e.g. Holm; 1995). Holm (1995) has shown that institutional change in the Norwegian fishery industry was subject to the political power where the emergence and disappearance of the institutional form of mandates sales resulted from the interaction between practices and actions of powerful actors. The literature indicates that power is an important factor to understand the outcomes of institutional logics emergence contradictions between practices of competing logics are subject to power (Greenwood et al., 2008; Hoffman, 1999; Seo & Creed, 2002). Thus, the outcome is influenced by power struggle where powerful actors may constrain a new logic to maintain the dominant logic (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), or provide an opportunity for a new logic to rise and dominate (Seo & Creed, 2002).

3.4.3 The Influence of Stakeholders

Stakeholders have been examined by studies in resource dependence theory where they have shown that stakeholders are the providers of resources and their support is crucial to organisational performance (Choi & Shepher, 2005). A handful of studies have examined the relationship between stakeholders and institutional change (e.g. Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Lounsbury, 2005; among others). Aldrich and Fiol (1994) have stated that stakeholders are grants of legitimacy where the public, investors, or employees consent organisational

practices as appropriate, hence giving them legitimacy. Lounsbury (2005) has shown that environmental activists as stakeholders have pushed for the adoption of recycling practices in the waste management industry. Studies have demonstrated stakeholders as a singular influential factor such as giving legitimacy or mobilising for change, however, how different stakeholders interact through the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms to influence institutional logics emergence has been ignored. This study attempts to address this gap by examining the interaction of stakeholders within and outside organisations in driving institutional logics emergence including the managers, the professional community, and the government. The framework of this study depicts that stakeholders are involved in each of the micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making through social interactions. In that sense, examining these mechanisms alongside the institutional environment is an examination of the role of stakeholders in institutional change.

3.5 Summary

Chapter 3 has outlined the theoretical framework of this study. Institutional logics emergence is a result of the development of macro-level organisational practices through micro-level mechanisms to provide a better understanding of the role of individuals and cognition in driving institutional change. Micro-level mechanisms include sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Although the literature has attempted to explain the role of micro-level mechanisms, studies have examined the mechanisms separately. This study aims to examine Thornton et al.'s (2012) theoretical cross-level framework of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms empirically to either confirm the framework or propose a modified process. It aims to examine how micro-level mechanisms interrelate and how stakeholders cognitively influence the interaction of the mechanisms in social interactions to create or change organisational practices that result in institutional logics emergence and in particular hybrid outcome.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 introduced the theoretical framework of the research articulating concepts and assumptions that underpin the study. Chapter 4 is devoted to the process of choosing and designing an appropriate research methodology to answer the research questions. The chapter starts by describing and justifying the context of the study. Then, it discusses the qualitative method that is used for this study. Next, it presents the primary and secondary data sources through case studies analysis. Thereafter, it describes the process of data analysis. Finally, the chapter discusses possible issues surrounding credibility of the findings and the ways to address them.

4.2 The Context of the Study

The rationale for context selection is to investigate the emergence of institutional logics within a field. After a preliminary assessment of the literature concerning different contexts for the study of institutional logics, art museums identified as an institutional field that has evolved and changed. The literature of institutional logics has investigated many contexts as articulated in Chapter 2 including French cuisine (Rao et al., 2003), mutual funds (Lounsbury, 2007), microfinance (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), community pharmacy (Nicolini et al., 2016), among others but not art museums. The art museums field provides an exemplar case of adaptation-driven institutional logics emergence. Organisations within the field appear to have similar micro-level mechanisms that are involved in the process of change and similar outcomes but with different institutional environment and practices. As a result, the selection of cases reflects the similarity in process and outcomes but differences in the institutional environment, demands, and practices.

A few studies have examined institutional change of art museums using various theoretical backgrounds (McCall & Gray, 2014; Abraham et al., 1999; Peacock, 2008). I briefly describe the debate. McCall and Gray (2014) have examined the shift of art museums from old to new 'museology' and have shown that they shifted from collection-based mission to become agents of social change through museum workers where they transformed the museum to exercise new practices. Leadership plays a role in guiding institutional change.

Abraham et al. (1999) propose that participative style of leadership is most effective to lead change where participative leaders lead change by developing a strategic vision for future, creating energy to change, involvement and participation, providing support such as financial or training, designing change structure to manage change process, and communication strategies. Peacock (2008) disagrees and argues that overemphasis on leadership as a change mechanism has be reconsidered because technologies, particularly disruptive ones, are influencing organisational change within the museum field. In order to handle technological disruptions, art museums need to move beyond strategic choices to interactive understanding of the effects of technology within organisations. Overall, studies are showing different factors and mechanisms by which art museums change. In this study, I attempt to investigate the process of change and explain a particular outcome by examining social interactions and their interrelationship using institutional logics perspective.

4.3 Qualitative Research Method

Research methodology is a plan that includes details of the process that is required to answer a research question by specifying sources of data, and data analysis techniques (Bryman & Bell, 2015). The research design outlines the structure of the conducted research. Qualitative research design is a strategy to employ words data sources instead of numerical data in the data collection and analysis. Forms of qualitative data may include observations, focus groups, texts, documents, multimedia, photographs, among others (Thorne, 2000). The strategy used for discoveries in social sciences to gain understandings of human beings and their experiences by interpreting data and produce outcomes (Sandelowski, 2004).

While a stream of research on institutional change has used quantitative methods to count the outcomes of change, however, counting the outcomes does not explain the important questions of institutional studies especially those concerning institutional change that require observing change in meaning systems (Suddaby, 2010). Examining institutional processes of change requires shifting from positivist to interpretive approaches that pay attention to subjective ways in which organisational actors interpret the institutional environment and enact change. Thus, measure meaning systems and consider the experience of organisational actors. Dacin et al. (2002) have shown that applying qualitative method in institutional studies allows researchers to examine institutional change processes. Thornton et

al. (2012) recommend qualitative method to understand institutional logics because it requires gaining understanding about meaning making.

A methodological review of institutional change literature reveals that studies have employed qualitative and quantitative methods with qualitative method slightly dominant (Balogun & Johnson, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010; Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003; Ocasio et al., 2016; Nicolini et al., 2016; Townley; 1997). For instance, the study of Balogun and Johnson (2005) has employed qualitative method to examine how unintended change emerges in organisations that are implementing intended change. They collected data from diaries, observations, interviews, focus groups, and documents while the analysis focused on developing a description then explanations. Nevertheless, some studies have employed quantitative methods such as Lounsbury (2005) who collected data through a survey and conducted event history analysis to identify causal effects in examining how the community action resulted in change of solid waste management to adopt recycling practices.

The methodological review shows that the choice of a method depends on the nature of the study and the choice of institutional change mechanism. For example, studies that are examining sensemaking as a mechanism for change have used qualitative method as sensemaking involves text data sources and requires analysing communications to understand the sensemaking process (e.g. Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). On the other hand, studies of collective mobilisation applied quantitative statistical analysis to establish causality of whether there is a relation between movements and change (e.g. Lounsbury, 2005). The studies conform to the argument of Suddaby (2010) as studies that focused on processes (e.g. Balogun & Johnson, 2005) have employed qualitative methods to examine how experiences of organisational actors influenced the outcome, while studies that focused on the outcome (e.g. Lounsbury, 2005) have employed quantitative methods to determine if there is a relation between the mechanism and the outcome. Hence, although statistical analysis of collective mobilisation showed that it does lead to change outcome, the process of collective mobilisation requires analysing experiences of organisational actors and meaning making to understand the motives, explain how movements started, and how organisations responded. Thus, qualitative method could be applied on collective mobilisation to understand how social movements occurred and the process of change rather than a fixed cause and effect relation. The same applies to other studies whereby the method depends on the aim and research question. In order to fulfil the research aim of examining social interactions to

understand institutional change process and the hybrid outcome, this study advocates employing qualitative methods.

Besides institutional change studies, a methodological review of studies in the context of art museums in different disciplines is conducted to understand the methods used by arts articles from journals specialised in the context. All the reviewed articles have employed qualitative method (Lee & Lee, 2016; Haines, 2011; among others). Data collection instruments are a combination of primary and secondary sources with an increasing trend of collecting data from secondary sources as principal. A variety of data analysis techniques are used with no dominant method including thematic analysis, documentary analysis, discourse analysis, and narrative analysis. The choice of the method of analysis depends on the research question and influenced by decision of authors as it is possible to use multiple methods of analysis.

In addition to using qualitative method, studies in arts literature have overwhelmingly employed case study method in particular to show that it is useful to answer how questions and explore or explain a phenomenon in the context. The reviewed studies in arts literature posed mainly exploratory questions whereby they aim to explore certain processes and relations between variables. As arts are objects not people, case study analysis is optimal to examine in-depth how certain variables change (e.g. Lee & Lee, 2016). For instance, Lee and Lee (2016) have analysed the role of art fairs in the process of branding young and emerging artists. They have employed a case study of an art fair to understand the activities within its own context that will inform to answer the research question. The authors justified their method by pointing to the importance of a single case study to provide a rich description of the phenomenon under examination. They have collected data from secondary sources and used thematic analysis to analyse the data through coding into themes. In other studies, authors have tried to find the outcome or effect on artists and audiences thus they conducted interviews to collect data in addition to secondary data (e.g. R⊘yseng, 2008). Another study that has employed qualitative method is by Haines (2011) who has examined the growth of the contemporary art biennial as a responsive exhibition model to engage art, audiences, and local environments. The study has employed a case study of a biennial to examine the role in social engagement. It has collected data from secondary sources and used narrative analysis. The author has not justified their method but the research question is a clear indication that

case study is optimal as the study aims to examine the biennial form of exhibitions as a phenomenon and thus requires picking and examining a case of a biennial.

Overall, the patterns observed in art museums articles is employing qualitative method, in particular case study and using diverse methods of analysis. The advantage of the case study method for arts studies is to explore relations between arts and other variables such as funding, cultural policies, and audiences. The case study method has proven functional to examine processes of, for instance, arts management or aesthetic experiences. This study, in addition to qualitative method conforming to institutional change studies, it conforms to contextual studies in art museums literature to employ the case study method which is discussed and justified in the next section.

4.3.1 Case Study

This study focuses on institutional logics emergence within a field by looking at change processes inside organisations at the micro-level. The scope of the study is restricted to one institutional field which consists of a set of organisations that share common meaning systems (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). In order to narrow the scope, the sought outcome of institutional change is the emergence of a hybrid logic (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Jay, 2013). The micro-level mechanisms that are selected to examine the process of change are sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making (Thornton et al., 2012). As a result, the research seeks to explain change within art museums field by examining institutional logics emergence of organisations to understand how micro-level mechanisms lead to institutional change.

The choice of a research method depends on three conditions which are: 1) the type of question, 2) the level of control over the behavioural event, and 3) the extent of focus either on present or historical events (Yin, 2013). As the questions posed in this research are mainly explanatory in nature and the study aims to examine organisations in a historical manner where the researcher has no control over the events, thus this study follows Yin's (2013) recommendation that case study research is suitable for 'why' and 'how' questions, and when the researcher has low influence over the situation. Case study is the appropriate method to explore such complex situations, particularly over a long period of time (Gratton & Jones, 2010). The strength of a case study research is the investigation of a complex situation that consists of several variables in order to gain an in-depth understanding and insights from the

phenomenon (Yin, 2013). Additionally, case study is useful for validating theories or models empirically (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Through access to internal and external sources of data which are both synchronous and retrospective, cases are significance as instrumental to understand change process of institutional logics emergence and their comparative analysis to shed light on contextual factors influencing such organisational level dynamics. Therefore, this study employs case study research method to understand micro-level mechanisms within its own context (Stake, 1995) to investigate how they lead to the enactment of organisational practices and identities that reflect emergence of institutional logics.

Four representative case studies are selected to research institutional change within their own context (see Table 4.1). However, one primary micro-level mechanism is assigned to each case for an in-depth examination while the other two mechanisms were observed within cases analysis. Analysing a single mechanism rather than all mechanisms in each case conforms to a counterfactual approach in qualitative methods that posits comparing similar cases to examine whether their differences in causes or processes can be interrelated to attribute to a particular change (Bennett & Elman, 2006). Thus, the study is not aiming to examine an outcome of one process over multiple cases but to examine how processes, in this study micro-level mechanisms, interact in a particular context to produce a similar outcome. Although a representative case study was analysed for each of the micro-level mechanisms which raises generalisation issue (Yin, 2013), a representative case study can lead to a scientific development through a 'force of example' as findings are not generalisable statistically but analytically (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Assigning different mechanisms for each case increases the potential and opportunity to learn about organisational level dynamics of institutional change in different situations. A representative case study creates a concrete knowledge that is valid and worthwhile. Generalisability of a case study can be increased by the strategic selection of the case (Ragin & Becker, 1992). The cases were selected based on purposeful sampling to discover, understand, and gain insights (Merriam, 1998). In purposeful sampling, the rationale for the cases selection is based on the researcher's assumption of who may have an important perspective on the phenomenon in question (Mason, 2017). The researcher conducted a contextual analysis in order to identify such cases. The cases represent sources of mechanisms and concepts that may be generalised to theory to explain the researched phenomenon (Stake, 1995). Therefore, the study meets the requirements of a representative case study as debated by Yin (2013).

Comparative case studies involve comparisons within or across contexts (Stake, 2005). It involves analysis of analogies and differences across two or more cases that share a common focus. Comparative method is useful to explain how characteristics within a context influence the outcome. Additionally, the evidence from the comparative case studies is considered more compelling and the findings are regarded as more robust (Stake, 2005). In order to work on a comparative perspective, it is essential to examine several organisations within a field to make comparisons. This study compares between organisations in the art museums field to grasp the similarities and differences. In addition to comparing between organisations, the study is cross-national examining organisations from different countries. The examined micro-level mechanisms are different while the outcome is similar which is the emergence of a hybrid logic. The observed patterns during the process of institutional logics emergence is used to develop a conclusion of the common or different factors that influenced the outcome.

The choice of national contexts aims to maximise the opportunity to examine the emergence of institutional logics in the same field in order to explore factors which influenced the micro-level mechanisms. The selection is guided by a preliminary assessment of the field by analysing existing empirical literature (Alexander, 2014; 2018; Thévenin & Moeschler, 2018; McCall & Gray, 2014; Abraham et al., 1999; Peacock, 2008). United Kingdom and France are identified as two contexts that art museums shared the experience of institutional change, but are divergent in the institutional environment and the new practices. As a result, these two countries seem to present some variety in the manifestation of organisational level change processes. While some studies provided knowledge of institutional change processes in Western countries contexts (e.g. Townley, 1997; Reay & Hinings, 2009; among others), nevertheless, there are limited knowledge on organisational level change in art museums and how micro-level mechanisms interact to result in change.

The selection criteria of case studies in the art museums field is based on two dimensions in order to enhance comparative analysis and reach increased generalisation. First, the study has looked at two types of art museums which are contemporary art museums that display modern art, and historic art museums that represent history. Second, two trends of change were sought which are commercialisation and globalisation. While art museums are diversifying income and adopting commercial practices to compensate the decreasing funding, another way to increase income is globalisation of culture by which art museums

launch global overseas branches that generate income. It is believed this phenomenon is interesting to contrast with domestic art museums. Four case studies are selected, two in each country, which are the National Gallery and Tate Modern in the United Kingdom, and Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre from France. The choice of art museums reflects the desire to capture the micro-level mechanisms that led to the emergence of institutional logics: the National Gallery and the Pompidou Centre sensemaking, Louvre Abu Dhabi is facing collective mobilisation and resistance, and Tate Modern through decision-making.

Table 4.1 Summary of Selected Case Studies

Art Museum	Core issue	Micro-Level Mechanism	Study Period
The National Gallery	Financial constraint and scarce funding while keeping free entry.	Sensemaking	2011-2016
The Pompidou Centre	Business style museum opening branches around the world. The museum runs temporarily outposts to have a global cultural influence.	Sensemaking	2011-2016
Louvre Abu Dhabi	Cultural enhancement by opening international branches that are opposed by artists.	Collective Mobilisation	2006-2016
Tate Modern	Embracing business activities to compensate the shrink of grants-in-aid.	Decision-making	2011-2016

4.3.2 Level of Analysis

While institutional logics are operational at different levels including societal, field, and organisational (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999), in this study institutional logics emergence from the micro-level is observed primarily inside organisations which is the level of analysis that is promising to expand insights into institutional studies (Greenwood et al., 2008). Organisational level of analysis is the optimal level of analysis to establish a relation between individual actions and the emergence of organisations (Barney & Felin, 2013). Thornton et al. (2012) have emphasised the need to research drivers that lead to the emergence of organisational practices and identities within organisations. The majority of institutional logics studies have examined institutional fields as the level of analysis (e.g. Townley, 1997; Nicolini et al., 2016; among others) by which a field consist of organisations that produce similar products or services (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). For example, Nicolini et al. (2016) have shown that the pharmaceutical field adopted different logics based on the dynamics of the country where organisations are operating. A handful of institutional studies have looked at organisational level of analysis (e.g. Goodrick & Salancik, 1996). For instance, Goodrick and Salancik (1996) have researched why organisational practices vary within a field. Studying hospitals at the organisational level, they have found that the characteristics of hospitals are influencing the variation in practices.

Studies of institutional logics have neglected organisational level logics and instead focused on effect and change of logics on the field level (Reay & Hinings, 2009), while Thornton et al. (2012) argue that field level logics result from the emergence of organisational practices and identities. Change process is best examined through multiple levels of analysis but one study cannot incorporate all levels (Scott, 1995) thus this research aims to complement the vast studies at the field level by attending at the organisational level of institutional change. Examining institutional logics of separate organisations within the field is a deeper examination of the overall field (Reay & Hinings, 2009). The evolution of fields is interrelated with changes of organisations that constitute them in a macro- to macro-level relation. Thus, examining such changes require going inside organisations to understand how they change in a micro- to macro-level process. In this study, organisational level is the level of analysis because of three reasons; first the whole organisation is being investigated as the unit of analysis including individuals that enact and carry out organisational practices and identities, second the study is examining micro-level mechanisms that involve social interactions between actors within organisations, and third the study is investigating how

institutional logics emerged in a field by comparing different change processes between organisations within the field. Therefore, the study concentrates primarily on one level of analysis, specific art museums that went through institutional change, which are considered organisations that constitute the field of art museums (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Organisational actors in art museums interact in order to achieve a common goal, which is to maintain cultural representation. Thus, cultural practices are primarily the result of the interactions of these actors who plan, negotiate, decide, deliver, and monitor the operation of art museums. Art museums are part of cultural institutions that represent and preserve culture as well as educate the public.

4.3.3 Timeframe

The period of the study is determined based on contextual factors. The theoretical framework of this research indicates that change of institutional logics is triggered by the institutional environment and other interrelated events which influence change through micro-level mechanisms. Therefore, major environmental events are the starting point of studying change until the emergence of institutional logics that is manifested by new organisational practices. Particularly, the study has focused on the period of post-global financial crisis in 2008 which affected and reshaped economies around the world, until fundamental changes occurred in the practices of art museums. In this timeframe, several actors promoted new ideas that pushed fields such as art museums to cope with emerging concepts of how cultural institutions should operate. The timeframe varies depending on the organisation but a preliminary assessment of the cases indicates it ranges between five to ten year periods as shown in Table 4.1, however, all case studies are post-2006.

4.4 Data Collection

The research data collection method comprises of qualitative elements as it is appropriate to investigate institutional change process through the analysis of social interactions which are construct mechanisms of beliefs and meanings systems. Multiple qualitative data sources were employed including in-depth interviews, minutes of meetings, annual reports, newspaper articles, magazines articles, and documents. Triangulation of the findings emerging from the data sources was used to put information into context and enhance understanding of the development of new ideas. This assisted in adding richness,

depth, and robustness in the understanding of the phenomenon as well as trustworthy findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

4.4.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative interviews are considered suitable for questions like 'why' or 'how' to understand the behaviours in a specific context by focusing on processes and events over a period of time (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Interviews assist in enhancing our understanding of how organisational actors make sense and react to issues (Barley & Kunda, 2001). Semi-structured interviews are the primary data source to uncover the process of organisational level change in the four selected cases. The study has collected rich and valued data about past events in order to gain a contextual understanding of the process of institutional logics emergence as a phenomenon. The goal is to cover a range of issues from the triggers of change, interactions between organisational actors, the influence of stakeholders, enacting and implementing change, and the outcome.

According to Robinson (2014), qualitative sampling involves four stages; define a target population, sample size, sample strategy, and sample source. The targeted population is similar to the previously discussed criteria for the selection of cases, i.e. stakeholders of the organisations that went through social interactions during institutional change period. Sample size depends on the research question and the nature of the research (Baker et al., 2012). Marshall et al. (2013) recommend that qualitative studies should generally include between 20 to 30 semi-structured interviews. This study has followed that recommendation by interviewing actors that were involved during the process of institutional logics emergence to collect the required data. The sample size who were interviewed are 22 and were split to the four case studies. The sampling strategy for the selection of participants is stratified sampling which extends purposeful sampling that is used for case study selection. In stratified sampling, the researcher selects the cases, then divides them into categories – which in this study micro-level mechanisms – and a target number of participants are allocated for each category (Mason, 2017). A snowball technique has been applied to some categories in order to expand the sample and obtain representation of conflicting viewpoints on the institutional logics and the presumed outcomes. The final stage involves actual sourcing of the sample by identifying participants and approach them.

A plan for the primary data collection was developed with interview questions and identifying participants. Then, individual participants were approached for a semi-structured interview. The data were recorded and taking notes during the interview. Semi-structured interviews are conducted either in physical presence, or through electronic communication in cases where face-to-face interviews are infeasible. Although semi-structured interviews by electronic communication techniques such as e-mail or video call have some challenges, the challenges are related to time and cost and unlikely to affect the quality of the data (Selwyn & Robson, 1998). In fact, the electronic communication method can generate high quality data when conducted carefully which makes it a viable alternative to face-to-face interviewing (Meho, 2006). E-mail interviews in particular have some limitations including whether participants have email and internet access, lack of social cues, wait days to receive a response, and building rapport (Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez, 2015). The researcher managed to overcome these limitations of email interview questions by first ensuring that participants have an email to contact, second using the email as a conversation by replaying to participants with follow up questions when required to generate more data, and third ask participants to try to respond promptly. All interviewees were notified that the interviews would produce data to be used for this research project and that their identity will remain anonymous. Interviews were conducted in English except for French art museums case studies whereby some interviews were in French and then translated to English. The length of face-to-face and telephone interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to one hour and a half. The interviews were recorded and transcribed while ensuring confidentiality in the information provided by the interviewees. Interviews were conducted from April to October 2019. A detailed list of the interviewees is provided in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Interviewees Details

No.	Case Study	Role/Position	Gender	Method	Length
1	The National Gallery	Ex-Member in the Board of Trustees 2006-2013	Male	Telephone	49m
2	The National Gallery	Researcher in Art Museums	Female	Email	-
3	The National Gallery	Researcher in Art Museums	Male	Telephone	54m

4	The National Gallery	Artist	Male	Face-to-face	1h 5m
5	The National Gallery	Managing Director of the National Gallery Company	Female	Email	-
6	The National Gallery	Expert in Art Museums	Female	Email	-
7	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Expert in Art Museums	Male	Telephone	56m
8	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Researcher in Art Museums	Female	Email	-
9	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Researcher in Art Museums	Male	Email	-
10	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Researcher in Art Museums	Female	Telephone	58m
11	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Artist	Male	Telephone	1h 5m
12	Louvre Abu Dhabi	Artist	Female	Email	-
13	Tate Modern	Expert in Art Museums	Female	Telephone	47m
14	Tate Modern	Ex-Head of Online	Male	Email	-
15	Tate Modern	Researcher in Art Museums	Female	Telephone	1h 2m
16	Tate Modern	Art Critic	Male	Face-to-face	1h 15m
17	Tate Modern	Digital Chief	Female	Email	-
18	The Pompidou Centre	Ex-Exhibition Organiser	Female	Telephone	45m

19	The Pompidou Centre	Researcher in Art Museums	Female	Email	-
20	The Pompidou Centre	Ex-Member in the Board of Trustees 2010-2015	Female	Telephone	48m
21	The Pompidou Centre	Researcher in Art Museums	Male	Email	-
22	The Pompidou Centre	Expert in Art Museums	Male	Telephone	51m

4.4.2 Secondary Sources

Analysing existing data is useful to facilitate historical research in order to understand past events and their influences on the present organisational reality (Mackieson et al., 2018). Secondary data can be used in combination with other methods or as a solo method with different secondary sources to achieve triangulation and reduce the potential of bias in the study (Bowen, 2009). Data were collected from secondary sources to reveal the triggers of change, the ways in which micro-level mechanisms interacted, and the outcome of change (Stake, 1995). The sources of secondary data provide rich information about the phenomena investigated, which refers to the emergence of institutional logics. Secondary data were collected from 313 sources including academic publications, newspaper articles, magazine articles, specialist books, organisational documents, and annual reports that provided 1,008 data inputs for the four cases. The webpages of art museums were used to provide an overview in terms of history and current services. Weick (1995) states that sensemaking events are made in meetings. According to Schwartzman (1989), "meetings can both generate and maintain an organisation by providing individuals with activity and with a way to make sense of this activity and their relationship to each other" (p. 11). Thus, for the mechanism of sensemaking and decision-making, data were collected from minutes of meetings that are published online in the official websites of the museums. In addition to analysing the data, secondary data were used to assist in creating specific questions for the semi-structured interviews.

4.4.3 Data Collection Process

Data collection started with an exploratory objective by collecting secondary data to provide a background of the case studies and construct a timeline of events. The initial stage aimed to understand what has happened in the art museums case studies during the period of change. In this stage, the study has focused on data related to stakeholders to explore their influence on change by collecting data about the external events and demands from sources including newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, and websites. This initial coding consisted of using six codes grouped into two categories (see Table 4.3 and Table 4.4). Though this coding, the study identified major events to explore the role of the institutional environment and organisational actors through decision-making and collective mobilisation. Then, a second stage with an explanatory objective through extensive secondary data collection and analysis to develop preliminary findings. In this stage, the study aimed to explain the process of change in each case study and the role and interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms. The study collected internal data related to the responses by organisations including minutes of meetings and discussions by organisational actors that followed the external events and demands. The same codes and categories of the first stage are used. Through this stage, the study collected data in each case study related to interpretations by organisational actors to external events and the proposed actions. Thereafter, the third stage involved collecting data related to new organisational practices specifically from annual reports and newspaper articles to identify the hybrid outcomes. This stage involved using the same codes but identifying new categories (see Table 4.4). Following the three stages systematically has uncovered similarities and differences related to the triggers of change, the process of change, and the hybrid outcome.

After completing secondary data collection, interview questions were developed to approach interviewees for primary data collection to provide more insights, and cross-validate and triangulate the data to confirm the findings. Interview questions were developed according to the research questions and to the required data that secondary sources have not provided. The first and second interview questions aimed to confirm the secondary data of the triggers of change and explore more triggers that are related to the mechanisms of decision-making and collective mobilisation. The rationale for the third and fourth questions is to examine sensemaking of organisational actors to explain the process of change based on themes identified from the secondary data. The fifth and sixth questions aimed to explain how

the hybrid outcome has emerged and what organisational actors have decided to hybridise organisational practices.

4.5 Method of Analysis

The generated qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews and documents do not provide straightforward analysis because they are unstructured (Bryman & Bell, 2015). This study follows the process of thematic analysis which is a method to identify, describe, organise, analyse, and report themes found within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The key feature of thematic analysis is handling large data through following a structured approach which assists in producing clear research findings (King, 2004). It involves classifying data, coding data, and then establish a relation to an existing theory or generate a new theory (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). Thus, the process of qualitative data analysis in this study is a systematic classification process by coding the data – in this study textual data – into themes or categories followed by interpretation of contents. The method of data analysis was within case analysis, which took place through the process of narrative-writing and integrating the findings of the case studies with a conceptual framework. The detailed process of data analysis in this study is outlined in the next sub-sections.

4.5.1 Deductive Approach

There are two approaches for reasoning in the inquiry of knowledge which are inductive reasoning and deductive reasoning (Hyde, 2000). Inductive reasoning is used to generate a theory while deductive reasoning is used to validate an established theory to find out whether it applies to a context. The choice of an approach depends on the aim of the research and intended contributions. Although often qualitative research follows an inductive approach to generate or expand existing theory, predominant inductive approaches deprive the literature from useful theoretical perspectives to enhance exploration and explanation of a phenomenon (Parkhe, 1993). A deductive approach can strengthen the confidence in findings (Hyde, 2000). Yin (2013), a case study methodology specialist, advocates a deductive approach because theoretical answers to 'why' and 'how' questions need to be validated with the collected data. Case studies that validate a theory enhance confidence of findings as well as the theory that underpins the study through a 'pattern matching' (Campbell, 1979). As discussed earlier that the literature has provided a framework for institutional logics emergence but has not been validated empirically, this study undertakes a deductive case

study research to validate an existing theory on institutional change at the organisational level by examining institutional logics emergence. For instance, data are coded into institutional logics emergence template (see Table 4.3) to be organised into theories, frames, and narratives for the mechanisms of collective mobilisation and decision-making, while for the mechanisms of sensemaking data are organised into the sensemaking process of identifying, interpreting, and taking action. In a nutshell, deductive reasoning advances knowledge by validating theories that were provided by the literature to validate the assumptions, propositions, and relationships that underpin a theory. This study aims to validate the theory of institutional logics emergence to understand whether the theory applies to the specific contexts of United Kingdom and France, and validate the theoretical framework through a 'pattern matching' with the data (Hyde, 2000; Campbell, 1979). Thus, because of the aforementioned reasons, this study adopts a deductive research approach.

4.5.2 Inductive Approach

Although the study is focused on deductive theory validation approach, during coding and analysis some themes emerged conforming slightly to an abductive approach. Abductive reasoning in case studies is the analysis of empirical data to combine with a previous theory in the literature as well as discover patterns to enhance understanding (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). The approach involves two phases by first validating a theory and second extend that theory by generating additional elements. The process contains the deductive approach by coding the data into categories to confirm a theory but is flexible to identify themes and develop relationships between the emerged themes (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this study, in order to answer the research questions, the aim initially is to confirm empirically the theory of institutional logics emergence (Thornton et al., 2012) as the first stage of analysis then the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms is analysed which emerged differently than the framework thus making an extension to the theory. For instance, data are coded into six emergent themes of digitisation, sponsorship, commercial practices, hybrid collection, hiring practices, and innovative practices (see Table 4.4). The analysis has also provided insights of innovative practices that transform organisations to suggest implications for institutional change.

4.5.3 Template Analysis

This study employs the template structure of institutional logics emergence (Thornton et al., 2012) to show how micro-level events lead to the outcomes of maintain logics, change logics, or hybridise logics. The template explains that societal level institutional logics are constructed in fields and organisations by organisational actors through levels of theories, frames, and narratives. Theories provide guidance of how organisational structures and practices should operate. Frames provide blueprints for interpretation that allow organisational members to perceive and identify practices (Goffman, 1974). Narratives are specific organisational practices that construct a story (Polkinghorne, 1988). Organisational actors use narratives to give meaning, create legitimacy, and make sense of actions (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). Narratives emerge in social interactions through cognition, communication, and negotiation by which they are translated to actions (Abolafia, 2010). This study aims to use this template to code the data for the mechanisms of collective mobilisation and decision-making.

However, for analysing the role of sensemaking, the study proposes to use a template from the sensemaking literature. Building on Thornton et al.'s (2012) argument that "institutional logics are both the building blocks of sensemaking efforts and sensemaking is a mechanism by which institutional logics are transformed" (p. 96), this study employs the template of sensemaking process (Weick et al., 2005) to show how sensemaking leads to the emergence of institutional logics. The template posits that sensemaking explains organisational evolution through the process of identifying, interpreting, and taking action. Actors identify the circumstances such as government regulations, interpret circumstances by attaching a meaning to turn them into a situation that is grasped explicitly in words to serve as a springboard for action, and build on the interpretation by taking action to enact new practices and identities. This study proposes that these levels can act as cognitive steps for organisational actors to change institutional logics and thus are used to code the data for the mechanism of sensemaking.

Although the template of institutional logics emergence in institutional fields by Thornton et al. (2012) is a different process than sensemaking process, they share the same goal which is understanding the development of new organisational practices and identities. The mean of the two templates is different where Thornton et al.'s (2012) template focuses on the symbolic representation of societal level logics in fields while Weick et al.'s (2005)

sensemaking process focuses on the cognitive response by organisational actors to environmental circumstances. However, both templates serve the purpose of understanding how organisations adopt a new logic or change existing logics through new practices and identities. The last step of Thornton et al.'s (2012) template is narratives which is specifying organisational practices and identities while the last step of sensemaking is taking action that can specify practices and identities as well. In line with these arguments, this study proposes that the template of institutional logics emergence assists in understanding the role of collective mobilisation and decision-making mechanisms, while the sensemaking process is used for the mechanism of sensemaking (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Data Analysis Frameworks

Collective Mobilisation | Decision-making *Thornton et al. (2012) template of institutional logics emergence*	**Sensemaking** *Weick et al. (2005) template of sensemaking process*
Theories How structures and practices should operate?	Identifying What are the circumstances in the institutional environment that might affect the organisation?
Frames How organisational members perceive and identify practices?	Interpreting What do the circumstances mean for the organisation?
Narratives How organisational practices are specified to construct a story?	Taking Action How the organisation responds to the circumstances?

4.5.4 Organising Data

Structuring qualitative data increases the trustworthiness of the research process where there are categories or patterns that are determined before the analysis (Cote et al., 1993). Categorising data into related groups makes the data manageable and form a conceptual hierarchy (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Conforming to template analysis, data were organised using categories of a prior template (Symon & Cassell, 2012). Although using a priori produced categories could lead to missing information, it assists in data reduction, display, and drawing a conclusion (Crabtree & Miller, 1992). Moreover, using a priori produced categories conforms to the deductive approach discussed previously. Thus, the analysis of case studies involves organising the data of micro-level events into analytical categories. For collective mobilisation and decision-making; theories, frames, and narratives (Thornton et al., 2012). For sensemaking; identifying, interpreting, and taking action (Weick et al., 2005).

Non-numerical data can be organised manually or using a coding software such as NVivo that facilitates organising large volume of data. Although the use of a software could give advantages in data reduction and identification of codes, it is incapable of intellectual work and conceptualising process to transform the data, impacts the researcher's perception of themes, and limits the abstraction of ideas from the data (King, 2004; Thorne, 2000). Using a software leads the research to develop results based on following a series of steps that may hinder creativity in qualitative research (Johnston, 2006). Both manual and software coding will not eliminate the need to think, deliberate, create categories and generate codes. Given the advantage of using a software is faster coding and organising of data while the disadvantage is limiting the creativity of analysis, I preferred to spend more time in manual coding but produce enhanced data analysis. Thus, the study avoided using a software and all data from interviews and secondary data were organised and coded manually in spreadsheets according to the key themes.

The organising and coding of data consisted of two rounds (see Table 4.4). During the first round, the aim was to organise the data into the categories of institutional logics emergence and sensemaking process. This required moving across textual data from primary and secondary sources to assign them labels of categories and organise them in a chronological order. This process led to identify the links of specific elements of the logics which were constructed at different stages in a cause and effect relation between the

categories. At this stage, the role of stakeholders was identified as well by labelling data either from the institutional environment or from inside the organisations. The second round of organising the data reached higher levels of abstraction as the links between categories were validated. The data were organised into the detected institutional logics which were pointing at multiple logics in hybrid arrangements. This process of organising the data were used to explain the phenomenon of interest – institutional logics emergence from the micro-level – and the factors that influenced the emergence and adoption of hybrid logics in the two countries of contexts.

Table 4.4 Data Coding Structure and Process

Source Information	Deductive First Order Categories	Deductive Second Order Categories	Inductive Emerged Themes	Source Type
Case Study name	Sensemaking mechanism: Sensemaking Process (Weick et al., 2015)	Social logic	Digitisation	Interview
Date of data	- Identifying	Market logic	Sponsorship	Document
Details of data	- Interpreting	Cultural heritage logic	Commercial activities	Newspaper article
Reference	- Taking action	Cultural globalisation logic	Hybrid collection	Magazine article
	Collective Mobilisation | Decision-making mechanisms: Institutional Logics Emergence (Thornton et al., 2012)		Hiring practices	Website
	- Theories		Innovative practices	Annual report

	- Frames			Minutes of meetings
	- Narratives			Research report

4.5.5 Interpretation

Revealing how institutional change occurred in a micro to macro level requires linking organisational level of analysis with the individual level by examining how organisational actors were responding to changes and pressures from the institutional environment and how this has led to change outcomes. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is defined as "a detailed examination of individual lived experiences and how individuals are making sense of that experience" (Frost et al., 2010, p. 445). It implies exploring and examining individuals on cognitive aspects in order to understand their experiences and actions which informs to the role of agency (Smith, 2004). In particular, interpretive phenomenological analysis focuses on interpreting individual interactions and how meaning is constructed by individuals. In line with institutional logics, the method endorses social constructionist approach by which social processes are crucial to research how individuals experience, understand, and act in situations. Given the purpose of this study to analyse social interactions and micro-level mechanisms and their role in institutional change, interpretive phenomenological analysis serves the method of analysis for this study.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis conforms with thematic analysis by which the data are classified according to the importance of data, organise and order, and form in a learning process to relate to the argument and narrative (Peshkin, 2000). It entails identifying things that are relevant to the conceptualisation or categorisation of the study and look for patterns between cases to establish themes (Smith, 2004). A conceptual hierarchy of how organisational practices are generated is constructed by making a comparison between categories to establish relations and gain insights. The relation between categories is identified to find patterns of organisational actors' behaviours and connect the findings. The analysis clarifies the intersection of the data through categories relations, then giving meaning to the data through interpretations. According to Peshkin "interpretation is an act of imagination and logic" (2000, p.9). Interpretation is the researcher's view of the meaning of

the data and making judgment of how the data relates to the construction of a story. Thus, the interpretation of the researcher does not prove whether things are right or wrong, but how useful or interesting the way things are viewed (Denzin, 1989). After identifying and relating key events to the analytical categories, the researcher interprets how the events and social interactions resulted in institutional change outcomes. Data is described first then interpreted because description is important to allow the reader to understand the interpretation (Patton, 2005). A comprehensive draft of analysis and interpretations is drawn after finishing the coding process to construct a narrative from the themes (Smith, 2004).

A systematic tracking of institutional change process by identifying external events as trigger of change, analysing data of social interactions that came after critical events to interpret change, and determining actions in the form of statements or narratives that guided the organisations. Tracking started when meso level events occurred from the institutional environment until a significant change in organisational practices was observed, i.e. the period from 2006 to 2016. The study has identified social interactions related to objectives determined by (1) how the organisation can adapt to circumstances to sustain operations, and (2) how the organisation can respond to external demands and satisfy stakeholders. The study then examined in-depth social interactions focusing on the following questions: 'What is the discussion between organisational actors, what decisions were taken, and what is the reaction by stakeholders?'. In order to increase the chances of observing interrelations between micro-level mechanisms, memos were created to keep track of ideas as they developed during the coding to enhance interpretations. Early analysis focused on extracting data about the link between the institutional environment and responses by organisations. The analyses included statements and demands imposed by external stakeholders on the field. Later on, template analysis was conducted to find how micro-level mechanisms resulted in new practices in organisations, in particular for art museums in terms of hybrid outcomes. A change story was written for each case study or organisation by pulling together the events from the data during the period, the social interactions by organisational actors, and the effect on organisational outcomes in order to create a thick description. Thick description refers to providing enough detail of the data and findings to enable readers to come up with their own conclusions about the phenomenon (Tracy, 2010).

4.6 Validity and Reflexivity

Validity is an indication of the accuracy and integrity of conclusions that are generated from the research (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Qualitative research validation occurs internally and externally. The concern of internal validity is to support the study with rich data that make findings trustworthy and tackle threatening issues on credibility (Seale, 2002). While there is no clear rule to overcome the issue of internal validity in qualitative research, however, the methodology literature makes some suggestions to increase the trustworthiness of the study (Seale, 2002; Tracy, 2010). First of all, support the findings with evidence from different internal and external data sources to increase the credibility of interpretations, maximise the robustness of the analysis, and the confidence in conclusions (Bryman, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study addresses triangulation by collecting data from different sources as discussed earlier from semi-structured interviews and secondary sources including documents, newspapers articles, websites, among others. It follows Tracey's (2010) suggestion to provide a thick description and show the evidence in the analysis rather than telling.

External validity refers to transferability of the research findings to other contexts and increase the quality of qualitative research (Bryman, 2015, Tracey, 2010). While external validity is questioned because the study focuses on representative cases to provide a 'force of example' as findings may not be generalisable (Flyvbjerg, 2006), however, four measures are taken to increase external validity. First, provide a thick description of the research setting and details of the findings with evidence to enable readers to make judgment whether findings are transferable and applicable to other settings (Seale, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Second, external validity in case studies can be enhanced with the strategic selection of the cases which were selected based on purposeful sampling with specific criteria as stated earlier to discover, understand, and gain insights (Merriam, 1998). Third, Yin (2013) recommends replication or comparative analysis through multiple case studies to support external validity. The study is a cross-national comparative between the United Kingdom and France with four cases that are in the same institutional field, experienced institutional change through the micro-level mechanisms, and have similar outcomes. Fourth, this study sought theoretical saturation that is a continued data collection and analysis throughout the study until no new data appear and theories are well developed (Morse, 2004). In multiple case studies, theoretical saturation is a process whereby cases are substantiated by evidence from each other until no new issues are introduced. However, the point to claim that theoretical

saturation is achieved is not clear considering that theory development is a never-ending process. Nevertheless, Sandewlowski (2008) suggests that it is up to the researcher to judge when theoretical saturation has been achieved and that the theory was proved empirically from the data to the point where no additional data are needed. Reliability is another trustworthy issue that is concerned with the reproduction of the findings by different researchers (Seale, 2002). A common method to achieve reliability is through 'auditing' by which the researcher documents the data and research decisions and activities made during the study (Seale, 2002). Reliability was achieved through recording and noting the interviews and keeping a copy of the documents, articles, and web pages of the secondary sources.

The practice of reflexivity was used in this study to provide analysis that is more effective and lead to theory confirmation or development (Hibbert et al., 2014). Reflexivity is the awareness of the researcher's role during the research process and the way it is influenced by the objects of the research including for example language, power of organisational actors, and social interests which affect research outcomes (Alvesson et al., 2008). It requires "interpretation of interpretation and the launching of a critical self-exploration of one's own interpretations of empirical material" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017, p. 11). Thus, reflexivity entails being self-aware and conscious about one's own a certain perspective while having awareness of the influence the researcher has on the study during engagement with the data collection and analysis (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Probst & Berenson, 2014). This study has followed reflexive practice during data analysis and in theory validation and extension (see Table 4.5).

