

# Multiple institutional logics in Dutch museums: the process of hybridity

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## Abstract

Institutions play a major role in many organizational matters. So do institutional logics that are embedded in these institutions. Institutional logics can be defined as “a socially constructed set of materials, practices and assumptions, values and beliefs that shape cognition and behavior.” In many organizations more than one type of logic is present. This phenomenon is called hybridity. Literature about hybridity primarily concerns implications of the occurrence of multiple institutional logics, but does not reveal much about the process that shapes it. This research has shed light on this process by investigating it in the context of Dutch museums and answering the central research question:

*How is the process of hybridity constituted in Dutch museums?*

After having conducted many small case studies and having interviewed various field experts it seemed most appropriate to create two process models to describe and explain the process of hybridity. One is about the actual process of hybridity and contains three process steps: (dis)confirmation of logics, change of logics and perceiving changes of logics. This model is derived from an observed rise of market and professional logics at the expense of a third not yet clearly defined kind of logic: hobby logics. The other model is about organizational change. Organizational change seemed to have shaped the process of hybridity and vice versa. Museums have gone through many changes that have shaped institutional logics and logics have contributed to organizational change. Thus, a new perspective on the process of hybridity is created in which hybridity is inseparably related to organizational change.

*I would like to thank all participants for their time and their willingness to share their experiences, thoughts and opinions with me. I would also like to thank my supervisor for the countless review and sparring sessions we had which not only helped with shaping my thesis, but also with shaping me as an academic.*

## Table of content

Abstract.....	1
1. Introduction .....	4
2. Theoretical Framework.....	7
2.1 Institutional logics.....	7
2.2 Hybridity.....	8
2.3 Hybridity processes in museum organizations .....	9
2.4 Research question and sub-questions.....	10
2.5 Anticipating the process of hybridity.....	11
2.5.1. Typifying hybridity .....	11
2.5.2 Typifying hybridity process types.....	12
2.5.3. Punctuated equilibria.....	14
3. Methodology.....	15
3.1 Sample and data sources .....	15
3.2 Methods of data collection.....	18
3.3 Data analysis .....	18
3.4 Operationalization .....	19
3.5 Ethical issues, implications and solutions.....	20
4. Analysis .....	22
4.1 The organizational change model of Dutch museums .....	24
4.1.1. Perceiving need for organizational change.....	25
4.1.2. Organizational reorientation .....	27
4.1.3. Change organization behavior .....	28
4.1.4. Change legitimacy in original organizational field .....	30
4.1.5. (Partial) entrance in new organization field .....	31
4.1.6. Reception of behavioral changes in organizational field.....	32
4.2 The process of hybridity.....	33
4.2.1. Different types of logics.....	34
4.2.2. (Dis)confirmation of logics.....	35
4.2.3. Change of logics .....	37

4.2.4. Perceiving changes logics.....	39
4.2.5. The interplay of logics .....	40
4.3 Change processes in similar organizations: comparison with a public library .....	42
4.4 The integrated model & theorization .....	44
4.4.1. Critical events.....	44
4.4.2. The reciprocal relation between organizational change and change in hybridity .....	45
4.4.3. Antecedents of the processes.....	47
4.4.4. Combining antecedents, organizational change and hybridity .....	48
5. Conclusion & Discussion .....	49
5.1 Theoretical implications & suggestions for further research .....	51
5.1.1. Implications for literature about the process of hybridity .....	51
5.1.2. Organizational change and the process of hybridity .....	53
5.1.3. Antecedents of the process .....	54
5.1.4. Hybridity in other fields .....	54
5.2. Recommendations for practitioners.....	54
5.3 Methodological reflection.....	56
5.4 Personal reflection .....	58
References .....	61
Appendix A: Interview text and questions for museum case studies.....	70

## 1. Introduction

Contemporary civilized society is a functionally differentiated organization society (Ziemann, 2007). Organizations produce, regulate, cause unwanted side-effects and cope with undesirable externalities. Organizations, however, do not just act upon themselves. They operate in organizational fields. An organizational field can be defined as a group of organizations that shapes a particular region of institutional life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This definition indicates the importance of institutions in organizational theory. Institutions are defined as “multifaceted, durable social structures made of symbolic elements, social activities and material resources” (Scott, 2008). Examples of institutions are the educational system, the marriage, the health care system and traffic.

Institutions vary a great deal. Most of all their underlying logics differ. Institutions have particular institutional logics. Institutional logics can be defined as “a socially constructed set of materials, practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs that shape cognition and behavior” (Thornton et al., 2012). There are many types of institutional logics. These types of institutional logics, however, do not just exist separately in specific organizations or organizational fields. Multiple types of institutional logics can be present in one organization or one organizational field. This is called hybridity (Greenwood, et al., 2010).