In analysing the data, reflexivity is based on two elements which are 'careful interpretation' and 'reflection'. It requires shifting attention from following rigidly the research plan to justifying in a self-critical way why certain approaches have been taken in this research to record a personal reflection of the researcher's values, interests, and insights (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Alvesson et al. (2008), there are four practices of reflexivity in management studies; multiple-perspective where the researcher illustrates different perspectives of the phenomenon, multi-voicing by negotiating the meaning of language collectively with participants, positioning which is the influence of context in the production of knowledge, and destabilising by problematizing the conditions and consequences of the phenomenon. Alvesson et al. (2008) recommend a combination of these four practices in order to enhance reflexive research. In this study, the researcher has

considered the four practices during the data collection, data analysis, and theoretical implications. The phenomenon of institutional change was viewed from different perspectives by exploring the antecedents, objectives, and outcomes. During the data collection, the study aimed to grasp the phenomenon from the view of participants. The position of the researcher and the influence of the context was considered in the interpretation of the data. The conditions and consequences of institutional change were reflected to inform the theoretical contributions and practical implications. During the data analysis, the study has interpreted the historical case study events that influenced institutional change and the interpretations surrounding them. The meaning of the textual data was interpreted and reflected the interpretations on the emergence of new organising principles and hence institutional logics.

In theory generation or validation, the theoretical assumptions and interpretations are revised by the new understanding gained during the research process which informs new theoretical knowledge. Reflexivity was practiced to generate or validate a theory by following the process that is suggested by Hibbert et al. (2014); interpret the phenomena in different ways, the researcher uses own lenses for observation, explore alternative theoretical constructions from the emerging theories, engage with different theories during the interpretation of the data, consider different options for theory development or extension, and link theories closely to the empirical context. The researcher has moved between the empirical data and different levels of interpretation to illustrate a number of theoretical perspectives. The phenomena investigated in the study is scrutinised in terms of reflection as an outcome of interpretation of the template categories in order to reveal micro-level events and their effects on institutional logics emergence.

Table 4.5 Reflexivity in the Research Process

Data Analysis *(Alvesson et al., 2008)*	**Theory Generation or Validation** *(Hibbert et al., 2014)*
1. Illustrate different perspectives of the phenomenon	1. Interpret the phenomenon from different theoretical perspectives
2. Negotiate the meaning of the data with participants	2. Apply researcher's theoretical assumptions to guide interpretation

3. Consider the influence of the context on interpretation	3. Critique emerging theory and explore alternative theoretical constructions
4. Problematize the consequences of the phenomenon	4. Engage with different theories during interpretation of data
	5. Research objects that influence theory development to have and consider different options
	6. Link the emerging theory closely to the empirical context

As the method of analysis is thematic analysis, it may lead to inconsistency and incoherence during the analysis which poses a threat to credibility (Holloway & Todres, 2003). In order to overcome this drawback, Nowell et al. (2017) argue that the trustworthiness of a thematic analysis study can be enhanced by demonstrating a precise, consistent, and systematic process of data analysis. They have outlined a process of six phases that are followed exactly in this study as demonstrated earlier. First, the researcher familiarises self with the data by recording and storing the raw data and triangulate through different data collection sources including semi-structured interviews, documents, newspapers articles, among others. Second, generate codes or categories using a coding template which are institutional logics emergence and sensemaking process teemplates. Third, establish connections between the themes. Fourth, review the themes and their coherence by returning to the raw data for a refinement. Fifth, a documentation of the themes and their names. Finally, produce a research report that provides a thick description.

Ethical consideration is essential for a quality qualitative research (Tracy, 2010). The ethical procedure is ensuring that participants get no harm from giving the data, avoid deception, negotiate informed consent, and ensure confidentiality (Sales & Folkman, 2000). Confidentiality was achieved by assuring participants that the generated data from the semi-structured interviews are confidential and not given to third parties. The identities of participants are anonymous and were replaced by codes. Honesty and transparency were maintained when approaching the interviewees and avoided deception about the nature or

aims of the research. The environment of semi-structured interviews has maintained a power balance by defining the interview situations to the way that fits the interviewees and a two-way dialogue.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology that was applied in this research. It has presented a qualitative approach and justified the selection of the case study methodology in the context of art museums. Four case studies were selected with the aim of a comparative perspective. Data collection instruments include semi-structured interviews and secondary sources. Data analysis process was outlined through the deductive approach, organising the data using institutional logics emergence and sensemaking process templates, and interpretive phenomenological analysis. The chapter has finally discussed the issues surrounding data validity and reflexivity that were addressed through multiple data sources, auditing, and reflect the interpretations on the emergence of institutional logics.

Chapter 5: Contextual Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 has outlined the process of research methodology to answer the research questions. Chapter 5 attempts to analyse the triggers of institutional change and identify the subsequent change outcomes. It analyses the context of the study by discussing cultural policies of the United Kingdom and France. The chapter starts by describing the mission of art museums and the role of cultural policies. Then, it analyses the UK context highlighting cultural policies and the relation to commercialisation of art museums. Next, it analyses France cultural policies and the relation to globalisation of art museums. Finally, the chapter discusses the impact of commercialisation and globalisation on cultural values and heritage.

5.2 Art Museums and Cultural Policies

There is no one formal definition of 'art'. Art has a complex nature of relationship with humans (Rubiales, 2014). It is a unique expression through objects to give meaning by a curator. Sociologists claim that art belongs to a network of individuals composed of different social institutions, thus explains different expressions of art. Arts are usually displayed to the public in museums. Art museums collect, research, display, and preserve arts to maximise their longevity through a mission to create a balance between these functions which determines the style and character of the museum that explains the variety of art museums (Smithsonian Institution, 2001). Art museums have a distinctive and important value for cultures and communities. Through exhibitions, which are organised displays, art museums increase awareness and appreciation of arts. These events are crucial to maintain culture and keep it alive. Research is a critical part of art museums by evaluating and comparing arts to improve the presentation of arts and maximise their outcomes. Moreover, art museums serve the public through community dialogues to discuss improving art museums and their impact on the society. Recently, art museums started to display arts online through websites and technological means in innovative ways to engage audiences and enhance learning.

Cultural policy is defined as "decisions and practices of public cultural administration or, more narrowly, of public art administration" (Sevänen & Häyrynen, 2018, p. 3). In that sense, cultural policies can be understood as government actions in the form of laws and

regulations that are related to the cultural sector such as arts and literature, among others (Mulcahy, 2006). The policies of a government are influential in determining the behaviour of cultural institutions. Thus, in the following contextual analysis I discuss the cultural policies of UK and France as forces of the institutional environment and their subsequent impact on institutional change of art museums.

5.3 United Kingdom

5.3.1 Cultural Policies of UK

The cultural policies of the UK government since early 1980s are influential in changing the cultural sector. Victoria Alexander's (2014; 2018) studies of cultural policies in the UK provide interesting insights where she argues that imposing the marketisation is a major factor. Marketisation or the market-oriented business model refers to changes in structure and practices of public organisations to act more like private businesses in order to become financially independent. Institutional funders, namely government and corporations, are funding cultural activities in exchange of an economic return. Thus, commercialising by shaping a reciprocal funding process based on exchange of monetary value. In the analysis, I observed four historical events that led to this shift towards commercialisation.

First, in 1979 the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher came to power and imposed the market-oriented business model of business management that is based on privatisation and withdrawal of the state from operating or funding culture. The former prime minister reduced funding, implemented auditing requirements to get grants, and established incentives for corporate sponsorship (Alexander, 2007). The policies of the Thatcher's government resulted in a cap of public funding because culture was viewed as an instrument that should produce economic outputs from funding. However, the government's strategy was not to cut the overall funding for the cultural sector, but encourage other sources of funding as a substitute for the reduced public funding. The government made amendments to tax laws to encourage private funding, mainly corporations. The emergence of private funding from corporations is a crucial factor as corporations are entities with a fundamental purpose of maximising profits (Bartlett, 2015). It implies that the funded cultural institution needs to give something in return of funding that will serve directly or indirectly the goals of corporations. The objectives of corporations from funding are not merely philanthropic but utilising the funding to the cultural sector as an instrument to gain corporate outcomes such as

improved image and eventually higher profits. Moreover, the Thatcher's government launched an initiative named 'UK, plc.' which aims to impose marketisation on the cultural sector by emphasising three fundamental principles; efficiency, liberty, and non-intervention of the state. These principles represent marketisation which prompts individuals and organisations to aim for survival and look for themselves instead of others. This philosophy does not represent cultural principles because the main purpose of cultural institutions is to produce cultural outputs such as social engagement and development. However, with marketisation, their orientation becomes more concerned with monetary matters like whether they will produce financial means to survive rather than whether they maximised the output of their social mission. Consequently, cultural institutions need to set strategic plans, achieve performance indicators, and utilise business tool to achieve value for money.

Second, the subsequent UK governments have maintained these policies where the view of the cultural sector is instrumental by expecting cultural institutions to be more competitive economically and creative (Gray, 2000). However, they viewed the way to move forward with marketisation from a different perspective. Ironically, funding increased because politicians believed that funding the cultural sector is not a financial burden but is leading indirectly to higher economic outcomes (Bertelli et al., 2014). The Labour government and the prime minister during 2000s Tony Blair argued that the cultural sector is contributing indirectly to the economy by balancing the trade, attracting tourists, and increasing human capital. Additionally, the government utilised arts funding for political gains to grow the support base for the Labour government from local authorities (Bertelli et al., 2014). Consequently, funding for the cultural sector during the Tony Blair's government increased but the government maintained marketisation that cultural institutions should give something in return as value for money. The difference in the Tony Blair's government is a different view of funding where cultural activities are considered a stimulus for the economy that yield indirect economic outcomes with political gains as well. The government is willing to give more funds to cultural institutions as long as they provide a return for the economy, thus cultural institutions still have to focus on generating economic outcomes and funding is given for granted. Therefore, the increased funding from the government does not eliminate the need to adopt the market-oriented business model and seek funding from the private sector and other commercial sources.

Third, the Labour government in 1997 began an initiative to return free admission and in 2001 it successfully passed the law which is viewed as an attempt to restrain the extent of marketisation of the cultural sector (Art Fund, 2009). An astonishing response came from national museums where they welcomed this policy (Kennedy, 2001). The director of Tate Modern stated that free entry is helping the museum achieve its target visitors and the director of the National Gallery stated that "free admissions is in the DNA of the National Gallery, and it is what is admired and loved for" (Kennedy, 2015, para. 3). The result is a sharp increase of visitors especially those going for the first time (Martin, 2002). Beside more visitors, free admission helps national museums in achieving their social mission by widening cultural reach and access to cultural activities. With regards to the impact on funding and marketisation, free admission resulted in varied effects. On one hand, the increased number of visitors is leading to higher income from auxiliary commercial activities such as shops and catering inside museums, thus declining reliance on government grants. On the other hand, the increased income from commercial activities is insufficient to compensate the government grants, and charging admission is a more sustainable model. Moreover, free admission is leading to a higher pressure on facilities which is increasing operational costs. The extent of benefits and risks of free admission depends on the level of funding. When public funding flows sufficiently as it is during the Tony Blair's government, then national museums are likely to have stable operations. However, when the government reduces funding as was the case with the Thatcher's government, the only choice remains for national museums is to attract private donors or diversify income through commercial activities. Thus, free admission combined with unsustainable public funding is contributing indirectly to commercialisation of the cultural sector as cultural institutions need to have secure funding and contingency income sources when public grants are reduced or eliminated.

Fourth, in 2010 the Conservative government of David Cameron came to handle an economic hardship after the global financial crisis that occurred in 2008. Annual budgets were aiming to reduce deficit and heal the economy. Thus, an austerity programme had hit the cultural sector with drastic cuts that reversed the funding gains from the previous government. The 2010 budget included a cut of around a third of the funding to Arts Council England that is responsible to redistribute funds to national museums. The analysis of the previous Labour government's funding perspective has indicated that this reversal of funding is expected because the cultural sector is tied to the market volatility under the market-oriented business model. Thus, when the market suffers the cultural sector is likely to suffer.

The David Cameron's government adopted policies to remove the financial burden of the cultural sector from the budget by encouraging charitable donations and volunteering from the private sector and individuals. This resulted in the evolution of the Green Paper proposal which includes five principles; great opportunities, information, visibility, exchange and reciprocity, and support.

> *"Is designed to enable arts and heritage organizations to diversify their income streams, attract significantly more funding by increasing their fundraising potential and help them to develop and explore innovative new approaches to securing private giving."* – Culture Minister (Arts Council England, 2011, n.p.)

The aim of Green Paper is to encourage American style philanthropy where cultural institutions diversify income streams and become more innovative in attracting private funding. Consequently, the private sector is at the centre of this funding process because giving is not one way but should be rewarding for the giver (Alexander, 2014). In other words, funding is an investment that should yield a return for the donor who is logically an investor. Overall, the government responded to the financial crisis by adopting policies to reduce funding for the cultural sector from the public budget, and provided an alternative by encouraging cultural institutions to pursue funds from the private sector and self-generated income. The result arts and culture sector contributes £10.8 billion to the UK economy every year, growing by £390 million annually, and employs almost 140,000 individuals across the UK (Arts Council England, 2019).

In a nutshell, the cultural policies of the UK governments since 1979 have pushed cultural institutions to marketisation. Table 5.1 shows a timeline of the historical development of cultural policies in the UK. Cultural institutions are required to look for themselves and figure out ways to get funding from other sources such as the private sector or rely on self-generated income. They turned practically, though not legally, into businesses that are providing a product or service in exchange for a monetary value. They are part of the free market and should operate in uncertainty without relying on the government to maintain their operations. However, as national museums in the UK are unable to charge for an entrance fee, the remaining options are funding from the private sector and innovate commercial practices. Commercialisation is not an auxiliary anymore but an essential part of cultural institutions to survive.

Table 5.1 Cultural Policies of the UK

1980s	1990s – 2000s	2010s
Marketisation by which cultural institutions have to function similar to private corporations Reduced funding to encourage the sector to get funding from other sources Auditing requirements Incentives for corporate sponsorship	Cultural sector viewed as economic stimulator Increased funding to get economic return Free admission	Austerity programme Green Paper to encourage cultural sector to attract private funding

5.3.2 Commercialisation of Art Museums in the UK

Art museums in the UK went through shifts in their interests and practices. Since 1980s, art museums are increasingly adopting commercial practices to compensate for the reduced government funding (see Table 5.2). While national museums in the UK have free admission not by choice but a mandatory legislation thus removing a major income source, however, they managed to diversify income by establishing auxiliary commercial practices including special exhibitions, membership scheme, in-museum shops, among others. The cultural policies of the UK government has a direct influence on art museums commercialisation. One major issue is the constant reduction of public funding. As discussed previously, that the policies of the Conservative government in 2010 following the financial crisis of 2008 have resulted in an austerity programme that included shrinks of grants in aid to cultural institutions including art museums.

"In an age of austerity, when times are tough and money is tight, our focus must be on culture's economic impact." (Miller, 2013, n.p.)

The availability of financial resources is crucial for art museums to carry out their social missions (Mullin, 2009). Insufficient funding is pushing art museums to seek funding from private donors and commercial activities (Pickford, 2018). The director of Tate Modern remarked that the cuts of public grants has created pressures that resulted in shifting the focus of the museum to attract larger audiences and corporate donors (Marincola, 2001). Although art museums are rich in collections, they have a shortage of cash to sustain operations (Rectanus, 2006). Art museums are receiving insufficient grants to cover operational costs which is pushing them to adopt commercial activities. Consequently, art museums are increasingly accepting the principles of market-oriented business model such as efficiency and return on investment as indicators of success (Schulze, 1992). This is leading to satisfy market demands including economic surplus by focusing on creating self-generated income and cut costs. Art museums are commercialising in different ways and one feasible model is the branding museum (Greffe et al., 2017). Branding museums look for revenue streams including selling related products or renting their spaces. Art museums are becoming a destination for entertainment in addition to enlightenment. Corporate sponsorship became an important part of the income mix for art museums (Rectanus, 2006). Since 1979 when commercialisation of cultural policies took place until 2009 corporate sponsorship of arts grew from £600,000 per year to £686 million per year (Gould, 2018). Exhibitions whether free or charging will be financed by sponsors which uplifts a financial burden while the income from tickets and in-exhibition sales is directed to finance other activities. Tate Modern is a well-known example of a corporate sponsorship by British Petroleum that lasted for 26 years with an average income of £245,000 a year between 1990 to 2006 (Khomami 2016; Rustin & Arnett, 2015).

Moreover, management processes of art museums are aligning to corporate style where they are adopting for-profit management concepts such as strategic planning and quality management to improve organisational performance (Cray et al., 2007). Frey and Meier (2006) have established a link between museums practices and cultural economics. They argue that marketisation have implications on museums through competition with other museums to attract visitors that became tougher. Visitors of museums nowadays are travellers who visit many museums across several geographical places. This has led to the pursuit of becoming a 'superstar museum' where museums are seeking to become popular brands to attract more visitors and increase their market value. Overall, there is a strong orientation to

adopt market-oriented business model that are moving art museums closer to becoming commercial entities.

Table 5.2 Overview of Art Museums in the UK

Art Museum	Category	Visitors Annually	Grant-in-aid	Self-generated income	Commercial Activities
British Museum	Traditional	6.4m	£13.9m	£39.7m	• Temporary exhibitions • Catering facilities
The National Gallery	Traditional	6.2m	£32.0m	£9.2m	• Corporate sponsorship • Membership scheme • Temporary exhibitions • Catering facilities
Tate Modern	Contemporary	6.4m	£35.8m	£74.2m	• Corporate sponsorship • Membership scheme • Temporary exhibitions • Catering facilities

Victoria and Albert Museum	Contemporary	3.4m	£40.3m	£32.5m	- Temporary exhibitions - Catering facilities

Source: Annual Reports (2017)

5.3.3 Commercialisation and Aesthetic Values

The shift towards commercialisation has triggered controversy with regards to the impact on culture and arts. Although commercialisation could be viewed as a positive step to balance budgets and generate economic outcomes, it is viewed as leading to negative impacts and long-term damages on aesthetic values (see Table 5.3). On one hand, the positive outcomes consist mainly of financial gains where commercialisation assists in replacing grants as the source of funding, thus enable art museums to acquire arts, organise exhibitions, and cover operational costs. As funding increases from private donors, the number of exhibitions and artistic activities increases thus contributing positively to the social mission (Alexander, 1996). The pursuit of private funding motivates managers and curators to innovate in order to attract funding while maintaining autonomy and legitimacy.

Nevertheless, art museums need to consider the implication of commercialisation beyond merely financials because, on the other hand, commercialisation is found to negatively impact aesthetic values (Young, 1999). Aesthetic value refers to "the value that an object, event or state of affairs (most paradigmatically an art work or the natural environment) possesses in virtue of its capacity to elicit pleasure (positive value) or displeasure (negative value) when appreciated or experienced aesthetically" (Plato & Meskin, 2013, 1). Commercialisation is shifting the role of art museums away from the social mission as art museums are modifying the personal experience of visitors to serve and follow their tastes thus compromising authentic cultural representation. The production of culture is influenced commercially as the formats and displays of exhibitions are changed according to the preferences of funders thus diminishing autonomy (Alexander, 1996).

"What we see is a shift of the fine arts from the pure, autonomous pole to a heteronomous one which is interpenetrated by commerce." (Alexander, 2018, p. 70)

A commercial art museum prioritises financial performance over arts appreciation, learning, and social impact (Bourdieu, 2016). A common implication is commodifying arts by which the art work that attracts most visitors is considered the best product for financial return. This makes the value of art is in the income it generates rather than social impact. Art in that sense should provide entertainment to audiences thus making art museums entertainment centres that offer experiences which are worth paying (Kuspit, 2004). Therefore, art museums lose their identity as enlightenment places which is a risk to aesthetic values. Commercialisation is diminishing artistic creativity as great artists have lower access opportunities because museums prefer voluntarism and unpaid art works to cut acquisition and labour costs (Samdanis & Lee, 2017). What distinguishes the art works of great artists from hobbyists is that great artists consider different ways of painting, drawing, or seeing the world and form something out of these influences (Art Fund, 2019). Abdicating the works of great artists for the sake of driving down costs is a clear manifestation of how commercialisation may damage aesthetic values.

Table 5.3 Outcomes of Arts Commercialisation

Commercial Activities	Positive Outcomes	Negative Outcomes
Diversify income	Financial gains	Shifting role away from the social mission
Meet performance indicators	Sustainable business model	Treating arts as products
Strategic planning	Economic contributor	Less autonomous cultural production
Focus on efficiency and economic surplus	Increase exhibitions and artistic activities	Entertainment centres rather than enlightenment
Corporate promotion and sponsorship	Stimulate artistic innovation	Compromise artistic creativity
Charging exhibitions		
Membership scheme		
Catering facilities		

5.4 France

5.4.1 Cultural Policies of France

The cultural policies of the French government are influential in changing the cultural sector in general and art museums in particular towards marketization. Table 5.4 shows a timeline of the historical development of cultural policies in France. The origins of the French cultural policies are centralised by which the state is largely involved (Ahearne, 2003). During, 1960s and 1970s, successive French presidents wanted to associate their names with a cultural project (Mulcahy, 1998). However, since then the approach went through reconfigurations as two significant changes occurred in the cultural policies of France; cultural democratisation and cultural decentralisation (Looseley, 1997). France has a long tradition of policies that are directed toward democratising the access to cultural institutions (Thévenin & Moeschler, 2018). Democratisation of culture implies the population is provided greater access to cultural institutions through community self-representation, co-curation, among other forms (Onciul 2013). Thus, policymakers are obliged to enact cultural policies which provide the public a greater accessibility to cultural programmes, promote equality in cultural education, and perform cultural activities in different places. In France, greater access to cultural life for purposes of enlightenment and enjoyment as well as sharing artistic creation and transmission of cultural heritage have been an integral part of cultural policies (Martin, 2014).

The state maintains an active involvement in directing the cultural life but is retracting from funding cultural institutions (Looseley, 2003). The current climate can be best described as the implications of marketisation where cultural institutions have to look for themselves especially with regards to financial affairs (Alexander et al., 2018). This policy is considered contrary to European counterparts such Germany and Finland where the state has an active role in funding the cultural sector (Ahearne, 2003). The French government is imposing marketisation as institutional funders, namely government and corporations, are funding cultural activities in exchange of an economic return (Alexander et al., 2018; Thévenin & Moeschler, 2018). Thus, shaping a reciprocal funding process based on exchange of monetary value. In the analysis of the French cultural policies, I observe two periods that have resulted in these shifts; 1980s to 1990s, and 2000s and onwards.

In 1980s, a cultural national strategy emerged to put the French culture in the international scene (Thévenin & Moeschler, 2018). The Ministry of Culture worked to create large cultural institutions with a focus on supporting them to get involved in international exhibitions. Although this period is marked by a significant decentralisation of cultural policies, the cultural policies of local cities reflect the national policy of the Ministry of Culture where they have supported artistic creations. The Ministry of Culture has maintained autonomy of cultural institutions away from the market forces but a significant shift has occurred in 1990s with economic dimensions became standards to assess and legitimise cultural institutions. A new basis to evaluate cultural institutions was issued by which international issues became at the centre of cultural policies as well as legitimising cultural institutions that carry a global agenda. This period marks the emergence of a new globalised practices that began to manifest itself. Globalisation of culture was not conceptualised to include overseas galleries as it is nowadays, rather it started as an ambition to communicate cultural activities beyond the gallery by bringing culture to communication mediums such as television during that time.

In the early 2000s, the decentralisation of cultural policies went a step further when the Ministry of Culture has granted more responsibilities to local cities to handle cultural issues (Poirrier, 2003). The professional community considers this as a dissociation of heritage from the state by which local cities can direct cultural policies to suit their needs for urban regeneration. This implies that the public funding of culture goes to the local level as well. Since the global financial crisis of 2008, France has imposed austerity measures that affected the whole economy and cultural institutions were not an exception. Although cultural institutions such as art museums have an admission fee, the decreased income due to less visitors combined with declined public funding added constrains on their budgets. The financial challenge goes hand in hand with the dissociation of heritage from the state thus implying a decline in heritage protection (Poirrier, 2003).

In 2013, the ministry of culture has made proposals to art museums that aims to circulate art works. The proposals are not mandatory policies but are a guidance for use by decision makers in the cultural sector organisations (Seban, 2013). They aim to address three issues; valorisation of national collections, equality of access for citizens, and democratise access to work to include all citizens.

"The operations organised in the museums and traditional exhibition places are struggling to attract a new audience, different from the one who usually attends them."
– Ministry of Culture (Seban, 2013, p. 1)

This has resulted in two proposals; loans and 'off the wall' exhibitions. The first proposal encourages art museums to lend their art works to museums in France and abroad. The second proposal asks for initiatives to organise exhibitions outside museums venues to reach different cities and bring new audiences. These shifts in policies toward heritage protection, funding, and arts circulation have resulted in the market-oriented business model of globalisation as museums are autonomous in opening multiple galleries locally and abroad to enhance income and cultural reach (Thévenin & Moeschler, 2018). Two French museums have initiated globalisation projects; Louvre has launched a long-term gallery in Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre organises temporary exhibitions in several cities around the world. While these initiatives carry cultural objectives in line with the evolution of France decentralised cultural policies, however, they are encouraged by financial goals as well that are considered a motive pushing these museums to increase income as global exhibitions are charging.

Table 5.4 Cultural Policies of France

1980s – 1990s	2000s – Onwards
Cultural decentralisation: cultural issues are the responsibility of local cities rather than the state. Cultural democratisation: provide greater access to cultural institutions, community self-representation, co-creation, among other forms.	Dissociation of heritage from the state: detach the state from the responsibility of sustaining cultural institutions. Austerity programme: cut public spending including the cultural sector which resulted in declined funding. Ministry of Culture proposals to circulate art works through loans to local and abroad museums, and exhibitions outside the museum.

5.4.2 Globalisation of Art Museums in France

In France, art museums went through shifts in their interests and practices. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, art museums are increasingly adopting marketisation with a focus on globalisation in order to replace the public funding as well as achieve a national cultural strategy (see Table 5.5). Recent French governments have maintained these policies and went forward with the austerity programme to cut costs thus impacting the budgets of art museums. In 2007, on a national level, the French government has signed a deal with the government of United Arab Emirates to open a branch of Louvre Museum in Abu Dhabi which is the first overseas gallery of the museum. The Pompidou Centre is organising temporary exhibitions in different locations around the world such as Malaga and Shanghai. This shift towards globalisation is triggering controversy where it is viewed as leading to damages on cultural heritage. Although globalisation may lead to additional income and enhanced cultural democratisation, art museums seem to neglect the threat imposed from diminishing cultural heritage by exporting arts to generate financial value.

Table 5.5 Overview of Globalised Art Museums in France

Art Museum	Category	Visitors Annually	Grant-in-aid	Self-generated income	Globalisation Activities
Louvre Museum	Traditional	8.1m	€102m	€102m	• Louvre Abu Dhabi
The Pompidou Centre	Contemporary	3.75m	€81.2m	€37.3m	• Temporary international exhibitions

Source: Annual Reports (2017)

The cultural policies of the French government have a direct influence on art museums globalisation. One major issue is the constant reduction of public funding as the availability of financial resources is crucial for art museums to carry out their social missions (Mullin, 2009). Although art museums are rich in collections, they have shortage of cash to sustain operations (Rectanus, 2006). Art museums are receiving grants but are insufficient to cover operational costs which is pushing them to adopt marketisation and seek funding from

private donors and commercial activities such as franchising (Pickford, 2018). Consequently, art museums are increasingly accepting the principles of market-oriented business model as indicators of success leading to pursuing goals such as efficiency and profits to improve financial results (Schulze, 1992).

"A museum's ability to serve the public rests purely on its ability to raise money – a task that may be accomplished, in part, by franchising." (Mullin, 2009, para. 4)

Beside the benefits gained by art museums when going global, there are reasons for cities to welcome such initiatives. Dolan (1999) has investigated why cities and councils get interested to open branches of international museums. The study has found that local authorities are seeking enhancement for cultural tourism by opening landmark sites and a branch of an international museum in a franchise style is an opportunity to utilise for that goal. Additionally, they will create more jobs opportunities for locals. Thus, globalising art museums sounds a good deal for both museums and hosts in financial terms.

"The deal was a "win-win" situation because the revenues received from Abu Dhabi would be invested in French museums." – French Culture Minister (Riding, 2007a, p. 7)

On the other hand, globalisation carries cultural agenda. Feigenbaum (2002) argues that globalisation which usually refers to economic convergence such as integration of markets should be extended to include culture. Demonstrating examples from the United States, the study has shown that economic globalisation efforts lead indirectly to cultural convergence. One cultural consequence of American globalisation is the spread of English language to become a universal language. Therefore, globalisation of museums is viewed as leading to cultural convergence by integrating cultures. As French cultural policies have an international orientation emanating from democratising culture, overseas galleries of French art museums are in line with this orientation. Louvre Abu Dhabi and The Pompidou Centre temporary global exhibitions have cultural objectives.

"It is a way of enhancing our country's image." – French Culture Minister (Riding, 2007a, p. 7)

Additionally, overseas cultural presence represents a source of soft power (Zaretsky, 2017). Soft power supports the traditional hard power of nations to achieve influence by networking, communicating, and establishing rules in order to make a country powerful and

attractive to the world (Nye, 2009). Culture is one way to enhance soft power through global reach and appeal of a nation's cultural output. French policymakers believe that culture and language are two of the few remaining tools to maintain power at the world stage (Lacassagne, 2017). The takeaway is that globalisation of art museums can lead to multiple outcomes such as financial gains and cultural influence. However, museums have cultural heritage to maintain and protect. The cultural field is different from other commercial fields such as restaurants which is composed of entities with a primary economic objective. Thus, globalisation of art museums could have an unforeseeable impact on cultural heritage which is discussed next.

5.4.3 Globalisation and Cultural Heritage

Although globalisation could be viewed as a positive step to achieve political and economic outcomes, it is leading to negative impacts on cultural heritage (see Table 5.6). Cultural heritage refers to the conservation or restoration of cultural assets while the damages to cultural values are undesirable (Navrud & Ready, 2002). The literature indicates that globalisation of art museums has a two-sided effect, however, studies show overwhelmingly negative effects where globalisation is considered against maintaining cultural heritage.

The positive outcomes consist mainly of financial gains where globalisation assists in replacing grants as the source of funding, thus enable art museums to cover operational costs. Culturally, opening international branches is found to advance cultural practices (Falk et al., 2006; Bezzeg, 1999), and spread artistic innovation (Galenson, 2008). Globalisation is providing audiences with a 'free-choice' learning because rather than having museums representing one cultural perspective, a city that hosts international museums provides choices to audiences to learn about several cultures (Falk et al., 2006). Bezzeg (1999) adds that globalisation is spreading professional standards of art museums' practices such as evaluation of arts. Globalisation is found to enhance artistic innovation which refers to advancing art through discoveries (Gelenson, 2008). Artistic innovation is generated from different places around the world and globalisation is helping to spread these innovations through the movement of people and their ideas through arts. For instance, when an artist in New York innovates, globalisation assists in spreading this innovation to other places like Paris or Shanghai through display in globalised art museums. Nevertheless, the claim of Gelenson (2008) is supporting artistic innovation through geographic diffusion, but there is no indication that globalisation is leading to artistic innovation itself.

On the other hand, globalisation is found to homogenise art museums to shrink artistic diversity, a threat to the local culture of the host country, and a risk to art museums themselves that are pursuing globalisation (Bezzeg, 1999; Smiers, 2003; McLean, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999). Artistic diversity refers to the existence of different cultures, artistic creations, and cultural values within a society. Diversity of arts and culture is important to have different views and people learn from each other to develop the society. Maintaining artistic diversity is crucial to understand the characteristics of the society to drive it forward. Smiers (2003) has researched the effects of globalisation on cultural diversity of arts by examining the cycle of creation, production, distribution, promotion, reception, and influence of arts in line with increased globalisation practices. The study has revealed negative effects by which globalising art works is shrinking artistic diversity by creating a homogenous culture. Bezzeg (1999) recommends that museums need to focus on strengthening local culture and maintain it. This can be done through exhibitions and programmes to educate the public of local culture and create a sense of responsibility to protect it. Art museums are a critical resistance force to protect local identity and culture from globalisation thus should act based on that purpose rather than seeking globalisation. A museum is a significant representation of national identity where it connects the past to present by housing cultural heritage (McLean, 1998). Nations are not mere political entities but a system of cultural representation where they produce meanings. Representation is an important factor where meaning is not produced directly from the objects being displayed but the way in which objects are represented. Thus, the representation of objects is critical to maintain the symbolic cultural system. The museum artefacts such as the location and surrounding environment, and the way arts are displayed are indirectly related to maintain the cultural heritage. Thus, opening international branches such as, for example, a French art museum in China lacks the appropriate representation of national identity which is going to diminish the local culture of the host country.

The risk extends to the museum itself that is pursuing globalisation. Culture does not transfer as simple as opening overseas galleries (Tomlinson, 1999). Art museums are going to confront resistance from the culture of the host country. For instance, Guggenheim Museum had a plan to open a branch in Helsinki but has confronted local resistance which resulted eventually in rejecting the project (Siegal, 2016). Besides public resistance, other stakeholders including artists and journalists may oppose cultural franchising. Although Louvre Abu Dhabi was launched after an agreement between the French and United Arab

Emirates governments, artists are opposing it due to damages to the cultural heritage (Mullin, 2009). Thus, globalisation initiatives of museums need to be assessed not only by the perspective of political and economic indicators, but from cultural perspective whereby there is a possibility of local resistance which could damage the reputation of the museum. A path for art museums to survive is by defending the cultural heritage of arts because, similar to commercialisation, adopting the values of the market-oriented business model as core values undermines aesthetic values. By using arts as means to achieve economic outcomes, the aesthetic experience is degraded as not a priority. In that sense, globalisation of art museums poses a risk not only to cultural heritage but extends to the existence of art museums which makes it a greater threat than the scarcity of financial resources.

Table 5.6 Outcomes of Arts Globalisation

Positive Outcomes	Negative Outcomes
Financial gains: develop and enhance income sources from franchising.	Shrink cultural diversity: creating a homogenous culture.
Advance cultural practices: provide wider cultural choices to learn and improve professional standards.	Threat to the local culture of the host country: diminish representation of national culture.
Spread artistic innovation: geographic diffusion of artistic innovations.	Risk to art museums: confront resistance, lose legitimacy, and damage aesthetic values of arts.

5.5 Summary

This chapter analysed the contexts of the UK and France in order to highlight institutional change of art museums. Both the UK and France have imposed marketisation on the cultural sector to make art museums self-sufficient financially without depending on public funding. The cultural policies of the UK government are pressuring art museums to seek financial performance through constant reduction of funding and proposing marketisation initiatives. This is leading to changes in practices toward commercialisation

outcome that is conflicting with cultural values. In France, the cultural policies are encouraging art museums to launch global outposts. This is leading to changes in practices toward globalisation outcome that is conflicting with cultural heritage.

Although both countries have applied same policies in principle to implement market-oriented business model, however, minor differences resulted in different outcomes. The difference in outcomes, in particular globalisation, is traced to two policies existed in France and not in the UK in addition to the market-oriented business model which are cultural decentralisation and cultural democratisation. In France, cultural decentralisation revoked the government responsibility of art museums and moved it to local municipalities and cities. Cultural decentralisation provides greater flexibility for cultural institutions as mayors have less power to enforce or limit practices thus art museums can enact practices without the approval of the local governing body. In the case of centralisation like the UK, art museums are considered national museums and the central government is largely involved in directing their behaviour that makes significant practices like exporting arts require governmental approval in a democratic process. Thus, cultural decentralisation has removed institutional restrictions for art museums to expand in several geographical locations.

The second factor that has influenced globalisation is cultural democratisation. The French government is concerned to maximise access to art museums regardless of the demography of visitors or geography of the gallery. That is likely to help achieve dual objectives of maximising local learning and spread French culture to other communities. In turn, art museums are encouraged to launch multiple galleries locally and abroad conforming to these objectives. By enacting these policies, the decisive policy to push art museums for globalisation is the cultural proposals that motivated art museums to circulate art works as not only pre-approved by the French government but also encouraged to expand arts representation locally and abroad.

Overall, art museums in the UK and France went through institutional change in organisational practices but the outcomes are against their taken-for-granted values and beliefs. I analyse the process of change in the next chapter to examine how art museums have managed conflicting practices and created a functional combination.

Chapter 6: Findings

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 has analysed the context of this study to highlight the circumstantial events within the context that triggered institutional change of organisations within the field of art museums and clarify the outcome of change. I now turn to examine how this process occurred and how it resulted in functional outcome. In order to so, I analyse four case studies comparatively and divide the analysis into three stages. First, I focus on a primary micro-level mechanism for each case to understand in-depth the role of cognitive mechanisms in driving institutional change. Second, I examine other mechanisms in each case to establish a relation with the primary mechanism. Third, I compare the four case studies to reach a common pattern of the role of micro-level mechanisms and their interrelationship in institutional change. As the data reveals, the micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making are fundamental cognitive mechanisms to explain institutional change. The cognitive mechanisms interrelate reciprocally as each mechanism triggers and responds to the other while they all function together in driving change. These findings are presented below, and their implications for theory and practice are discussed in Chapter 7 and 8.

6.2 Case Study of the National Gallery

6.2.1 Overview

The National Gallery is located in Trafalgar Square in central London and represents a major visitor attraction. The museum was established in 1842 when the UK Parliament has agreed to acquire the first picture collection (National Gallery, 2018). The founding is intended for enjoyment and education for the community. The purpose of the museum is to establish a central role for old master paintings in modern cultural life. The objective of the collections and acquisitions of paintings is to have the finest collections of paintings in the world that tell a coherent story about the development of Western European art. Collections are displayed to the public in the museum as well as online on the museum's website. The National Gallery has four objectives which are to preserve and develop collections, improve

visitors' experience, deliver learning and engagement, and invest in staff and increase income. The National Gallery's collections are divided into four historical periods; 13th to 15th century which displays medieval pictures, 16th century displays ancient Greece and Rome, 17th century displays landscapes and scenes of everyday life, and 18th to early 20th century that displays paintings of palaces (National Gallery, 2018b).

As of 2017, the museum contains over two thousand paintings and welcomes over six million visitors annually (NGAR, 2017). Unlike other attractions in London, national museums including the National Gallery are free of charge to visitors (Art Fund, 2009). The Director of the National Gallery has stated that "Free admissions is in the DNA of the National Gallery, and it is what is admired and loved for" (Kennedy, 2015, para. 3). However, the financial crisis of 2008 and the UK austerity programme that followed have added increased operational pressures on national museums as grants in aid were shrinking (Pickford, 2018). This has prompted the gallery to adopt commercial activities in different ways to increase self-generated income while striving to maintain the social mission. The museum organises special exhibitions periodically that are charging fees (NGMM, 2011a). A membership scheme is another source of income which is creating a consistent income and of high importance (NGAR, 2015). Moreover, the National Gallery conducts traditional corporate partnerships through sponsorship agreements for the museum and the display galleries (National Gallery, 2019). Nevertheless, the gallery is prioritising social impact to educate the public. It is continually seeking to improve visitors' experience and ensure that the activities are benefiting audiences. This is partly achieved through communication strategy with the public to engage them in defining the museum's strategy. In addition to free entry, the gallery is working to attract more visitors and sustain a target annual visitors' level to the gallery in order to maximise the social outcome (NGMM, 2012c). An educational and science strategies to achieve learning and research objectives reflect this dedication to the social mission (NGMM, 2015a). Overall, the National Gallery managed to maintain the social mission while adopting market organising principles to support the gallery's operations in times of financial hardships. Although the social logic was slightly dominant, the financial necessity gave rise to the market logic resulting in a hybrid logic.

Institutional change through the rise of the market logic was not a deliberate strategic direction or stemming from foundational principles, but it emerged due to several events from the institutional environment that required reconfiguration of organising principle to adapt to

the new reality and survive. Up until the end of 1990s, the National Gallery was a stable national museum guided by the social logic with two factors that enabled the museum to deliver the social mission sustainably which are charging admission and constant flow of grants in aid from the government. In 2001, the government has imposed free admission on national museums. From the perspective of the social logic, free admission led to sharp increase in visitors which resulted in higher social impact. Although free admission has curbed a key source of income, the financial situation of the gallery during the period of early 2000s was relatively stable given that grants in aid were flowing sufficiently (NGAR, 2010). The turning point was the global financial crisis of 2008 which resulted in continuous cuts of funding that had put the gallery under a critical financial condition which threatened the ability to deliver the social mission adequately. Since then, 2008-onward, the National Gallery went through significant changes in operations and activities. While the social logic is striving to maintain dominance, however, the market logic kept rising in parallel with cuts in public funding which resulted eventually in a hybrid logic. In the case analysis of the National Gallery, the study examines the role of sensemaking in institutional logics emergence which consists of a sequential process of identifying, interpreting, and taking action (Weick et al., 2005).

6.2.2 Identifying

The role of identifying circumstances in the emergence of a hybrid logic is highlighted in the case. The circumstances can be internal within the organisation or external from the institutional environment. With regards to the National Gallery, the identified circumstances are mainly external, in particular, the influence of the government given that the gallery is substantially tied with the government through funding. However, the external events are inextricably linked to internal dynamics as they affect operations and require internal changes. In the analysis of circumstances identified by actors in the National Gallery and their subsequent effects, the fundamental impact observed is funding which is the starting point disrupting operations and requiring institutional change. In the meetings of the board of trustees, the board reviews financial and performance reports. During these reviews, actors from the relevant departments such as finance report to the board on the financial situation including funding from public and private sources, and internal income sources from exhibitions and other activities. In the period of institutional change, there was a constant

identifying of cuts in grants in aid and other volatile revenue sources which were presented as problems that require a response from the gallery.

The roots of the legal structure of the National Gallery is a public owned organisation, however, the British Museum Act 1963 makes the museum a relatively independent organisation with its own board of trustees while the government is maintaining a level of influence by appointing and approving the nominations for the board members (Legislation.gov.uk, 2017). The structural difference imposed by this act on the National Gallery is creating flexibility to enter into contracts and other agreements to serve the mission of the museum. It provides autonomy to enact organisational practices according to the demands of the institutional environment. The government legislation represents a circumstance for museum actors to interpret and hence enact appropriate practices. Since making national museums independent organisations, the study observed three environmental events that have directly and indirectly affected the operations of the National Gallery; freezing grants in 1980s, imposing free admission in 2001, and cuts in grants since 2009.

"In the last ten years, the cultural policy goal of cultural democratisation has led to greater political governance of the institutions. The autonomy of the arts is challenged, art museums may need to redefine their belonging."

The National Gallery was free of charge until 1980s when the UK government had frozen grants to national museums (Reynolds, 2001). Museums interpreted this circumstance as the need to create internal income sources, thus began charging admission fee to cover operational costs and generate profits to finance research. As a result of introducing admission fee, the number of visitors declined sharply which affected the social outcome, however, museums managed to maintain stable operations until 2001 when the government imposed free admission on national museums which required museums to adapt (Art Fund, 2009). Nonetheless, the Labour government at that time has raised funding to the cultural sector because it was yielding economic returns which, in turn, compensated for the lost income from admission fee. The government funding continued to be the main source of income for the National Gallery given the free entry.

"General admission to the main sites of all the UK's national museums has been free since 2001, and has helped make Britain's museums and galleries some of the most

visited in the world. But it means they rely on government funding or special exhibitions to survive." – Journalist (Khomami, 2018, para. 11)

The hit on national museums has occurred in 2010 following the global financial crisis when the government initiated an austerity programme to cut spending across many sectors including museums in order to tackle the budget deficit. Since then the cuts in grants is almost continuous annually which represent a threat for the gallery as grants are the major source of funding with an average of 50% of total income (National Gallery, 2017; NGAR, 2013). Thus, cuts in grants have a significant negative impact on the gallery.

"We could enter a perfect storm where all sources of income are endangered. What would happen is that boards of trustees would become conservative. Artistic directors would become less risk-taking. The work would become less interesting and audiences would stop coming." – Executive of Arts Council England (Higgins, 2009, para. 4).

"Obviously there is going to be less and less money available to support the cultural sector and it is going to be grizzly." – Director of the Art Fund (Nikkah, 2009, para. 5).

"Money from all sources is under pressure – commercial sponsorship will be harder to find and money from the Government is being cut. It's grim." – Director of the Art Fund (Nikkah, 2009, para. 9).

An income forecast that has been conducted by the National Gallery shows that income will shrink heavily as a result from cumulative cuts in grants in aid (NGMM, 2011b). The cuts since 2010 were on average 15% annually up until 2014 and this trend was estimated to continue on this level or higher (NGMM, 2014e). The upcoming cuts were worse as the government has notified the gallery in 2015 that grants in aid will decrease by an average of 25-40% and has asked the gallery to report to the government treasury of the extent of impact these cuts will have on the gallery's operations (Kennedy, 2015; NGMM, 2015d). Removing a key revenue source which is charging admission and the declining grants mean that museums should pursue other income sources and make self-generated income. It was these regulative pressures of contradictory institutional logics combined with insufficient grants that increased financial strains on the National Gallery which, in turn, hybridity initiative took place. The gallery was pushed to adopt the market logic by creating commercial income sources as clarified by the Head of Finance:

"An increasing gap between income and costs would emerge over time, and that, in the light of steps which had already been taken, there was a limit to how much additional cost cutting could be achieved, which would make it necessary to focus on additional income generation," (NGMM, 2013a, section 7, para. 2)

The quote by the Head of Finance reveals that income is volatile and depends on the government grants. This poses short and long-term risks to the sustainability of the gallery that needs to be self-sufficient by generating income to cover operational costs and meet obligations to purchase paintings, organise artistic events, and finance research. The overall budget of the National Gallery was affected by funding cuts. When the finance department in the gallery plans a budget, it takes into consideration the inflow and outflow to achieve a balance and breakeven. Given that inflow from funding is declining, this has consequences on the budget which affects the social activities of the gallery. For instance, the board expressed concerns of upcoming exhibitions which are not budgeted to breakeven and demanded that exhibitions should cover their costs (NGMM, 2010b). A financial projection indicates a budget deficit which prompted the finance department to amend the budget by cutting spending on exhibitions and modifying pricing for exhibitions and other charging activities (NGMM 2017d). The gallery was forced to cut spending on publicity and marketing of exhibitions which resulted in a low visitors' level (NGMM, 2008c). Although the board of trustees has expressed disappointment of this outcome but the cuts in the budget are justified to achieve a breakeven in the financial budget. Additionally, the gallery was forced to cut spending on other arenas including staff costs (NGMM, 2008b). Vacancies that are needed to be filled left unfilled which affected negatively the ability to conduct social activities and decreased the capacity to accommodate visitors. Overall, funding is intertwined with social outcomes and the changes in the National Gallery illustrate how funding is significant to achieve social outcomes while the decline in income undermined the social logic.

"The acceleration towards improving commercially raised income has been recently driven by a fear of greater public funding cuts. But I think the more exciting challenge today is to develop a long-term strategy for the Gallery, its aspirations in terms of new exhibition spaces and capital development, and then set out fundraising and commercial objectives to support that. Therefore it stops being about how we just fill a funding gap and it's more about how we can grow, without relying on the support of

grant-in-aid so greatly in the future." – Managing Director of the National Gallery (Roubaud, 2016, para. 5)

The control of expenditure has received greater attention by the board of trustees than income issues (NGMM, 2015e). The major costs fall under three categories; purchase of paintings, exhibitions, and staff costs (NGMM, 2009b). The gallery acquires paintings regularly where in the board of trustees' meetings members discuss paintings to add to the gallery's collection and borrowing or lending paints. In some occasions when the gallery needs additional funding, it makes applications to the government and justify the request for funding to acquire paints. Beside purchasing paints, exhibitions costs huge budgets to organise. For instance, the 'Sainsbury Wing' exhibition in 2009 has cost around £150k that were distributed over curatorial, marketing, and staff time (NGMM, 2009b). Thus, the gallery has identified exhibitions' costs as a major issue to be tackled with a new exhibitions strategy that resulted in managing the costs of exhibitions efficiently (NGMM, 2011d).

"The Gallery's current exhibition strategy was to combine tight financial management with a very varied and intellectually rigorous programme (including some monographic and other non- monographic shows), and to choose where appropriate suitable partners and collaborators." – Exhibitions Curator (NGMM, 2011c, section 6, para. 1)

Staff costs represent 60% of the gallery's total expenditure (NGMM, 2013a). The board of trustees frequently discusses staff costs as a concern following announcements from the government to cut grants. Running the building was also identified as a financial challenge especially with the rising energy costs (NGMM, 2012c). The introduction of a new digital strategy has created additional cost section in the budget (NGMM, 2017a). Furthermore, the gallery is making compromises to control expenditure manifested in the absence of paintings insurance which poses a risk for the safety of arts and sustainability of the gallery.

"The fact is that the paintings at the National Gallery are not insured. Because we couldn't possibly afford to insure them" – Chair (Furness, 2017, para. 7)

In order to provide the means for the gallery to be self-sufficient financially, the government has initiated a tax credit for special exhibitions which will help the gallery to retain more net income from revenues. The tax credit followed negotiations with national

museums and is praised by the National Gallery as the Director of Finance said on that matter:

"The settlement provided the Gallery with a good opportunity in terms of future planning. If the Gallery could successful develop its own plans for increasing self-generated income, it should be able to invest in new activity" (NGMM, 2015b, section 10, para. 2)

"The Art Fund has long argued that a change to the tax system to encourage lifetime gifts of works of art to museums and galleries could play a significant part in enabling galleries to develop their collections, and this is especially true when sources of funding over the next few years will inevitably be hard pressed." – Deputy Director of the Art Fund Charity (Kennedy, 2008, para. 7)

The tax credit is considered a positive circumstance for the National Gallery to pursue self-generated income more efficiently as the revenue from commercial activities such as special exhibitions would yield higher net income. This will help the gallery to sustain income sources and depend less on grants. Thus, it is enabling hybridisation by giving incentives to enact commercial activities which is a major organising principle of the market logic. Overall, the cultural policies of the UK government represent circumstances that were identified by organisational actors and require a response.

6.2.3 Interpreting

The social logic has been dominant in the art museums field until 1980s when the government frozen grants. The National Gallery has interpreted the event as positing the need to work on self-generated income. In 2010 when the government launched an austerity programme after the global financial crisis that affected directly the income of national museums, the gallery interpreted this event as requiring establishing commercial activities while maintaining free entry. Given the power of the government to enforce laws, the free entry directed sensemaking to finding ways to implement this law while being able to cover operational costs and carry out the museum duties. The board of trustees' meetings became embedded with agenda from the commercial department discussing income generation as a major topic where the board reviews performance reports of commercial activities and make recommendations. The debate in meetings became overwhelmed with the market logic where actors frequently use the words 'income,' 'revenue,' 'commercial,' and 'self-generated

income'. Whereas the use of social logic words such as 'painting', 'collection', and 'learning' has declined. This change can reflect either a declining focus on the social logic, or an increased focus on the market logic. Therefore, these events increased the likelihood by actors in the gallery to focus more on the organising principles of the market logic.

As government's grants in aid is the museum's main source of funding (National Gallery, 2017), the austerity programme in 2010 that followed the financial crisis, which included cuts in many sectors including national museums, poses a risk to the sustainability of the gallery. In every occasion when the government announces cuts in grants, the board of trustees interprets this event as requiring a response to increase self-generated income and decrease costs. The Head of Finance interpreted the consequences of these cuts:

"Likely income deficit which the Gallery would face by the year 2014-15 if no further steps were taken" (NGMM, 2011a, section 5, para. 1)

"Potentially extremely serious situation facing the Gallery given the reduction in grant in aid of 15% over the last 3 years, and the clear message from the Government that further cuts would follow" (NGMM, 2014e, section 11, para. 1)

The Chairman of Audit and Finance Committee issued a warning of the effects of cuts on income:

"The fact the forecast of income and expenditure for the 4 years commencing 2011-12 showed that in years 3 and 4 the Gallery's income would be heavily squeezed by the impact of cuts to grants in aid" (NGMM, 2011b, section 9, para. 1)

Grants in aid represent an external funding source alongside private donors. One of the effects of cuts in grants is the difficulty to purchase paintings to expand the gallery's collections and attract more visitors (NGMM, 2008d). The gallery emphasised the increased importance of private funding which needs more attention in the form of philanthropy or corporate sponsorship (NGAR, 2011). However, the extent of public funding cuts is so severe that some members in the board of trustees are proposing that a reduction in front line services and social activities is inevitable (NGMM, 2015d).

"Sponsoring has been a thing in regional museums for long. I believe it is going to become more and more common. We will see the idea of art as a private interest again,

not a common good. In response, we might see counteractions to stop the idea of arts being for only the rich through organisational innovation, which would be interesting."

"Museums have to diversify to survive. with government, local authority, education, health and social service funding dramatically reducing outreach and community programmes grants are disappearing alongside foundation and private funding becoming less generous, museums need to look at partnerships with retail and service industries to survive. They are going to have to become commercial enterprises."

The expertise of the board of trustees' members is mainly in the social logic and the urgency to develop income internally and from private sources posed a challenge to the gallery (NGMM, 2017e). The solution as interpreted by actors requires some restructuring of the gallery by having more specialised departments to tackle the financial dilemma. A member has suggested to split the Development Committee in the gallery to have two committees one with expertise in corporate sponsorship and the other in individual philanthropy. By this way, the gallery's private funding effort will be more focused by attracting more sponsorships and enhance individual philanthropy. With regards to internal income sources, the gallery has established the National Gallery Company which is responsible for all commercial activities within the gallery. In meetings, the company updates the board on performance and proposes ways to utilise spaces in the gallery for self-generated income. Overall, the board of trustees has interpreted cuts in grants in aid as posing the need for finding alternative means to generate income. This implies that the board is not solely focusing on social outcomes but is incorporating market organising principles in the management of the organisation due to uncertain and volatile institutional environment.

If the museum continues to depend heavily on government grants as the main source of income, the financial stability of the museum is at risk. This is pushing the National Gallery to adopt the market logic in order to survive. The Director of Operations and Administration indicated that self-generated income has been transformed from being perceived as an additional source of revenue to a necessity and core organisational practice. The board of trustees consent with this view and discusses in meetings ways of possible efficiencies and savings as well as income potentials (NGMM, 2010a). For instance, a major potential to cut costs and increase income is from special exhibitions where the finance department is planning their budget with consideration of savings and higher income through

an enhanced pricing model (NGMM, 2017d). Given that 45% of visitors to exhibitions are first time visitors to the gallery, this represents an opportunity to utilise exhibitions to increase visitors and income (NGMM, 2013c). Although the board of trustees emphasises the importance of having a proportion of exhibitions that maintain free admission to improve access and attract more visitors, the board has noted that if income continues to fall more exhibitions should be charging (NGMM, 2009a).

"Some exhibitions have to be planned some years in advance to obtain the loans, it was always the case at the National Gallery that there was a kind of combination of exhibitions were expected to draw more visitors while other less visitors, after 2008 actors changed this and started to say to become more commercial." – Trustee Member

Applying the new budgeting strategy proved fruitful when in 2010 the gallery has successfully generated a surplus in the budget (NGMM, 2010d). The management report highlighted that this resulted from increase in self-generated income and decrease in operating costs in parallel. In 2016, a commitment to the budgeting strategy resulted in optimistic financial expectations for the budget forecast even though grants in aid from the government continues to decline (NGMM, 2016). Overall, the changes in budget planning of the National Gallery represent a turning point for the adoption of the market logic as the board of trustees interpreted this part as the need to adopt new practices in order to survive.

In addition to increasing income, the market logic implies being efficient. Organisational actors have recognised the need of costs reduction to shrink the gap deficit between income and costs in order to balance the budget. The Director of Operations and Administration highlighted the importance of costs reduction:

"Although work was being done to seek to increase self-generated income, it was likely that the bulk of any cuts would have to be addressed through efficiencies." (NGMM, 2010c, section 10, para. 2)

"A number of areas had been identified where, as a matter of best practice, efficiencies and savings might be found; at the same time, attention was being given to possible increases in self-generated income." (NGMM, 2009d, section 9, para. 1)

The Head of Finance highlighted the burden salaries set on the budget:

"Some 60% of the Gallery's revenue was absorbed in staff costs, and a further 20%

was tied up in the running of the building" (NGMM, 2013a, section 7, para. 1)

The statements from the Head of Finance and the Director of Operations and Administration reflect a concern the board has in regard to operational costs overall and staff costs in particular which make it likely to reduce staff costs whenever possible. Although costs were not the source of problem, the board is persistent on reducing staff costs to be in line with reduced revenues (NGMM, 2010e). As staff costs absorb the highest proportion of the budget, that section of the budget will be further tackled in order to improve financial efficiency. The increasing energy costs was identified as a concern for the board of trustees, and one member has suggested using energy saving technologies for lights to save energy costs (NGMM, 2013b). Additionally, the gallery has considered a proposal to accommodate and condense all employees in one hub in order to vacate some offices under lease which will lead to rent saving (NGMM, 2016).

6.2.4 Taking Action

The last step in the sensemaking process is transforming interpretations into actions. Interpretations of multiple circumstances have led the National Gallery to enact material practices from both social and market logics to constitute a hybrid logic. While the museum has a social purpose and continues to carry out activities with a social outcome, however, as any other organisation the National Gallery has expenses such as purchasing arts and operating costs. Thus, the need of income is inevitable but the problem faced by the National Gallery is balancing income and costs to breakeven and have sustainable operations. The insufficient grants and regulative free entry have put the museum under coping dilemma. This regulatory shift undermined the social logic by pressuring the gallery to develop income streams. Although the National Gallery is still guided by the belief that social outcomes should determine operational strategies, it needs cash flow to operate in the absence of sufficient funding and at the same time must be free for visitors. The museum still depends heavily on public grants and the current form of income is unsustainable because self-generated income is proportionally low. According to the 2017 annual report, grants in aid represent 78% of total income (NGAR, 2017), thus the museum continues to explore solutions to diversify income. This challenge has pushed the National Gallery to adopt a hybrid logic by enacting elements of both the social and market logics.

A critical action to adopt the market logic manifests in hiring practices when in 2010 the National Gallery hired a commercial specialist to assist in enacting practices that reflect the market logic while also hiring artists in the board of trustees to maintain the social logic.

"The Board discussed the skills and experience which should be sought when filling the vacancies which would arise in February 2011 for a commercial specialist who could assist the Gallery in increasing its self-generated income, and for an artist trustee whom, it was agreed, need not necessarily be a painter." – Chairman (NGMM, 2010c, section 13, para. 3)

Additionally, the gallery hired a new trustee to the board with an emphasis on having a commercial experience to assist the board in making decisions toward this direction. In 2015, a new director has been appointed with a social logic background as he was a curator and responsible for collections in the gallery (Brown, 2015b). These actions of hiring with both the social and market logics of knowledge and experience conform to the hybridisation approach that is suggested by Battilana and Dorado (2010) which states that creating a hybrid organisational identity can be through hiring individuals who carry both social and business values. Thus, the hiring practices of the National Gallery have enabled combining social and market logics.

The gallery emphasised the importance of exhibitions to achieve both social and business outcomes. While the director supports free entry to the gallery as a crucial part of the gallery's mission (Kennedy, 2015), nevertheless, the director also has pointed out that he has an ambitious special exhibitions programme to increase exhibitions and improve their performance. This implies more focus on charging exhibitions to generate income that will cover their costs in order to have a sustainable business model.

"I also look forward to developing an exciting exhibition programme and the gallery's research and educational activities." – Director (Brown, 2015b, para. 5)

Exhibitions evolved after 2008 starting with sponsorship then charging for admission (NGMM, 2014c, 2009b). Given the financial urgency, the board of trustees required exhibitions proposals to breakeven as a condition for approval (NGMM, 2008c). The director suggested that exhibitions report should retain all financial information to the board (NGMM, 2008a). The evaluation of exhibitions is based on two factors which are visitors' level and income which are fluctuating but assisting the gallery to make more informed decisions

(NGMM, 2009c). Some exhibitions are free and others charging depending the exhibition goal and sought outcome either more visitors or income (NGMM, 2009c).

In 2010, the gallery utilised exhibitions for deeper visitors' insights by introducing subsidiary per visitor in exhibitions reports (NGMM, 2010f). In 2011, the board of trustees asked the Director of Operations and Administration to budget for greater income from exhibitions with a tight financial management for exhibitions' spending (NGMM, 2011a, 2011c). Consequently, later on costs of exhibitions have been managed well and income has increased (NGMM, 2011d, NGAR, 2012). One technique to increase income from exhibitions that was applied is extending opening hours of successful exhibitions to enhance their effectiveness (NGMM, 2012a). In 2012, the Exhibitions Curator has presented the exhibitions programme for four years until 2016 to show that starting from 2014 exhibitions are forecasted to contribute financially £500k per year to the gallery's income (NGMM, 2012b). Some exhibitions are conducted beyond the main gallery in several cities internationally such as Europe which are yielding greater financial returns (NGMM, 2013c). The gallery utilised exhibitions to secure more sponsorships as well which helped to make exhibitions reach the target contribution level to the gallery's income (NGMM, 2013d, 2013e). In 2013, the board of trustees compromised the social logic by demanding a reduction of free exhibitions and turn some free exhibitions such as those in summer to charging in order to tackle the expected budget deficit (NGMM, 2013e).

The importance of exhibitions as part of the gallery's activities has increased on both the social aspect by attracting more visitors and the business aspect through income given the tax credit incentive from the government for exhibitions expenditure which resulted in including exhibitions as a major part of the gallery's income strategy (NGAR, 2015; NGMM, 2015c). The organising of exhibitions has intensified with the board's decision to allocate more spaces inside the gallery for exhibitions as well as increase the number of exhibitions conducted per year (NGMM, 2017b, 2017c). Exhibitions' proposals started to include analysis of marketing campaigns and reports included income side by side with the number of visitors (NGMM, 2017d). Furthermore, the pricing model for exhibitions was developed to have a tiered pricing that aims to maximise revenue and ticket sales (NGAR, 2018). This has resulted in a rise of tickets prices for some exhibitions to maximise income levels (Khomami, 2018). Overall, exhibitions represent both the social and market logics by attracting more

visitors and generating income, however, the motivation of organisational actors seems to be utilising exhibitions more for business purposes but with maintaining the social mission.

Another income generation project by the gallery is the membership scheme that was launched in 2014 which is charging an annual fee and gives members unique advantages to enjoy the museum's services. Members have diverse benefits including unlimited free entry to special exhibitions, exclusive events, and special offers (NGAR, 2015). The membership has proved to be a huge success in the first year of launch by reaching 18,000 members (NGMM, 2015b; NGAR, 2015). The gallery is promoting the membership and acquiring consumers through different ways such as the website but the notable observation is that many attendants of the special exhibitions are converting to become members in order to get a better offer in the long-term and attend more exhibitions. The membership scheme is creating an eco-system of sustained revenues for the National Gallery by having loyal customers and increasing attendance levels to exhibitions that lead to higher purchases at the events.

"Necessary to focus on additional income generation, including the possibility of a membership" – Head of Finance (NGMM, 2013a, section 7, para. 2)

On the other hand, the membership scheme is leading to enhance the social mission of the gallery as well. The membership scheme is conforming to the gallery's communication strategy that was enacted in 2012 which is based on five elements; rise the gallery's profile and brand image, sustain levels of visits between 5-6 million per year, gain a better understanding of the gallery's audience, drive growth in income generation through visits, and improve internal communications (NGMM, 2012c). The membership scheme is designed to achieve most of these objectives as it encourages members to make multiple visits per year to exhibitions during their membership, commits members to utilise the membership by attending exhibitions frequently, creates a database of customers' profiles and their exhibitions' attending behaviour, and increase self-generated income as discussed previously (NGAR, 2015). Overall, the membership scheme is a success for the social mission as well as developing the business aspect thus contributing to the emergence of a hybrid logic.

In 2013, the National Gallery's board of trustees has agreed to fund a research to explore the possibility of exploiting the gallery's spaces commercially. It resulted in developing supplementary commercial services inside the gallery. These services are

complementary for the experience of visitors and require charging fees. Some of these in-museum services are occasionally and others are permanent but they are related to the social objectives of the museum like printing paints or purchase catalogues of the gallery. Another cash flow is the gifts shop which is a cash cow especially from tourists. These in-museum commercial services represent practices of the market logic that is a necessity for the gallery to cover operational costs in the absence of sufficient funding.

Sponsorships are emphasised by actors as important by expanding this practice to include more sponsorship agreements for different halls inside the gallery, special exhibitions, and other product placements. The importance of sponsorship is vital as expressed by the director after securing a sponsorship deal with Credit Suisse for special exhibitions:

"What makes this a dream is that Credit Suisse is interested in a long-term relationship. Suddenly we can breathe and plan properly," – Director (Aspden, 2008, para. 5)

"Companies are using the arts and artists to enhance their brands in a direct and coherent way. There is celebrity endorsement – [the pianist] Lang Lang is a cultural ambassador for Mont Blanc pens. It is much more like sports sponsorship." – Chief Executive of Arts and Business (Aspden, 2008, para. 17)

The gallery is utilising sponsorships to compensate for the lost income from other commercial activities such as in-exhibition sales (NGMM, 2009d). The board of trustees has enacted a rule which states that securing a sponsorship is a condition for approving exhibitions in order to finance the costs of organising including publicity and overhead expenses (NGMM, 2009b). Furthermore, the board has asked that sponsorship deals should cover the whole costs of exhibitions and this should be done in the planning stage before presenting proposals to the board for approval (NGMM, 2008a). By this way, exhibitions whether free or charging will be financed by sponsors which uplifts a financial burden from the gallery so it can use income from tickets and in-exhibition sales to finance other activities. Additionally, sponsorships enable the gallery to focus on the content of exhibitions thus maximise social outcome as the budget will be secured without financing costs. That approach has resulted in spike of the exhibitions conducted per year as well as higher income from sponsorships (NGMM, 2017c). This makes sponsorship a core practice for the gallery that accompanies social activities. Thus, sponsorship may seem

representing the market logic, but the way the National Gallery is practicing sponsorships turned this practice to a mean to support the social logic by enabling free exhibitions, keep the gallery focused on social outcome of exhibitions, and use exhibitions revenues to finance other social activities.

The Director of Education, Information and Access has presented to the board of trustees in 2011 a proposal of digital strategy projects and programmes which was approved by the board. The digital strategy is important for the gallery to use digital tools to portray the actual experience of visitors more accurately which was misperceived by non-visitors and that will help to attract more visitors (NGMM, 2014a). Although the cost of the digital strategy for the board is a concern, nevertheless, the sought outcome from digitisation prompted board members to support the strategy (NGMM, 2017a). Digitisation was incorporated as a crucial practice for the gallery to the extent that the board has asked the Digital Committee to present digital reports in board meetings for review (NGMM, 2017c). Proposals for exhibitions should be accompanied with a digital programme as well.

> *"Digital expansion has pros and cons attached. The public gain an accessible cultural diversity that creates an improved understanding of difference expanding our knowledge hopefully improving our perspective on humanity. The cons might be that museums have to compete against each other in a global world where there is less funding opportunity."*

Digital projects have proved to be successful with enhanced social outcomes. For instance, the digital project 'SunflowersLive' experience that was created in partnership with Facebook is a virtual exhibition and had attracted 6.5 million users (NGMM, 2017d). The gallery has initiated a digital project with 'Smartify' app to enable visitors of the gallery to use their mobile devices to access, via image recognition, information about the paints (NGMM, 2017d). Furthermore, digitisation is assisting the gallery to gain more data about visitors to understand their behaviour which will help to advance planning of exhibitions and activities to attract more visitors and increase income (NGMM, 2017d).

> *"Interactive tech and digitalisation is happening as it can expand outreach. Personally, as a person with a disability, I've found some of the interactive museum programmes such as the royal academy or arts online gallery tour so accessible and exciting. I tend to be more aware of current events due to the online presence so have visited the*

gallery more frequently. A presence across social media improves accessibility." –
Visitor

Beside income streams, the museum is working to reduce operational costs especially staff costs. During a budget proposal presentation, the Director of Operations and Administration pointed to reducing staff as a major issue to cut the overall costs:

"Addressing this perspective deficit included budgeting for an increased contribution income from the exhibition programme each year, achieving a reduction in operating costs and reductions in staffing" (NGMM, 2011a, section 5, para. 5)

The museum seems persistent on cutting staff costs as the first step taken by the board is to reduce turnover rates through an employee engagement strategy to engage the workforce. The Head of Human Resources said on that issue:

"The driver behind the new strategy was a desire to create an engaged workforce, and that this would involve a 2-3 year programme, which would focus on a range of key issues, including leadership development; internal communication; pay and reward proposals, probation and induction; flexible working; additional staff benefits and performance and reporting" (NGMM, 2014d, section 9, para. 1)

Another initiative to reduce staff costs is outsourcing where the board has approved outsourcing of jobs related to the operation of the gallery to a company for five years (BBC, 2015). The move is driven by the market logic to achieve costs reduction because outsourcing costs less than in-house and leads to longer opening hours. The Director said on this matter:

"The recommendation was to undertake a formal tender process for the outsourced provision of services covering security, visitor services, front of house services and information services, and to evaluate the response against the current in house provision." (NGMM, 2014b, section 4, para. 1)

"The gallery needs an experienced and competent partner to support it now and in the future and we believe that Securitas is the best possible partner for us. This is the right decision for all our staff and for the future of our gallery," (Tran, 2015, para. 3)

Additionally, the gallery began reducing staff in other areas including education. In 2017, 27 lecturers and art workshop leaders were sacked as no longer needed (Thorpe, 2018).

They were given no compensation for their long service of at least a decade. The ex-employees started a legal action against the gallery of unfair dismissal. The employment tribunal has ruled that the gallery should treat them as workers than freelancers (Bowcott, 2019).

> *"I've worked there for 18 years, so am a relative newcomer, as some of us have worked for more than 40 years. It has felt like a second home, so the process … has been really upsetting."* – Ex-employee (Thorpe, 2018, para. 4)

> *"I have never had a period when I haven't heard from the gallery. I took maternity leave, but could not call it that. The gallery refused to pay me statutory maternity pay, as well as denying us our other rights as employees. It is these sort of issues that need to be sorted out."* – Ex-employee (Thorpe, 2018, para. 10)

6.2.5 The Interrelationship between Sensemaking with Collective Mobilisation and Decision-making

While the primary mechanism analysed in the case is sensemaking, however, other mechanisms are observed in the data. In this section I analyse the interrelationship between sensemaking with collective mobilisation and decision-making.

The mechanism of collective mobilisation was active during institutional change process and interacted with sensemaking. As actors make sense of events and figuring out optimal actions to take, opposition and resistance to some actions emerged. The orientation by the board of trustees to balance the budgets implied cutting costs where possible. One such controversial activity emanated from this approach is outsourcing some labour positions such as security staff to cut labour costs and provide a more professional and specialised service. This resulted in a strike by staff as their job is under threat. The strike has led to disruption of operations by impacting exhibitions opening hours and shut down most of the museum (NGMM, 2012a). The strikers claim that the strike is against the increased commercialisation of the gallery (Gayle, 2015).

> *"What we want is to keep the gallery open and stick to the principles it had when it was founded, which is as a place for art that is open to all."* – Striker (Gayle, 2015, para. 12)

"I can feel what's coming. It's in the air. They will turn the National Gallery into a big Disneyland of sorts. We definitely don't want that." – Striker (Gayle, 2015, para. 13)

The board of trustees has emphasised that the strike would lead to a closure of the gallery's rooms and disrupt exhibitions (NGMM, 2013b). An immediate action to resolve the disruption is to extend exhibitions to midnight to recover from earlier closing time thus exhibitions achieve their intended performance. The gallery started negotiating with staff and communicate individually to avoid further strikes (NGMM, 2015a). The museum later has achieved an agreement to end the strike. The terms of the deal are undisclosed but the gallery have addressed the concerns of the security staff, outsourcing however is irreversible as the board of trustees insists on that deal to cut costs and provide an improved service (NGMM, 2015b, BBC, 2015).

"We still do not believe privatisation was necessary but we will work with the new company and the gallery to ensure a smooth transition and, importantly, to ensure standards are maintained at this world-renowned institution," – Secretary of Public and Commercial Services Union (BBC, 2015, para. 8)

The example shows that the mechanism of sensemaking wasn't operating solo but interrelated with collective mobilisation to work together on shaping institutional change. The board of trustees went through sensemaking process as this event represents a circumstance that needs interpretation to resolve. After negotiations and interpretations, actors took action to negotiate and achieve an agreement.

The other mechanism that interacted with both sensemaking and collective mobilisation is decision-making. In each board of trustees meeting, organisational actors make decisions on new or change practices. Some decisions are critical in driving institutional change. The board of trustees decided to hire a commercial specialist to assist in the gallery's efforts to broaden commercial practices. The decision emanated from sensemaking where organisational actors recognised the need of a specialist to assist in diversifying self-generated income. Another decision is the launch of the membership scheme which contributed to sustain visitors and boosted income. The observed pattern is that decision-making follows sensemaking process. In the process of sensemaking actors identify and interpret then take actions through decisions that are executed in the organisation in a

top-down approach. Thus, decision-making is a condition of sensemaking whereby decisions conclude the sensemaking process.

The data reveal that decision-making is also interrelated with collective mobilisation in a reciprocal relation. On one hand, decision-making may influence collective mobilisation and resistance by stakeholders. For instance, the decision to proceed with outsourcing security staff that triggered a strike by staff against the decision (NGMM, 2015d). On the other hand, collective mobilisation triggers decision-making. The strike by staff has disrupted the gallery's operations such as room closures. The staff would not end their strike without a deal with the gallery's management. Thus, the strike prompted the board of trustees to decide on an agreement to end the strike.

Another collective action that triggered decision-making is the protest by environmental activists against the sponsorship of the oil company Shell to the gallery. During the 12 years of the sponsorship, activists continued protesting and disrupting the gallery's operations frequently. Different means were used as, for instance, protesters once climbed the roof of the gallery and raised a 40-metre square banner which has a picture of an oil rig and the words 'it's no oil painting' (Jones, 2012). In 2018, the gallery has conformed to the demands of collective mobilisation and decided not to renew the sponsorship agreement.

"Not merely to make art about the political, or even within the social, but to make art that can radically alter the social and political possibilities presented to us." – Activist (Frieze, 2018, para. 7)

"Like many museums the Gallery develops partnerships with businesses from a variety of sectors. Shell supported the National Gallery from 2006 until 2018, both as a Sponsor and a Corporate member. The gallery adheres to an ethical fundraising policy" – Organisational Actor (Frieze, 2018, para. 4)

"As long as the corporate, that is more complicated issue, subsequently you discover that particular corporate have been doing terrible things not great for the PR of your institution taking money from them ... on the whole I think people are pretty careful in terms of sponsoring institute are trying not accept contribution from controversial institutions or scandal." – Trustee Member

6.2.6 Summary of Key Findings

The case study of the National Gallery was employed to enhance the understanding of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change by clarifying the role of sensemaking in the emergence of a hybrid logic (see Table 6.1). The data show that organisational actors were pressured by events from the institutional environment to interpret the impact on the gallery and act upon to survive. The gallery was mainly disrupted by the constant cuts in grants in aid from the government following the global financial crisis. Given that grants represent the majority of the National Galley's total income, the decline in grants is threatening the gallery's operations and the ability to conduct social activities. The gallery handled the cuts in grants by adopting a hybrid logic through pursuing the market logic to enact commercial practices and reduce costs as well as maintain the social logic to keep focusing on the social mission of education and learning.

The National Gallery foresaw that it will be unable to keep the social logic dominant as the gallery's survival is at stake given the constant decline in external income. The board of trustees is being reported on the financial situation of the gallery in meetings while the relevant departments and committees notify the board frequently on the unsustainable and difficult budget imposed by the current revenue model. The gallery has tackled the dilemma of free entry and insufficient grants by adopting a hybrid logic with organising principles from the social and market logics which resulted in successfully meeting the demands of multiple stakeholders i.e. government, public, and artistic community. The commercial activities such as corporate sponsorships and membership scheme are considered innovative solutions to the financial problem while maintaining the social mission.

Institutional change occurred mainly in response to the threats and uncertainties imposed by the institutional environment. External events of cultural and economic policies of the UK government have created pressures on organisational actors in the National Gallery to act and comply. The identified circumstances were mainly concerned with financial issues where the government is cutting funding while imposing free admission simultaneously. This had put the gallery in a coping dilemma as a major source of funding is insufficient to cover operations while unable to charge admission. Organisational actors interpreted circumstances as leading to financial deficit unless it diversifies income streams and reduce operational costs to balance the budget. A set of actions were taken to increase income by hiring a commercial specialist, introducing membership scheme, and organising more special

exhibitions, among others. Costs reduction were mainly concerned with staff costs where the museum outsourced services such as security and visitor information. The case study shows that the National Gallery adopted the market logic effectively while maintaining the social logic, thus creating a hybrid logic.

Table 6.1 Summary of Findings: The National Gallery

Social Logic	Market Logic
Identifying	
Free entry to the main gallery and some exhibitions	Constant cuts in public funding from grants in aid and are expected to persist
Cutting spending on publicity is resulting in low visitors	Increasing gap between income and costs is emerging
Paintings are not insured	Costs are distributed mainly on purchase of paintings, exhibitions, and staff
Tax credit for charging exhibitions represents an incentive to organise more exhibitions	Tax credit for charging exhibitions allows increasing self-generated income
Interpreting	
Around half of visitors are first time which provides an opportunity to utilise exhibitions to increase visitors level	Income will decline sharply to result in budget deficit
Maintain some exhibitions for free to improve access and attract more visitors	A need to decrease costs and increase self-generated income
Taking Action	

A new director with curatorial experience and hiring a trustee with an artistic background	Hiring a commercial specialist to assist in developing income generation activities
Allocate more spaces inside the gallery for exhibitions and extend opening hours to allow more visitors	Increase frequency of charging exhibitions with a tight financial management
Membership scheme to create loyal customers which will increase attendance to exhibitions	Membership scheme that is charging annual fee and provides diverse benefits
Utilise the income from exhibitions to finance other social activities	In-gallery commercial activities such as gifts shop and a project to exploit more spaces commercially
Focus on the content of exhibitions while costs are covered by corporate sponsorships	Sponsorship agreements for exhibitions are required to be secured before approving exhibitions
Digitisation projects attract millions of users in a virtual experience and allow the gallery's visitors to use their mobile phones to get paints information	Reduce staff costs by reducing turnover rates through an engagement strategy and outsource security staff to extend opening hours with lower costs. Reduce education staff to enhance efficiency and treat them as freelancers to avoid paying work benefits.

6.3 Case Study of Louvre Abu Dhabi

6.3.1 Overview

Louvre Museums in Paris is the largest museum in the world and a central landmark for France (Pariona, 2017). It was established in 1793 when the royal palace was transformed to display the history of France that span for eight centuries (Louvre Museum, 2018). The museum contains arts from the Middle Ages to 1848 and other ancient civilisations. It welcomes nearly ten million visitors annually and displays over 38 thousand artworks in a former royal palace. Collections are admired globally such as Mona Lisa and the Venus de Milo. The collections are spread out over three wings which are Sully, Richelieu, and Denon that present different historical periods (Siegal, 2017). Sully wing is the oldest part and contains arts from the late eighteenth century of Turkish and Egyptian civilisations. Richelieu wing displays arts from the Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century of Europe. Denon wing displays arts from the nineteenth century of Roman and Etruscan civilisations as well as African, Asian, and American artefacts. The galleries have user-friendly designs to provide optimal atmosphere for collections and foster art education. Additionally, Louvre website (www.louvre.fr/en) provides tips to assist visitors in planning, gain knowledge, and teaching art history to children.

Unlike other museums in Paris, Louvre began an initiative to launch the first universal museum by opening a gallery in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. In 2005, Abu Dhabi revealed a plan to build a national museum in cooperation with the Louvre Museum in Paris (Gulf News, 2017). Following a cultural accord signed between the governments of France and United Arab Emirates in 2007, the French parliament approved Louvre Abu Dhabi project. The aim of the Louvre is to extend its cultural influence at a place considered a crossroad between Africa and Asia. In 2014, Louvre has organised an exhibition "Birth of a Museum" to introduce the collections of Louvre Abu Dhabi. The building is designed by a French architect with galleries to display permanent as well as temporary collections. The construction of the project has lasted for around 10 years and opened doors to visitors in November 2017.

The objective of Abu Dhabi government is a combination of economic and social regeneration by generating economic outcomes through cultural tourism and become a culturally enriched destination. On the other hand, while the French government has shown

mutual interests for the project to enjoy economic benefits, however, Louvre Abu Dhabi marks a French cultural influence in the Middle East (Corkery, 2017). This is illustrated by the pledge of the French president to put the French language in schools of the United Arab Emirates.

> *"Above all else, these museums remain uniquely national assets, ones closely associated with the countries that created them. From time-to-time they may loan each other items from their collections or create traveling exhibits that may be featured abroad, but their focus remains on their host country."* – Journalist (Micallef, 2017, para. 5)

> *"Louvre Abu Dhabi is a means for the French Government to "invest" via the cultural channel in the conquest of new economical markets. Yet the French did not initiate the project (The Emirates did). Of course financial interest are clear: one billion over 30 years for French museums. Political interests are also at stake: the "cultural" bounds created via the Louvre Abu Dhabi are also creating diplomatic bounds. These aspects of the deal are directly affecting how the Louvre Abu Dhabi works."*

The cultural heritage logic and cultural globalisation logic are conflicting in nature with heterogeneous elements that makes the rise and dominance of either of these two logics diminishes the other, thus the initiative by Louvre to launch a gallery in Abu Dhabi is controversial which triggered opposition from the cultural community and other stakeholders. The response to the project varies between different stakeholders which are the museum, the government, artists, and the public from both France and the United Arab Emirates. Although both governments of France and the United Arab Emirates have gained mutual economic and cultural benefits, Louvre Abu Dhabi has received a mixed response from artists and the public. On the French side artists are criticising Louvre Abu Dhabi as damaging cultural heritage (Cachin et al., 2007; Bellet, 2007). The project represents a symbolic manifestation of cultural globalisation which is against cultural heritage. A main objection from artists and the cultural community is that arts and cultural objects are being treated as products exchanged for financial returns which diminishes their cultural value (Mullin, 2009). On the United Arab Emirates side, although there is a lack of freedom of expression, critique came from other Arab neighbouring press in the region and from other countries around the world as well.

"The contradiction between the idea of originality and uniqueness of the experience, and the idea of buying the name Louvre as a brand, does not leave to the observer of Louvre Abu Dhabi but a profitable venture capital" – Journalist (Masaad, 2018, para. 24)

The fierce opposition by stakeholders including French artists has pushed Louvre Abu Dhabi to work on achieving a compromise that will satisfy opponents. The project is approved by the French parliament and was signed on a governmental level, thus reversing and cancelling the project is not a feasible option. In turn, Louvre Abu Dhabi made several moves to achieve a balance between multiple logics by maintaining the strength of cultural heritage logic while at the same time adopting the cultural globalisation logic. For instance, Louvre Abu Dhabi will have its own local collections while French arts will be complementary without giving too much from the original Louvre (Noce, 2017). This action of limiting loans from the original Louvre strengthens cultural heritage logic and satisfies partially the supporters of that logic.

In summary, Louvre Abu Dhabi is a controversial project due to the conflicting institutional logics carried by the project. While several economic and cultural benefits are gained, however, the public and especially artists are objecting the project due to damages to cultural heritage. Although the project became inevitable, the resistance triggered a response by the museum to satisfy artists' demands by maintaining elements from the cultural heritage logic resulting in hybrid organising principles. The following analysis reveals the process of the hybrid logic emergence from the mechanism of collective mobilisation followed by analysis of the interrelationship with other mechanisms.

6.3.2 Theories

The role of theorising appropriate organisational practices is highlighted in the case. Theories in Louvre Abu Dhabi increased the rapid adoption of hybrid organisational practices. The observed theories are conflicting between different stakeholders which requires a compromise or hybridisation. The project is a move to the logic of globalisation as it is considered museum franchising (Mullin, 2009). The shift in logic triggered controversy within the professional community where some artists are criticising the deal, while others are praising the project.

"The maneuver will lead to a "commercialization" of national treasures" – President of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Artforum, 2007, para. 1)

"Debates on cultural ownership are amongst the challenging questions museum are facing. Should Western museums continue to own objects and collections belonging to other cultures? Should they develop restitution policy? This topic is particularly thorny for France, which have important 'universal' museums – that is, through their collections they seek to tell the story of the world through a wide perspective, both temporal and geographic. Obviously, to repatriate collections belonging to other cultures (Africa, Oceania, Asia) would mean to completely modify – I would say destroy in some cases – such museums."

Louvre Abu Dhabi is opposed by artists on cultural bases with premises that globalisation contradicts cultural heritage. In the analysis of theories of appropriate practices, the study identifies theories from both globalisation and cultural heritage logics to show how different stakeholders portray their legitimacy and how they are conflicting. The section starts by discussing theories of the cultural globalisation logic and then cultural heritage logic. On one hand, the French government is enforcing cultural globalisation logic to enhance cultural influence and soft power, while on the other hand, artists are concerned with the value of cultural heritage as the project, in particular, the location with the differences in values and culture contradicts with French values thus damages cultural heritage.

"Of course, there is a promotional discourse about "seeing humanity in a new light" but the administration of the Louvre was originally against this project; it was imposed by the French government."

One aim of Abu Dhabi Louvre is to enhance cultural reach and this is the objective of both the Louvre Museum and the French government:

"A universal metaphor for cross-cultural dialogue, which is not to be regarded as a mere Western cultural export to the Middle East, but rather as a bridge between cultures" – Louvre Director (Schwinghammer & Glaubitz, 2017, para. 3)

"There is no question of changing the fundamentals of French cultural policies or museums. Above all, there is no question of changing the inalienable character of the works of France's heritage. It is about making sure they circulate and spread their

influence through the world with a limited period of exhibition." – Culture Minister
(Riding, 2007a, para. 17)

The data show that the orientation of cultural policies is towards globalisation of
culture where the objective is to spread Western culture around the world. Cultural
globalisation is a tool for a holistic globalisation ambition of countries and cities.

*"Globalisation has led to competition between cities and regions for inward
investment, knowledge workers, and tourists. Large-scale cultural projects are now an
increasingly important driver of competitiveness and are key in branding and
differentiation regions and cities."* – Art Critic (Charlesworth, 2014, para. 7)

Beside the cultural side of a museum, it represents a source of soft power (Zaretsky,
2017). Soft power supports the traditional hard power of nations to achieve influence by
networking, communicating, and establishing rules in order to make a country powerful and
attractive to the world (Nye, 2009). Culture is one way to enhance soft power through global
reach and appeal of a nation's cultural output. The enthusiasm of the French government and
consent towards Louvre Abu Dhabi carries a political objective.