Hybridity has not been researched extensively yet (Greenwood et al., 2010). Still, some models exist (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay, 2013; Santos, 2010). These models, however, give quite diverse explanations on how various kinds of institutional logics go together in one organization. Endeavors have been undertaken to reconcile different views on hybridity (Besharov & Smith, 2014). A lack of consensus, however, still exists in the academic field of hybridity. Furthermore, literature on hybridity is very much focused on organizational effects and intra-organizational conflicts caused by coexistence of multiple institutional logics. The underlying process that shapes, creates, differs and maintains hybridity has been neglected which is why there is a need to shed light on this subject.

There is not only an academic need for research about the underlying process of hybridity, but also a societal need. Hybridity is a common phenomenon in many sectors and organizational fields (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Mullins, 2006; Sanders & McClellan, 2014; Santos, 2010). Examples of such sectors are professional services (Smets et al., 2012), the

cultural sector (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), health care (Dunn & Jones, 2010), social enterprises (Dacin et al., 2011) and life sciences (Murray, 2011). Coexistence of multiple kinds of institutional logics also ordinarily characterize organizational fields (D'Aunno et al., 2016; Hoffman & Ocasio, 2001; Reay & Hinings, 2005). Knowledge about the underlying process of hybridity can be very useful for change agents, like managers or consultants, who are working in organizational environments where multiple types of institutional logics coexist. Change agents can also use the newly created knowledge in situations where different kinds of institutional logics are brought together, like mergers or privatizations and nationalizations of organizations. Further, cognizance of the underlying process of hybridity is also useful for change recipients that are active in hybrid environments. Being aware of hybridity and knowing the process that constitutes it can provide meaningful insights and be a handle in conflicts that are caused by hybridity.

Hybridity occurs in many different sectors, as has been mentioned. A real life example of such a sector is the Dutch museum sector. Dutch museums have sailed through rough financial waters the last few years (De Raad voor Cultuur, 2017). Thus, it is likely that external influences have had a significant impact on museum organizations and their institutional logics. This development makes the Dutch museum sector a particular interesting field to conduct research about hybridity. Thus, the aim of this research is to map the underlying process that shapes hybridity. Hence, a research question can be formulated:

*How is the process of hybridity constituted in Dutch museums?*

It is important to say that first light will be shed on the process of hybridity, so no hypotheses will be confirmed. This research is exploratory, leaving space for interpretation and adjustment.

Several steps are undertaken to fulfill the aim of this study. First, a theoretical framework is established. Literature about institutional logics in general and hybridity is closely studied. It is also discussed which types of processes might be encountered in the field. Further, a method to find an answer to the main research question is elaborated and explained. It is described how relevant data is gathered. How these data has allowed for the creation of useful knowledge is discussed in the analysis section. Finally, a conclusion is formulated. This conclusion gives an answer to the main research question. This answer is not just provided without explanation. Limitations and issues concerning interpretation of this research are extensively discussed in the

discussion section. Suggestions for further research are proposed in this section as well.

It must be said, however, that this research sheds light on the process of hybridity in museums and findings may not be per se be transferable to other organizations or organizational fields. This research is also very exploratory. No predefined hypotheses are tested, but hypotheses are formulated by analysis of findings. Causes of events and mechanisms behind interactions are indicated in this research. These need to be tested in future research. So, this study will clarify how the process of hybridity is constituted in Dutch museums and thus contributes to the formulation of more general theory on the process of hybridity.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Institutional logics

Institutional logics have been defined as “a socially constructed set of materials, practices, assumptions, values, and beliefs that shape cognition and behavior (Thornton et al., 2012). A number of years before that definition was formulated institutional logics were framed as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). These two definitions are rather complementary than distinctly different. A closer look at the core elements of institutional logics is needed.

First of all, there are three dimensions embedded in the definitions of Thornton and colleagues. These are the symbolic, normative and structural dimension. The symbolic dimension has to do with sense making. It is all about assumptions and beliefs of organizational members and how they see the world. The normative dimension concerns (social) rules and regulations within institutions. It also has to do with social obligations and behavioral expectations. Finally, there is the structural dimension. The structural dimensions closely relates not only to organizational structures but also to, more informal social constructions. It is important to mention that the symbolic and the normative dimension of institutional logics relate to respectively the cultural cognitive rules, normative and regulative rules that are described in general institutional theory (Scott, 2008).