*"When Abu Dhabi and Qatar and Dubai start to want museums and libraries to
collaborate with our universities, this is our opportunity to exercise soft power…to
make ourselves known, to enlarge the areas of common dialogue."* – Director of The
Art Newspaper (Poulin, 2010, para. 24)

*"On the side of the European cultural officials who collaborate in these operations …
they suggest that they take advantage of the sites to discreetly influence the emirati
leadership, towards more humanity, social and democracy. But can we say to Abu
Dhabi "do what I say and not what I do"?"* – Journalist (Sourgins, 2015, para. 2)

*"Culture is a powerful tool to create critical and free thinking and to raise awareness
on our identity, as well as to know other cultures and systems of knowledge. After the
world financial crisis, such challenging question has become even more pressing."*

The UAE government realises that through this project it is assisting the French to
strengthen their soft power:

"Soft power is now the catchword of all diplomats, it means it is no longer sufficient to have military or economic power if you are not able to share your values. Exchange – this is what soft is about." – UAE Minister of State (Carvajal, 2017, para. 8)

Artists are aware of the soft power objective and they have no objection, but they keep arguing about the negative outcomes to weigh the pros and cons of the project:

"Our opportunity to exercise soft power, to make ourselves known, to enlarge the areas of common dialogue. It would be delightful if the Louvre could afford to work for nothing, but the reality is that it can not." – Artist (Cocks, 2007, para. 7)

On the other hand, locals and some artists are welcoming this project and the important cultural input that will enhance and enrich cultural presence in the region. Louvre Abu Dhabi is perceived as contributing to both economic and cultural aspects.

"This museum has its regional importance, which is a precedent of its kind and constitutes a distinctive cultural destination ... certainly positive because it is a cultural addition in light of the scarcity of museums in the region." – Artist

"It's a very positive effect. The positive effects include a number of factors which are education, trade, technology, competition, investments and capital flows, employment, culture and organisation structure." – Artist

The Louvre Abu Dhabi has spurred a social movement by artists where they issued a petition that was signed by over 4 thousand museum experts including museums' directors (Spiegel, 2007, Sabine, 2007). The petition followed an open letter by three notable French artists, curators, and experts objecting Louvre Abu Dhabi and have issued warning against this trend of museums towards becoming business firms (Cachin et al., 2007).

"The current example of Abu Dhabi is alarming. This country of just 700,000 inhabitants proposes to build, in a tourist and seaside resort to increase its attractiveness, four museums, including an inevitable Guggenheim, and a "French", wearing the "Louvre" label, but forcing long-term loans to all our great museums, whose leaders will no longer have a say. It was our politicians who went to offer this royal and diplomatic gift. Against almost 1 billion euros ... Is not this "sell his soul" ?"
– French Artists, Curators, and Experts (Cachin et al., 2007, para. 8)

French and European artists are resisting the globalisation of museums where they argue that arts should be loaned for free as part of cultural events that contribute to knowledge and this is a scientific duty.

"According to which principle, concerned with the conservation and the development of the patrimonial collections, should one use the works of art like currencies of exchange?" – Journalist (Cachin et al., 2007, para. 11)

Cultural globalisation logic in the view of the professional community is diminishing the value of cultural heritage while it should be preserved, and scientific practices should be maintained away from commercial practices. This view is demonstrated by one of the artists that is leading mobilisation against globalisation:

"I am not against loans, far from it, but it must be done in a scientific setting, not a mercantile one, or, at the very least, a charitable one" (Bellet, 2007, para. 10)

"It thus seems particularly shocking for the Louvre to use this pretext, with the blessing of the ministry, to demand that the other museums send works to Abu Dhabi since, as our readers may recall, their participation was supposed to be on a "volunteer" basis." – Artist (Rykner, 2008b, para. 2)

However, other critics argue that the real motivation behind the opposition is not as much about lending French arts as about the cultural differences because the location will be Abu Dhabi. This point is illustrated through a comparison with other similar collaborations of the Louvre to organise galleries and exhibitions in other Western cities that have received no opposition.

"But the controversy is not really over works leaving the Louvre—it is about works going to the Middle East. Last year the Louvre embarked upon a partnership with Atlanta's High Museum of Art, a three-year deal that raked in $10 million for the French museum. Curiously, that arrangement, which involved loans of 150 paintings, sculptures, drawings, and artifacts (albeit for a shorter term than the Abu Dhabi deal) faced little opposition when first announced. The "city of Coca-Cola," however, made a convenient appearance in Rykner's petition against the Abu Dhabi deal." – Researcher (Bronitsky, 2007, para. 8)

"There is scorn in many countries of the world if we consider that with some we can circulate works and maintain an intellectual trade, and with others not. This is not the message of France." – Director of the Museums of France (20 Minutes, 2007, para. 4)

The data show that there are competing theorisations of appropriate practices which reflect different beliefs and values. The government is in favour of enhancing culture through globalisation but the professional community is opposing this shift in logic. This is leading to building up mobilisation to resist imposing cultural globalisation logic and act collectively to preserve cultural heritage logic.

6.3.3 Frames

Frames are considered symbolic constructions that reflect a blueprint for organisational actors to interpret. According to Benford and Snow (2000), mobilisation frames are beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of mobilisation activists. Thus, in the analysis of frames of collective mobilisation, events that represent beliefs and meanings of the competing logics were analysed which inspired activists and gave legitimacy for competing logics. In the case of Louvre Abu Dhabi, several frames were observed that have created legitimacy for both the government decision to approve the project, and for activists who are opposing the project based on legitimate bases. The observed frames include regulative code of practice, soft power agenda, open letter by artists, lending process, conflicting cultural values, and hiring practices.

From the regulative environment, a key frame is the Guideline for Museums on Developing and Managing Business Support which recognises that:

"A museum's ability to fulfil its mission and serve its public rests largely on the resources available" (Mullin, 2009, para. 10)

The guideline justifies the pursuit of globalisation by museums to gain resources that will be allocated to support heritage. From this perspective, launching a global initiative to pursue resources is a legitimate act and Louvre Museum has the right to seek income from Louvre Abu Dhabi.

"Museums increasing reliance (and therefore dependence) on private funding. The Louvre Abu Dhabi itself, and the incentive of the 1 billion euros it brought back to French public museums is certainly, at least in part, a response to budget cuts."

However, it fails to consider situations where the focus on resources may hinder the contribution to the social mission of museums and this is the argument of the professional community. Activists and artists are opposing this resource-oriented view.

"Everyone knows that France is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of works of art, but also one of those where vandalism is most prevalent. Destroyed paintings denatured by improper restorations, sculptures are sent to the auction, and sometimes even institutions that are supposed to preserve heritage destroy it. We will not hesitate to denounce these unacceptable infringements." – Artist (Bellet, 2007, para. 3)

"They should focus on less corruption. If you look at national budget there is money allocated very efficiently … there is a joke at the museum that as soon as somebody becomes a director they start driving Mercedes-Benz. It is money in the system but it is not being used well." – Academic

On a governmental level, the French government has a strategic global expansion plan in the Gulf region that includes hard power as well as soft power (McAuley, 2018). The French military has opened recently the first military base in the region since decolonisation in the 1960s. This step is part of a comprehensive power establishment efforts in the region that goes hand in hand with Louvre Abu Dhabi project. Culture is a tool to strengthen soft power which justifies cultural exports such as the Louvre Abu Dhabi Thus, the strategic political expansion has encouraged initiating Louvre Abu Dhabi project to complement the strategy on a cultural aspect. The inspiration for the project emanates from the need to establish and exercise soft power in the region.

"Show the responsibility that France, as a global power, agrees to assume with its closest partners, in a region that is a fault line for the whole world." – French President (McAuley, 2018, para. 15)

"From a French perspective an interesting consequence following the agreements related to the creation of the Louvre Abu Dhabi is the implantation of a military base in Port Zayed."

The open letter that was published by three notable French cultural figures reflects a wide concern among the professional community of the orientation towards labelling cultural

heritage with a price tag that is possible to buy or rent (Milliard, 2017). This recent phenomenon is marking the transformation of museums to global brands. Thus, the open letter is an expression of the opinion of the professional community and inspired other artists and activists to join and oppose this change of museums and try to either reverse or minimise the damage. The popular French heritage magazine, The Art Tribune, dedicated a page for the movement against Louvre Abu Dhabi including a link to sign the petition and other activities for opponents to participate in order strengthen the social movement and increase pressure on the government and Louvre Museum to cooperate and protect cultural heritage (The Art Tribune, 2007)

"The petition was started a year ago, an agreement has now been signed and there is nothing we can do. However, I intend looking very closely at how this will happen, which works will be sent, which will be bought, and whether regional museums will be forced to send their works to Abu Dhabi against their will. I will remain vigilant." – Artist (Hughes, 2008, para. 4)

Another frame that has motivated resistance is the orientation of the Louvre to lend arts for an exchange of money which was warned by opposition as a violation of the scientific duty of cultural practices (Bellet, 2007, para. 10). Arts are considered national treasures and thus should be maintained against acquisitions (Rykner, 2009).

"The Louvre is not a storage place where you can pick up works of art with diplomatic or political reasons. When a work of art is not in a museum I visit, because it is lent to a real exhibition, I regret it but I understand it. It is fair and right. When a work of art is not there because it has been rented for a purpose without any link to art history, I am angry." – Artist (Rykner, 2007a, para. 6)

"Emirate was supposed to benefit from the savoir faire of French curators and we had expressed our utter disapproval of the ensuing conflict of interest: no other country in the world allows its curators to acquire works for a foreign museum." – Artist (Rykner, 2013a, para. 2)

In addition, there were concerns over the decline of the available collection in Louvre Museum in Paris which will affect organising exhibitions as well as display fewer arts to visitors. This point was another source of tensions by the opposition who are demanding Abu Dhabi to develop its own collection.

"The paying partners will legitimately require the temporary deposit and the loan for exhibitions of first-rate works, which will therefore be absent from the rooms of our museums. We will thus disappoint the visitor, deprived of major pieces that he has come, sometimes from far away, to admire or study at the Louvre or in such other French museum." – Artist (Laclotte, 2007, para. 4)

"When, tomorrow, the Louvre has deposited 500 to 600 works in Lens (the region of France which already has the most museums), he will have sent masterpieces to Abu Dhabi (not to mention the organization of exhibitions in these two antennas), there will inevitably be holes in the collections. What Troll rightly points out: there are already a lot of works that are not replaced on the walls." – Artist (Rykner, 2007b, para. 8)

"Once again, we feel it is important to criticize this obsession of French museums to rent out their masterpieces, without taking into consideration their fragile nature nor the risks they undergo in transport, not to mention the fact that the operation lacks any scholarly interest." – Artist (Rykner, 2014, para. 2)

Another frame that triggered social movement is the fact that Louvre Abu Dhabi combines conflicting cultural values. Although the project is a symbol of cultural globalisation but it is contrary to the values and heritage of the Louvre Museum. There were agreements between activists that conflicting values is a main factor to oppose the project.

"The relative values that drive this project, attempting to straddle cultures, tame environments, and confront preconceptions, seem ever more confusing." – Architect (Darley, 2018, para. 9)

"Abu Dhabi is fashioning a cultural identity in the likeness of Western examples, encouraging a globalization of culture that, at least in the case of the Louvre, will lead to the loss of the Louvre's unique identity." – Journalist (Poulin, 2010, para. 25)

On the other hand, other stakeholders are welcoming Louvre Abu Dhabi to enrich cultural representation and enhance the social role of museums regardless of cultural differences.

"In fact, it is a very important addition, no doubt it will positively affect the perception of Arab and Islamic societies to art in general."

"I think that museum professionals should challenge and rethink their roles. For a museum to be social also implies to lose some 'power', as it requires to listen to other perspectives, to include different points of view, to become multivocal and to be ready to disappoint some visitors (but also to conquer new audiences)."

A critical issue that is affecting maintaining cultural heritage logic and has encouraged opposition to demand change is the hiring practices. Louvre Abu Dhabi has appointed a French as director and Emirati as deputy director. Although the director is French, artists are opposing him because of his alignment to the Emirati commercial cause which is against the interests of the French cultural heritage (Rykner, 2017).

"Has fully embraced the cause of the Emirati, the French are now treated as service providers, which is neither the spirit nor the letter of the agreement signed between France and Abu Dhabi." – Artist (Rykner, 2017, para. 14)

The data show that there are competing frames giving legitimacy for both cultural globalisation and cultural heritage logics. The activists and the government have opposing views and argue they are legitimate. On one hand, the government is legitimising the project in terms of pursuing resources and enhance cultural influence. On the other hand, artists are opposing the project based on damages to cultural heritage, practices that are against French cultural values, and hiring practices that are aligned with cultural globalisation logic. This sets the soil for further confrontations where one side should win and one dominant logic has to prevail unless a hybrid arrangement is created that satisfies both competing logics.

6.3.4 Narratives

The logic of cultural heritage was dominant until the French government has signed a deal with the UAE to open a gallery of the Louvre in Abu Dhabi in a move that is considered adopting the logic of cultural globalisation. The deal includes a license fee of 700 million euros and the rights to use "Louvre" brand for 400 million euros (Spiegel, 2007). The Abu Dhabi branch is the first of a plan to open other branches around the world (Riding, 2007b).

The collection of Louvre Abu Dhabi reflects a global collection where it displays Western as well as Eastern works. For instance, engraved marble panels drawing historic texts from an ancient Mesopotamian cuneiform tablet and a passage from the medieval Islamic polymath (ArtReview, 2016). According to the scientific director of Agence France-

Museums which is the agency that is in charge of Louvre Abu Dhabi, the gallery reflects interculturality, or in other words cultural diversity, to foster a new kind of museology that is consistent with globalisation (Milliard, 2017).

"Paintings of the utmost fame lent from Paris, such as La Belle Ferronnière (around 1490) by Leonardo and David's Napoleon crossing the Alps (1803), as well as the 600 or so works that Abu Dhabi has bought since the project was agreed in 2007. Among them are a Qur'an, a Gothic Bible and a Torah that are given equal prominence in the Gallery of Universal Religions. As you walk through the galleries, you will find other masterpieces created in the service of their various religions." – Chairman of The Art Newspaper (Cocks, 2017, para. 1)

"The Louvre Abu Dhabi is surely hoping some of this contentious background will be eclipsed by its stunning inaugural display, which gathers around 300 loans from 13 French institutions, as well as 300 pieces from the Louvre Abu Dhabi's fledgling collection." – Art Specialist (Milliard, 2017, para. 15)

"Unlike the organization in Paris, the display in Abu Dhabi highlights the diversity of civilizations that developed simultaneously around the globe. It's an all-too-rare approach to human history, one that urgently champions a message of respect." Art Specialist (Milliard, 2017, para. 18)

The opposition are not satisfactory with this diverse collection in Louvre Abu Dhabi. They argue that Abu Dhabi should develop its own collection rather than having a hybrid display.

"The Louvre Abu Dhabi will thus be an "encyclopedic museum". The absurd character of such an ambition has already been copiously illustrated even with unlimited means, the task is almost impossible since most of the world's major masterpieces are already owned by other museums and certain artists are no longer available on the market. The Louvre and France-Muséums should have started out by advising Abu Dhabi to limit their ambitions and focus on developing certain guidelines which would have resulted in a more coherent and more interesting ensemble." – Artist (Rykner, 2013a, para. 3)

On the other hand, other stakeholders are supporting the hybrid display to enhance the social role of the museum and engage with the local community. This standpoint prefers art museums having a global social role rather than limited to local origin context.

"I think that one of the most effective method is to work with local communities. By engaging different people, museums can elucidate and make explicit their social role. If people can be effectively involved, they will be more willing to construct a relationship with the museum."

"I support Abu Dhabi Louvre effort, a very beautiful idea to support human ideals. The Louvre has other tremendous reserve and instead of just keeping the reserves hidden from public eyes, the fact of showing arts in Abu Dhabi very nice." – Artist

In addition to the cultural influence through the display of Western arts, there are commercial benefits from cultural globalisation as well. For instance, Louvre Museum had leased 140 arts for five months with no scientific purpose but the loan is in exchange of a monetary return (Rykner, 2008a).

"The Louvre is still offering great deals. If you are a millionaire and would like to organize an exhibition, this is definitely the place to come: ask for a couple of masterpieces and it will see you get them on condition you pay the right price. It seems that only the Mona Lisa is not for rent. At least officially. But you can have any other Leonardo you want." – Activist (Rykner, 2008a, para. 1)

Besides Abu Dhabi, the Louvre continues to lend arts to other galleries around the world for a financial return which is a clear manifestation of the cultural globalisation logic and dismissing the calls of artists and critiques to avoid commercial exchange of arts (Rykner, 2008a). For instance, several masterpieces were lent to Atlanta for four million euros (Rykner, 2008a).

"As usual, the Louvre has once again put up a smoke screen thinking perhaps that it might go unnoticed; a confidentiality clause is planned in the contract linking the museum to Linea d'Ombre, the publishing house owned by Marco Goldin, the organizer of the exhibition." – Artist (Rykner, 2008a, para. 2)

Eventually, the opposition of lending to Abu Dhabi are partially right about their concerns as exhibitions in Louvre Museum in Paris are declining due to the shortage of arts because of lending (Rykner, 2018a).

"From the beginning, we were adamantly opposed to turning the collections into negotiable merchandise as initially planned and we also regretted just as fiercely the fact that French curators, civil servants thus employed by the State and at its service, were to be in charge of acquiring works for a foreign museum." – Artist (Rykner, 2013b, para. 2)

Louvre Museum has created an agency for the purpose of managing galleries as well as organise exhibitions in the Abu Dhabi gallery (Riding, 2007a; Rykner, 2008b). The agency is a springboard for cultural globalisation by acting as an intermediary between French museums and overseas galleries that are managed by the agency to expose and display French arts to global audiences (Rykner, 2008b).

"All of the institutions at the 'heart' of this project are supposed to profit from the Louvre Abu Dhabi project. Furthermore, the timeline for carrying out the creation of this reserves center calls for the first payments to take place in 2013, when the revenues from the 'exhibition' stage of the Louvre Abu Dhabi will start to come in. On the other hand, the Agence France Museums must be careful to take this into consideration (the needs of the "heart" institutions) in programming temporary exhibitions (as well as in the other stages of the Louvre Abu Dhabi project which, overall, is supposed to benefit French museums). Generally speaking, the agency should support those museums wishing to organize exhibitions in Abu Dhabi, in preparation for the future universal museum, much as the Picasso museum did recently." – Cultural Minister (Rykner, 2008b, para. 5)

"The Louvre Paris is not directly in charge of managing the Louvre Abu Dhabi; it managed by "France Museum" and the deal involves public collection beyond the Louvre. Then, anyhow, the Louvre Abu Dhabi and related projects involve interactions between the UAE and the Western nations; in terms of "Globalisation," I tend to think that it excludes a number of potential players."

The creation of the museums managing agency indicates that France is enabling the opening of overseas galleries of not only the Louvre Museum but also other French museums,

and Louvre Abu Dhabi is the beginning. This is considered an international franchising with profit-driven motives similar to the expansion strategies of for-profit organisations, while museums are traditionally seen as educationally-driven organisations (Mullin, 2009). Thus, Louvre Museum and the French government are not retracting from adopting cultural globalisation as they are going ahead with their plans of spreading French culture globally.

The launch of Louvre Abu Dhabi marks an exercise of soft power, a crucial globalisation force, by having a French presence in shaping the future of a state in the Middle East. The Emirati recognise this fact and are satisfactory of that outcome as Abu Dhabi is gaining benefits as well by helping the state to become a major cultural destination in the world.

"The animating force, as well, behind Paris's Arab World Institute — has the potential to (softly) change the future history of its host country and the wider region. Implicit was the suggestion that French culture would deserve the glory for any such shift." – Academic (Zaretsky, 2017, para. 3)

"This is saying that we're not playing in the little leagues - we're playing in the major leagues. It's probably the greatest museum in the world, and it will have not just a small branch but a massive presence." – Emirati Royal (McAuley, 2017, para. 9)

The resistance of the professional community is yielding outcomes. The fact that the government through a parliamentary regulation has imposed cultural globalisation logic makes it unlikely to change direction and make Louvre Museum retreat from opening overseas galleries. Therefore, the collective mobilisation is aiming to maintain the logic of cultural heritage alongside cultural globalisation logic. A set of demands and pressures were made to ensure that arts preserve their values and not treated as a commodity. For instance, the professional community has objected the hiring of the director of Louvre Abu Dhabi who has no legitimacy in this area and demanded an experienced director. Louvre Abu Dhabi went ahead with hiring the French director that is opposed by artists. However, the museum is almost entirely a French operation although half of its employees are Emirati citizens (McAuley, 2017). The gallery and exhibitions are managed and organised by a French agency as mentioned earlier. The director of Louvre Abu Dhabi summarises the strategy of hiring and management in the museum:

"The Abu Dhabi Tourism & Cultural Authority (TCA Abu Dhabi), which operates like a culture and tourism ministry, is responsible for overseeing the museum. Within this organisation, Hissa Al-Dhaheri, my deputy, and I form a tandem, underscoring the alliance between the two countries. Otherwise, recruitment is based on skills, and appointments so far include people of many nationalities including a large number of French and Emirati nationals." – Louvre Abu Dhabi Director (Noce, 2017, para. 5)

The management arrangement and hiring practices reflect the creation of a hybrid organisational identity. Through a joint management by an Abu Dhabi authority and French agency with a diverse hiring of French and Emirati, Louvre Abu Dhabi conforms to the hybridisation approach as suggested by Battilana and Dorado (2010) to balance cultural heritage and cultural globalisation logics in the long-run by hiring individuals who carry both logics. Thus, the management and hiring of the Louvre Abu Dhabi have facilitated the emergence of a hybrid logic.

Another narrative that activists are utilising to undermine cultural globalisation logic is from a legal aspect. Louvre Abu Dhabi has breached some points of the agreement that was signed between the French and UAE governments (Rykner, 2018b). Any marketing or advertising campaign that includes the Louvre brand should get a prior consent from the Louvre Museum as clarified by Article 14 of the agreement:

"Any other exploitation of the name of the Louvre Museum [than for the name of the museum], its mark, its image and / or the name of the Museum or any apposition of one of these elements on any product or service are the subject of an express prior authorization from the Louvre Museum in the form of an agreement concluded on a case by case basis and providing inter alia for the benefit of the Public Institution of the Louvre Museum." – Louvre Abu Dhabi Agreement (Rykner, 2018b, para. 3)

However, Louvre Abu Dhabi has been conducting marketing campaigns without the consent of the Louvre Museum. In October 2017 prior to the official launch of the museum, Louvre Abu Dhabi has signed a marketing agreement with the aviation company Etihad which represents a clear violation of Article 14 (Rykner, 2018b). The opposition are using this breach to strengthen their position against Louvre Abu Dhabi and influence their demands.

"No agreement has been signed, no agreement has been given, and the Louvre has received nothing in payment from Abu Dhabi. And this although the treaty recognized the Louvre the power to "put in abeyance" the United Arab Emirates in case of improper use of the name of the Louvre, the penalty may go as far as the breakdown of agreements." – Artist (Rykner, 2018b, para. 7)

One concern of artists is the safety of arts that was addressed through the design of the building and the lending process. The building and surrounding environment represent a symbol of globalisation where it aims to combine tastes of both Arabic and French cultures (Darley, 2018).

"Architecturally, it is neither entirely of the Gulf nor of the Île de France. For once, seductive published images cannot possibly exaggerate the impact of the building. Jean Nouvel's initial concept, actually predating the involvement of the Louvre, was for an immense saucer dome to hover over a 'medina' of whitewashed rectilinear buildings, set out in semi-random fashion." – Architecture (Darley, 2018, para. 2)

Another demand is to ensure that the lending process of art works is meeting international standards as set by France Museums agency:

"According to the evolution of the planning specific to this type of construction, any modification of the installation of the works was made in agreement with the lenders museums." – Artist (Rykner, 2017, para. 21)

A vital practice that provides the assistance to preserve cultural heritage logic without the need to open overseas galleries is the law by the French government to give tax exemptions to museums. The tax exemption reduces the financial burden on museums that is a factor pushing museums for international expansion (Greffe et al., 2017). Thus, the law allows museums to pursue the cultural heritage logic and lessen the dominance of cultural globalisation logic leading to hybrid practices in the art museums field.

"We must applaud this new law which proposes strong tax exemptions for businesses and private individuals who donate important works of art, or money to acquire them" – French Artists, Curators, and Experts (Cachin et al., 2007, para. 2)

6.3.5 The Interrelationship between Collective Mobilisation with Sensemaking and Decision-making

While the primary mechanism analysed in the case is collective mobilisation, however, other mechanisms are observed in the data. In this section I analyse the interrelationship between collective mobilisation with sensemaking and decision-making.

The mechanism of sensemaking was active during institutional change process. As the opposition mobilise efforts and resources against the Louvre Abu Dhabi project, organisational actors were going through sensemaking process to figure out a response. For instance, the curator at the Louvre Department of Sculptures thinks that the professional community wants to pursue both cultural globalisation logic and cultural heritage logic simultaneously and that is not possible. The curator said on this matter criticising the professional community:

"The Conservatives are a little schizophrenic: they must both present the works of art to the greatest number and preserve them for future generations" (20 Minutes, 2007, para. 5)

The response reflects that organisational actors have identified the collective mobilisation and are interpreting the demands which are two major elements of the sensemaking process (Weick et al., 2005). However, sensemaking outcome varies as the curator has interpreted that combining the two logics is unfeasible due to conflicting demands while other actors have interpreted the demands differently. The Louvre president has shown an understanding of the opposition and has ensured them that arts will eventually return which is the main concern of the professional community. Nevertheless, the Louvre president argues that lending arts for an exchange of money is fine as the purpose of lending is still for cultural objectives not commercial renting:

"The Louvre is not a brand. We are a cultural institution, a name and a story. We do not and will not sell anything. We are lending to the Louvre Abu Dhabi. That's normal. We and others do that all the time, all over the world. Yes, we have sold our expertise, but it is normal to sell expertise, too." – Louvre President (Arlidge, 2017, para. 15)

Organisational actors have different responses to the collective mobilisation and that is due to different sensemaking. The aforementioned example of the curator shows that

combining the two logics is not possible while the Louvre president showed flexibility and argued for a compromise. Overall, the data show that the mechanism of sensemaking had interacted with collective mobilisation throughout the Louvre Abu Dhabi project which resulted in changes in practices to accommodate multiple demands from competing logics.

Decision-making has also been manifested by interacting with both collective mobilisation and sensemaking. According to Thornton et al. (2012) the themes used in the analysis of theories, frames, and narratives are applicable to examine the mechanism of decision-making in the emergence of institutional logics. While the analysis has focused on the role of mobilisation and resistance, nevertheless, theories and frames have resulted in decision-making through narratives. As a response to pressures from the professional community, organisational actors made a set of decisions to comply with some demands and gain legitimacy. The collection of Louvre Abu Dhabi was decided by organisational actors to be hybrid from the local and French cultures with a plan to gradually develop the local collection and return French art works back to France. Nevertheless, the professional community is still opposing the principle of commercialising the lending process.

"When money (a lot of money) is exchanged against art, any work of art can be rented, without consideration for its fragility. The decision to rent such or such work will not be for aesthetic reasons, but for political reasons as all these operations have been until now." – Artist (Rykner, 2007a, para. 5)

While the hybrid collection decision has received unsatisfactory reaction from artists, other decisions are welcomed. For instance, the safety of arts is a concern as it will be transported for a long distance and in Abu Dhabi an extremely hot weather environment most of the year. Organisational actors have decided to use systems that keep arts safe. The chairman of Abu Dhabi Tourism and Culture Authority has ensured the safety of arts:

"Their protection is vital to us and we have made sure we have the systems in place to protect them against the environmental conditions" (The Local, 2017, para. 14)

Contrary to the hybrid collection example, in this case artists have expressed their satisfaction for the safety procedures of arts:

"Fortunately, it seems that the architecture and the technical installations are well done. So a Conservative told us that the reserves, in particular, are well designed, and

that the air conditioning is efficient and remarkably stable thanks to a tripling of the circuit." – Artist (Rykner, 2017, para. 18)

The data show that decision-making and collective mobilisation are interacting reciprocally. When organisational actors make a decision, the professional community responds either satisfactory or make demands which, in turn, prompt actors to make a refined decision. In parallel, decision-making interacted with sensemaking in a reciprocal process. When organisational actors made the decision on the Louvre Abu Dhabi project with the signing of the agreement with the UAE government, the professional community went through sensemaking to interpret this event and take appropriate actions. Their interpretation shows that the project is against cultural heritage which, in turn, has prompted them to take action by signing a petition by over 4 thousand museum experts (Spiegel, 2007, Sabine, 2007).

"Artificial global art capital in the desert sands will attract only 'jet-set tourists' and won't contribute to international cultural exchange." – The President of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Artforum, 2007, para. 1)

Other decisions that followed have also pushed the professional community to go through the sensemaking process to either accept with a satisfactory reaction or oppose and take action. For instance, the decision to lend French arts to the Louvre Abu Dhabi has received an unsatisfactory reaction from the professional community as their interpretation of the decision shows that a possible shortage of art works display in Paris would occur. Thus, the data show that decision-making and sensemaking are interacting. When actors make a decision, other stakeholders go through the sensemaking process while, on the other hand, sensemaking is concluded with a decision as actors decide on the appropriate actions.

6.3.6 Summary of Key Findings

The case study of Louvre Abu Dhabi was employed to enhance the understanding of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change by clarifying the role of collective mobilisation in the emergence of a hybrid logic (see Table 6.2). As outlined in the case, the process of change spans across about ten years, from the approval of Louvre Abu Dhabi in 2007, until the launch in 2017. This change was driven by stakeholders who pressured actors in the Louvre Abu Dhabi to change course and satisfy multiple demands. Opposition and critique mainly French artists and journalists following the announcement of Louvre Abu

Dhabi have disrupted the project. Given that stakeholders represent the source of legitimacy, the opposition is threatening the project's operations and survival. Louvre Abu Dhabi has handled the pressure and demands by adopting a hybrid logic through pursuing the cultural globalisation logic to launch Louvre Abu Dhabi with the inclusion of French arts as well as maintain the cultural heritage logic to preserve cultural values of France.

Louvre Abu Dhabi foresaw that it will be unable to carry on the project without gaining legitimacy from stakeholders which is under threat. Artists, journalists, academics, and other experts warned that the project is diminishing cultural heritage. Given that Louvre Abu Dhabi was signed on a governmental level with no point of return, the management of the Louvre Abu Dhabi has tried to achieve a compromise by adopting a hybrid logic with organising principles from cultural globalisation and cultural heritage logics which resulted in successfully meeting the demands of multiple stakeholders i.e. the French and UAE governments, public, and professional community. The hybrid activities such as hybrid collection of Western and Eastern arts, hybrid hiring from both French and Emirati, and rationed lending policy of French arts are partially meeting the demands of the opposition while pursuing globalisation. Thus, institutional change has occurred mainly in response to pressures imposed by stakeholders.

The institutional environment represented by stakeholders has created pressures on the organisational actors of Louvre Abu Dhabi that required a compromise to satisfy the opposition. The theories of appropriate practices from proponents were encouraging to have cultural influence, while opponents were mainly concerned with preserving cultural heritage. Opponents had frames from the institutional environment that motivated them to escalate and persist the negative effect on cultural heritage. This has put pressure on the Louvre Abu Dhabi to satisfy multiple demands as opponents are stakeholders and a source of legitimacy. Thus, Louvre Abu Dhabi has adopted a set of measures to maintain cultural heritage and adopt cultural globalisation simultaneously. The collection of Louvre Abu Dhabi is hybrid of Western and Eastern arts with a goal to grow the local collection gradually and lend less French arts. An agency was created to manage the Louvre Abu Dhabi which is managed by a combination of French and Emirati individuals. Louvre Abu Dhabi is achieving soft power fortunately with the help of the Emirati. The artistic community are monitoring that Louvre Abu Dhabi follows strictly the clauses of the agreement between the French and UAE governments with a legal action to be taken whenever there is an infringement. The case

study shows that Louvre Abu Dhabi has adopted cultural globalisation logic effectively while maintaining relatively cultural heritage logic, thus resulting in a hybrid logic.

Table 6.2 Summary of Findings: Louvre Abu Dhabi

Cultural Globalisation Logic	**Cultural Heritage Logic**
Theories	
Enhance French cultural influence and spread Western culture around the world	Open letter by artists opposing institutional change of museums towards becoming businesses
Strengthen soft power and appeal of the French cultural output	Lending of arts should be a scientific duty and avoid commodification
Frames	
Museums should pursue resources to fulfil their mission	France is a rich country and the focus on resources may hinder the contribution to the mission of museums
Strategic global expansion plan by the French government including cultural aspect	The opposition created online tools to gain public support and strengthen movement
Lending art works to expose French culture to global audiences	Lending to global galleries is leading to absence of collections from the Louvre Museum in Paris
Hiring a French director to manage Louvre Abu Dhabi	The French director doesn't represent the interests of cultural heritage
Narratives	

A hybrid collection of art works from Western and Eastern cultures	Gradually grow the local collection and decrease lending of French arts
Agency to manage global galleries of the French museums and expose French arts to global audiences	Monitoring the commitment towards the clauses of the agreement between the French and UAE governments
Hiring both French and Emirati individuals to manage the museum	High standards to ensure safety of French art works
The design of the building represents French and Arabic cultures	Tax exemption for French museums to mitigate the need for pursuing income through international expansion

6.4 Case Study of Tate Modern

6.4.1 Overview

Tate Modern is a modern art museum that is located in central London and represents a major visitor attraction. The museum was established in 2000 following a decision by Tate Trustees to transform a power station to an international modern and contemporary art museum. The museum contains arts dated from 1500 to the present and welcomes over five million visitors annually (TAR, 2017). Tate Modern has objectives that aim to champion arts and their value to the society with a particular focus on promoting British, modern, and contemporary arts as well as increase public understanding and enjoyment of arts. Collections are displayed to the public in the museum and online on the museum's website.

The collection of Tate Modern is divided into five groups; Poetry and Dream, Structure and Clarity, Transformed Visions, Energy and Process, and Setting the Scene. The museum is continually seeking to improve visitors' experience and ensure that the activities are benefiting audiences. This is partly achieved through a communication strategy with the public to engage them in defining the museum's strategy. The communication strategy is based on ten principles which are conforming to visitors' expectations, a platform for education, enable conversations, community features, easy for navigation, content owners are able to manage their content, open access to online content, social media interaction with audiences, personalisation to improve visitors' experience, and maintain the online presence.

Tate Modern is a national museum and thus free of charge to visitors conforming to a parliament legislation (Art Fund, 2009). However, Tate Modern charges for other services such as special exhibitions, gifts shop, and membership. Special exhibitions are charging and represent an important source of income. The membership scheme provides a variety of benefits such as members' hours to enjoy special exhibitions, members' rooms, discount in Tate shop, and other benefits. Additionally, the museum is seeking corporate sponsorship and partnerships to increase income and cover operational costs. Beside commercial income streams, Tate Modern has a charitable foundation, Tate Foundation, which aims to collect donations and grants in order to fund exhibitions, learning activities, and research. On the other hand, Tate Modern has developed commercial projects that are inextricably linked with the social mission such as digitisation. For instance, Tate Modern transformed the membership to online enabling users to subscribe online and receive updates of upcoming

events as well as enjoy the aforementioned exclusive members' benefits. This has led to enhance income generation and feeding into the social mission as more members contributes to more attendance to exhibitions and higher social impact (TAR, 2018).

Similar to the National Gallery, Tate Modern has adopted the market logic gradually and unintentionally as a response to disruptive events from the institutional environment which required reconfiguration of organising principles to include the market logic alongside the social logic. Since enacting free admission in 2001 up until the financial crisis of 2008, Tate Modern was operating with some form of stability as grants in aid from the government were flowing sufficiently. Tate Modern viewed free admission as contributing to the social mission and thus depending on public funding was the optimal arrangement. The financial crisis was a major disruptive event for the economy requiring an austerity programme by the government to cut spending and the cultural sector was hit. The cuts were constant annually and ascending which meant that Tate Modern needs to take action to find alternative sources of income otherwise the social mission is at risk. Tate Modern went through significant changes by adopting commercial activities to create revenue streams as well as beefing up operational efficiencies to reduce costs. Tate Modern has adopted the market logic alongside the social logic through creative initiatives to result in a hybrid logic. In the case analysis of Tate Modern, the study examines the role of decision-making in the emergence of institutional logics using logics emergence framework which consists of a sequential process of theories, frames, and narratives (Thornton et al., 2012).

6.4.2 Theories

While theories do not reflect actual organisational practices, however, they serve as political instruments to support decisions that lead to institutional change (Thornton et al., 2012). Theories can be proposed but not adopted and they are considered as a source of ideas for the appropriate organisational practices. In the case of Tate Modern, the British Museums Act 1963 which grants more autonomy to national galleries has enabled generating multiple instruments of how they should operate based on varying circumstances. Different theories were generated by organisational actors of Tate Modern that are conducive to the emergence of a hybrid logic. Following the 2009 austerity programme which aims to heal the impact of the global financial crisis, the deteriorating funding has triggered several theories that represent radical transformation for Tate Modern. The study observes four theories with

distinct debates which are vision 2020, the response to public funding cuts, expand commercial activities of trading and corporate sponsorships, and a digital strategy.

In 2013, the director of Tate had presented a paper to the board of trustees for the future 'vision 2020' that includes the brand, learning, audience, and digital strategy (TGMM, 2013a). A statement for the vision was developed with two versions to communicate with stakeholders externally by informing audiences and internally by sitting expectations for staff (TGMM, 2013a). The vision was refined and improved in workshops across the organisation with more than 1000 staff took part to theorise what Tate wants to be and how. Tate brand was theorised to reflect the vision where the board of trustees has suggested a change to the slogan from 'look again, think again' to 'always changing, always Tate' (TAR, 2013). During a board of trustees' meeting, trustees have theorised the vision as primarily the role of art in enriching the live of the society as a whole (TGMM, 2015a). Another element that is embodied in the vision is audiences which emphasised targeting young audiences (TGMM, 2015c). It was theorised that the best way to attract and engage with young people is through exhibitions with a focus on key areas for young people and develop a relationship with them (TGMM, 2015c). Nevertheless, trustees have emphasised the importance of retaining a constant level of visitors from overseas while working to increase audience share of local visitors (TGMM, 2015d).

> *"As we expand the geographic reach of our collection and exhibitions, enhance our digital activities and prepare for the opening of the new galleries at Tate Modern and Tate St Ives, we need to respond to the challenges of attracting and engaging new and more diverse audiences."* – Tate Annual Report (2015, p. 9)

> *"Museums are mission-driven organisations and have been reasonable adept at flexing with changing circumstances over the past 100 years. These new changes provide greater reach and a closer engagement with audiences which are the core of the current articulation of museum's missions."* – Former Head of Online

Given that the government grants were still flowing sufficiently since imposing free entry in 2001, Tate Modern has theorised keeping free entry as long as there is sufficient cash flows. The hit came on national museums in 2009 when the government has initiated an austerity programme to cut spending across many sectors including museums in order to

tackle the budget deficit. The continuous cuts in grants is a threat for Tate Modern as it is a significant source of income.

> *"Tate's government funding is critical. Without it we could not produce our exhibition programmes, expand and look after the national collection, or maintain and develop our public spaces."* – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 43)

> *"Public money for the arts had failed to keep pace with inflation. Tate had lost almost £9m, equivalent to a 25% real-terms cut compared to business as usual."* – Trustees Chairman (Brown, 2013, para. 6)

The availability of financial resources is crucial for art museums to carry out their social missions (Mullin, 2009). Insufficient funding is pushing art museums to seek funding from private donors and commercial activities (Pickford, 2018). The director of Tate Modern remarked that the cuts of public grants have created pressures that resulted in shifting the focus of the museum to attract corporate donors (Marincola, 2001).

> *"There is a clear need to generate more income and to become more financially sustainable. Focus on revenue generation is now a core objective within most museum strategies alongside reducing costs where possible through rationalisation of activities."* – Former Head of Online

> *"Our ability to rely on public funds is only going to decrease, which means the link between art grants and the public services we provide will need to be redefined."* – Trustees Chairman (Casciato, 2013, para. 4)

The museum is orienting towards the market logic by diversifying self-generated income to become less dependent on the government volatile grants. Additionally, there is a need to guarantee funding for at least five years (Pickford, 2013). For instance, the board of trustees has suggested that more attention should be paid to develop public spaces inside the gallery with goals of increasing the time visitors spend in the gallery and enhance retail activities (TGMM, 2012b).

Beside the risk of funding, there is a risk of competition from other art institutions and Tate Modern need to keep pace as illustrated by Tate director:

"Contemporary art is evolving in a different way than just materials and methods. We are faced with a global world of art." (Brown, 2014, para. 5)

"What we're looking for is longer term planning for institutions that have to think in the long term." (Pickford, 2013, para. 7)

A further 5% or more cuts of public grants in aid would intensify operational risks and limit the social activities of Tate (TGMM, 2013a). The government gave signs of further cuts in the spending review alongside reconsidering to abandon tax relief on museums which will put cultural organisations in a very difficult financial position (TGMM, 2012d, 2013a). Thus, the board of trustees has requested that the budgeting for the upcoming three years from 2013 should be developed based on a 5% less public funding (TGMM, 2013b). The board has asked that self-generated income to be a priority with a message to all organisational actors that income should be maximised (TGMM, 2012d).

The funding dilemma has shifted the focus of organisational actors to more commercial interests as they are trying to figure out ways to lead the organisation to survival and sustainability. Tate has commercial subsidiaries which are Tate Enterprise and Tate Catering both of which represent the commercial arms of Tate. The board of trustees has requested that they explore wider opportunities for additional revenue streams. One such path is to attract private donors through corporate sponsorships where Tate Modern had a sponsorship deal with British Petroleum (BP) and later signed a new one with Hyundai (TGMM, 2013b; Khomami, 2016).

"BP has been a wonderful funder-supporter of Tate and what we have done with BP sponsorship we could not have done without it." – Tate Modern Director (Higgins, 2016, para. 8)

Exhibitions represent an important income source for Tate and have a significant impact on financial performance when attended by a large number of visitors (TGMM, 2013c). The board of trustees has asked for an audiences' research to understand better their wants and needs in order to develop more compelling exhibitions (TGMM, 2014c). It was agreed to focus on young people, families, local audiences, and first-time visitors (TGMM, 2015e). Additionally, a paper about exhibitions' plans to include content and business planning together to make better choices of which exhibitions to approve given the limited resources available (TGMM, 2015c). The board has recommended to focus on a smaller

number of key priority areas for audiences and focus on developing a relationship with them especially young audiences by which Tate Modern is successful in attracting this segment (TGMM, 2015c, 2013c). The diversity of audiences alongside income are the bases for future decisions on exhibitions (TGMM, 2012d).

> *"Museums are now looking for more private investment and corporate sponsorship. It also means museums need to focus on the exhibitions that will be financially successful and draw large crowds – this has been largely successful in London as there is huge demand for some of the recent blockbuster exhibitions."*

Trading activities were recognised as another source to develop self-generated income. The board of trustees has agreed that more investment is required in commercial activities to achieve higher income growth (TGMM, 2015d). Catering services were emphasised to develop income sources with a recommendation by the board to improve pricing strategies (TGMM, 2015a). Beside revenue streams, Tate aimed to reduce operational costs in order to shrink the gap between income and expenses. Tate is collaborating with Vodafone to explore telecommunications, develop innovative practices, and find technology solutions that enhance organisational efficiency and the way it works (TGMM, 2011a).

Tate aims to enhance learning through a strategy to reach wider and diverse audiences with quality experiences (TGMM, 2012b). This contributed to theorise the development of a comprehensive digital strategy to deliver social value by which the board of trustees has requested intensified efforts to digitisation (TGMM, 2011b). At the core of the digital strategy is the aim to connect visitors with art in the gallery spaces and beyond where people can comment on what they have seen and join others in the discussion of arts (TAR, 2014). Digital utilisation would drive more multi-channels visits physically and virtually (TGMM, 2011b).

> *"As the relationship between the museum and visitor evolves, we will still rely on our colleagues' expertise, knowledge and experience to promote understanding and enjoyment of art. But that relationship will increasingly be characterised by a creative conversation with and between members of the audience, enabled by connections through digital media."* – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 3)

> *"New technologies offer opportunities to reach audiences on multiple digital platforms. The result for Tate is an extended audience of many millions, some of whom may never*

be able to visit the galleries, but are nonetheless being offered an engaging art experience, curated by Tate." – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 34)

The aim of digital is not to replace physical visits, but to provide access to people who cannot visit the gallery to have a wider reach (Trendall, 2017). A successful digital strategy needs to bring a realistic visiting experience to the gallery which functions as a social space alongside appreciation of arts (TGMM, 2012a). Organisational actors have theorised how digital can be developed to create an experience that connects audiences close to the physical experience.

"Now more than ever, new web technologies allow the museum to be a place where ideas, experiences and opinions about art and culture are exchanged." – Head of Content and Creative Director (TAR, 2013, p. 35)

"As new physical gallery spaces open, we are also thinking about the future of the museum and what these spaces can offer. How can we engage new and more diverse audiences in the conversations around art? Being at the forefront of digital development in the arts is crucial to our success. It's not just about keeping up; it's about being several steps ahead, connecting with audiences globally and encouraging them to join in." – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 52)

"Continue to review how the mission is articulated in the global, digital world and continue to consider the opportunities this affords the museum to deliver its mission, which will doubtless be an evolving process." – Former Head of Online

In 2012, an online strategy was introduced to better reach audiences and build a consistent dialogue with arts (TGMM, 2012c). The head of online has proposed that digital aids in tracking users' movement through different digital media up to the gallery which would help understand audiences' behaviour and develop better reach strategies (TGMM, 2012e). All organisational departments need to engage with digital and this requires suitable trainings and governance (TGMM, 2012e).

"The digital age brings with it huge opportunities to museums. Digital can enable museums to fulfil their missions in new ways, dramatically increase their reach and address a global audience. Alongside this are challenges: the nature of collections

themselves are changing with new materials and born-digital objects which present a storage and conservation challenge." – Former Head of Online

"Tate's ambitious digital strategy aims to connect visitors with art in the gallery spaces and beyond. We want people to comment on what they have seen and join others in discussion." – Tate Annual Report (2014, p. 47)

"Engaging with the arts can happen in any number of ways, and technology has the capacity to make the museum experience more personal and powerful than ever." – Philanthropist (TAR, 2014, p. 48)

The digital strategy has emphasised the potential of digital to develop self-generated income to tackle the funding issue (TGMM, 2013c). Although Tate's website has an online shop that is not something new, organisational actors have focused on developing this revenue stream to improve financial performance.

"The online shop will be promoted across all digital channels to increase revenue. As digital visitors use free content, relevant products from the online shop will be promoted to them…[we] have already produced a number of digital products such as online courses, apps, ebooks, and Tate Etc. for purchase through the iTunes newsstand. It is clear that this is an area of great opportunity for the organization, and digital publications are expected to become a significant revenue stream in the future." – Head of Online (Avery, 2014, p. 11)

"It is a way to basically build or diversify income streams, not necessary just to ground people access through digital but to create interface for people to buy other products that the museum sell and happens on so many levels. I think it is a very sensible thing to do because I think it is the most sustainable thing the museum can be."

6.4.3 Frames

Frames represent a blueprint for organisational actors to interpret and act upon them. While for the mechanism of collective mobilisation frames represent beliefs and meanings to legitimise activities, decision-making frames are mainly circumstances from the institutional environment. Thus, in the analysis of frames of decision-making, key factors and events that influenced the decisions of organisational actors were interpreted. In the case of Tate Modern, several frames were observed that influenced the adoption of trading activities and other

strategies to combine multiple logics. The observed frames include funding constrains, the extension project, the level of visitors, hiring, governance, and staff costs.

Grants in aid from the government represent the largest source of income accounting for 36% of total income (TAR, 2014). In 2013, the grants were further deducted by 3.5% representing a continuous trend since the financial crisis of 2008 as the cuts accumulated to more than 20% (Casciato, 2013; Brown, 2015c). This makes grants insufficient to cover the costs of delivering social activities (TGMM, 2015f). This combined with a regulative free entry have added an increasing constrains on the financial situation of Tate Modern. This has pushed organisational actors to demand increasing self-generated revenue in parallel with the decline in government funding (TGMM, 2011b).

> *"Grant-in-Aid from the Department for Culture, Media and Sport – our core funding –*
> *is crucial to the operation of the gallery."* – Tate Annual Report (2016, p. 46)

> *"The gallery would be less able to rely on public funding in future, making it necessary*
> *to "redefine" the link between its grant and the public services it provides. He called*
> *for a guarantee of funding over "at least" five years."* – Chairman of Trustees
> (Pickford, 2013, para. 5)

> *"Everyone in Tate recognises that we have a significant public sector duty. We have to*
> *have that reflected in the way in which we're financed."* – Chairman of Trustees
> (Pickford, 2013, para. 6)

Tate Modern has an ambitious extension project to develop the gallery and accommodate more visitors. The cost of the extension project was rising and the fund for it is depleted due to the financial crisis of 2008 which resulted in delaying completion (Pickford, 2015; Higgins, 2016). This has added increased pressure on funding and Tate is at a crossroads whether to act urgently to provide social activities and complete the extension project or be in a critical survival situation.

> *"We have a push now for the next nine months to raise the final £30m for Tate Modern*
> *and I'm sure we'll do that."* – Tate Director (Pickford, 2015, para. 7).

Organisational actors were compelled to utilise visitors as in 2011 around 40% of the visitors are categorised as first timers which represents an opportunity to reap (TGMM, 2011a). This will help to achieve vision 2020 by seeking diverse audience strategy that

should not be undermined by the need to generate revenues (TGMM, 2015b). However, it seems that retaining visitors is low as the gallery has experienced a decline of visitors by 6.6% since the global financial crisis in 2008 until 2014 (Hudson, 2015). In 2015 alone, the museum had experienced disappointing figures of visitors to the gallery with a drop of one million (Jones & Bryan, 2015). The statistics show a decline of local visitors but an increase of international visitors (Hudson, 2015). Interestingly, the digital usage of Tate's online services, which is not included in counting visitors, shows a steady growth that is not correlated to the gallery's visits (TGMM, 2014b). Nevertheless, the data show a correlation between increased attendance by members and general admission which hints that members are recurring visitors (TGMM, 2014d). Thus, organisational actors have emphasised that a crucial element of Tate's strategy is visitors' experience which will help to attract more visitors (TGMM, 2012a).

Another frame that has allowed adopting hybrid practices is grasped in the hiring practices of Tate Modern where there is a mix of individuals that carry both the social and market logics. The majority of the members of the trustees' board are appointed by the government and the remaining by the board of trustees. The director of Tate Modern that was appointed in 2015 has a background in the field of arts which makes her a source to perceive and identify elements of the social logic. On the other hand, some board members have a market background in corporations and the business community. The hiring decisions of the board acted as frames that allowed the museum to perceive and identify organisational practices from both the social and market logics due to the board experience in both logics. For instance, in 2013 Tate Modern has created a new post of e-commerce director to sharpen the focus of generating income from digital (TGMM, 2013a). This practice conforms to the hybridisation approach that is suggested by Battilana and Dorado (2010) which recommends creating a common organizational identity through hiring individuals that carry the competing logics. Thus, hiring and socialisation practices of Tate Modern have provided frames to enact material practices from multiple logics. The hiring of a new chair with a field background reflects an orientation towards arts expertise as Tate director said:

> "It marks a new chapter for Tate but is also a great springboard from which other things will grow." – Tate Director (Brown, 2014, para. 2)

The governance structure of Tate Modern is a frame that enhanced the symbolic construction of hybrid practices where there is an audit committee to provide the board of

trustees with guidelines of adequate processes, risk management, and internal controls. Additionally, the audit committee reviews the museum's financial strategy to ensure compliance with regulations. Accordingly, the museum through this committee is applying a hybrid governance approach as suggested by Bruneel et al. (2016). The committee is ensuring risk management by making alignment of goals and resources while ensuring that activities, both social and commercial, are complying with the expectations of stakeholders i.e. the government and charity regulations.

Tate Modern is working to reduce costs alongside increasing revenues to balance the budget with a major part to tackle the deficit is staff costs. In 2012, Tate has frozen staff reward for two years that affected negatively staff retention rate with the turnover rate increasing as well as lower motivation and commitment (TGMM, 2012a). The board of trustees was informed that comparative to other museums in the field staff are low paid and this restrains attracting talents (TGMM, 2012a). Thus, staff pay and reward section does not represent an opportunity to cut costs but on the contrary is obstructing Tate Modern efforts to decrease costs and is prompting organisational actors to explore other solutions for the budget dilemma.

6.4.4 Narratives

The last stage in the institutional logics emergence is enacting organisational practices and identities through narratives. The social logic was dominant until the financial crisis of 2008 which presented a new reality of funding for art museums. Tate Modern has gradually adopted the market logic by emphasising the importance of self-generated income to enable the gallery to deliver the social mission. With a focus on innovative solutions, Tate Modern has successfully incorporated the market logic but without diminishing the social logic leading to hybrid organising principles. There are several narratives that were observed that enabled this hybridity which are increased trading activities including corporate sponsorships, digital utilisation for new value creation, developing an online membership scheme, digital transformation of the organisation, pop-up shops outside the gallery, learning initiatives, and using the extension project to pursue both trade and social activities.

While the museum is free of charge to conform to the government legislation, it has enacted business practices in different ways. The commercial activities are essential to cover operational costs to fill the gap of insufficient funding. The pursuit of other sources of income

rather than relying on government funding is crucial as emphasised by the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport:

"Greater freedom for museums to spend reserves as they see fit, the flexibility to opt out of government procurement controls, and the power to take loans from their sponsoring department. Together, this forms a fantastic new package for these institutions." (Pickford, 2013, para. 9)

Tate Modern is utilising a variety of methods to diversify self-generated income. The museum is offering in-museum services which are complementary for the experience of visitors and require charging fees. Some of these services are occasionally and others are permanent but they are related to the main cause of the museum. For instance, a temporary activity is the EY exhibition that shows the connections between French and British artists was held for a six months period in 2018 which is charging visitors but optional. On the other hand, the museum has permanent commercial activities such as the gifts shop which is a cash cow especially from tourists who are looking for souvenirs. Additionally, there are recurring seasonal events such as ice skating during summer.

"The majority of our income, however, is generated through trading operations and the support of a wide variety of organisations and individuals. We are hugely grateful for this generosity, increasingly important at a time of prolonged economic recession and funding cuts." – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 43)

Tate Modern has developed a comprehensive digital strategy that covers audience experience, practices of the museum, and organisational structure and processes. First, digitisation was utilised by Tate Modern to create revenue streams through different applications. The museum has adopted paperless tickets to exhibitions that can be conveniently purchased on the website or in the app. Online shop to sell digital products such as online course, apps, e-books that are in addition to traditional printed books and other physical items. Digital tours guide to be purchased in phones to tour inside the gallery, and digital fundraising through online campaigns and donations.

"We balance the needs of visitors who come to the galleries with those who want to learn, participate, and engage with art and artists on digital platforms. By providing compelling digital experiences, Tate will significantly grow its audience and monetise the online traffic." – Digital Chief (Trendall, 2017, para. 6)

"'Invisible' and 'normalized', this is what they hope digital would become. Digital is a driver for collaboration and a merger of functions that were previously conceived as separate, a transformation and a process the institution has to go through to have an impact on the audiences." – Journalist (Gasparotti, 2014, para. 3)

"Responding to reductions in Grant-in-Aid in recent years, Tate has successfully increased its efficiency while maintaining high visitor numbers and increasing its digital audiences: great strides have been made in social media in particular." – Tate Annual Report (2016, p. 77)

Tate Modern has utilised digitisation to increase customer value through many initiatives. One such example is Tate Time Machine that interacts with audiences by showing past events of how arts have been shaped by history, asks the audience to predict the future of arts, and take their contact data to send them email in a year's time. The developer of Tate Time Machine:

"Challenge the conventional way in which galleries tell stories about art by showing people why the art was made and how it has affected society." (Dawood, 2016, para. 5)

"Mechanic acts as both a fun way to transform passengers into active travellers in charge of their own destiny, as well as a great opportunity for Tate to instigate conversation and build a long-term digital relationship with new fans and supporters." (Blue State Digital, 2018, para. 5)

It is a learning machine and a form of marketing involving collecting users' data to communicate and promote the museum. Rather than a traditional unattractive opt-in approach, interactive services combined opt-in with an appealing learning experience. Tate Time Machine is an innovative marketing tool that increases customer value by collecting their contact data and communicate with them based on their request as a form of interaction with customers to promote the museum and retain the visitors' loyalty. By this way, the customers' consent to opt-in is gained in a creative way that keeps them engaged with the gallery and future events and exhibitions. When the gallery communicates with customers, it is a reminder for them to consider visiting the gallery and exhibitions. Thus, more visitors are loyal to revisit the gallery in the future which in turn increases the value per customer. It is an innovation because it shifts away from the traditional way of asking customers for communication permission to a creative way of engaging customers with the gallery's

activities. The Time Machine provides new value through an interactive service that transforms the way audiences engage with art and its story. This digital project additionally provides a competitive advantage as it is a creative service to engage with audiences and makes it more attractive to visit the gallery and enjoy this interactive experience. Through this innovation, audiences are more likely to interact with arts and other artistic activities to deliver the social mission as well as complementary purchases from the gallery to increase self-generated income.

The main outcome for Tate Modern is enhancing audience engagement through innovative means. The original objective behind the interactive service was to generate buzz and make people talk about the new Tate Modern extension; however, it provided unintended insights by redefining how people see art. As such, it marks a digital transformation enabling the experiencing of art from traditional visits to be more engaging and entertaining. Many audiences perceived the ma- chine as a creative idea that transforms the way they engage with art.

"Through the Time Machine, audiences get a taste of what the new Tate Modern experience will be like — seeing some of their favourite works in a new light, while discovering artists that they may never have heard of before." – Head of Membership and Audience Engagement (Blue State Digital, 2018, para. 7)

In general, the Tate Time Machine is an interactive service that has achieved multiple objectives to collect audiences' data, enhance audience retention, and improve art experiences. Although the Tate Time Machine was not a large-scale project, the successful outcome shows that interactive services enhance social mission by providing an innovative and appealing experience while feeding into business metrics by developing marketing performance through communicating with audiences leading to higher retention.

Another creative digital project is the After Dark which enables audiences to control robots to roam inside the gallery at night (Trendall, 2017). The robots include artificial intelligence that shows information of arts when the robot sees them which enhances learning. Robots are active only at night during closing hours and through them users can discover and see art. The robots include artificial intelligence that shows information about art when the visitor sees them. Tate Modern is the first gallery to deploy robots to see and learn about art in the actual gallery rather than scanned arts thus marking a new way to

experience art. The After Dark project creates a new aesthetic experience as audiences can interact with art inside the gallery from their homes. It enhances learning by attracting audiences to engage with art at night in a way that is similar to other sedentary activities at home. The advantage of the After Dark project is providing an easier access to gallery for audiences to engage with arts from the convenience of their homes. The creativity of the project lies in utilising closing hours at night to keep the gallery open by using robots. In addition to convenience, it provides new value as audiences are able to visit the gallery virtually. Visiting through robots and roaming inside the gallery is a more realistic experience than viewing art on websites and re- presents the most advanced innovation to experience the actual visit virtually.

> *"You forget about the robot in your hands, and it just becomes an extension of your mind – that's how technology ought to be."* – Astronaut (Kennedy, 2014, para. 8)

The roaming robots affect the social mission of Tate Modern by mainly increasing the reach of art and redefining arts engagement. As the gallery is inactive during night hours and the showroom is idle, developing the new digital approach to experiencing art serves audiences who cannot attend opening hours and extends the reach to wider audiences as over 40,000 people have used the new service (TAR, 2015). Additionally, some audiences may prefer a robotic experience rather than visiting the gallery thus providing vacant spaces for other visitors to attend during opening hours leading overall to more capacity and visitors. The other fundamental effect of the robotics experience is to mark a new way to interact with art. The success of this innovation may encourage other organisations in the field to imitate the project leading to diffusion and to it becoming a norm when experiencing art.

> *"Over 40,000 people worldwide tuned in to watch the live stream. Colonel Chris Hadfield, former Commander of the International Space Station, was the first person to drive one of the robots, which he did from his home in Toronto, tweeting about it to his one million followers."* (TAR, 2015, p. 34)

> *"Depending on your computer you can't always control them but you can still watch the 4 robots exploring. You fill out a form and if you fit the brief you go in a queue to control them ... I had a look the last two nights (as they appear to be in different parts of the museum on different nights) and it was pretty cool."* – Consumer

Robotics is not the only digital initiative by Tate Modern to provide a new experience. The gallery embraced virtual reality with an exhibition that allowed visitors to experience a three-dimensional model of an artist's studio based in Paris (Coates, 2019). The exhibition successfully conveyed a realistic and recreational experience that represent an attractive new way to interact with art.

"It's a way of conveying feeling, helping people feel a connection with an artist. It's a different way of absorbing that information, and it makes the artist a living person." – Organisational Actor (Coates, 2019, para. 18)

Tate Modern developed the After Dark project that enables audiences to roam inside the gallery at night from their homes in partner- ship with a robotics supplier. This project, alongside the virtual reality exhibitions, resulted in the emergence of the hybrid outcomes by creating new value for audiences to use and experience art. Through such innovations, more audiences interact with the gallery and art digitally which delivers the social mission at lower costs.

"It's what appeals to audiences and is linked to their revenue. Ultimately visitors want more digitisation as we consumer everything through our phones these days and it can be used to stop known issues such as people crowding round labels if the label can be digitised."

"In addition to the close to 7.5 million people who went to its physical galleries last year, Tate's website attracted roughly double that number of visitors. A website refresh conducted in 2016 is just one strand of a digital strategy that Tate has been pursuing for several years." – Digital Chief (Trendall, 2017, para. 3)

Social media presence is important for Tate Modern through Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, among others to keep audiences updated with the latest exhibitions and maintain brand awareness.

"Through embracing digital activity and skills across the organization Tate aims to use digital platforms and channels to provide rich content for existing and new audiences for art, to create and nurture an engaged arts community and to maximise the associated revenue opportunities." – Head of Online (Stack, 2013, para. 3)

"More opportunities for Tate Modern's millions of visitors to explore and interact with the collection, in new and engaging ways." – Digital Director (Framestore, 2018, para. 4)

"Tate's digital work has undergone a significant revolution. On Twitter, Tate has become the most followed museum in the world. We have an equally strong presence on other platforms, such as Instagram, and through collaboration with companies like Facebook." – Tate Annual Report (2016, p. 5)

Social media is further being utilised creatively to engage with visitors. A space was created for visitors to share their thoughts about art through Twitter, Facebook, among other channels. The digital comments were projected onto the walls with more than 122,000 people that engaged (TAR, 2013).

"Artistic spaces are no longer just physical; they have become the integrated product of museums, galleries and the digital realm. Using new technology projects enable the audience to become both creator and critic. Tate is evolving into an organisation in which digital is the norm." – Tate Annual Report (2013, p. 2)

Tate creates apps for engagement with visitors or for special exhibitions. Apps are developed through a partnership with Bloomberg (TAR, 2013). For instance, The Magic Tate Ball app uses the date, time-of-day, and the user's geographical location to suggest related works of art from the Tate collection (TAR, 2013).

"It is clear that this is an area of great opportunity for the organization, and digital publications are expected to become a significant revenue stream in the future." – Head of Online (Avery, 2014, para. 11)

"The rise of Instagram has meant it's easier to share what an exhibition looks like to entice people to visit. It has also led to a rise in immersive experiences at exhibitions, i.e. something you can't perceive by browsing online. This has been helped by advances in technology around projectors and virtual reality so that audiences can't get the same feeling at home."

Digitisation was utilised by Tate Modern to create revenue streams through different methods (see Table 6.3). The gallery launched an online membership dashboard to manage and pay for the membership and stay informed about upcoming events. The membership

scheme provides a variety of benefits such as members' hours to enjoy special exhibitions, members' rooms, discounts in the Tate shop, and other benefits. Members can attend unlimited exhibitions and events without additional payments and get priority entry to the museum without having to queue. Moreover, they receive discounts at the museum's shops, cafes, and restaurants. Although members do not pay for exhibitions which reduces the income per visitor, having them as members ensures loyal customers and sustained income (see Figure 5). Members are a vital financial source for Tate Modern and are the largest source of income after the government grants (TAR, 2018). The impact of the online membership on the business model of Tate Modern is having a predictable income that creates some form of sustainability rather than the volatile public funding (Brown, 2013). Thus, Tate Modern shifted the revenue model significantly from being externally dependent to internally self-generated. Nevertheless, the gallery has not became a traditional for-profit business but innovated the business model through the example of the online membership that generates consistent income to finance the gallery while maintaining the social mission of artistic activities and free admission (see Table 6.3).

"The better route is to push more membership and levels of membership to ensure they receive more donations from day to day visitors. I think the introduction of NFC touch pads to donate should massively increase donations."

"Art is my life. I find it fascinating. I just love it. That's why I'm a member." – Tate Member (TAR, 2013, p. 46)

Figure 5 Online Membership Income to Other Trading Income in Tate Modern
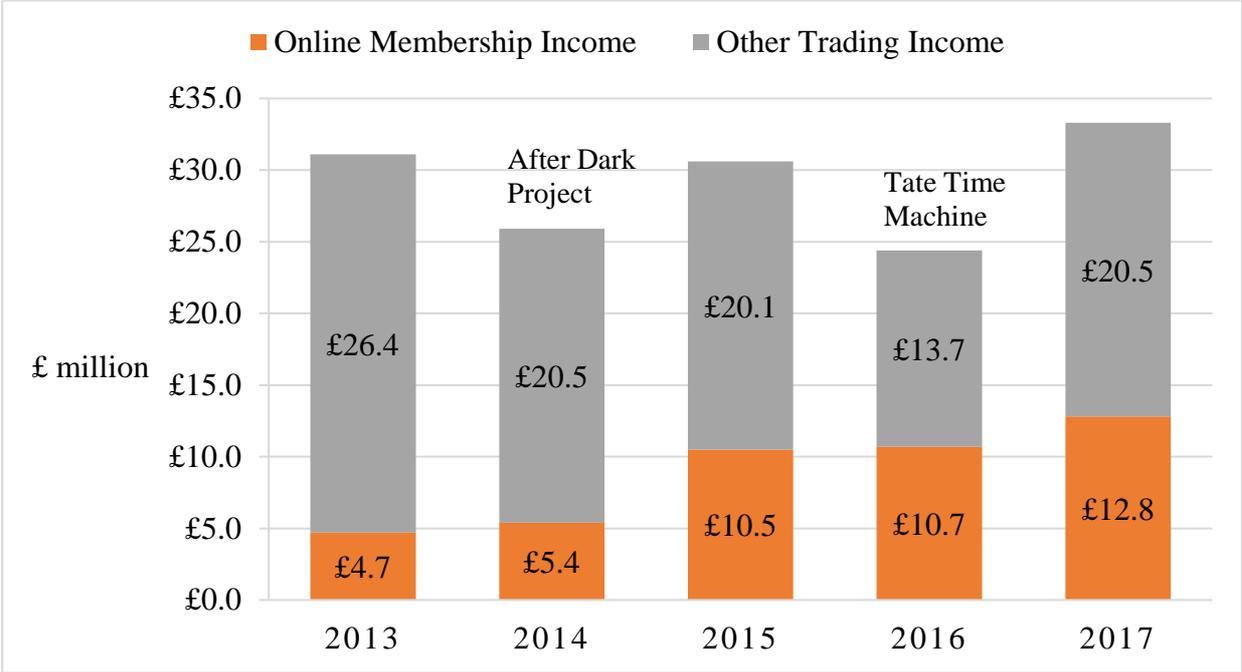
Source: Tate Annual Report (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017)

Internally, Tate Modern is adopting digital transformation in the organisation by digitising organisational structure and processes (Stack, 2013). The gallery is aiming to transform to a digital organisation by making all departments work with digital activities. New staff hiring to train and equip them with digital skills as part of their work. Initiating new processes or work by adopting cross-department collaborations through digital tools. Governance and leadership will digitise through a new organisational structure to utilise the potential of digital. Performance indicators to incorporate digital practices of content, community, revenue, and organisational change towards digitisation.

> *"New skills and activities need to be brought into the museum (e.g. partnership management, data analytics, software development, and media production). These new activities can be either within existing areas of activity or new functions. In either case they need embedding into the museum's structure, processes and governance."* – Former Head of Online

The digital projects enabled diversification of self-generated income by increasing customer value and creating new values that led to customer purchases. E-commerce by Tate Modern provided new value for customers to buy souvenirs, art prints, and other

items through the online shop thus developing revenues. Digitisation has enabled Tate Modern to enhance its financial aspects to diversify self-generated income and depend less on grants-in-aid. Thus, digitisation can be utilised for dual objectives to strengthen the social mission and develop revenue streams conforming to the hybrid structure.

Table 6.3 Digital Projects and Outcomes for Tate Modern

Digital Projects	Implications	Outcomes
Tate Time Machine: digital experience that allows visitors to travel back in time to discover how art has been shaped by history	Collecting audience data to contact them after one year and maintain a relationship	Frequent visits to the gallery
IK Prize: a contest to present ideas for using technology to explore and enjoy art	Compelling audiences to participate in an art related activity Sourcing ideas to develop social mission	Frequent visits to the gallery Co-creation with audience of new services
After Dark: roaming the gallery at night from home using guided robots	Roaming the gallery online through robots rather than traditional visits	Frequent visits to the gallery
Virtual Reality: interacting with art virtually through an immersive experience	Interacting with art that is in the studios of foreign artists	Higher engagement with the gallery
Social Media: interacting with audiences and promoting the gallery	Keeping audiences informed of news and engaging online	Higher engagement with the gallery

Online Membership: a paid scheme to enjoy exclusive benefits	Maintaining a long-term relationship with audiences to inform them about exhibitions to attend and give special offers A paid annual membership that generates revenue from members	Frequent visits to the gallery and recurring income per customer New revenue streams
Online Shop: selling digital and physical products including online courses, e-books, gifts, among others	Increased revenue from sales of products	Wider access to the shop and sales to customers globally

Trade activities of Tate Modern went beyond the gallery to launch pop-up shops outside the gallery in different locations around London (TGMM, 2014b). The pop-up shop is not merely a traditional shop like the gifts shop, rather it is more aligned with social goals and includes events programme, life-drawing studio, cinema, workshop, and forum (London Pop-ups, 2014). A curated retail selection offers prints of arts, local Tate publications, and Tate products. However, the pop-up shops are experimental with temporary periods but they have proved a social value so far as visitors engage with art and create prints to purchase (Wood, 2018). Thus, the pop-up shops reflect hybridity through a successful combination of income generation with social outcomes.

"We are thrilled to be working with Tate to host this exciting pop-up. The layering of art and technology has the power to be truly transformative – even more so when combined with the opportunity to take home a creation of one's own design." – Chair of Value Retail Management (Wood, 2018, para. 6)

"We are always looking to inspire creativity and design thinking, and our hope is that this collaboration will empower our guests to experience art in a whole new way." – Chair of Value Retail Management (Wood, 2018, para. 7)

In 2014, the director of learning introduced an ambitious learning initiative named Tate Exchange that is a place for audiences to create arts and reflect their meaning in their lives (TGMM, 2014d). Following a collaboration with 60 diverse associates of arts organisations and universities, Tate Exchange was launched in 2016 and contributes to enhance social value and sustain attendance to the gallery (TGMM, 2015d; Marazuela, 2018). An example of Tate Exchange activity is the participation by members of the public to listen and interact with artists to exchange views and opinions of arts and then were asked how this interaction challenged their previously held misconceptions (Springall, 2017). Conforming to vision 2020 to attract young audiences, Tate Exchange conducted a programme between Tate and schools to extend learning to young audiences with special educational needs and disabilities by making art and responding creatively to the collection (Ryan-Ndegwa, 2018).

"Tate is reflective of a wider arts' sector that needs to change. There need to be different voices in the sector, at all levels. I think Tate Exchange agitates some of that institutional change, not just within Tate, but elsewhere: other organisations and sectors are looking to us." – Head of Tate Exchange (Marazuela, 2018, para. 11)

The extension project of Tate Modern that started the development in 2009 had faced severe financial difficulties that delayed the initial target opening date of 2012 but overcame this challenge by successfully raising more funds to launch in 2016 (Pickford, 2015; Higgins, 2016). A major goal of the project is to accommodate more visitors conforming to the social logic to enhance the social impact and this was achieved by increasing the size of the gallery by 60% (BBC, 2014).

"It is hard to understate the scale of ambition of the new extension. It increases Tate Modern's size by 60 per cent, rising through 10 floors." – Journalist (Crompton, 2016, para. 25)

The larger space that is provided by the extension enabled the development of explore spaces to allow visitors to experience Tate's archive in innovative ways (Framestore, 2018). The collection has been expanded with 800 works by 300 artists from more than 50 countries (Hettie, 2016). This enabled to move forward towards Tate's vision 2020 by having a diverse collection of contemporary art. Alongside social objectives, the extension project to have revenue streams including catering, donations, and halls for charging exhibitions (TGMM, 2014a).

"The new Tate Modern is an instrument that will allow us to offer a rich variety of experiences to visitors and opportunities to artists for different kinds of presentation of their work." – Tate Director (Pickford, 2015, para. 3)

"We wanted to do two things when we opened the new building. First, we wanted to justify the extension: we wanted to show works we were unable to show before, or which we acquired since 2000 – new and different types of art. The other thing was to create a particular narrative in the new building, and to give a concrete account of why the basement provides a unique space for time-based media and performance." – Tate Director (Dieckvoss, 2016, para. 4)

6.4.5 The Interrelationship between Decision-making with Sensemaking and Collective Mobilisation

The mechanism of sensemaking was active during the institutional change process and had interacted with decision-making. When actors theorise appropriate organisational practices, they go through sensemaking by identifying events and interpret to theorise. For instance, the constant cuts of public funding since 2009 is a crucial event that was identified by organisational actors. Their interpretation shows that if the trend continues, the financial situation of the gallery is critical and may not be able to carry out social activities (TAR, 2013). Based on that sensemaking, they theorised they that it is essential to develop self-generated income and diversify private income sources. Other examples reveal the same interrelationship including vision 2020, corporate sponsorships, and the digital strategy whereby actors' sensemaking led them to decide on organisational practices.

While sensemaking leads to decision-making, the interrelationship is reciprocal as decision-making triggers sensemaking. Mainly the data show that decisions constitute events that organisational actors interpret their consequences. For instance, the digital strategy led to evolution in the way the gallery provides services and engage with audiences. The outcomes made actors interpret this event as has the potential to grow audiences and provide access for audiences that are unable to visit the gallery (Trendall, 2017). Another decision that shows interaction with sensemaking is the online membership scheme with results that exceeded expectations by having the largest members among museums in Europe with an 80% retention rate, and creating a consistent income (TGMM, 2013d). Organisational actors interpreted this decision and outcome as successful with a prediction that membership is

going to continue growing so have decided to align the membership strategy with other strategies such as learning.

The other mechanism that had interacted with both decision-making and sensemaking is collective mobilisation. Tate Modern is a well-known example of a corporate sponsorship by British Petroleum that lasted for 26 years (Khomami, 2016). The gallery had received an average of £245,000 a year between 1990 to 2006 (Rustin & Arnett, 2015).

"BP is one of the most important sponsors of the arts in the UK supporting Tate as well as several other leading cultural institutions." – Tate (Brown, 2015, para. 15)

"The BP-Tate relationship is one of the UK's longest-running cultural sponsorships. BP is a true friend to the arts for some; an oil company trying desperately to improve its tarnished image for others" – Journalist (Brown, 2015, para. 2)

Critics believe that the sponsorship deal is based on the market logic as the sponsor aims to improve corporate image and increase legitimacy while the sponsored is seeking cash flows (Wright, 2014). The sponsored gallery should be able to justify its position of the sponsorship to gain legitimacy and Tate acknowledged the aim is money (Collins, 2015).

"An arts organisation must have a clear line and understand its core principles before negotiations with a sponsor start. Its position must be defensible." – Journalist (Wright, 2014, para. 11)

"Donations often come with strings attached that can dictate how a museum is run and what exhibitions it puts on. This means a museum may no longer be producing content that's in the public interest, but rather in the interests of sponsors."

"Too much commercialisation can result in lesser known works / items not being displayed. However, I do think museums need to think commercially in terms of what their visitors want."

The objection by the professional community is not based on the sponsorship practice itself or the sponsor influence on arts but the association with sponsors that are considered against the core social mission. Artists demand picking ethical sponsors with values that align with museums (Youngs, 2015). BP sponsorship was controversial due to the sector and activities of the sponsor which causes environmental damage for the sake of profitability and

that contradicts with the values of social organisations such as Tate Modern that seeks public utility. The opposition grew prompting a group of artists and environmentalist to occupy Tate Modern overnight for 25 hours warning about climate change and demanding an end of the sponsorship deal with BP (Mathiesen, 2015).

"To act in accordance with the realities of climate breakdown, to stand in solidarity with the millions of people already feeling its catastrophic effects, to have any hope of turning the ship around in the small window of time we have left, we can no longer sanction the behaviour of the oil majors. By allowing them to share a platform with our respected cultural organisations we are complicit in the destruction they are wreaking on our planet." – Activist (Yamin, 2019, para. 8)

"BP's horrendous environmental record, and their role in obfuscating climate science and slowing down a meaningful response to climate change – the greatest threat to humanity's continued survival." – Artist (Brown, 2015, para. 8)

"Art has always been tied closely to activism but we're seeing a lot more activity here including artists protesting against sponsorship and investment … the climate emergency has also led to greater protests against the oil and gas industries sponsoring exhibitions."

After the BP sponsorship had ended in 2016, Tate Modern has signed a sponsorship deal of the gallery with Hyundai for 11 years (Brown, 2014). The value of the deal was not released but is estimated to be around £545,000 a year (Millard, 2014). Tate Modern is aiming to generate £158m to finance the extension project and the funding from Hyundai was crucial to acquire new arts. The financial support from the car manufacturer is strong relieving the pressure on government's funding.

"Tate works with a wide range of corporate organisations and generates the majority of its funding from earned income and private sources. The support that these organisations give is extremely important and allows us to deliver a hugely successful and popular programme." – Tate (Brown, 2015, para. 16)

Although controversial ethical issues surround sponsorships from corporations, Tate Modern affirms that without such sponsorships it will not be able to finance social activities. Thus, organisational actors are defending this practice.

"We have to be careful not to let personal prejudice or sentiment get in the way of fundraising for public benefit. Within the framework of legality it is very difficult for a public institution to say, 'I don't like this person, I don't like this company." – Tate Modern Director (Higgins, 2016, para. 8)

"We have a responsibility to generate [private] funds over and above our public funds and we should not take any actions to undermine that." – Head of Tate Galleries (Mecalister, 2016, para. 8)

The data reveal that collective mobilisation had interacted with decision-making in a reciprocal relation while sensemaking mediated this relationship. The example of sponsorship shows that when the professional community mobilised and took action against what they consider unethical practice for an art museum has triggered sensemaking of organisational actors which, in turn, made a decision to end the sponsorship. On the other hand, decision-making interacts with sensemaking. The decision by actors to end the sponsorship by British Petroleum has relieved the professional community. However, organisational actors went through sensemaking and realised the need to initiate another sponsorship in order to keep generating funds. This time they have decided to agree with a sponsor that is considered more accepted ethically. Thus, decision-making, sensemaking, and collective mobilisation have all interacted in driving institutional change at Tate Modern.

6.4.6 Summary of Key Findings

The case study of Tate Modern was employed to enhance the understanding of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change and clarify the role of decision-making in the emergence of a hybrid logic (see Table 6.4). The data show that actors in Tate Modern were triggered by the institutional environment to enact change in order to survive alongside maintaining legitimacy. The gallery was mainly disrupted by the constant cuts in grants in aid from the government following the global financial crisis. The decline in grants is a major event that is threatening the ability of the gallery to execute its social mission. Tate Modern handled this dilemma creatively by not only enacting commercial practices but by innovating new and creative ways to create homogenisation social practices such as the digital strategy to engage with audiences as well as create revenue streams through more trading activities. The outcome is a hybrid arrangement as Tate Modern maintains the social logic at the core but has

integrated the market logic mainly to decrease the reliance on public funding. This hybridity was possible by the creative initiatives especially digital utilisation.

Tate Modern foresaw that it will be unable to deliver the social activities given the constant decline in grants from the government which represent a major source of income. The board of trustees was alerted that financial reports show a growing threat that will disrupt the operations of the gallery so solutions are required. Besides, visitors are declining since the global financial crisis which undermined the social impact and requires innovative ways to reach audiences. Although initially Tate Modern had focused on maintaining the social logic, creating a hybrid logic became inevitable to tackle the dilemma of insufficient income by adopting organising principles from both the social and market logics. The result is successfully delivering the social mission to greater audiences and financing the gallery's operations by diversifying revenue streams. Initiatives such as digitisation is considered an innovative solution to reach larger audiences with lower costs thus maintaining the social logic. Utilising opportunities to create revenue streams such as corporate sponsorships and the membership scheme have helped to overcome the financial dilemma. Thus, institutional change occurred as a response to threats and uncertainties imposed by the institutional environment in order to survive and maintain legitimacy.

The pressures created by the institutional environment represented by external events through cultural policies of the UK government have pushed Tate Modern to find innovative solutions to comply to multiple demands. Organisational actors theorised a vision for 2020 to enhance the social impact and reach wider audiences, identified responses to adapt to the cuts of public grants, recognised the importance of trading and sponsorship for survival, and a digital strategy to transform the gallery. A set of frames have inspired which practices to enact including funding constrains, the extension project, the level of visitors, hiring choices, governance, and staff costs. Organisational actors had arrived at several decisions that fundamentally changed the way the organisation works. Trading activities are widely utilised in line with shrinking public funding, digital initiatives were enacted to enhance the social impact and strengthen self-generated income, the online membership scheme maintains loyal customers, digital transformation of the organisation to increase efficiency, pop-up shops outside the gallery as commercial branches to generate income, learning projects to deliver the social mission, and using the extension project for trading and social activities. The case shows that the social and market logics were adopted in novel ways to serve both of them

simultaneously. For instance, the online membership scheme has created self-generated income while feeding into the social mission by sustaining higher level of the visitors' retention to exhibitions. Thus, creative solutions enabled Tate Modern to combine multiple organising principles resulting in a hybrid logic.

Table 6.4 Summary of Findings: Tate Modern

Social Logic	Market Logic
Theories	
Free entry to the main gallery and some exhibitions	Constant cuts in public funding from grants in aid and are expected to persist
Vision 2020 to attract wider audiences with a special focus on young people	Further cuts in public grants intensify operational risks
A digital strategy to enhance the social impact through learning programmes and reach wider audiences	Higher importance for trading activities to decrease the reliance on public funding
Frames	
The extension project is an opportunity to expand social activities	Funding constrains and continued cuts in public grants
A sharp decline in the level of visitors	Hiring e-commerce specialist to develop commercial activities
Governance structure monitors the social mission and financial control	Staff are low paid resulting in higher turnover rate and hindering attracting talents
Narratives	

Digital projects to grow the social value creatively	Expand trading activities with corporate sponsorships
Learning projects such as Tate Exchange that allows interactions between audiences and artists	Digital transformation of the organisation to enhance the work efficiency
Extension project to enhance the social impact by accommodating more visitors	Digital projects to generate higher income
Online membership sustains visitors' level to exhibitions	Online membership scheme to generate higher revenues
Pop-up shops deliver the social value through interaction with arts	Pop-up shops outside the gallery include a retail shop

6.5 Case Study of the Pompidou Centre

6.5.1 Overview

The Pompidou Centre is a contemporary art museum in Paris, France, which was founded in 1977 and displays arts from popular figures including Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Henri Matisse, among others (Centre Pompidou, 2018). The main gallery in Paris is a high-tech architecture building and one of the largest art museums in the world with over 100,000 works. There have been more than 180 million visitors to the museum since its opening in 1977, and as of 2017 it welcomes over three million visitors annually. Around twenty special exhibitions are organised each year with the aim to explore interactions between visual arts (CGI, 2014). In addition to exhibitions, the Pompidou Centre organises conferences and debates on society and encourages the public to attend these events as part of a social mission for education and learning (Azimi & Régnier, 2015).

With temporarily long-term international outposts, Pompidou is considered an example of a museum that is pursuing globalisation. The Pompidou Centre is one of the first art museums in France to conduct international exhibitions by opening galleries in Malaga and Shanghai among other places. According to the museum, it is part of an updated strategy to be a global player and strengthen links with emerging markets such as China and Latin America (Centre Pompidou, 2007). The international strategy mainly involves temporary galleries being set up for months or years (e.g. Malaga exhibition for five years). The strategy is growing with an upcoming mega gallery in Brussels to launch in 2022. Additionally, the centre has innovated new ways to reach global audiences by developing a virtual experience to enable audiences to experience arts without the need to visit the physical gallery. Thus, Pompidou became a symbol of a global museum extending reach beyond France to the world.

Similar to Louvre Abu Dhabi, the Pompidou Centre has adopted cultural globalisation logic by establishing a strategy to become a global museum (Centre Pompidou, 2007). The strategy is not on a governmental level like the Louvre but mainly organisational whereby developed by internal actors in the organisation. However, the strategy emerged as a result of cultural policies that aim toward cultural decentralisation along an austerity climate that followed the global financial crisis of 2008. The second gallery of Pompidou is in France in the city of Metz that was launched in 2010, then followed by a gallery outside France in Spain where it was launched in Malaga in 2015 (Art Media Agency, 2018; Davies, 2010).

Other galleries are planned and being developed in Shanghai and Brussels among other cities. Unlike Louvre Abu Dhabi, Pompidou is not facing collective resistance by stakeholders against global initiatives but some modest criticism without an influence on the global strategy. Nevertheless, the Pompidou Centre recognises that it is a French cultural representation and thus maintains the cultural heritage logic. The collections of overseas galleries are hybrid from the French culture and local culture of the host city. The Pompidou Centre has managed to balance between the cultural heritage logic and globalisation logic through different means including the aforementioned example of hybrid collections alongside the design of the galleries and the utilisation of digitisation. In the case analysis of the Pompidou Centre, the study had examined the role of sensemaking in the emergence of institutional logics using the sensemaking process that includes identifying, interpreting, and taking action (Weick et al., 2005).

6.5.2 Identifying

The role of identifying issues and circumstances in the emergence of a hybrid logic is examined in the case. Both external events from the institutional environment and internal within the organisation have influenced change at the Pompidou Centre. The issues identified are mainly internal relevant to the social mission and operation of the gallery with some external influence from the French cultural ministry. Externally, the cultural ministry has enacted a set of proposals aimed at circulating French cultural heritage. Internally, the Pompidou Centre has many issues to resolve including lack of space, volatile funding, and declining local visitors. The centre experimented a solution through a mobile centre which has provided insights of the potential from expansion and helped to formulate performance objectives.

The financial situation of the Pompidou Centre is challenging mainly as a result of the cultural policies and marketisation that are being enforced by the government which implies that museums have to look for themselves financially (Alexander et al., 2018). The centre is charging for admission but tickets revenue is lower than what is needed to breakeven and cover costs (L'Express, 2013).

> *"Our budget is fragile. The state subsidy, about 70 million a year, was undervalued in 2000 when the Centre reopened after work. We came back in 2011, but the state reduced its subsidy by 5%."* – The Pompidou Centre President (Guerrin, 2012, para. 5)

"In 2013, we will probably have to make choices, perhaps to sacrifice exhibitions." –
The Pompidou Centre President (Le Figaro, 2012, para. 1)

The shrinking income is line with increasing purchases of art works to display in the gallery. Insufficient financials are limiting the centre's capability for acquisitions that restricts organising exhibitions, and the centre's ability to operate.

"It is true that the production of exhibitions requires more and more credits, in particular because of the inflation of insurance premiums which increase in proportion to the significant rise in the prices of the art market." – The Pompidou Metz Director (Dupuis-Remond, 2016, para. 4)

"The prices at which young artists are sold today, are all too often by default way over the budget of public institutions. The challenge then is to rethink the practices of collecting, and the role of heritage." – Academic

Besides constraining exhibitions, the shortage of funding is resulting in cut of jobs which reduces the operational capacity of the gallery (Le Figaro, 2012). These job losses will lead to fewer cultural projects at the centre (The Telegraph, 2009). As a response, the staff had conducted a strike against these measures which disrupted the operations of the gallery.

"Provide clear answers on the future of the Pompidou Centre ... which is already on the verge of a financial abyss." – Striker (Expatica, 2009, para. 2)

"The Pompidou Centre was not able to open its doors to the public due to a strike by its staff, including personnel working at reception and those responsible for security." – The Pompidou Centre Director (Expatica, 2009, para. 1)

Another issue that was identified by organisational actors is the lack of exhibition space in the main centre in Paris which is capable to show only a small fraction of the total collection (Milliard, 2014). A suggested solution for the lack of space is physical expansion in France and beyond similar to the Pompidou Metz which is the second gallery in France outside Paris (Milliard, 2014). Thus, constructing more galleries represents a good opportunity for the centre to show art works that are in storage to extend display and enhance cultural enrichment (Rykner, 2013c).

"We have 120,000 works. This is one of the two biggest contemporary-art collections in the world, along with the MoMA in New York. We only exhibit 5 % of these works. We make many loans, we hand many works over to French museums obviously, but the idea is also to bring this collection overseas, to get it seen internationally." – The Pompidou Centre President (Art Media Agency, 2018, para. 6)

A vital measure of the social impact for any museum is the number of visitors. The local galleries of the Pompidou Centre in Paris and Metz have both experienced declines in visitors (Dupuis-Remond, 2016). This issue is prompting the centre to find solutions other than exhibitions and activities and such solutions include collaborating with institutions abroad to attract visitors beyond France.

"The social (or "democratising") mission of such a museum is a long-term and difficult issue, which has never found a satisfying solution. Working more narrowly with teaching institutions in order to have more scholarly visitors (especially those coming from "difficult" areas) would be the best mean, but the effects of such a policy are to be seen only in the future." – Ex-employee

Organisational actors had responded positively to the proposals of the cultural ministry to circulate art works. One aim of the proposals is to extend cultural reach to greater audiences.

"To bring works closer to a public which, whatever the reason, does not move to see them, constitutes the heart of the public service of Culture." – Culture Minister (Rykner, 2013d, para. 4)

The proposals were understood as encouraging expansion and outposts to display works from the Pompidou Centre in France and abroad. This has to be an integral part of the mission and operations of the centre. This cultural policy of international circulation of arts contributes to form the local cultural institutions in new countries, display more parts of the collection, and boost resources (Centre Pompidou, 2009).

"Affirm the influence of French creation in the world and promote its diffusion are essential concerns for fostering dialogue artistic world to which our creators must take their full share. It is also of a major issue of dynamism and image of our country: France must position itself as a major focus of artistic creation in the world, at a time

when this obviously appears to be related to innovation and movement of nations." – Annual report (Centre Pompidou, 2009, p. 88)

"Creating a temporary and simultaneous exchange of major works between territorial museums as part of an exceptional operation." – The Pompidou Centre President (Rykner, 2013d, para. 15)

"To present works from their collections inside and outside the walls, in museums as well as non-museums, accompanied by an adapted mediation system." – Artist (Rykner, 2013d, para. 11)

Due to the financial shortage that is affecting the budget along with the high capital expenditure that is required to launch more permanent galleries (Duponchelle, 2013), the Pompidou Centre has conducted a creative experiment of a mobile centre that roams in cities around France as well as abroad and settles in each city for several months which is an evolution of artistic presentation (Pacaud, 2011a). Each mobile centre costs around 400,000 to 500,000 euros to setup the mobile gallery and installation of arts which is less than the permanent gallery but more than the cost of organising exhibitions (Rykner, 2012). The costs are funded partially by the museum and by local authorities that when summed up the initiative becomes cost-effective (Pacaud, 2011b).

"The Pompidou Mobile Centre will be a traveling museum, housed in a structure nomadic, removable and transportable, designed for allow the presentation, in the best conditions conservation and safety, of masterpieces of art modern from the collection from the Pompidou Centre." – Annual Report (Centre Pompidou, 2009, p. 29)

"Provisional Pompidou Centres, which would be installed for three or four years in various places, in France and at the foreign." – The Pompidou Centre President (Duponchelle, 2013, para. 1)

The mobile centre experiment has proved a success especially by attracting the target number of visitors mainly because of the free access (Pacaud, 2011a). The experiment showed that branching could compensate the decline of visitors to the main gallery. Furthermore, organisational actors have recognised that outposts are an opportunity to strengthen financial resources when charging for admission.

"The Pompidou Mobile Centre has already reached the milestone of 200,000 visitors in five stages, including the current one in Le Havre. Eighteen percent of people had never set foot in a museum, while the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the proportion is 2%. 75% of these visitors have plan to visit another museum in the coming weeks." – The Pompidou Centre President (Duponchelle, 2013, para. 5)

"It will allow us to have additional resources: in cruise operation, that is to say when the place will be open and busy, it will be two million euros per year." – The Pompidou Centre President (Chépeau, 2017, para. 6)

The centre has developed performance objectives based on three priority themes (Centre Pompidou, 2017). First, cultivate innovation and originality of the Pompidou Centre in front of the public. Second, make live debate and invest in creative approaches within the society. Third, develop stronger finance management objectives of the establishment. These objectives will be monitored by the senior management and guide the organisation. They emphasise innovation and creativity to reach audiences and a higher consideration for financials.

"Though museums may be non-profit institutions, they are often required to qualify their activities from a conventionally capitalist logic, which sees the cultural goods they house classified — above anything else — as assets with financial potential, along with other means of potential income such as visitor numbers, boutiques and ticket numbers." – Journalist (Art Media Agency, 2013, para. 3)

6.5.3 Interpreting

Organisational actors interpret circumstances and events in order to choose the optimal course of action. The Pompidou Centre has identified that expansion and outposts are an opportunity to solve the shortage of funding, lack of space, and declining visitors. The mobile centre experiment is a success which is a positive sign. In the analysis of interpretations, the data show that organisational actors have focused on interpreting global presence, the potential of expansion to expose stored collection, the finance of outposts, the length of outposts, and the impact on cultural heritage.

The local expansion of Pompidou has lower interest for the president than abroad as the local art market is saturated. Overseas cultural presence is interesting for Pompidou to

enhance cultural presence and from the experience of others in the industry, it has proved important to strength financials.

> *"The idea of setting up little Centre Pompidous a little all over France bothers me as there are already magnificent museums and art centres, both public and private, all over our country. To celebrate our 40th birthday, we organised the Kandinsky exhibition with the Musée de Grenoble – they don't need a Centre and they drew 135,000 visitors. However, they needed our works, and of course we loaned them. I really believe in the mutual enrichment between the Centre, its collections and multiple existing venues. I don't believe in a Centre with multiple branches. Overseas, things are different: it's a question of the brand's presence, of France's renown, of diffusion of the Centre Pompidou model. This is a way for us to get to know the foreign artistic scene and to enrich our collections. Given the current financial situation, this type of contribution is very important. One-third of our own resources comes from sponsorship and this type of contract for using our brand."* – The Pompidou Centre President (Art Media Agency, 2018, para. 6)

Global orientation is part of a French nationwide policy of cultural decentralisation. Cultural decentralisation implies deconcentrating of cultural presence to go beyond local presence. Pompidou's strategy that is mentioned in annual reports widely confirms this orientation. The implication for Pompidou is to work towards national and international presence for its collection. In 2008, a new strategy was developed as a consequence which states that the Pompidou Centre intends to be a major player in the decentralisation of culture through developing and diversifying a cultural network of influence abroad (Centre Pompidou, 2008).

> *"To work forcefully towards cultural decentralization, the Centre Pompidou must go to the public, share more widely the riches of the collection, to promote the exchange."* – Annual Report (Centre Pompidou, 2008, p. 33)

> *"Now a contemporary art museum has to think and act globally because art is global. You can only act globally from a national viewpoint, so I think you need to be rooted in your national culture to be able to bring anything of significance globally. I think you need, at the same time, to develop the institution into a global player and to pay*

attention to your national artistic scene and to the national public." – The Pompidou
Centre President (Goldstein, 2010, para. 8)

Another goal from the global presence is to display the abundance of works in storage
that cannot be displayed due to the lack of space. Multiple galleries allow circulating works in
different galleries thus more art works are always in display reaching either audiences in the
main gallery in Paris or abroad (Milliard, 2014).

*"The international roaming policy is in full swing. It contributes to influence of the
institution towards new territories whose centre was up to now absent, while boosting
the management of the collection thanks to the presentation of exhibitions entirely or
very predominantly designed from the National Museum of Modern Art collection. It is
also a budgetary issue because this policy contributes significantly to the Centre's
resources."* – Annual Report (Centre Pompidou, 2008, p. 84)

*"The policy of international itineraries, resulting in by the presentation abroad of
exhibitions outside the walls designed exclusively or very predominantly from the
collection of the Pompidou Centre, contributes to form the institution to new countries
and territories until then, while promoting more active part of the collection and
contributing to boosting own resources."* – Annual Report (Centre Pompidou, 2009, p.
81)

*"Museums, universities and even shopping malls could host exhibitions of items drawn
from the Paris-based institution's 72,000-strong collection of modern and
contemporary art."* – The Pompidou Centre Director (Harris, 2012, para. 1)

Besides extending display and reach, abroad galleries are an important financial
contribution to the budget (Centre Pompidou, 2008). The planned outposts are financed
partially by the host city which cuts significantly the capital expenditure. For instance, the
construction cost of the proposed Brussels gallery is funded by the city (Rea, 2018).
Additionally, the city is responsible to support the museum financially every year during the
period of operation.

*"Looking for private funding seems to be a daily task for the museum managers, and it
is of course the best way to confront the public funding cuts. Another solution would be
to have a serious reflexion on the global task of a museum: is it to document present*

time creation (which means buying a lot), or to select a sample of the art works which will remain influent in the future, as heritage pieces? (which means buying less, even if at a higher coast, and encouraging private gifts)." – Ex-employee

"Although they talk about the value of cultural understanding ... the motivation behind globalisation is economic gain." – Academic

Organisational actors have reached a shared interpretation that the organisation should go global and develop abroad galleries. However, building permanent galleries incurs immense capital costs while the centre is facing financial challenges. This has pushed organisational actors to think innovatively and find creative solutions.

"We cannot build permanent satellites because of the economy and we cannot expand the Centre Pompidou in Paris." – The Pompidou Centre Director (Harris, 2012, para. 8)

"We need to rethink the model of blockbuster shows and focus more on the idea of the permanent collection. We could, for instance, rotate the collection more quickly to create a series of 'mini-shows' that will blur the boundaries between temporary exhibitions and the permanent collection." – The Pompidou Centre Director (Harris, 2012, para. 10)

"There is also the question of temporary Pompidou Centre. Malaga works well, it is a test bench because the temporary Pompidou Centre is interesting to the extent that it would take us culturally far." – The Pompidou Centre President (Azimi & Régnier, 2015, para. 12)

Organisational actors were inspired by the success of the mobile centre that roamed in France which attracted the target visitors. Temporary exhibitions are lower cost to organise and represent 85% of the revenue (Beyler, 2016). The Pompidou Centre has figured out that temporary galleries are the optimal solution.

"We're looking for ways to reach out to new audiences, to different parts of the world that don't involve necessarily adding more square meters. We need to be extremely mobile if we want to root into the country or if we want to be global. You have to cover so many new art scenes that you cannot think of buying subsidiaries everywhere. You cannot think of covering the entire world with small Pompidou centres. It's more about

networking within French society, doing research programs in emerging art scenes, creating support groups. So that's what we're working on right now, rather than thinking in terms of creating a subsidiary in China." – The Pompidou Centre President (Goldstein, 2010, para. 14)

"Present-day institutions should ask themselves whether they are obliged to continue the rat-race of blockbuster exhibitions, etc. and see whether they can find smarter solutions for using the budgets they have." – Academic

The importance of digital technologies was emphasised by organisational actors to utilise in order to conform to cultural policies. Actors have figured out that digital could help in achieving cultural democratisation and arts circulation through social networks. Digital can be used creatively to achieve an abroad expansion strategy combined with the temporary galleries.

"An element in the changing process affecting museums is technology. In a world which is becoming more and more technology-driven, also the fruition of museums is changing. Museums are now expected to have app, QR code, to be on different social networks. In other words, they are expected to use technology to widen accessibility and to make the museum experience more interactive. How we learn has changed drastically in the last two decades, and museums have now to rethink how they communicate with their public even from a technological point of view."

"Globalisation and digitisation are more mission driven activities which enable new ways to fulfil the museum's mission through partnerships and new technologies."

Although the global orientation makes the museum looks more alike a franchising business, the Pompidou Centre affirms it is not compromising cultural heritage and remains art focused. One way the Pompidou Centre argues that global orientation is in line with cultural heritage is that global galleries are temporary to display art works then return works to France which implies it is lending instead of selling French culture. By this way the Pompidou Centre achieves the globalisation objective but without treating arts as commercial products like other traditional franchise businesses.

"The gallery is not some opportunistic franchise, there to cash in on the Pompidou name, but an art centre in its own right, intended to have an identity very much its own." – Journalist (Glancey, 2010, para. 9)

"Rather than a spectacular gesture, our proposal offers an attitude of Radical Optimism: critical, receptive, dedicated, precise," – Architecture Team Statement (Block, 2018, para. 6)

6.5.4 Taking Action

Interpretations were transformed into action by enacting new material practices. The Pompidou Centre took action by launching several outposts in Europe, Asia, and other places around the world. French art works are being circulated and exposed to different cultures through outposts and lending. The launch of a virtual centre that provides an interactive experience of arts for people who are unable to visit the gallery or prefer engaging with arts from the convenience of their homes or offices. Enhanced sponsorship income from the virtual centre. Creative initiatives to attract more visitors with the assist of technology. Online shop and partnerships with corporations. The combined effects of these actions are achieving a global cultural presence and strengthening the financial performance.

The globalisation strategy has resulted in opening temporary galleries that are limited by months and years in several cities in different continents including a second domestic gallery in Metz, Spain Malaga, Belgium Brussels, China Shanghai, among others.

"With outposts and partnerships either launched or pending in Metz, Málaga, Brussels, the Gulf, Shanghai and possibly Latin America, is the Centre Pompidou turning into a new Guggenheim, eager to extend its influence globally? Encouraged by the success of its Málaga branch and of Louvre Abu Dhabi, the Pompidou's president [...] steering it into a number of new ventures, which he believes will deepen the Parisian museum's relationship with artistic centres it might otherwise be unable to reach." – Journalist (Noce, 2018, para. 1)

The first step to decentralise culture away from the capital and the second gallery to display Pompidou's works is inside France in Metz that was opened in 2010 (Davies, 2010). Metz gallery is designed by a Japanese architect in shape of a Chinese hat (Arendt, 2005). The cost is €69 million euros with 90% of which funded by the local, regional, and national

governments and has attracted €1.5 million euros from corporate sponsorships over five years (Glancey, 2010; Art Media Agency, 2013; Nicholson, 2005). By 2016, Metz gallery had organised 30 exhibitions and over 300 cultural events (Centre Pompidou, 2016).

> *"In France, over the past 10 or 15 years, they've been pursuing a policy of decentralisation, and the Pompidou Centre, being a major cultural institution, wants to have its work out to the greater public, so going off to Metz is a brilliant idea."* – Journalist (Arendt, 2005, para. 5)

> *"The national press hails the success of this enterprise of cultural decentralisation"* – Journalist (Maréchal, 2011, para. 1)

Metz outpost is not only culturally important but economically as well. It emboldens the city as a tourism destination to attract visitors which leads to job creations and revitalise the local economy.

> *"This museum, which is a strong cultural gesture, is at the same time part of a strategic policy of economic development."* – French President (Davies, 2010, para. 4).

> *"Centre Pompidou Metz a tool anchored in its territory, favouring the partnerships and cooperation with creators, cultural actors and forces of the region as well as all forms of dissemination and social appropriation of art."* – Journalist (Maréchal, 2011, para. 10)

The centre has revealed in 2019 a plan to launch another local gallery in Massy, Paris in 2025 (Youde, 2019). The outpost is going to display pieces from the national collection along with hosting exhibitions, shows, conferences, workshops, and performances in addition to local co-working spaces for the local residents. The Massy outpost brings benefits for the city as it assists in transforming the city to provide contemporary art access to the local population. The outposts are driven by the need to display works that are in storage as the main gallery is unable to accommodate 120,000 works.

> *"The Pompidou Centre is carrying out a project to re-establish its reserves. Faced with a lack of structural space, the Pompidou Centre will soon have to leave the buildings that currently house its reserves. Taking advantage of this necessary move, the Centre Pompidou wants to implement a new hybrid formula consisting of a presentation and preservation of collections, with an original artistic and cultural project that goes*

beyond the sole function of storage and management works. This centre will combine a space of conservation dedicated to the professionals, regrouping all of its collections and means of technical management of the works, and a space of demonstration allowing to present to the public some funds of the collection." – Press Release (Ville Massy, 2019, para. 6)

The third gallery and the first abroad was launched in 2015 in Malaga, Spain that represents an experiment for the first gallery outside France (Art Media Agency, 2018). It offers a mix of temporary exhibitions with highlights from Pompidou's permanent collection (Muñoz-Alonso, 2015a). In 2018, after three years of operation the Malaga outpost has proved satisfactory with 500,000 visitors and 27% increase in revenues (Mcgivern, 2018; Centre Pompidou, 2016). This has resulted in extending the period of the gallery from five to ten years until 2025. The financing of the Malaga outpost is by the local municipality that paid €7 million euros to build the gallery and committed €1.5 million euros every year during the operations for curatorial expertise and collections (Mcgivern, 2018).

"The Centre Pompidou Malaga experiment is a success but we can't fall asleep on our laurels. It's an adventure that we need to keep pursuing at all times. We need to be creative, to understand our partners' expectations, and to be attentive to the publics." – The Pompidou Centre President (Art Media Agency, 2018, para. 3)

The benefits are mutual as Malaga city is gaining cultural and economic outcomes. Culturally, the position of the city as a cultural destination is strengthened globally. Economically, the gallery has resulted in attracting more visitors that spend money to revive local businesses.

"The Centre Pompidou gave a big boost to Malaga by upgrading and filling out its offer, while reinforcing its status as a cultural capital on the Spanish, European and global scale." – Artist (Art Media Agency, 2018, para. 3)

"Years ago all the tourists would turn right as they left the airport, heading directly to the Costa del Sol. Now they're coming to Málaga." – Malaga Mayor (Kassam, 2015, para. 11)

"To have a city like Málaga that has everything from medieval to contemporary art, it gives us a certain security that Málaga is competitive when it comes to attracting talent." – Malaga Mayor (Kassam, 2015, para. 12)

The Malaga gallery was followed by revealing plans in 2017 to open in Shanghai, China through a partnership with a local art museum (McGrath, 2017). The Pompidou Centre commented on the plan:

"The highest-standard cultural exchange project of such long duration between China and France in the cultural field." (Morris, 2017, para. 5)

"The most important long-term cultural exchange project" between France and China and said it would give "an important place to contemporary Chinese art" in the new gallery." (Agence France-Presse, 2017, para. 7)

The Shanghai outpost will incur collaboration on four areas; loan works from Pompidou's collection, design temporary exhibitions with a plan of 20 exhibitions and events, develop arts education activities, and training of museums professionals (Centre Pompidou, 2017). The Parisian institution will receive €1.5 million euros annually from that collaboration (Adam, 2017). The display is hybrid through a combination of French works lent by Pompidou and China's contemporary arts (Adam, 2017). Nevertheless, it seems that the Pompidou Centre is eager to have a wider presence in China not only in Shanghai by organising exhibitions in other provinces and cities. In 2018, the centre had organised an exhibition in Chengdu that looks at the digital technology's impact on the relationship between urban and rural spaces with hybrid works from Chinese and international artists (Movius, 2018).

"Is not considering a permanent presence in Chengdu, but has developed a network of partners there with whom future projects may be initiated." – Head of Cultural Development (Movius, 2018, para. 2).

In 2018, Pompidou signed for a new gallery in Brussels, Belgium to open in 2022 for ten years (Harris, 2018). It costs €122 million euros and funded by Brussels capital which allotted €150,000 annually for the first five years up to €2 million euros each year from the fifth year to the end of the agreement to support operations (Rea, 2018). The museum is putting culture at priority as the location was chosen based on careful consideration of the

cultural environment and the position of the museum to fill missing contemporary arts in Brussel in order to avoid becoming just a business branch. A garage to be converted to an outpost and will include exhibitions, concerts, and pop-up shops (Lonely Planet, 2018).

"We signed an agreement to help open a new museum of modern and contemporary art in Brussels, with the concern that it fits into the Belgian cultural fabric. I would like him also to have a political dimension turned towards Europe." – The Pompidou Centre Director (Gignoux & Soyeux, 2017, para. 14)

"In terms of modern and contemporary art architecture and culture in general, Brussels is obviously already a city of many assets. It is home to a large number of institutions dedicated to a huge range of artistic disciplines. The missing pieces in this magnificent jigsaw are a museum of modern and contemporary art and a museum of architecture." – Journalist (Brussels Museums Council, 2018, para. 3)

Brussels outpost is going to benefit the city as well. It is expected to develop the cultural aspect of the city, become a tourist attraction, and revitalise the local economy.

"With the help of a strong international brand like the Centre Pompidou, is looking for a Bilbao effect. It is hoped that the museum will be the new must-see venue. The project is a major investment for the city, but it is supposed to pay for itself by way of spending in hotels, shops, and restaurants." – Journalist (Gregos, 2016, para. 9)

"This is a neighbourhood that is a major issue for us, we want to give a real urban vitality of neighbourhood to this area of the canal. A cultural institution such as the museum is essential." – Minister President of the Brussels Region (Chépeau, 2017, para. 3)

Collection of Brussels outpost is relatively different than Malaga outpost. Initially, Pompidou will have French art works but the centre intends to develop local cultural collection through an acquisition strategy to build up a permanent collection thus a hybrid display (Mundell, 2016). Exhibitions and events to be produced in collaboration with cultural organisations in Brussels (Harris, 2018). Importantly, even after ending the contractual period the gallery will continue to organise cultural activities and display the developed permanent collection thus the benefit for the city is a long-term (Dalati, 2018).

"The Belgian scene is very rich, namely in the area of live performance. The whole programme will be defined in collaboration with local cultural institutions, which will help us to insert ourselves in a milieu that is already extremely vibrant and of high quality. We are supporting the Brussels-Capital region in the construction of its cultural project, but with the aim of helping it towards autonomy and to the construction of a collection, while offering our expertise. This is a very different scene from Malaga, which resembles the one in Paris far more." – Project Manager (Art Media Agency, 2018, para. 5)

"It allows us to establish links with various institutions in Brussels. This system of exchange of works, shows, know-how is very important for us as well." – The Pompidou Centre President (Chépeau, 2017, para. 6)

"The question is to explore how Brussels, like Berlin, has developed an international art context." – Brussels Outpost Director (Rea, 2018, para. 12)

Another form of globalisation is conducting exhibitions in collaboration with other museums. For instance, Pompidou had collaborated with a museum in Singapore to organise a special exhibition that had displayed arts from the French museum.

"We hope that through this collaboration with Centre Pompidou, our two institutions will find ways to share the arts with many more people in France and Singapore." – Singapore Minister of State (Muñoz-Alonso, 2015b, para. 3)

"In terms of social mission, increase cultural diversity and understanding … overall a positive effect on society just because more resources are being directed to programmes." – Academic

In addition to displaying Pompidou's collection in branded abroad galleries and exhibitions, the centre lends works to other galleries internationally. In 2017, nearly two thousand art works are on loan to art museums outside France (Centre Pompidou, 2017). For instance, thirty-seven major arts were lent to Louvre Abu Dhabi in 2017 during the inaugural exhibition (Centre Pompidou, 2017). It is not clear whether loans are free or for a financial return, nevertheless, it is leading to expose the French culture globally. Works of popular French artists allow the public to discover the French heritage and the richness and diversity of the centre's collections.

Engaging with audiences is crucial for art museums to deliver their social mission as audiences have to see art and learn about the story behind each piece. The Pompidou Centre in Paris has developed a digital strategy with the objective of audience engagement on a global scale. The centre has utilised the potential provided by digital technology to achieve the social and global objectives. The head of the cultural department had demonstrated the value of digitisation to achieve globalisation goals:

"In my opinion, what is disappearing is a world where there are producers on one side and consumers on the other. Other models are beginning to develop with the digital revolution. On the Internet, there are neither producers nor consumers, but contributors. We are entering into the new logic of the contributive economy, which relies on personal and collective investments and creates another form of value." – Organisational Actor (Benhamou, 2009, para. 4)

The 'Virtual Pompidou Centre', an internet-based broadcasting platform of cultural contents and engagement with audiences, represents a major digital project that was launched in 2012 in collaboration with the private sector (Beaumont, 2013; CGI, 2014). The virtual experience is available for free and provides users with around 100,000 digital resources including images, text, video, and sound of art works, photographs, exhibition posters, among others. The interactive experience is based on three mechanics. First, a categorisation of the content by type and genre. Second, a semantic structuring of resources implemented by interconnection between the centre's different practices of collections, programs, activities, and research. Third, a customised semantic path where the user is able to navigate through contents conveniently by searching or browsing resources associated with artists such as works or events.

From the perspective of the cultural heritage logic, the main outcome derived from the virtual centre is new and higher audience engagement. By engaging with audiences virtually to provide an alternative to the gallery visit, audiences are likely to visit the gallery virtually more frequently thus leading to increases in customer value. The virtual centre provides access to art globally whereby audiences everywhere with a device and internet access are able to visit the gallery. This creates new value for customers that adds to the physical visit. The gallery moves closer to achieving the global objective by using digitisation to provide new ways for audiences abroad to visit the gallery virtually. This expands cultural presence to wider audiences from different demographics. Importantly, the gallery achieves the main

metric to measure the success of the social mission by showing art and delivers knowledge to larger audiences to have a higher visitors level that is fundamental to maintaining legitimacy and claiming external funding (see Figure 6).

"This is like shocking to people of an art background, we learn about this place in college in some cultural arts classes and have to write papers about some of the exhibitions in both these places, can u imagine the cultural impact they have for them to be offered this?" – Consumer

From the perspective of the cultural globalisation logic, the virtual centre has a fundamental impact on the business model of the Pompidou Centre by providing a virtual access to contents to wider audiences. It allows greater cultural reach globally with lower costs. Rather than spending capital on building galleries with all the overhead costs, the virtual centre is a one project cost that allows access to the gallery for any individual with a device and internet access. Thus, from the financial aspect the virtual centre has reduced operational costs for the centre and travel expenses for the visitor. From the cultural aspect, audiences are engaging with arts from the comfort of their homes.

Digitisation has provided new opportunities for self-generated income through sponsorships as brands gain a greater global exposure to customers than from sponsoring the physical gallery. By providing greater reach to the sponsor, the centre is able to request a higher price from the higher exposure. The virtual centre has successfully attracted sponsorships that financed the development of the virtual centre and provided a new revenue stream. Additionally, the virtual centre provides new value for artists as their works are exposed to greater audiences. Thus, the Pompidou Centre created new value through the virtual centre by primarily expanding the exposure to wider audiences which corresponds to the centre's globalisation vision, and aim to achieve higher engagement with art, and higher return from sponsors as well as benefiting the audiences by having low cost and convenient access to art.

Figure 6 The Implications of the Virtual Experience on the Performance of the Pompidou Centre
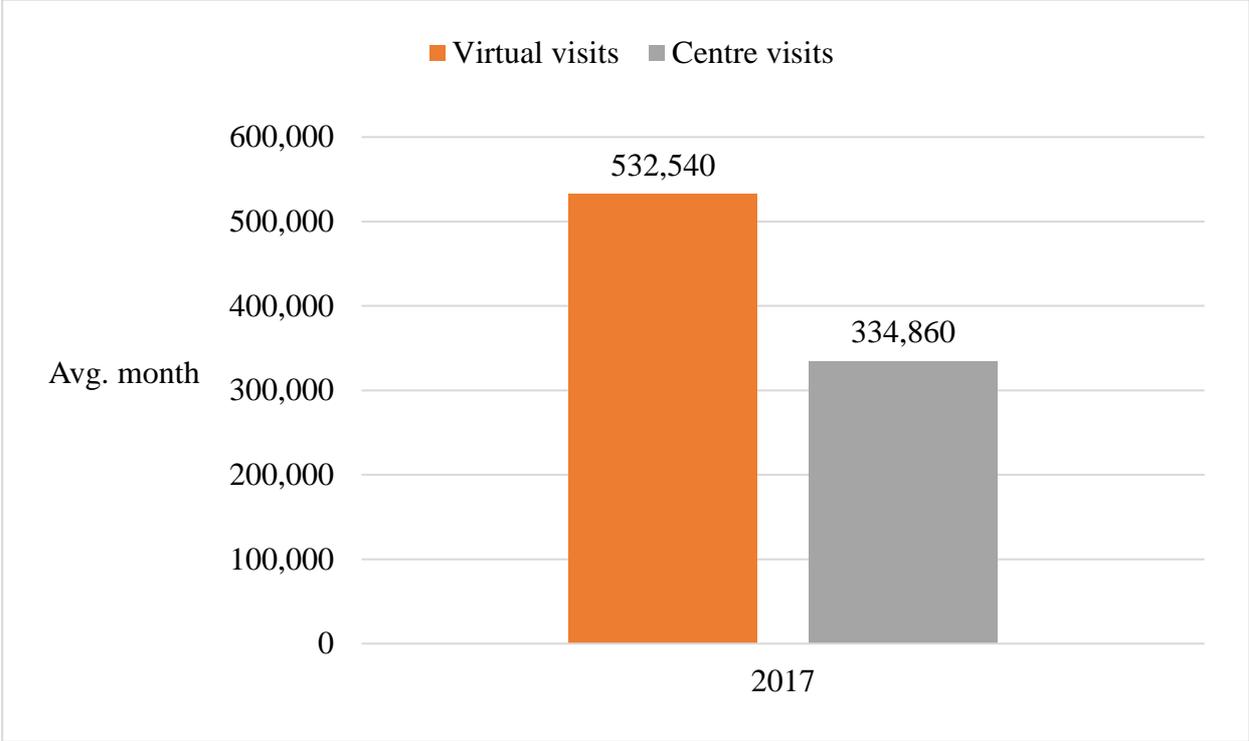
Digitisation is being utilised creatively to attract visitors to the gallery as well. In 2018, souvenirs were distributed to pop-up shops in Paris streets to sell for customers (The Drum, 2018). These souvenirs are branded with the Pompidou Centre and offer free shuttle to the gallery. QR code is printed on the base of the souvenirs that reveals an automatic map to the gallery's location when scanned by a smartphone. Another digital initiative is the smartphone application that was developed by the centre to explore the collections and offers a touring guide for visitors to the gallery and exhibitions (Centre Pompidou, 2019). Moreover, a digital library was developed through a private partnership to make teaching resources available online for audiences (Pearltrees, 2019).

In addition to international galleries and digitisation, the Pompidou Centre is conducting trade activities to generate income that is crucial to finance the operations of the gallery. Traditional income streams are practiced by the centre including admission fee, corporate sponsorships, gifts shop, and online shop. The centre is taking a step further through creative partnerships with private companies to enhance income and promote

Pompidou as a brand. In 2018, a partnership with Nike corporation resulted in launching shoes with a design that is inspired by the Pompidou Centre (Zitman, 2019). The partnership is a success as the shoes made a strong sales income.

> *"If you believe in something strong enough and the idea is a good one, it's worth fighting for or potentially being fired over, it was a good feeling to watch it shatter all the sales records."* – Designer (Zitman, 2019, para. 10)

Eventually, global outposts strengthened the financial position of the Pompidou Centre and resolved the funding dilemma. International sales have grown 152% in five years with a 37% growth between 2015 and 2016 (Centre Pompidou, 2016). Global outposts represent 18% of the total income outside the main centre in Paris. These increases in income are contributing to sustain the social mission and artistic activities.

> *"Our resources are vital. Every million more that we receive goes into exhibitions and acquisitions. We receive around 3 million euros annually as a result of exhibitions presented abroad. But this figure has tripled since my arrival."* – The Pompidou Centre President (Art Media Agency, 2013, para. 1)

6.5.5 The Interrelationship between Sensemaking with Collective Mobilisation and Decision-making

While the primary mechanism analysed in the case is sensemaking, however, other mechanisms are observed in the data. In this section I analyse the interrelationship between sensemaking with collective mobilisation and decision-making.

The data show that the mechanism of decision-making had interacted directly with sensemaking. When organisational actors had interpreted external events and cultural policies of decentralisation, they took action and made a set of decisions including the outposts, the virtual centre, and other practices emanating from the market-oriented approach. For instance, the virtual centre is the result of sensemaking. Actors in the Pompidou Centre had identified external events of the cultural ministry proposals to circulate works and the cultural policy of cultural decentralisation (Centre Pompidou, 2009). They had interpreted that event as the need to work on extending cultural reach and display arts beyond the main centre in Paris to other cities in France and abroad. One way to achieve that is through digital utilisation whereby the centre displays art works online to reach anyone around the globe with a device

and internet access. This resulted in a decision to launch the virtual centre in collaboration with a private company. On the other hand, the data show that decision-making triggers sensemaking either accepting current practices and develop or tensions that require resolve. For instance, organisational actors have interpreted globalisation projects of outposts as leading to enhancing the financial performance of the organisation (Art Media Agency, 2013). Thus, the positive outcome from globalisation is acceptable to some stakeholders and has motivated actors to develop this strategy by seeking further outposts opportunities.

Nevertheless, the mechanism of collective mobilisation was active and had interacted with both sensemaking and decision-making in a reciprocal relation. For instance, the decision to experiment a mobile centre that is roaming in cities around France which was depicted by organisational actors as a creative project to disseminate culture at a lower cost for people who cannot visit the main centre rather than a permanent gallery. Some actors oppose this view because while the project delivers art works to greater audiences but is against cultural heritage.

"In fact, this project of the Centre Pompidou Mobile runs contrary to the interest of the museums and their permanent collections." – Artist (Rykner, 2012, para. 5)

"Certain directors of major establishments have lost all sense of proportion and are totally disconnected from the reality affecting most other French museums." – Artist (Rykner, 2012, para. 1)

Another decision that is opposed by the professional community is outposts outside France which was not without opposition and resistance from stakeholders. The decision to launch outposts has triggered sensemaking of the professional community where they have interpreted this move as culturally damaging. It has led to controversy and received criticism from stakeholders such as artists. They argue that these global galleries lack the cultural perspective and more focused on economic and political objectives.

"Unfortunately the project smacks of political opportunism. It makes the mistake of concentrating on catchy marketing tactics rather than on its contents and long-term planning. It is clear that the Pompidou is intended as a showcase project, to attract tourists and capital, and to help facilitate the area's regeneration. It is a lame attempt to create a global franchise." – Journalist (Gregos, 2016, para. 5)

"The project, even though the details are still subject to negotiation, seems to be more about political ambition, attracting tourists, and spurring development than about culture and art." – Journalist (Gregos, 2016, para. 8)

The sensemaking process of the professional community resulted in demands for cities as well who are welcoming outpost galleries. They argue that cities need to develop their own cultural attractions rather than importing culture. By this way, cultural heritage is the priority and economic regeneration comes after but in the case of outposts cities are prioritising economic outcomes by selecting the quicker approach of importing a museum rather than developing their own.

"Partnering with the Pompidou is more about tourism, creation of jobs, city marketing, the allure of a recognisable brand; it doesn't stem from a concrete artistic and political vision that would make sense for the city, the region and the country. Museums need to be grounded in the place where they are founded. In order to be meaningful, internationalist aspirations should be pursued within the already existing cultural context." – Journalist (Gregos, 2016, para. 3)

"Remain focussed on their key mission: to focus on its traditional task of conserving, studying and presenting those part and parcels of cultural production that we find valuable enough to keep and remember." – Academic

As the data reveal that micro-level mechanisms were interrelated during the institutional change process in the Pompidou Centre. Sensemaking of external events by organisational actors led to decision-making to enact new material practices which, in turn, triggered collective mobilisation that resulted in sensemaking from stakeholders to take action. Organisational actors either try to comply with the demands in order to satisfy the opposing stakeholders, or continue with their decision and keep an ongoing resistance. The data show a resistance but no sign of the organisation retracting from decisions. This could be because collective mobilisation is low intensity and undisruptive thus has not created a sense of urgency for organisational actors to act and comply with the demands. The weak resistance can be explained partially because that globalisation logic was not adopted without a compromise with the cultural heritage logic. The globalisation strategy of the Pompidou Centre which is temporary outposts is a lesser extent form of globalisation rather than permanent branches. That form of globalisation is argued by organisational actors as

acceptable to the cultural heritage logic as art works are lent for a limited short to medium-term period of several years then returned to the main gallery.

6.5.6 Summary of Key Findings

The case of the Pompidou centre was employed to enhance the understanding of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change by clarifying the role of sensemaking in the emergence of a hybrid logic (see Table 6.5). The data show that actors in the Pompidou Centre were responding to changes in French cultural policies by interpreting the optimal changes for the organisation and act upon to adapt. The gallery was mainly seeking to strengthen income, display French art works from storage to greater audiences, and execute the cultural ministry decentralisation policy. The Pompidou Centre has enacted a globalisation strategy to expand galleries in different continents. Nevertheless, the centre has maintained the cultural heritage without compromising the values of French arts by following an unusual method of expansion as the gallery is launching temporary galleries for five to ten years. Thus, the Pompidou Centre has successfully enacted new practices from the globalisation logic and maintained the cultural heritage logic resulting in hybrid organising principles and the emergence of a hybrid logic.

The Pompidou Centre foresaw that it has to adopt the globalisation logic as the only way to adapt to changes in cultural policies and achieve the centre's global strategy. The centre had conducted an experiment of a mobile centre that roams around cities in France. The success of the mobile centre and Pompidou's second gallery in France alongside the fact that abroad cities are seeking cultural attractions and willing to bear costs have inspired organisational actors to launch galleries outside France. However, the centre is careful not to diminish the cultural heritage logic that inspired the organisation to figure a creative form of global galleries which is temporary limited galleries. A hybrid form has emerged through the temporary gallery solution accompanied by other considerations including a hybrid collection display in abroad galleries, global lending, and the virtual centre. Thus, institutional change has occurred mainly in response to pressures imposed by the institutional environment such as cultural policies and a challenging operational environment.

The institutional environment represented by external events through cultural policies of the French government triggered a stimulus for organisational actors in the Pompidou Centre to respond through change. The identified circumstances were a combination of

external and internal. Externally the ministry of culture issued cultural proposals for cultural institutions to decentralise and circulate French art works. Internally, the gallery has funding issues, lack of space, and declining visitors to the main gallery. The centre conducted a mobile centre experiment that proved a success. These circumstances were interpreted as the need to have a global strategy of expansion to display the abundance of art works in storage. Abroad cities are welcoming proposals to have a cultural attraction and are willing to bear costs of construction and operations. In order to maintain the cultural heritage without turning to a franchise business and inspired by the cost efficient mobile centre, organisational actors have figured out that temporary galleries with hybrid collections is the optimal form of international expansion. A set of actions were taken to address the aforementioned issues and achieve a global strategy by launching short to medium-term galleries in Malaga Spain, Shanghai China, and Brussels Belgium which are financed mainly by the host city, global lending to foreign art museums, the virtual centre, and corporate partnerships. The case study shows that the Pompidou Centre has adopted the globalisation logic effectively while maintaining the cultural heritage logic, thus creating a hybrid logic.

Table 6.5 Summary of Findings: The Pompidou Centre

Cultural Globalisation Logic	Cultural Heritage Logic
Identifying	
The mobile centre experiment that roams inside France is a success	Funding issues locally have resulted in constraining the capability to purchase arts and organise exhibitions
Outposts abroad generate income and attract more visitors	Lack of space in the main centre limit displaying to a small fraction of the total collection while the majority are in storage
The development of financial performance objectives	Constant decline of visitors locally
Interpreting	

The local art market is saturated while an opportunity exists for overseas cultural presence	Temporary global galleries to return art works to France after short to medium-term display
Decentralisation of cultural policies requires going global	Remain art focused and not a business franchise
Outposts are financed by the host city which decreases the required capital cost	Lending arts for a limited period and not selling the French culture
Taking Action	
Outposts in Metz, Malaga, Shanghai, and Brussels for periods of five to ten years	Outposts develop gradually their local collection and French art works return to the main gallery in France
Lending arts at a global scale to other art museums around the world	The public discovers the French heritage and the richness and diversity of collections
Virtual centre that broadcasts cultural contents digitally to global audiences	Virtual centre that allows audiences who cannot visit the gallery to engage with arts from their homes or offices
Digitisation generates higher sponsorships income	Free shuttle to the centre for the public in Paris who purchase souvenirs from pop-up shops
Conduct trading activities globally through an online shop that sells souvenirs to international markets, corporate partnerships to sell products branded with the Pompidou Centre globally	Souvenirs with printed QR code that reveals an automatic map to the centre's location

6.6 Comparative Analysis of Case Studies

The comparative analysis of the four case studies share the same objective which is analysing institutional change through thematic analysis to systematically compare the cases in this comparative section. This section critically compares between the case studies in order to establish a relation between the different elements that influenced institutional change including cultural policies, organisational actors, and stakeholders. The structure of this section is based on a critical comparison of the observed four phases of institutional change; (1) triggers of change, (2) enacting change, (3) influencing change, and (4) outcomes of change. The similarities and differences between the four organisations and the two countries in these four parts are highlighted, allowing to draw a conclusion about the process of institutional change at the micro-level in different contexts.

6.6.1 Triggers of Change: Decision-making by Cultural Policymakers in the UK and France

The case studies of the National Gallery, Louvre Abu Dhabi, Tate Modern, and the Pompidou Centre help to show a clearer pattern. All were pushed to institutional change to adapt to the demands of the institutional environment and the pressures emanating from the cultural policies. In particular, the similarity is funding policies that was started in 1980s and peaked after the 2008 global financial crisis. Organisational actors from the four cases identified funding changes after the global financial crisis including constant shrink in funding combined with austerity measures as challenging to operations and a threat to sustainability. In 2009, both the UK and France policymakers had decided to cut public funding to cultural institutional including art museums and these cuts have continued representing a consistent trend. In an attempt to provide an alternative path of public funding, the UK and France cultural policies differ. The UK government issued the Green Paper which enables art museums to diversify income and pursue private funding. France, on the other hand, has issued proposals that ask art museums to circulate art works. The following compares in detail the decisions by the UK and France policymakers and the resulted change in the field of art museums.

The analysis of cultural policies in the UK and France shows that they are the same in principles as both has decided to adopt the market-oriented approach but minor differences has resulted in different orientations. Both countries aim to shift art museums from depending

on public funding to private funding and self-generated income. The replacement of public funding is incomplete as both governments still fund partially cultural institutions. The UK government favoured marketisation to remove the burden of funding cultural institutions solely from public funding. Policies after the 2008 global financial crisis including the Green Paper has encouraged art museums to diversify income and attract private funding. The resulted change is commercialisation of art museums by which they became more aligned to for-profit organisations in their style of management and operations.

France has adopted similar policies by demanding cultural institutions to practice the market-oriented business model and become self-sufficient financially. French has been enforcing two cultural policies which are cultural decentralisation to spread arts display beyond the main gallery, and cultural democratisation by seeking greater access to cultural institutions. The French government has put forward a strategic plan to utilise culture as a force to enhance soft power globally. Proposals where developed by the Ministry of Culture to encourage cultural institutions to circulate art works in France and abroad. This resulted in a different orientation than the UK by which French art museums have pursued globalisation through permanent galleries and temporary outposts to strengthen financial performance, conform to cultural policies by circulating art works, and achieve the national cultural strategy of France.

The difference in orientations, in particular globalisation, is traced to two policies that have existed in France and not in the UK in addition to marketisation which are cultural decentralisation and cultural democratisation. In France cultural decentralisation has revoked the government responsibility of art museums and moved it to local municipalities and cities. Cultural decentralisation provides greater flexibility for cultural institutions as mayors have less power to enforce or limit practices thus art museums can enact practices without the approval of the local governing body. In the case of centralisation like the UK, art museums are considered national museums and the central government is largely involved in directing their behaviour that makes practices like globalisation require a governmental approval in a democratic process. Thus, cultural decentralisation removed institutional restrictions on art museums to expand in several geographical locations.

The UK art museums have not pursued globalisation partially due to two reasons. First, cultural globalisation is not on the agenda of the UK government and has been neglected. The data show no debate of art museums and globalisation or expansion within

policymakers. It seems that art is not considered by the UK policymakers as a tool to strengthen or extend global influence. Second, the UK government continues to fund cultural institutions from the public tax money and this hinders globalisation. Public funding aims for social utility locally as a return for taxpayers thus limiting the social mission to the local level is a condition to receive public funding. Although no specific law prevents art museums from expanding abroad, as they are national museums any such initiative likely needs consent from many stakeholders including organisational actors, government policymakers, and the public. Additionally, it is unlikely that global initiatives to be funded from public money and art museums will have to finance from private funding which is a challenge that is suffering insufficiency. Globalisation has not been discussed or proposed by organisational actors as the UK art museums remain focused on sustaining their operations locally.

The second factor that influenced globalisation is cultural democratisation. The French government is concerned to maximise access to art museums regardless of the demography of visitors or geography of the gallery. That is likely to help achieve dual objectives of maximising local learning and spread French culture to other cultures. In turn, art museums are encouraged to launch multiple galleries locally and abroad conforming to these objectives. By enacting these policies, the remaining policy to push art museums for globalisation is the cultural proposals which motivated art museums to circulate art works as not only pre-approved by the French government but also encouraged to expand arts representation locally and abroad.

Overall, decision-making through cultural policies has triggered the need for art museums to enact institutional change. The similarity is sharing the same source of these policies which is implementing marketisation that started as a result of the global financial crisis. Due to different cultural objectives, policymakers have offered different proposals of change, the UK has asked cultural institutional to pursue private income while France has proposed circulating art works.

6.6.2 Enacting Change: Sensemaking and Decision-making by Organisational Actors

The findings show a similar pattern in enacting institutional change. The enactment of change follows a sensemaking process whereby as was previously analysed and concluded that organisations cannot sustain their operations by depending solely on public funding so they have to commercialise. The four cases show that art museums have responded to funding

dilemma by deciding to diversify income thus share commonalities in the overall strategy. The National Gallery and Tate Modern in the UK, and Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre in France have adopted the market-oriented business model by enacting self-generated income activities to raise income and increase efficiencies to reduce operational costs. Both the National Gallery and Tate Modern have utilised the membership scheme to create a consistent cash flow. All cases have enacted sponsorship with private corporations as a significant source of income whereby the corporation gives money in exchange of displaying the brand name in the gallery or other sponsored practices. Another similarity is that art museums have maintained their social mission and focused on attracting visitors and maximise learning. In fact, the social impact is stronger as attracting more visitors yields positive returns for both the social and market logics. For instance, Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre overseas expansion led to increase in overall visitors and spread French culture. Thus, art museums have enacted change through adopting the market-oriented business model without diverging from their social purpose.

Nevertheless, there are some identified points that differentiate between the four cases in enacting change in particular between the UK and France. The National Gallery and Tate Modern have enacted change but remained focused locally on local audiences and international visitors to the UK. Trading activities as well as social projects are more dependent on the local market. On the other hand, French art museums, Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre, enacted different change practices by resorting to overseas galleries. The difference is traced back to the cultural policies whereby the French government has a global cultural influence agenda. Additionally, even the international expansion by French art museums is different in details as Louvre has launched a long-term gallery in Abu Dhabi while the Pompidou Centre has developed an agile strategy by conducting temporary short-term outposts in several cities for less than ten years. Thus, the sensemaking process by organisational actors combined with varying circumstances resulted in different decision-making.

The cases of the National Gallery and the Pompidou Centre show more clearly how sensemaking operated to enact new practices and interrelated with other mechanisms. Both organisations have responded to institutional pressures whereby organisational actors went through the sensemaking process of identifying, interpreting, and taking action. The National Gallery has identified the challenge imposed by continuous cuts in funding on the

sustainability of the organisation. Actors interpreted this circumstance as the need to adopt the market logic and broaden practicing trading activities. Actions were taken to compensate lost income from public funding through commercial practices such as corporate sponsorship and membership scheme. Some of the enacted new practices like outsourcing security staff were demanded by some stakeholders to retract. Actors in the National Gallery went again through sensemaking to enact different practices through decision-making. Thus, external events trigger sensemaking to lead to decision-making which, in turn, triggers collective mobilisation to go through sensemaking and decision-making until all stakeholders are satisfied and the organisation can operate sustainably without disruption.

The Pompidou Centre case study was examined using the primary mechanism of sensemaking and it shows a similar pattern to the National Gallery. External events represented by the cultural policies of the French government demanded arts institutions to contribute to cultural democratisation and arts circulation. Organisational actors have responded by experimenting a mobile centre and it is a success which prompted actors to adopt this practice by launching temporary short-term outposts in France and abroad. Nevertheless, the difference of this case than the National Gallery is that the Pompidou Centre has not faced opposition and resistance against the enacted change. Thus, the process of change in the Pompidou Centre has followed similar path but without collective mobilisation whereby it started by external events that imposed institutional pressures on actors to respond, and actors went through sensemaking to enact new practices through decision-making.

Overall, the findings show similarities and differences in enacting institutional change. Similarities are in enacting strategies that emanate from the market-oriented business model including trading activities. Organisations have responded to institutional pressures through sensemaking by identifying the circumstances, interpreting the impact on the organisation, and taking appropriate actions. They shared similar circumstances of cultural policies and arrived at similar interpretations of a threat on organisational survival, but enacted different practices. Differences are in the details whereby the UK organisations have adopted the market-oriented business model but focused locally, while France organisations expanded globally. The differences are explained by slightly different cultural policies as the French government demanded cultural democratisation and arts circulation.

6.6.3 Influencing Change: Collective Mobilisation by Stakeholders

Collective mobilisation influenced change to result in different practices than initially anticipated. The case studies show a similar pattern in influencing institutional change. After enacting change through new practices, some stakeholders were not satisfied with the emerging practices and demanded alteration, or deletion, of some practices to comply with their logic. Three case studies show that organisations faced resistance and disruption by stakeholders. Actors within and outside organisations mobilised collectively following the enactment of change by decision-making. Tate Modern faced resistance by environmental activists against corporate sponsorships by unethical sponsors and complied by ending a sponsorship by an oil company but without stopping the practice of sponsorship. Louvre Abu Dhabi encountered resistance by artists and the professional community against exporting cultural heritage, and the gallery complied partially without retreating from the new logic by serving some demands to maintain the cultural heritage. Thus, collective mobilisation acted as an influencer of change that follows decision-making and leading to a new process of sensemaking and decision-making.

Although organisations have confronted similar resistance in principle that demands enacting practices that satisfy all stakeholders and comply with the old logic, the means of collective mobilisation are different. First, stakeholders opposed practices by protesting and disrupting operations. This is the most effective even though should be the last resort to enforce a response by the organisation. For instance, environmental activists have frequently protested in Tate Modern against the BP sponsorship disrupting operations and spreading negative publicity of the gallery. Second, the study observes that stakeholders have used digital tools to express their dissatisfaction with the new practices. For instance, the professional community in France has issued an online petition to sign by artists against globalising arts in general and Louvre Abu Dhabi in particular. Artists wrote online articles criticising the project during the construction and the practices after launch. Nevertheless, the two means of collective mobilisation differ in their effectiveness. Protests against Tate Modern and BP sponsorship although have persisted for a period of six years but eventually successful in ending this partnership. On the other hand, the collective mobilisation against Louvre Abu Dhabi has not achieved the ultimate goal of terminating the project due to the involvement of powerful actors i.e. governments in the agreement. Although opposition is from a long period similar to Tate Modern since the announcement of the project in 2007, it

succeeded in enforcing the organisation to response and act to result in satisfying partial demands.

The cases of Tate Modern and the National Gallery demonstrate a similar pattern in having resistance but differences in the demands and outcomes. Both have encountered resistance against organisational practices. Tate Modern is well known for facing a lengthy disruption by external stakeholders i.e. environmental activists and the public against corporate sponsorship from BP. After 26 years of sponsorship, Tate complied with the demands of activists and ended the sponsorship with BP but not the sponsorship practice as it has enacted a new sponsorship with a more acceptable sponsor to stakeholders. The National Gallery faced resistance by internal stakeholders i.e. employees against changes in the organisation towards outsourcing security services. Tate Modern stayed stubborn for a long period due to the importance of the corporate sponsorship in generating income, while the National Gallery has responded promptly to resolve the disruption in the gallery's operations that it could not afford as the gallery was closed. The French cases show a different pattern whereby Louvre Abu Dhabi has faced collective mobilisation while the Pompidou Centre has not confronted such opposition. Artists demanded Louvre Abu Dhabi to maintain the cultural heritage and achieved partial demands. As the Pompidou Centre is having smooth operations it continues to organise short-term galleries around the world. Thus, collective mobilisation acted as a mechanism to influence change in all cases where it occurred even though varies in the period to take effect. The variation in response is due to the different power level of stakeholders involved as digital means differ than protests which also differ than internal employees strike according to the level of disruption that is caused to operations.

Overall, enacting change was not the final outcome of institutional change as organisations have encountered resistance. Change needs to satisfy powerful stakeholders or maintain the old logic in compromise rather than leap change. The National Gallery, Louvre Abu Dhabi, and Tate Modern were enforced by external and internal stakeholders to alter change outcome. Organisations have enacted change based on the need to respond to institutional pressures from cultural policies and resolve internal organisational dilemmas including financial challenges. They have not considered the potential reaction by different stakeholders including the professional community and the public. The Pompidou Centre has enacted a careful strategy that compromised the old logic thus successful in avoiding

opposition and disruption. Collective mobilisation costs organisations money and reputation thus avoidance is preferable.

6.6.4 Outcome of Change: The Emergence of Hybridity from Sensemaking and Decision-making by Organisational Actors

The outcome of change varies but similar between the four organisations even though the origin of change is the same. In the following comparative analysis of outcomes, the study demonstrates similarities and differences in general, provide a specific example to compare, and conclude with a summary.

The four cases reveal a consistent trend of art museums in responding to financial challenges and multiple demands by stakeholders. The four organisations have responded by adopting competing logics in novel ways to constitute hybrid arrangements. In the UK, the National Gallery and Tate Modern combined the social and market logics by focusing on the social mission, and maximise learning while adopting innovative practices to generate cash flows and balance budgets. For instance, both museums have maintain free admission while having a charging membership scheme that generates income and leads to frequent visits. In France, Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre have adopted a nationwide cultural policy of cultural globalisation logic to enhance the French culture globally and soft power while maintaining the cultural heritage logic to satisfy the professional community. For instance, Louvre Abu Dhabi has ensured French arts return to Louvre Museum in Paris and the Pompidou Centre constructs temporary global galleries of less than ten years.

Although the four cases show a similar outcome of hybridisation, the specific practices are different. This is likely because of different types of museums i.e. traditional and contemporary, varying circumstances, and sensemaking. The UK art museums have hybridised by combining the social mission with trading activities and focused on local audiences as public funding from taxpayers is flowing even though shrank. The free admission legislation presented the key dilemma to adapt to lack of funding which prompted art museums to innovate commercial practices. Innovative practices have emerged such as the membership schemes to sustain income and visits, or utilising digitisation to reach wider audiences and generate higher income. On the other hand, French art museums have hybridised by maintaining the cultural heritage while adopting global practices. The cultural heritage was maintained through temporary representation of French arts either through short-

term loans or galleries and then, as the abroad gallery develops its local collection, arts are returned to the main gallery in France.

The cases of Tate Modern and the Pompidou Centre show a similar pattern in the outcome of change. Both are organisations with social objectives but innovated their business models through digitisation to adapt to changing institutional environment and survive. However, the innovation between the two organisations varies although the transformation is through digital and the primary objective is to reach audiences. Tate Modern has utilised digitisation to increase the efficiency of interaction with audiences and improve organisational performance. It has successfully achieved new revenue streams and lower operational costs to balance the budget. Nevertheless, the initial focus of Tate Modern from digital is to enhance social impact by reaching audiences and provide interesting ways to engage with arts but the emerging funding dilemma has prompted the museum to employ digitisation to confront the threat of shrinking public funding and achieve financial autonomy. Thus, Tate Modern's digital projects aim to achieve social impact, higher income, and lower costs. The noticeable innovation is the creativity of the digital projects that have created a synergy between the three objectives. For example, the online membership has enhanced revenues from memberships and feeds into the social activities as members are more likely to attend free or discounted exhibitions. Increasing customer value through frequent engagements with arts and new value creation through revenue streams have advanced both the social and commercial components of the business model.

The Pompidou Centre has utilised digitisation in a different way because although the museum carries a social mission but it slightly differs in scope than Tate Modern. The centre is not prioritising funding like Tate Modern but is aiming to enhance cultural reach through a global presence. Digital transformation was initiated to reach more audiences worldwide and provide them with a virtual reality experience to engage with French arts without the need to travel and visit the physical gallery. Although the virtual experience intends for the social impact, it feeds into the commercial aspect in two ways. First, it has eliminated immense capital costs to launch permanent physical galleries globally. Second, the virtual gallery has attracted sponsorships with higher financial returns. Thus, by increasing the customer value through greater reach and new value creation through online income streams, innovative practices have emerged by advancing both the social and commercial components of the business model.

The dynamics of digitisation have enabled creative utilisation by art museums to innovate the business model and achieve social and commercial outcomes on a larger scale. The difference in the emerging practices depends on the circumstances and goals of art museums as innovations are aimed for organisational survival and serving the particular scope of the social mission. Another explanation for this variance is the fact that art museums are vulnerable to internal and external tensions emanating from the duality of missions (Battilana & Lee, 2014). One such issue is maintaining legitimacy which requires meeting the expectations of multiple stakeholders including the community, artists, and staff. This explains partially the difference in digital adoption as the demands imposed by the institutional environment and stakeholders contribute to the shape of organisational practices. The optimal digitisation for art museums is to consider both the social and commercial dimensions to achieve maximum return on investments and maintain legitimacy that eventually results in a hybrid logic.

Overall, the outcome of change in principle is similar by adopting the market-oriented business model and diversify income sources while maintaining the old logic resulting in a hybrid logic. The UK art museums have maintained the social logic of free entry and developed learning activities while adopting trading activities. Both the National Gallery and Tate Modern have adopted similar practices of the membership scheme, corporate sponsorships, digitisation, among others. France art museums have adopted the cultural globalisation logic by launching abroad galleries but maintained the cultural heritage by responding to the demands of the professional community. Both Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Pompidou Centre have ensured that arts are displayed abroad for short temporary periods and then returned to the main gallery.

6.6.5 Summary of Key Findings

In summary, the comparative analysis shows several similarities and differences in the process of institutional change (see Table 6.6). Organisations are triggered by similar stimuli to change which is pressures from the institutional environment, while the types of pressures differ in their demands. Enacting change is through new material practices whereby the four organisations have adopted the market-oriented business model and developed income streams, but they differ in their strategy as the UK art museums are locally focused while France art museums have adopted a global approach. Institutional change was influenced through collective mobilisation and resistance by stakeholders, but the means of mobilising

differ as in some cases they have protested and disrupted operations while in other cases have used digital tools to make pressures. The outcome of change is similar in adopting hybrid arrangements by combining competing practices in novel ways, but the details of hybridisation differ as the UK organisations have enacted traditional commercial activities and innovative practices, while France organisations have globalised through long-term or temporary short-term abroad galleries.

The comparative analysis shows a clear pattern of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms. Institutional change process started by decision-making from policymakers to enact cultural policies which, in turn, pressured organisational actors to respond. A sensemaking process then started as actors began identifying circumstances of cultural policies, interpret their consequences on the organisation, and take action to address the challenges. The sensemaking process is concluded by decision-making to enact new material practices. The enacted practices dissatisfy some stakeholders that collectively mobilise to oppose them and demand new or amended practices. After a continuous pressures or disruption of operations, organisational actors are prompted to respond through decision-making to address the demands of stakeholders. Similarities and differences have emerged mainly due to varying circumstances and different sensemaking by organisational actors that is followed by decision-making. Collective mobilisation occurred to influence the outcome prompting organisational actors to go through the sensemaking and decision-making with practices that satisfy powerful stakeholders.

Table 6.6 Summary of Comparative Findings

	United Kingdom		France	
	The National Gallery	**Tate Modern**	**Louvre Abu Dhabi**	**The Pompidou Centre**
Triggers of Change	Decision-making			

	Cultural policies have imposed marketisation on arts institutions	Cultural policies have imposed marketisation on arts institutions
	Austerity measures combined with proposals to diversify income and pursue private funding	Cultural decentralisation and cultural democratisation combined with proposals to circulate art works
Enacting Change	Sensemaking and Decision-making	
	Cannot sustain operations by depending on the public funding	Cannot sustain operations by depending on the public funding
	Diversify income streams and reduce operational costs	Diversify income streams and reduce operational costs
	Sponsorships of the gallery by private corporations	Sponsorships of the gallery by private corporations
	Maintain the social mission to attract visitors and maximise learning	Maintain the social mission to attract visitors and maximise learning
	Locally focused on local audiences and international visitors	International expansion by launching abroad galleries
Influencing Change	Collective Mobilisation	

	Resistance by some stakeholders against new practices	Resistance by some stakeholders against new practices
	Stakeholders have opposed new practices by protests and disrupting operations	Stakeholders have opposed new practices by utilising digital tools to express their dissatisfaction
Outcome of Change	Sensemaking and Decision-making	
	Emergence of a hybrid logic	Emergence of a hybrid logic
	Combined the social and market logics	Combined the cultural heritage and cultural globalisation logics
	Maintain free admission while conducting trading activities through innovative means that doesn't affect the social mission	Return French arts to the main gallery after a short display period
	Digitisation to diversify income, retain visitors, and create a synergy between the social mission and trading activities	Digitisation of cultural representation to reach wider audiences globally and create a synergy between the social mission and trading activities

6.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented findings to answer the research questions. I have shown that micro-level mechanisms are crucial in explaining the outcome of institutional change. Sensemaking and collective mobilisation interact to result eventually in decision-making. Decision-making either leads to acceptable practices for all stakeholders and

concludes change, or unacceptable outcome to repeat the process of interaction between sensemaking and collective mobilisation.

The cases show that the interaction between sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making inside organisations have resulted in enacting hybridity as the resolution to satisfy the conflicting demands of stakeholders through novel combinations of practices. Hybridity is partially explained due to the nature of organisations which are public organisations with a social mission that are unable to transform to commercial entities thus have tried to balance multiple logics. The hybrid outcome is a compromise which resulted in a lower performance for each logic as organisations have maintained their old logic but slightly diminished while adopting elements of a new logic. That balance of hybridity is critical for organisational survival.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

I started this thesis by highlighting the lack of a comprehensive explanation of micro-level mechanisms in the emergence of institutional logics. In particular, the literature calls to examine the interrelationship between micro-level cognitive mechanisms. I noted the outcome of hybridity and that studies focused on intentional hybridisation strategies and overlooked unintentional hybridisation as a response to circumstantial events emanating from the institutional environment. This study adds to the debate of institutional logics and theories on institutional change. It examines how organisational-level change occurs in different contexts from micro-level mechanisms. The empirical research was conducted through a comparative in-depth case study analysis.

Reflecting on the findings, this study reveals change may unfold through the aggregate occurring of micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Micro-level mechanisms are interrelated in a reciprocal relation where each micro-level mechanism triggers and responds to the other and they all function together in driving institutional change. The importance of the framework presented in this paper, therefore, is explanatory power of the institutional change process from the micro-level that leads eventually to macro-level outcomes. It is able to link institutional change from causes, process and outcomes. What is key is how institutional change occurs through micro-level mechanisms in order to explain the process and variations in macro-level outcomes.

The findings of this study suggest a micro-level view of hybridisation. The outcomes of institutional change as indicated by the literature are four: maintain dominant logic, change logic, hybridisation, or a continuous stalemate. This study, through its focus on hybrid as an outcome of change in art museums in the UK and France, shows that hybridisation emerges as a compromise between stakeholders who pursue different and conflicting demands. Change of a logic usually occurs as a result of enacting new, or changed, organisational practices and identities (Thornton et al., 2012). The institutional environment, through policy makers, creates demands and pressures on organisational actors through decision-making. Through sensemaking, organisational actors interpret demands and make decisions to enact organisational practices that are either accepted by stakeholders or opposed. When practices are opposed, stakeholders collectively mobilise efforts and different resources to place

pressures on organisational actors which, in turn, go through sensemaking to interpret and respond by decision-making. Given the environmental challenges and fierce resistance by stakeholders, organisational actors arrive at a conclusion of the need to accommodate conflicting practices through innovative services and instruments to achieve novel combinations that result in the emergence of a hybrid logic.

7.2 Institutional Change of Art Museums: Causes, Outcomes, and Effects

The study examined changes in the art museums field by analysing institutional change of four organisations to shed light on the causes, outcomes and effects. Researchers who examined cultural policies of the United States and other European countries have shown different policies, leading to adopt the market-oriented business model, including austerity measures and cultural decentralisation, among others (Ahearne, 2003; Looseley, 2003). This study, through the focus on the United Kingdom and France, compares cultural policies to clarify the causes, explain the different outcomes and effect on the field. The analysis of art museums in the UK and France shows that they adopted the market-oriented business model to commercialise and globalise as a response to public cultural policies. This conforms to the literature which states that organisations seek homogeneity with external demands and expectations, particularly coercive pressures from the government, in order to survive (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Townley, 1997).

The UK government favoured marketisation of the cultural sector to mitigate the burden of funding cultural institutions. Policies after the 2008 global financial crisis, including the constant reduction of public funding and the policies aimed towards making cultural institutions self-dependent financially, pushed art museums to marketisation with implications on the practices of art museums. The resulted change is commercialisation of art museums by which they became more aligned to for-profit organisations in their management and operations whereby they diversify self-generated income, meet performance indicators, focus on improving efficiencies and generate profit. The shift of funding from public sources to private donors, such as corporations, prompted controversial practices such as corporate sponsorships, which were followed by protests by stakeholders, which disrupted the operations of galleries. Corporate donors aim to achieve market objectives, such as improve image, so they engage in commercial sponsorships while art museums are selling exposure to visitors, thus, it is an exchange of value. Thus, funding is viewed from an economic

perspective and art museums are required to give value for the money they receive. The government implemented the exchange of value approach as well. For instance, the UK government argues that, in return of public funding, art museums are expected to attract more tourists, create jobs and pay more taxes. Consequently, art museums have to become more like traditional businesses where they sell goods and services in order to become an economic contributor. However, the UK government has sought to limit the extent of commercialisation and maintain the social mission of art museums by imposing free entry. This policy is welcomed by art museums to increase visitors, leading directly to increased income from commercial activities, but also creating strains on operations, which increases costs. This has resulted in a hybrid model as art museums adopt both the social and market business models simultaneously. Art museums in the UK have free admission and continue to deliver their social mission, but they have also commercialised to engage in corporate sponsorships and auxiliary commercial activities.

In France, there are slightly different policies and outcomes. The partial withdrawal of the state from funding cultural institutions combined with decentralised cultural policies aimed at international reach encouraged art museums to globalise through overseas galleries. In particular, three specific factors pushed art museums to globalisation, namely, reduced funding, cultural democratisation and cultural decentralisation. Policy makers enacted these policies in part to enhance soft power to have a global influence through cultural output. The objective of art museums from globalisation is to pursue self-generated income as part of the market-oriented business model to expand and grow income, and to enhance cultural reach that conforms to cultural policies of arts circulation. The shift of cultural policies from state patronage to market principles by demanding art museums to function similar to private corporations and operate according to open market rules removed expansion restrictions, thus a factor influencing globalisation of the arts.

Although both the UK and France applied the same policies in principle to implement marketisation, minor differences in policies resulted, however, in different outcomes, in particular global expansion. In the case of centralisation, like the UK, art museums are considered national museums and the central government is largely involved in directing their behaviour, which makes practices like globalisation require governmental approval in a democratic process. Another factor that has contributed to maintain a local focus in the UK is public funding, which comes from taxpayers and is conditioning art museums to maximise

social impact locally. Public funding exists in France, but art museums are allowed to charge for entrance and export art. This difference in outcomes is traced to two policies that exist in France and not in the UK, besides marketisation, which are cultural decentralisation and cultural democratisation. In France, cultural decentralisation revoked the government's responsibility of art museums and moved it to local municipalities and cities. Cultural decentralisation provides greater flexibility for cultural institutions as policy makers are detached from enforcing or limiting practices, so art museums can enact practices without the approval of the central government. The second factor that influenced globalisation is cultural democratisation. The French government is concerned to maximise access to art museums regardless of the demography of visitors or geography of the gallery. That is likely to help achieve the dual objectives of maximising local learning and spreading French culture to other communities. In turn, art museums are encouraged to launch multiple galleries locally and abroad conforming to these objectives. After enacting these policies, the decisive policy that pushed art museums for globalisation was cultural proposals to circulate art works, which motivated art museums to expand as not only pre-approved by the French government, but also encouraged to enhance arts representation locally and abroad. Thus, the study suggests that cultural decentralisation combined with cultural democratisation removed institutional restrictions for art museums to expand in several geographical locations.

Commercialisation and globalisation of art museums are a double-edged sword wherein they lead to both positive and negative outcomes (Alexander, 1996; Bourdieu, 2016; Kuspit, 2004; Young, 1999). The positive outcomes are mainly economic by making art museums self-sufficient on their income without asking for public funding from the government, thus the government reserves more tax money for other uses. Marketisation turns art museums into contributors to the economy rather than takers by generating higher income from overseas visitors and attracting tourists. However, commercialisation is not without negative consequences. The damage of commercialisation is on aesthetic values, which is a fundamental purpose of art museums, as commercial practices contradict with the social mission and the arts are evaluated based on economic value rather than aesthetic value, with art museums   turned primarily to entertainment centres rather than enlightenment. On the other hand, globalisation is an instrument to have a global cultural presence and make political gains, such as enhancing soft power (Zaretsky, 2017), but it is not without negative consequences (Bezzeg, 1999; McLean, 1998; Smiers, 2003; Tomlinson, 1999). The damage of globalisation is on cultural heritage, which is another fundamental purpose of art museums

to represent and maintain culture. By treating art as a commodity and exchange loans with galleries in different culture locations, art museums undermine authentic cultural representation, shrink artistic diversity, diminish appropriate representation of national identity and are a threat to the existence of art museums themselves. Overall, adopting the market-oriented business model to utilise art museums to achieve economic or political goals requires compromising aesthetic values and cultural heritage.

7.3 Understanding the Process of Institutional Change: The Role of Micro-Level Mechanisms in Organisations

The study first examined three cognitive micro-level mechanisms separately, namely sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making, in order to understand their role in the process of institutional change. For the mechanism of sensemaking, findings show that, through the sensemaking process, organisational actors generate new organising principles by enacting material practices based on interpretations of institutional pressures. Enacting new material practices that construct different organising principles is at the core of institutional logics emergence (Thornton et al., 2012) while social interactions are emphasised as mechanisms for the enactment of practices (Bjerregaard & Jonasson, 2014). Current knowledge about the role of sensemaking in institutional change have focused on the field level to demonstrate that field logics emerge from context-specific sensemaking processes (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Studies have also proposed that sensemaking can be environmental through external events that provide exemplars to enable theorisation, strategics through causal thinking to formulate new strategies, or organisational sensemaking by organisational actors (Garreau et al., 2015; Maitlis, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). The findings of this study add to this debate by analysing the role of sensemaking at the organisational level to show that sensemaking leads to change through the process of identifying, interpreting and taking action by organisational actors to result in the emergence of institutional logics within organisations. Organisational actors identified external circumstances as affecting their organisations, interpreted the impact to generate possible solutions and took action to enact new practices.

While analysing the mechanism of sensemaking, a theme emerged from the analysis, which is sensegiving, whereby some organisational actors attempt to influence others towards a preferred course of action by sharing their interpretations. For instance, the Head of Finance

in the National Gallery reported to the board of trustees the threat to financial stability resulting from the government's cut in funding and urged the board to take action to address that threat. This is in line with Gioia and Chittipeddi's (1991) argument that sensemaking and sensegiving are reciprocal whereby individuals engage in sensemaking and sensegiving in an iterative process. The emergent sensegiving from the case analysis indicates that sensegiving occurs in parallel with sensemaking, in particular during the interpretation stage of sensemaking process where organisational actors make and give sense to each other (Weick et al., 2005).

For the mechanism of collective mobilisation, findings show that organisational actors, through collective mobilisation, generate new organising principles by enacting material practices to conform to institutional pressures. Lounsbury (2005) demonstrated that field level logics emerge from social movements of external stakeholders and called for examining movements of other stakeholders. The study extends this knowledge by examining the effects of movements by the professional community and the public at the organisational level. The study shows that organising principles in organisations evolve as a response to institutional pressures from stakeholders, and became aligned with changing material practices to result in the emergence of institutional logics at the organisational level. It demonstrates that collective mobilisation is an effective influencer of change as stakeholders enforce different practices that conform to the old logic alongside the new logic to result in hybridity. External stakeholders theorise practices and set frames that allow organisational actors to enact narratives that satisfy their demands. Different means are possible to mobilise collectively with different influential level; either hard opposition and disruptive operations through protest, or soft mobilisation by using digital tools to sign petitions and critique the opposed practices. Hard opposition results in achieving full demands while soft mobilisation results in partial conformity. Organisations are more likely to respond to hard opposition because it is devastating to the museum as actors act to mitigate the impact.

For the mechanism of decision-making, findings show that institutional pressures create theories of appropriate practices which, in turn, provide decision frames that allow decision-makers to perceive and identify elements from multiple material practices in order to decide on a narrative that reflects emergence of institutional logics. Studies that relate decision-making explicitly to institutional logics are almost non-existent with the exception of studies that show the role of decision-making implicitly and not as a primary research

objective. This study examines in depth the role of decision-making in institutional logics emergence. Decision-making is effective in the beginning, midst and end of institutional logics emergence. Initially, decision-making is operational in triggering change whereby policy makers enact cultural policies or enforce laws and regulations. For instance, the UK government decided to impose austerity measures on the cultural sector and proposed a Green Paper to encourage cultural institutions to diversify income and become innovative in attracting private funding. Next, decision-making is active in enacting new practices that represent a new logic. Art museums in the UK enacted change by deciding to adopt commercialisation, while French art museums decided to globalise and launch galleries abroad. Thereafter, organisational actors responded to the demands of different stakeholders and decided to adopt practices in novel ways that constituted a hybrid logic, thereby ending the process of institutional change. Following disruption of operations and consistent pressures by external stakeholders, organisations are compelled to respond and satisfy the demands through decision-making.

The link between micro, macro- and meso-levels of organisations was demonstrated to explain institutional change. Findings show that meso-level institutional pressures are stimuli that push organisations for institutional logics emergence where it pushes organisations to pursue the new logic in parallel with the old logic, resulting in hybrid arrangements. The findings are in line with the argument of DiMaggio and Powell (1983) that institutional change occurs as a response to regulative, normative and cognitive pressures. The study shows the role of micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation, and decision-making which, combined, feed into macro-level institutional logics. Their role is summarised sequentially for clarification. First, the role of collective mobilisation is by creating institutional pressures on organisational actors, thus pushing the organisation to satisfy the demands of multiple logics by theorising appropriate practices, providing frames to enact elements from multiple logics and configure a narrative to respond. Second, the role of sensemaking is manifested whereby organisational actors react cognitively to identify circumstances, interpret by assigning them meaning, and then configure strategies and activities to adapt. Third, the role of decision-making is through enacting new practices whereby stakeholders conclude their sensemaking or respond to collective mobilisation by decision-making to enact new, or changed organisational practices. Overall, meso-level institutional pressures are linked to the emergence of macro-level institutional logics through the micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making.

7.4 The Interrelationship between Micro-Level Mechanisms

The study expands existing knowledge on the role of micro-level mechanisms in driving institutional change by responding to the call of Thornton et al. (2012) to examine the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms. The findings of this research indicate a non-linear mutual interrelationship between mechanisms in a continuous process until major stakeholders are satisfied and the organisation reach stable operations. Micro-level mechanisms appear to be generators as well as influencers of organisational practices. For the mechanisms of collective mobilisation and decision-making, organisational actors theorise appropriate practices, influenced by frames, and generate narratives, while, for the mechanism of sensemaking, organisational actors follow the sensemaking process of identifying, interpreting and taking action. The mechanisms interact with each other through a process that is started and finalised with decision-making, while sensemaking and collective mobilisation are operational throughout the process. Once collective mobilisation or sensemaking stop reacting to decision-making, the process of institutional change ends. The following explains the process in detail.

First, through decision-making, external stakeholders from the institutional environment represented by policy makers put pressures on organisational actors. The decisions take the form of policies, laws and regulations that are legally binding, or proposals that incentivise organisations to adopt certain practices. The pressures disrupt operations of organisations or provide incentives to change. For instance, the austerity measures resulted in the decline of public funding by the UK government that disrupted the operations of national museums as it is a significant source of income and shrank to become insufficient. Another decision is the cultural decentralisation policy by the French government that require conformance by field actors. These decisions prompt organisational response through either adoption, change, or deletion of practices. Thus, the findings add to Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework of institutional logics emergence, who suggested that competing logics trigger the emergence, by proposing that competing logics result from the institutional environment that make decisions to impose new logics on organisations that may conflict with the current institutional logic.

Second, organisational actors react by going through the process of sensemaking to identify the circumstances, interpret them to understand their implications and generate possible options, and take action in the form of new or changed organisational practices

through decision-making. For instance, the findings show that organisational actors interpreted cultural policies as leading to financial dilemma and inability to carry out operations if their organisations keep depending on public funding. The literature of sensemaking and institutional change has shown that sensemaking in a top-down approach may lead to unintended outcomes because of different interpretations by middle managers (Balogun & Johnson, 2005). This study first conforms by showing that emergent changes are explained partially by different interpretations by organisational actors of external institutional pressures whereby, in the UK, art museums commercialised and in France globalised, and, secondly, it extends the literature by showing that unintended and emergent changes can result from different interpretations from senior managers. Policy makers enacted laws and regulations to drive an intended change, but the interpretations by senior managers in art museums led to a variance in practices.

Third, the sensemaking of organisational actors results in decision-making to enact material practices which eliminate the upcoming threat on organisational survival. Art museums in the UK enacted a variety of commercial practices while French art museums enacted globalisation to launch galleries abroad. The primary objective behind these decisions was the financial sustainability followed by social impact. For instance, the National Gallery decided to hire a commercial specialist and outsource security services to drive down labour costs and extend opening hours of exhibitions. Nigam and Ocasio (2010), who have shown that sensemaking occurs as a result of attention to external events, have called to examine other mechanisms in relation to sensemaking. This study responds to their call and shows that decision-making precedes and follows the sensemaking process to trigger and conclude institutional logics emergence. Sensemaking is operational during this process whereby organisational actors interpret events and generate new appropriate practices through decision-making. Thus, the findings add to Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms to suggest that sensemaking interacts directly with decision-making without necessarily going through collective mobilisation.

Fourth, new material practices could create dissatisfaction for some stakeholders who may mobilise collectively through different means against organisational practices. They either demand a specific change or ask organisational actors to find a solution. This relation is in line with current literature that suggests that decision-making by external or internal stakeholders could lead to resistance by organisational actors (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007;

Townley, 1997). When collective mobilisation occurs and the organisation is disrupted, organisational actors are forced to respond. Thus, the findings conform to Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework by showing that decision-making could lead to competing logics and hence trigger the process of institutional change. The study also conforms to social movements and institutions literature that shows that collective mobilisation occurs as a result of a confrontation between the status quo and a desired change (Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003). The findings extend the debate by showing that collective mobilisation does not necessarily lead to a significant change, but could influence change to satisfy the demands of other stakeholders who oppose the new outcome. Collective mobilisation was observed as an influencer due to the interrelationship with both decision-making and sensemaking. It follows decision-making to oppose new practices and triggers sensemaking to prompt organisational actors to satisfy the demands of stakeholders.

Fifth, the sensemaking process starts again whereby the organisation's management identifies the disruption, interprets the demands to brainstorm a solution and takes action to satisfy the dissatisfied stakeholders through decision-making. For instance, the strike by labour against outsourcing some positions prompted senior management to interpret this event and take a different course of action. This finding is in line with Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework that collective mobilisation interacts with sensemaking in a mutual relation. Balogun and Johnson (2005) have shown that sensemaking explains unintended change outcomes and this study provides an enhanced explanation by showing that collective mobilisation is a factor that influences sensemaking of organisational actors to result in unintended change. Senior managers in organisations attempted to make an intended change, but the unexpected opposition by stakeholders and their demands influenced change to result in a hybrid logic. Thus, the interrelationship between sensemaking with collective mobilisation partially explains the emergence of unintended change outcomes. Sensemaking in this case is a continuous process to adapt to emergent circumstances, respond to threats and sustain the organisation.

Sixth, organisational actors conclude sensemaking with decision-making to enact amended material practices that meet multiple demands. For instance, the Pompidou Centre decided to launch short-term galleries outside France to comply with cultural policy proposals and maintain the obligation to cultural heritage. The new organisational practices either satisfy stakeholders, or lead to insignificant opposition, whereby institutional change ends

until further major events occur that disrupt the organisation, or organisational actors take an initiative to develop the organisation. The case study of Tate Modern shows a decision to amend practices by ending a sponsorship with a controversial sponsor and replacing it with a more acceptable association to stakeholders, thus ending the fierce protest campaigns by activists, but maintaining the practice of corporate sponsorship as an important source of income. Therefore, the findings partially conform to Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework by showing that sensemaking could lead to collective mobilisation, or it could result directly in decision-making.

Overall, this study proposes that sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making are interrelated in driving institutional change in a non-linear process. The process starts with decision-making, responded by organisational actors through sensemaking and decision-making, influenced through collective mobilisation, and completed with sensemaking and decision-making in an iterative process. The institutional change process ends when major stakeholders are satisfied and the organisations have stable operations.

This study responds to the call of Thornton et al. (2012) by examining empirically how micro-level mechanisms are interrelated to drive institutional change. Building on the theoretical framework proposed by Thornton et al. (2012) of the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms, findings conform to some aspects and alter others. As outlined in Chapter 3, the framework poses that institutional logics emergence at the field level starts either by sensemaking or collective mobilisation and these two mechanisms have a reciprocal relation, while decision-making comes after these two mechanisms to conclude with either maintaining or creating practices. This study shows a slightly different process at the organisational level (see Figure 7). The findings show that decision-making that emanates from external and meso-level events triggers change by either disrupting the organisation or threatening its survival. Organisational actors respond through sensemaking by identifying external events, interpret their consequences on the organisation and take action in the form of decision-making to enact new practices. The new practices either satisfy major stakeholders, leading to organisational sustainability, or dissatisfy powerful stakeholders, leading to collective mobilisation and opposition that diminishes legitimacy or disrupts operations. Organisational actors are compelled to respond and go through the sensemaking process again to identify the mobilisation events, their consequences on the organisation and take action through decision-making to satisfy the demands of the dissatisfied stakeholders in

order to ensure organisational legitimacy and survival. When major and powerful stakeholders are satisfied with the outcome, institutional change ends until further internal or external disruptive events occur in the organisation.

Figure 7 Institutional Logics Emergence Model at the Organisational Level
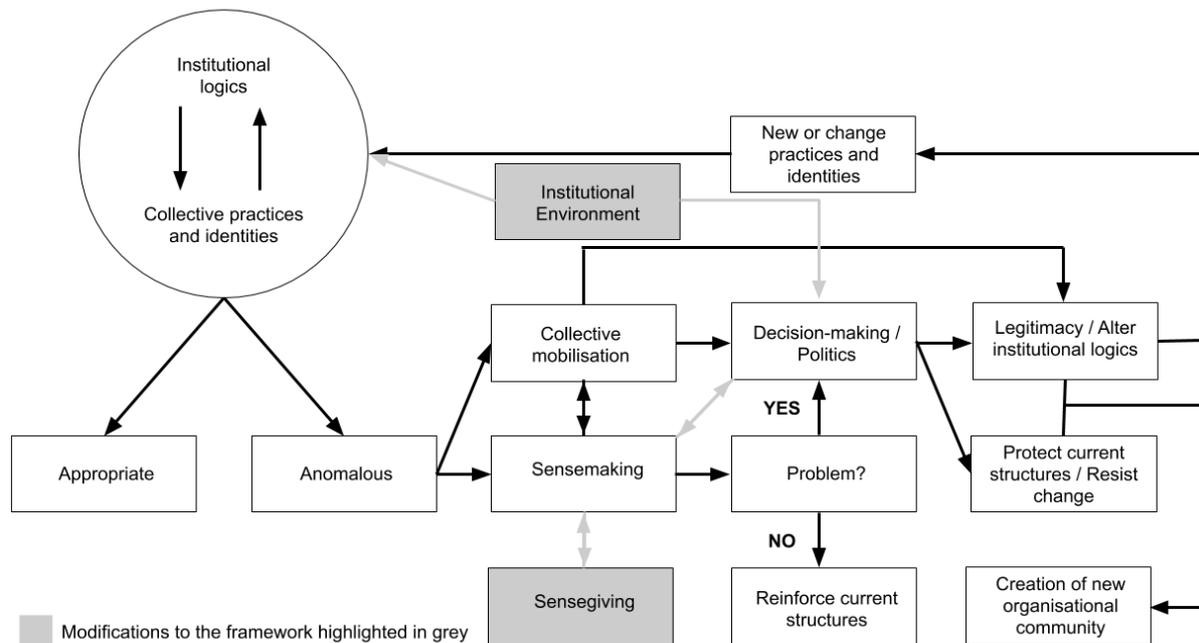
7.5 Counter Mobilisation for Change

Collective mobilisation occurs as a result of a confrontation between the status quo and a desired change (Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003). While studies have shown collective mobilisation as a stimulus that pushes for change, this study shows that this mechanism works as influencer of change. Although new practices may bring several benefits to organisations, such as financial performance or enhanced sustainability, the standpoint of collective mobilisation is, however, moral legitimacy by which stakeholders perceive these new practices as not the right thing to do (Palthe, 2014). For instance, stakeholders mobilised against Tate Modern's sponsorship with an oil company to argue that this association was unethical for the environment and contradicted with the values of art museums that aim for social utility. Thus, stakeholders demanded changing this practice in order for the organisation to gain legitimacy. Eventually, when organisational actors responded to the demands of collective mobilisation by ending the sponsorship agreement, stakeholders

stopped their opposition, thereby the organisation met a critical condition for survival (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008).

The findings show different means by which stakeholders mobilise efforts and resources to pursue their demands with varying levels of effectiveness. First, stakeholders can mobilise using the traditional way of physical protest against specific practices and demand alteration or deletion. Protests require motivating stakeholders towards a cause that pushes them to attend and protest collectively with signs and chants showing their argument and goal. They need persistence as protests could take a lengthy period because organisational actors are likely to resist the demands when they are expected to diminish their interests. After years of mobilisation against Tate Modern's sponsorship and resistance with consistent disruption of operations, the outcome emerged and the organisation complied with the demands. Although opposition could take years to be fruitful, the effort is effective as organisations respond by alteration of practices in a way that satisfies the demands of stakeholders.

Second, stakeholders can mobilise using modern methods of digital tools through online petition, online articles to argue for their case, and listing demands. For instance, the professional community in France issued a petition against Louvre Abu Dhabi and followed that with online articles to argue critically for the damages on cultural heritage. Given the reality of a legal agreement on a government level that made cancelling the project unfeasible, thus they demanded practices that would help to minimise damage and maintain cultural heritage. The findings show that digital mobilisation is a soft mean to resist or pursue demands, as the organisation's operations are undisrupted so that it can neglect the demands and persist against pressures. Nevertheless, continuous mobilisation that successfully spreads petitions to widen public pressure and makes the case against practices using logical arguments eventually prompts organisational actors to partially satisfy the demands. Thus, mobilising digitally is less effective than traditional mobilisation in achieving the intended goals.

In a nutshell, the two means of collective mobilisation, traditional protests and digital tools, both are effective in the long run to compel organisations to respond to demands. However, traditional means of collective mobilisation are more effective to achieve full demands, while digital tools achieve partial demands. Given these insights, stakeholders' choice of a means to mobilise is likely to be affected by their level of motivation. If they are

highly motivated to change organisational practices, they are likely to resort to traditional collective mobilisation, which requires more effort and resources, but is more effective by disrupting organisational operations. If they are low motivated and aim to alter practices of organisations rather than changing them entirely, they are likely to resort to digital tools of petition and online, which create average pressures on organisational actors to respond.

7.6 The Rise of Hybrid Logics

The adoption of a new logic doesn't necessarily lead to diminish the current logic. The literature has shown that hybridity is one of four outcomes of institutional logics emergence (Greenwood et al., 2008; Hodgson et al., 2015; Jay, 2013; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The findings show that combining multiple logics in a hybrid form was the only resort to comply with different and conflicting institutional pressures. Multiple circumstances imposed by the institutional environment were interpreted by organisational actors as the need to adapt, which, in turn, pushed the organisation to combine competing logics in novel ways. Studies have provided different intentional hybridisation approaches, unintentional hybridisation responses and unintentional hybridisation processes (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Bruneel et al., 2016 Jay, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2010; among others). Jay (2013) has shown that sensemaking of organisational outcomes leads organisational actors to synthesise competing logics in a hybrid form. This study extends this debate by showing that micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making can lead to an unintentional hybridisation to incorporate conflicting demands from the external environment inside organisations. The cognitive micro-level mechanisms combined led to the enactment of innovative material practices that are constructed from multiple logics. The rise of hybridity can be explained by the unavailability of other feasible options. For instance, in the UK there is a law that forces national museums to be free for visitors, but, at the same time, there is a shortage of public funding, which constitutes their main source of income. This represents a dilemma that has pushed organisational actors to innovate practices to have an income source while keeping free entry resulting in hybrid organising principles.

The literature of hybrid organisations argues that combining multiple organisational forms requires organisational innovation (Battilana & Lee, 2014). This study reveals interesting insights of how to innovate and combine organisational forms. The findings show

an instrument observed in the data that is leading to organisational innovation, which is digitisation. This study confirms the argument in the emerging business model innovation literature by showing that digitisation as an instrument for innovation leads to positive organisational implications (Amit & Zott, 2015; Dunford et al., 2010; Foss & Saebi, 2017). Digitisation itself is not the innovation, but the creative ways of utilising digital technologies makes it an innovative component in the business model. First, conforming to Dunford et al. (2010), who state that organisational processes is an area to innovate the business model, the study has shown that digitisation changes the way of delivering services by developing digital means to interact with customers. For instance, the After Dark initiative by Tate Modern allowed audiences to control robots from their homes to roam inside the gallery and explore the art. Nevertheless, findings illustrate this as an extension to the business model without replacement of the whole model as conventional social services still exist (Khanagha et al., 2014). Second, findings show that innovation varies according to the influences from the institutional environment and the scope of organisational mission, thus supporting Amit and Zott (2015) that goals of an organisation and environmental factors influence the extent of business model innovation. Third, the analysis shows that digitisation affected organisational performance in terms of both social and financial outcomes. Socially, digital transformation resulted in new and enhanced ways of achieving cultural reach to deliver the social mission to greater audiences. Financially, digitisation enabled new revenue streams by acting as a sales channel and provided more convenient access to paid services. For example, virtual visitors to the Pompidou Centre surpassed visitors to the physical gallery while generating advertising revenue from sponsorship of the online gallery. Thus, creative utilisation of digitisation leads to enhanced hybridity of the business model, but, importantly, the effect is significant, resulting in institutional change.

The study shows that digitisation allowed hybrid organisations to adapt to a challenging operational environment. While Battilana and Lee (2014) have proposed organisational processes to combine social and commercial objectives, this study adds to this by illustrating digitisation as a mechanism that enables this combination through different creative configurations. Digitisation offers the possibility to achieve hybridity by combining the social and market business models or pursue them separately depending on the situation and intended goal of art museums. For instance, Tate Modern developed digital projects initially to enhance social impact, but changing circumstances of reduced public funding required new ways to create digital revenue streams alongside social engagement, while the

Pompidou Centre's primary intention from digitisation is to achieve a global reach. McDonald et al. (2015) provided a typology for non-profits to incorporate the market-oriented business model by creating revenue streams, enhancing donations, and reducing costs. This study suggests that digitisation is a springboard by which to achieve these strategies by pursuing them digitally, leading to greater outcomes. For example, the After Dark robot roaming inside the gallery increased visitor levels and social impact while feeding into the financial aspect as the gallery remained open during the night with lower costs than the average operating costs during opening hours. On the other hand, digitisation with a financial aim influenced the social aspect whereby, for example, the online membership enhanced revenues from membership and fed into the social activities as members are more likely to attend free or discounted exhibitions. Digital audience engagement, such as the virtual experience of the Pompidou Centre, has a fundamental impact on the business model. It provides virtual access to contents for people all over the world with a twofold effect: first it allows greater cultural reach globally at lower cost, and, second, it increases income from sponsorship as brands gain greater exposure to customers on a global scale. Thus, digitisation has resulted in higher income and lower costs while feeding into the social mission.

While the literature suggests that the duality of missions is a source of organisational tensions (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Greenwood et al., 2011), the study has shown that digitisation can enable a creative harmony between competing activities to achieve hybridity. Nevertheless, digitisation has the potential to create unexpected tensions in other organisational aspects. Interactive services that enable audiences to create, reuse and circulate art may undermine the role of artists and curators in terms of the social impact, as power is shifting to audiences. Furthermore, organisations have limited resources and allocating them to invest in digital projects may lead to conflicts about whether the impact of investing should be prioritised for social or commercial outcome (O'Donohoe et al., 2010). While the cases show a successful synergy between conflicting objectives, the combination, however, is the result of changing priorities, as the analysis shows where digital has been utilised for one organisational objective first and then developed to combine a second objective. This synergy is important to reduce or eliminate potential tensions, as drawing the organisation away from the core social mission triggers conflicts between stakeholders while commercial activities are a necessity in the face of insufficient public funding.

Another innovative strategy that enabled hybridisation is agile operations, especially lending art works. The findings show that organisations who enacted global expansion received different reactions from stakeholders. Louvre Abu Dhabi, which launched a long-term gallery, faced resistance by stakeholders who argued that the move damaged cultural heritage, while the Pompidou Centre, which conducted temporary short-term galleries, has not faced such opposition. This difference in reaction is mainly due to missing arts from the main gallery. The Pompidou Centre temporary outposts imply that arts are lent for a short term and returned to the main gallery within months or a few years. The Louvre long-term gallery in Abu Dhabi faced a different situation as collective mobilisation prompted the gallery to respond to the demands of the opposition and enact a policy of returning arts gradually as Abu Dhabi develops its own collection. Thus, organisations successfully hybridised logics and satisfied stakeholders through compromise. This finding adds to the existing literature. Oliver (1991) suggests compromise to balance competing expectations, and Nicolini et al. (2016) have found that compromise is successful to continue with competing logics in ongoing long-term tensions. This study suggests that compromising competing demands by configuring a way to serve them partially can lead to harmonise logics whereby tensions disappear or are minimised. Thus, balancing practices to comply with the demands of different stakeholders can hybridise competing logics, leading to a successful institutional change and organisational sustainability.

The findings indicate that a hybrid logic is not an optimal form for organisations that seek competitiveness and sustainability, but a resort by which it is intended to accommodate conflicting demands (Battilana & Lee, 2014). For instance, the adoption of the market logic required focusing on efficiency, which prompted the organisation to cut costs whenever possible. The findings show that a hybrid logic leads to a divergent focus, hence low performance for each logic, which conforms to hybrid organisations literature in that a hybrid organisational form does not maximise financial or social returns as in specialised for- or non-profit forms (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Tracey et al., 2011). For instance, although art museums in the UK have adopted the market-oriented business model by practising trading activities and diversified income sources, they still depend largely on external funding sources. Self-generated income has not totally replaced government grants-in-aid and private donations, but has been adopted as part of an income mix that has contributed to maintain multiple logics resulting in hybridity. The financial data show that public funding for UK art museums remains a significant income source largely because admission is maintained free.

On the other hand, the social logic is compromised as art museums went against their values by accepting corporate sponsorships from what is considered by the professional community as unethical sponsors, which resulted in opposition and disruption. Thus, findings further prove the argument of the hybrid organisations literature, that hybridity leads to average performance for each logic, experiencing external tensions in managing relations with different stakeholders, and internal tensions in managing scarce resources.

This study adds an interesting perspective about the cause of hybridity; a hybrid logic is not a strategic choice, but an approach imposed by the institutional environment. Scholars of hybrid organisations have developed hybridisation approaches for organisations to hybridise, such as hybrid organising or hiring and socialisation (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014). This study extends the debate by showing that a hybrid logic could arise unintentionally to cope with conflicting pressures from the institutional environment. This depends partially on the power of stakeholders, either regulators, whereby the only choice for organisational actors is to conform, or lower power stakeholders, such as the professional community, where organisations can resist complying, but eventually response to maintain legitimacy. Art museums are mainly non-profit or public organisations with a social purpose. They are not intended to maximise shareholders value like for-profit organisations, but have adopted the market-oriented business model to balance the budget and survive. This makes them slightly different from the common hybrid organisations, which are social enterprises who utilise commercial means to maximise financial outcomes, but contribute to the social aspect. However, the social mission is not maximised, as actors have divergent focus. For instance, French artists argue that Louvre Abu Dhabi is damaging cultural heritage in order to achieve financial and political goals. Nevertheless, when the organisational survival is at stake, achieving social objectives in average performance sounds a better option than organisational collapse and achieving nothing. Thus, although hybridity leads to average performance for each logic, given the circumstances and pressures imposed on art museums it becomes an optimal solution.

While hybridity arose unintentionally, the analysis of cases and mechanisms indicates a particular mechanism that pushed towards a hybrid outcome which is collective mobilisation. Organisations initially responded to the demands imposed by the institutional environment and adopted the market logic. However, the backlash from other stakeholders created a dilemma for organisational actors. For instance, the launch of Louvre Abu Dhabi

led to the formation of opposition by the professional community against that development. Organisational actors were unable to reverse the new logic due to the power of stakeholders that supported it, so they had no other path than to innovate or compromise the competing logics in a functional way. They reviewed the demands of the opposition for the possibility of complying and adopted some demands while holding on the new logic. Thus, this study demonstrates that collective mobilisation is a factor leading to unintentional hybridisation for organisational actors, but intentional by stakeholders who demand maintaining the old logic, resulting eventually in a hybrid logic.

7.7 Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the study in relation to the literature. It extends the debate on institutional logics, social movements and hybrid organisations in four ways. First, the study shows the role of micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making in driving institutional change. Each of these mechanisms is active in the process of institutional change. Second, it examined multiple mechanisms in each case study to establish the interrelationship between the micro-level mechanisms. The process of change starts with decision-making, then organisational actors respond through sensemaking and decision-making to enact new practices, next collective mobilisation influences change by demanding different practices, and thereafter organisational actors respond through sensemaking and enact amended practices through decision-making. Third, the means of collective mobilisation are explored to show different means and their level of effectiveness. Organisational actors mobilised collectively either through traditional means of protests, or modern means of digital tools. Both diminished the legitimacy of the organisation, but traditional means proved more effective due to the greater extent of disrupting operations than digital tools. Fourth, the study shows a similar outcome of hybridisation across the field. This outcome is enabled by digitisation, which facilitated the development of creative and innovative practices to combine conflicting goals. Hybridity emerged unintentionally due to factors during the institutional change process that triggered and influenced change, including unexpected meso-level events and the backlash from stakeholders who demanded amendments to the new practices. In particular, collective mobilisation by stakeholders is a key mechanism that led to unintentional hybridisation as organisational actors had not expected such opposition which disrupted the organisation and

resulted in combining competing organising principles in novel ways to constitute a hybrid logic.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter starts by presenting a brief summary of the thesis to describe the study aims, research questions, method, context and findings. Then, it relates the findings to the research questions and outlines theoretical contributions. Next, the chapter proposes practical implications from the findings for practitioners. Thereafter, it highlights limitations of the study and offers directions for future research. It concludes with final remarks on institutional logics and institutional change.

8.2 Contributions of the Study

8.2.1 Thesis Summary

This thesis aims to contribute to management studies by researching institutional change to improve understanding in this area. It is interested in changes of the art museums field since the global financial crisis of 2008. An early reading of the literature indicates that an institutional logics perspective is employed by scholars to investigate institutional change through examining the role of agency. Logics are the socially constructed values and beliefs that guide the behaviour of individuals (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Thus, an institutional logics perspective is selected as the focal theory of the research, while art museums provide the context of the study.

A comprehensive literature review within this perspective reveals that there are opportunities to extend knowledge by researching the emergence of institutional logics through multiple levels of analysis. Studies show that logics emerge from micro-level mechanisms to result in macro-level outcomes. A critical evaluation of the literature shows three gaps that this research aims to fill. First, studies have focused on the field level of analysis and neglected the emergence of logics at the organisational level, which has the potential to provide more insights into institutional studies (e.g. Nicolini et al., 2016). Second, micro-level mechanisms were investigated solely and scholars called to examine the interrelationship between mechanisms (e.g. Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). The study has selected three mechanisms, which are sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Third, studies have shown four outcomes of institutional logics emergence and one of them is

a hybrid logic (Battilana & Lee, 2014). After reviewing the literature in hybrid organisations it reveals that studies have focused on developing intentional hybridisation approaches as a strategic choice while how a hybrid logic emerges unintentionally is not clear. Thus, this study has posed three research questions that aim to investigate the emergence of institutional logics at an organisational level, examine the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms in institutional change process and explain the evolution of hybrid logic as an outcome of change. I ask how the micro-level mechanisms of sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making interact and combine at the organisational level to result in institutional logics emergence. How do stakeholders influence the process of institutional change? And how do institutional logics hybridise?

A comparative case study method was employed to answer the research questions. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources to achieve data triangulation. A deductive theory validation approach through template analysis has been employed initially to examine institutional logics emergence at the organisational level (Campbell, 1979; Hyde, 2000). Sensemaking was analysed using the sensemaking process of identifying, interpreting and taking action while collective mobilisation and decision-making were analysed using institutional logics emergence framework of theories, frames and narratives (Thornton et al., 2012; Weick et al., 2005). The case studies were selected in the context of art museums in the UK and France as they went through significant changes since the global financial crisis in 2008. The UK government adopted marketisation by asking art museums to be sufficient on their self-generated income and issued the Green Paper initiative to encourage private funding and commercial practices. The French government enacted policies of cultural decentralisation, cultural democratisation and arts circulation that demand cultural institutions to have a presence beyond the main gallery. The outcome is commercialisation of art museums in the UK and globalisation in France.

The findings reveal that micro-level mechanisms are operational through the institutional change process and interacted to explain the outcome. Through decision-making, external actors made pressures and triggered change, sensemaking by organisational actors to interpret pressures and enact change, collective mobilisation by stakeholders to influence change, and sensemaking and decision-making by organisational actors to finalise change and result in the outcome of a hybrid logic. The institutional environment and counter mobilisation are major factors to explain unintentional hybridisation as they impose

conflicting demands, while organisational actors through sensemaking generate options to harmonise conflicting practices in novel ways and decide to adopt them in order to satisfy stakeholders, which results in a hybrid logic. Hybridity is not an optimal organisational form, but endorsed as the only resort to serve conflicting demands to maintain legitimacy and sustain organisations.

8.2.2 Theoretical Contributions

As discussed in detail in Chapter 7, this study is interdisciplinary by combining institutional logics, institutional change, cognitive mechanisms and a comparative perspective to make theoretical contributions and confirm existing findings in different disciplines (Gustafsson et al., 2016). The study shows that the institutional environment through external events is a significant factor that causes change. Cultural policies of the UK and French governments created demands on cultural institutions to comply in order to sustain these institutions and survive. Both governments initiated austerity programmes following the global financial crisis of 2008, but differed in the details of demands as the UK focused on financial sustainability while France emphasised cultural spread and arts circulation. This conforms to previous work which argues that organisations seek homogeneity with external demands and expectations, particularly coercive pressures from the government, in order to survive (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Townley, 1997).

The study aimed to understand the process of institutional change by using the institutional logics perspective to examine the process at the micro-level (Thornton et al., 2012) and employing a cognitive view rather than a structural view (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The findings show that three cognitive micro-level mechanisms are operational in driving institutional logics emergence, which are sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. The study extends the literature of sensemaking and collective mobilisation (Lounsbury, 2005; Nigam & Ocasio, 2010) by showing that sensemaking through the process of identifying, interpreting, and taking action, and collective mobilisation through theories, frames and narratives result in new or changed material practices at the organisational level. Decision-making is at the core of this process whereby the decisions of organisational actors shape organisational practices that occur either in a top-down from policy makers and top managers (Balogun & Johnson, 2005) or bottom-up approaches from low power stakeholders (Rao et al., 2003).

This study responds to the call of Thornton et al. (2012) to examine the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms. The findings of the four case studies accompanied with comparative analysis reflect a non-linear process with mutual interrelationship between mechanisms in a continuous process until influential stakeholders are satisfied. The process starts by decision-making of external actors from the institutional environment who make pressures or demands on organisations in a field to adapt to new policies. Organisational actors go through the process of sensemaking to identify circumstances, interpret them to generate possible options and then take action. Taking action is in the form of decision-making, whereby actors enact new material practices. The new practices either satisfy major stakeholders or trigger collective mobilisation. If stakeholders are satisfied, the institutional logics emergence process ends, but, if they are dissatisfied, they may mobilise collectively to oppose the new practices and demand alteration or deletion. Organisational actors respond through sensemaking to enact different practices that satisfy the opposition through decision-making. Thus, the findings in part match the theoretical framework of Thornton et al. (2012) which is intended for the field level, but shows a slightly different process at the organisational level. Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework posits that institutional change in the field starts with sensemaking of competing logics. This study contributes by showing that, at the organisational level, decision-making precedes sensemaking to create conflicting demands that require response and follows sensemaking as well to result in new practices. Decision-making that comes after sensemaking may trigger collective mobilisation to repeat the process of sensemaking. Thereafter, the findings match the remaining dimensions of the framework whereby the new practices either lead to conflict and reiterate the process of change, or satisfy major stakeholders and gain legitimacy to end the process of change.

This study illustrates that stakeholders, especially those who have low power, are influential in the institutional change process when they mobilise collectively. It conforms to the literature of institutional social movements by showing that, in collective mobilisation, actors theorise, classify and diffuse argument, frames and resources to constitute pressures that lead to change in organisational practices (Lounsbury, 2005; Rao et al., 2003; Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008). The findings are in parallel with the argument of the literature by showing that power is a dynamic influencing institutional change (Greenwood et al., 2008; Holm; 1995) as collective mobilisation that disrupts organisations is more powerful in pushing for change than through soft means of theorising and stating demands. Nevertheless,

the findings contribute to the literature by illustrating that low power stakeholders can influence change when they mobilise collectively and disrupt organisations, which constitutes a powerful force for change. Furthermore, the study shows that a major factor that influences organisations to respond is legitimacy, in particular moral legitimacy whereby practices of organisations are legitimised by social audiences; thus, organisations are obliged to consider the demands of external stakeholders such as customers or the public (Palthe, 2014). Collective mobilisation by stakeholders diminishes legitimacy of organisations thus prompts them to respond and satisfy the demands in line with the literature, which shows that organisations seek legitimacy to survive as a priority (Greenwood et al., 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

This study has focused on the outcome of a hybrid logic emergence. This guided the choice of cases that share similar outcomes as indicated by the contextual analysis in Chapter 5. The literature of hybrid organisations has developed intentional hybridisation approaches for organisations that seek to combine multiple organisational forms (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Bruneel et al., 2016). The findings of this research contribute by revealing that hybridity may arise unintentionally due to environmental factors. The institutional environment through cultural policies issued demands on arts institutions that required a change of logic. Organisations complied and adopted new practices of commercialisation and globalisation. This outcome triggered resistance by stakeholders in defence of the old logic by mobilising collectively against the new logic. After a lengthy period of struggle through disruption of operations and diminishing legitimacy, organisational actors enacted innovative practices that combined competing logics in novel ways to constitute a hybrid logic. Thus, hybridity was not an intentional strategic choice, but, rather, emerged due to unexpected external events to accommodate conflicting demands. Nevertheless, the findings conform to the literature that hybridity does not maximise performances and leads to average performance for each logic (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Organisations developed revenue streams, but they are still insufficient to compensate public funding as entrance for audiences in the UK is free, while, in parallel, the old logic was compromised by diminishing the performance related to that logic. For instance, special exhibitions became intertwined with financial feasibility as a condition for approval, leading to fewer exhibitions organised and particularly fewer free admission exhibitions.

An emergent insight from the study is utilising digitisation by organisations to hybridise and achieve their dual objectives. While Battilana and Lee (2014) illustrated organisational dimensions to hybridise including activities, structures, and processes, this research extends the literature by reflecting on the effective utilisation of digital technologies that assists organisations in hybridising practices by creating a synergy between competing logics. As the findings indicate, organisations can utilise digitisation to create hybrid practices by first using digital to pursue the old logic and satisfy its demands, and then figure creative ways to combine the new logic. Tensions were not observed in the digital strategy, as the new and old logics were combined through configurations that satisfied the demands of both logics. For instance, the virtual gallery of the Pompidou Centre provided extended access to the gallery while, in parallel, gaining sponsorship income that supported the centre financially, but did not affect negatively the user experience, thus, resulting in a win-win result for both logics. Therefore, digitisation is an effective mechanism in hybridising organisations.

8.2.3 Practical Implications

The multi-level process of institutional logics emergence provides organisations with a template to be more agile and flexible in adapting to institutional pressures of regulative, normative and cognitive pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Sensemaking encourages organisational actors to pay attention to external events and subsequently interpret their impact on the organisation to generate solutions that will lead to survival. Dismissing the demands by the institutional environment threatens sustainability through reduced funding while, on the other hand, responding without consideration of the organisation's mission and purpose may threaten legitimacy. Non-profit or public organisations, and art museums in particular, have to go through sensemaking to find a solution that satisfies different stakeholders. Decision-making should conclude sensemaking and take action instantaneously as a delay in decision-making could likely lead to disruption in operations that organisations need to mitigate. Considering external events of decision-making by policy makers, sensemaking to interpret and generate solutions, and decision-making to enact change are the key mechanisms to drive institutional change.

The study shows key implications of collective mobilisation. Traditional means of mobilisation are more effective than digital means. When stakeholders have a strong cause to impose demands, they have better chances when they coordinate with their fellows to print

signs and organise a protest. Nevertheless, traditional means of mobilisation require persistence for a lengthy period of years in order to enforce a significant change on organisational practices. Digital means such as petitions have low effectiveness and can work in less extreme situations to impose insignificant demands. Based on this finding, this study suggests combining both traditional and digital means of collective mobilisation to maximise pressures and achieve demands.

From a contextual perspective, although the outcomes of commercialisation and globalisation became inevitable in the cultural sector due to economic challenges and insufficient funding levels in the UK with the government's insistence to cut funding for national museums, and a national cultural globalisation strategy in France, a way forward, however, is to try to resolve or minimise damage. The analysis indicates that cultural policies are a major factor that is driving art museums to commercialise and globalise. In that sense, as cultural policies were used to direct cultural institutions financially and strategically, then they can limit the threat of commercialisation and globalisation by acting as a force to protect aesthetic values and cultural heritage.

In the UK, the government can make moves to lesser the extent of commercialisation by providing tax exemptions on the revenue of art museums, increase funding with the view that it yields indirect economic benefits rather than viewing it as costs, and focus on social outcomes from the cultural sector rather than economic returns. A tax exemption on the income of art museums similar to the tax amendments for corporations that eliminated taxes on profits spent on corporate social responsibility (Alexander, 2007) is an indirect form of funding as, by paying less tax, national museums will get all income from commercial activities and thus lower the need for external funding. However, the economic benefits from museums should be viewed from different perspectives, as the UK government did in the 1990s when it funded the cultural sector and sought indirect economic gains through more visitors to the museums locally and tourists who spend money on local businesses, thereby benefiting many business sectors, which, in turn, pay more taxes. Overall, the optimal cultural policy to limit the extent and damage of commercialisation while gaining economic benefits is through compromising the market-oriented business model. The government can continue the path of funding cuts for cultural institutions, but give them tax exemptions with a view that art museums contribute to the economy indirectly. Thus, the government should treat the

cultural sector differently than other economic sectors and maintain cultural objectives as priorities.

In France, first of all policy makers could issue a legislation to ensure that international loans are limited for a short term and then returned to the origin gallery. Second, the government could provide a higher tax exemption to art museums, which provides an indirect form of funding as it will enable them to retain higher income from commercial activities to enhance the financial condition. For the host country, local cities and municipalities should support local art museums and increase their contribution to the economy in order to have authentic artistic production, which will help to avoid importing global museums, thus maintaining local cultural representation and protecting cultural heritage.

From the organisational side, there are actions art museums can take to maintain their social mission and cultural heritage while simultaneously becoming self-sufficient financially. The study shows that a hybrid logic is beneficial for art museums in particular, and non-profit or public organisations in general. Art museums can develop hybrid arrangements wherein they carry out their social mission while enacting innovative commercial practices for organisational sustainability. In other words, create a balance between the social and market business models. However, this form still requires government backing and assurances by maintaining some form of a welfare state to intervene when required to bail out cultural institutions from threatening financial situations. This will make art museums more autonomous in carrying out their social mission by limiting the influence of external and private funders, while adopting auxiliary innovative commercial practices that contribute to cover operational costs. By maintaining the social mission and balancing the budget innovatively, art museums are likely to avoid significant orientation towards commercialisation or globalisation for a commercial purpose. The result of this hybridity is keeping art museums focused on cultural issues, aesthetic values and cultural heritage without turning into for-profit corporations. This is crucial to maintain the social mission and lead the community to thrive through social development.

Nevertheless, a hybrid logic is not without drawbacks. By understanding the consequences of enacting a hybrid logic, organisations have more insights to make a more informed strategic choice about whether hybridisation is their best course of action. A hybrid logic could compromise conflicting demands and lead to organisational stability while

strengthening legitimacy by serving a wider base of stakeholders. However, a hybrid logic may not bring a competitive advantage and financial viability, in line with the literature argument (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Organisations need to consider their institutional environment and the demands of stakeholders in order to decide whether hybrid is the optimal form for the sustainability of the organisation.

Another implication is about particular practices that can be adopted by other organisations in the field of art museums or other fields in order to serve conflicting demands. The case studies show that art museums successfully coped with shrinking funding and enhanced social impact because they utilised digitisation creatively. As a managerial implication, the study suggests that digital initiatives in art museums should carry a hybrid objective to achieve social and commercial outcomes in order to have better chances of survival and meet institutional challenges. In addition, art museums should aim to have a creative synergy between social and trading activities through digital projects to develop a sustainable ecosystem (Weerawardena et al., 2010). This implies that art museums as well as other non-profit or public organisations should consider every digital project from the social and commercial dimensions to maximise returns and conform to 'impact investing', as digital could be viewed as a business investment with the intention to generate social impact (O'Donohoe et al., 2010).

The study indicates implications from the particular practice of corporate sponsorship by non-profit or public organisations. The findings reveal that what matters most to the professional community and public is the nature or type of sponsors that are associated with art museums through the sponsorship rather than the practice of sponsorship itself (Colbert et al., 2005). As demonstrated through the case studies analysis, the sector and activities of the sponsor were perceived as unethical, which triggered opposition from artists to break the association of museums with those sponsors. The alignment between the sponsor and the mission of sponsee is another aspect to consider to achieve ethical sponsorships and improve community relations. A misfit leads to counter mobilisation from stakeholders that disrupts operations of the gallery as well as spreading negative publicity of the sponsor. Thus, evaluating the sponsorship solely based on return on investment by the sponsor and funding level by the sponsee is not sufficient, by which the cultural dimension has to be incorporated.

A lesson drawn is that an institutional change needs to consider all stakeholders to satisfy their logic, even partially. Policy makers could enact policies to avoid such

confrontation in the future by creating a committee to mediate between stakeholders and ensure a fit between organisational practices and stakeholders' expectations. Alternatively, policy makers could develop terms of practice that condition what practices are allowed or specify details of acceptable practices. For instance, regulating arts sponsorship to ensure a fit between the sponsor and sponsee that satisfies different stakeholders and is not contrary to artistic values. These measures may ensure that new practices of art museums are in harmony with the social mission while maintaining autonomy in determining cultural practices.

8.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This study is not without limitations, which can be addressed through future research. First, the study focused on three micro-level mechanisms; sensemaking, collective mobilisation and decision-making. Exploring and investigating other interrelated mechanisms is important to develop a comprehensive understanding of institutional logics emergence in a micro-to macro-level relation. Such a mechanism related to sensemaking is the process of sensegiving. While current studies of sensegiving have paid attention to leaders and stakeholders as main conveyors of sensemaking to others through sensegiving (Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007), incorporating sensegiving in a thematic analysis could yield valuable insights of how the two interact and influence outcomes.

Second, microfoundations and emotions were highlighted in the literature review as emerging, but were out of scope of this research. The focus on cognition in the studies of institutional logics was identified as a limitation with recent developments in the literature that are examining emotions as an influential factor in institutional change. Emotions may influence cognitive mechanisms such as collective mobilisation or decision-making that could explain the variation in outcomes. Thus, future research could incorporate microfoundations to improve understanding of institutional logics emergence by examining the relation and influence of microfoundations and emotions alongside cognitive mechanisms. Similar to this study, a case study research method may be useful to respond to this call of research.

Third, the study focused on specific stakeholders, which are organisational actors, the UK and French governments, and the professional community. Future research could aim to collect data from other stakeholders, mainly audiences, to gain insights of their view of change within the field of art museums and their role, if any, during institutional change. The views of audiences might be collected in art museums through surveys, thus examining the

relation between consumer surveys and organisational actors is such a method to examine the effect of this stakeholder category on organisations. Combining mass consumer voice through surveys with other internal stakeholders through interviews may yield analysis that is more robust.

Fourth, this study focused on hybridity as an outcome by examining the process and factors that lead to unintentional hybridisation. Researchers could explore more factors or mechanisms that enabled hybridisation. Additionally, they could explore the factors that influence other outcomes than hybridity, which include maintaining a dominant logic, changing to a new logic, or continuing with competing logics (Greenwood et al., 2008; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Examining different outcomes in the context of art museums is encouraged but other similar contexts as well could yield insights that are generalisable. Future research will need to systematically identify these mechanisms and factors to examine both their role and implications on organisational outcomes.

Fifth, this study has linked digitisation as a creative practice to organisational outcomes. Future studies could examine factors that are influencing the extent of digitisation effects. This study focused on digitisation, but how it interacts with other mechanisms and processes would be an interesting area of study to gain more understanding of how art museums in particular and hybrid organisations in general combine social and commercial objectives in a hybrid arrangement (Battilana & Lee, 2014). The findings reveal specific digital technologies and particular innovations, yet others could be explored to examine potentially different effects on business models and internal processes. Furthermore, the findings of this study based on art museums may not be generalisable to other fields of non-profit or public organisations. Future research could explore digitisation in different contexts other than art museums to examine different kinds of innovations that have affected the business model depending on the unique circumstances of the field.

8.4 Concluding Remark

This last chapter summarised the thesis, highlighted theoretical contributions, suggested practical implications from the empirical findings, identified and presented the limitations of this research and suggested several paths for future research that could be conducted to advance the study of institutional logics, institutional change, hybrid organisations and art museums.

Overall, this study aimed to contribute to the institutional logics debate by examining the process of institutional change at the micro-level to understand the emergence of institutional logics at the macro-level through organisational practices. It examined the interrelationship between micro-level mechanisms to establish a relation empirically by which sensemaking, collective mobilisation, and decision-making interact to drive institutional change. It explored the role and effectiveness of counter mobilisation and resistance to change in influencing the outcome. It explained the emergence of unintentional hybridity due to different stakeholders involved and unexpected factors intervened to alter the outcome of change. Based on the findings, the chapter provided insightful implications for both academics and practitioners. Organisational actors have to consider the consequences of enacting a new logic to avoid a possible resistance by stakeholders that may disrupt operations. Innovative practices, including digitisation, can assist organisations in balancing conflicting demands and serve different stakeholders. Hybridity is functional to resolve tensions and sustain organisations, even though it leads to average performance for each logic. Several limitations were highlighted, including exploring more micro-level mechanisms, examining the relation with non-cognitive mechanisms such as emotions, the role of other external stakeholders such as audiences in influencing change, examining other mechanisms that influence hybrid outcome and factors that lead to different outcomes of change, and exploring digital innovations in other contexts that affect institutional change.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Transcript Sample

Interviewer: How do you see the development of the museum in the last 10 years since the world financial crisis?

Interviewee: Since the financial crisis the entire museum sector has struggled to legitimise state funding. Social democratic governments implemented free entrance to state museums and raised taxes to finance museums. In the last ten years, the cultural policy goal of cultural democratisation has led to greater political governance of the institutions. The autonomy of the arts is challenged – art museums may need to redefine their belonging. The art world or the state or the common good. There is a tougher fundraising environment across all areas: grants and foundations, corporate support and philanthropy. There is a squeeze on core government funding although the national museums have largely been protected from this. There are some new government funding streams available outside of the core areas such as those for digital activity. In some ways, the financial crisis could be seen as having a positive outcome for museums. The reduction in government funding meant museums became more resourceful at finding other routes to funding. I have seen many museums turn to the education sector broadening their outreach to access grants from youth and adult sectors setting up mental health art outreach, working in conjunction with social service, health and education sectors.

Interviewer: Besides the financial crisis, what major events do you think have affected or disrupted the operations the museum? Why?

Interviewee: The development of social media and democratisation of information through the internet, since people can now take part in art and art history in their homes and through their smartphones. Museums need to convince audiences to attend their venues and their exhibitions in new ways. The digital age brings with it huge opportunities to museums. Digital can enable museums to fulfil their missions in new ways, dramatically increase their reach and address a global audience. Alongside this are challenges: the nature of collections

themselves are changing with new materials and born-digital objects which present a storage and conservation challenge.

Interviewer: How do you think the museum should respond to the funding cuts from the government and financial issues in general?

Interviewee: Museums have to diversify to survive with government, local authority, education, health and social service funding dramatically reducing outreach and community programmes grants are disappearing alongside foundation and private funding becoming less generous, museums need to look at partnerships with retail and service industries to survive. Find alternative funding, raise awareness with the public, sponsorships, or alternatively close down. There is a clear need to generate more income and to become more financially sustainable. Focus on revenue generation is now a core objective within most museums strategies alongside reducing costs where possible through rationalisation of activities. They should continue with specific curated exhibitions that are charged and offer membership options for annual fees. A website membership is an interesting and viable activity that offers greater access to research materials relating to the museum and their collections and perhaps provides more details of curated exhibitions and access to lectures and other artistic materials.

Interviewer: Why do you think the museum is pursuing commercialisation, globalisation, or digitisation?

Interviewee: Sponsoring has been a thing in regional museums for long. I believe it is going to become more and more common with museums pretty careful in terms of sponsoring institute by trying not to accept contribution from controversial institutions or scandal. We will see the idea of art as a private interest again, not a common good. In response, we might see counteractions to stop the idea of arts being for only the rich through organisational innovation, which would be interesting. Museums are pursuing commercialisation to reduce risks and financial volatility and enable greater long-term sustainability. Globalisation and digitisation are more mission driven activities which enable new ways to fulfil the museum's mission through partnerships and new technologies. Ultimately visitors want more digitisation as we consumer everything through our phones these days and it can be used to stop known issues such as people crowding round labels if the label can be digitised.

Interviewer: What do you think is the effect of the commercialisation, globalisation, or digitisation by the museum on the organisation and the way it works?

Interviewee: New skills and activities need to be brought into the museum (e.g. partnership management, data analytics, software development, and media production). These new activities can be either within existing areas of activity or new functions. In either case they need embedding into the museum's structure, processes and governance. Some exhibitions have to be planned some years in advance to obtain the loans, it was always the case at the museums that there was a kind of combination of exhibitions were expected to draw more visitors while other less visitors, after 2008 actors changed this and started to say to become more commercial. These orientations are ways to basically build or diversify income streams, not necessary just to ground people access through digital but to create interface for people to buy other products that the museum sell and happens on so many levels. I think it is a very sensible thing to do because I think it is the most sustainable thing the museum can be. Globalisation alongside digital expansion has pros and cons attached. The public gain an accessible cultural diversity that creates an improved understanding of difference expanding our knowledge hopefully improving our perspective on humanity. The cons might be that museums have to compete against each other in a global world where there is less funding opportunity.

Interviewer: Precisely, what do you think is the effect on the social mission? Do you think that is positive or negative? Why?

Interviewee: Two things; first art museums need to rethink whom they are for, and what content reflect the public, not only the educated, cultural elite, and second art museums must adhere to policy goals they were never created to fix, such as social exclusion, why they find opportunistic ways to go on with their core mission while letting the pedagogical or educational team of the museum handle the issue of social responsibility. Overall these are positive. Museums are mission-driven organisations and have been reasonable adept at flexing with changing circumstances over the past 100 years. These new changes provide greater reach and a closer engagement with audiences which are the core of the current articulation of museum's missions. Museums have effectively excluded people throughout history and thus taken part in why we have social segregation. However, museums also hold expertise, knowledge and collections that are of value – only, that value will perhaps be

redefined and redesigned. Societies change, institutions should change with them, and change hurts. I believe that the social mission of museums through decreased access to funds has forced many museums out from purely an aesthetic responsibility into a more social educational outreach programme, museums have had to broaden their outlooks and become more inclusive, they have started to try and reflect society as a whole.

Interviewer: Given the current reality, what do you think the museum should do to maintain the social mission?

Interviewee: It's on the government to ensure any funding is tied to that money being used to engage with social groups that don't normally visit museums or perhaps give some of their money to the communities that need them. For museums, continue to review how the mission is articulated in the global, digital world and continue to consider the opportunities this affords the museum to deliver its mission, which will doubtless be an evolving process. Museums need to expand their diversity programmes within its own ranks. Remain focused on creating accessible innovative outreach programmes. Connecting with all classes and cultures to increase footfall and give a voice to a wider and more inclusive group of artists across, class, race, gender and disability through exhibitions and residencies.

Interviewer: Any further comments?

Interviewee: I think by making it possible to come in for free you allow people the opportunity to go for that part of the city. Social outreach is important to museums, as museum visitors are still largely from specific segments. They need to provide more resources to support more visits, make it for more segments to see the artwork whether that visit or through interactive form online. As social outreach doesn't drive revenue it can dwindle as the museum struggles with funding. Utilise digital to improve the user experience both in the gallery and online through innovative digital projects that should enable greater reach with more efficient operations.