Further, the definitions of Thornton and colleagues establish a connection between individual agency and social habits, practices and institutional rules (Thornton & Ocasio, 2005). Individual members of organizations have certain beliefs, values and assumptions. These shape social interactions and constitute practices and rules. Social constructions, habits and practices on their turn influence beliefs, values and assumptions of individuals. So, there is a reciprocal relationship between individual agency and social habits, practices and institutional rules. Such a reciprocal relation also applies for individual agency and materiality (Giddens, 1984; Leonardi & Barley, 2008). This is called socio-materiality (Orlikowski, 2009).

Finally, the element of historical patterns is also very important for the definition of

institutional logics. It is even stated that institutional logics *are* historical patterns in one of the definitions of Thornton and colleagues (1999). The core entity of institutional logics was later framed as a set of beliefs, assumptions etc. (Thornton et al., 2012). Still, it is clear that historical patterns play a crucial role in the shaping of institutional logics. This core element gives rise to the question how historical patterns constitute multiple institutional logics: the core of this thesis.

## 2.2 Hybridity

The occurrence of multiple institutional logics must first be discussed before the process of hybridity is contemplated. Hybridity is essentially all about a state of affairs with ‘mixed origin or composition of elements’ (Gittell & Douglass, 2012). Hybridity of institutional logics remains only vaguely defined (Skelcher, 2012). A clear, comprehensive and broadly accepted definition of hybridity is still lacking. Hybrid organizations, on the other hand, *are* defined. They are “organizations that embed multiple institutional logics” (Besharov & Smith, 2014). For this thesis only hybridity within Dutch museum organizations and not in the entire sector will be researched.

Next to taking a closer look at institutional logics and the occurrence of multiple types of institutional logics, it is important to reflect on which kind of institutional logics can be found in a hybrid environment. Friedland and Alford (1991) have pointed out six institutional orders that have distinct logics which were later revised by Thornton (2004). These institutional orders are that of the market, the corporation, the profession, the state, the family and religions.

It is this distinctness of institutional logics and multiplicity that gives rise to numerous questions. Scholars have provided answers to a number of these questions. Many of these answers focus on the organizational effects and implications of hybridity (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Jay, 2013; Santos, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2012). There is, however, only limited literature about the underlying process of hybridity. Still, efforts have been made to map how hybridity arises (Billis, 2010; Christensen & Lægheid, 2011; Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005; Jäger & Schröer, 2014). Also literature exists about the change process of individual logics (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). Skelcher and Smith (2015) have endeavored to map the historical patterns that shape hybridity and have classified several types of hybridity. This focus on dynamics involving hybridity is also adopted by Denis and colleagues (2015) for the domain of public organizations.

A process-oriented in-depth focus on hybridity, however, still lacks. Processes can be

conceptualized as consisting of (critical) events that follow and influence each other. The events that shape the process of hybridity have not been researched yet. It is also unclear which mechanisms drive these events. It must be said that the underlying process of hybridity is not necessarily marked by an end and a beginning. In environments where hybridity is something inevitable and inherent, the process is ongoing per se. This is the case for Dutch museum organizations as will be explained. Thus, the focus of this thesis lies on the ongoing process of hybridity and the dynamics and mechanisms that shape it. The identified gap in hybridity literature leads to a research aim and a research question, but first the context and the research field of this thesis must be exemplified.

### **2.3 Hybridity processes in museum organizations**

As has been stated, Dutch museums have been under financial pressure from 2011 onward (De Raad voor Cultuur, 2017; Donker, 2011). Subsidies have been cut urging museums to change in order to survive. This development has had considerable implications on the sector. Financing by privates and revenue created by the institution itself has increased for example (Bongers et al., 2016). Also the dependency of museums on volunteers has increased a great deal (van der Veer et al., 2016). It is not unimaginable that these changes have had effects on institutional logics that occur in museums. So, a closer look has to be taken at what a museum actually is.

A museum is defined by the International Council of Museums as “a non-profit permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purpose of education, study, and enjoyment” (ICOM, 2007). This definition clearly indicates that a museum – in the essence – is not concerned with creating and capturing of (monetary) value which is key for market logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Museums are primarily concerned with human heritage and not with profit, but worsened circumstances may have pressured museums to place more emphasis on capturing monetary value in order to survive as an organization.

Hybridity in museums and its potential for conflict has been discussed in several papers. Some authors see this mix as a breeding ground for conflict (e.g. Asuaga & Rausell, 2006). Others regard hybridity within museums more as a key factor for success (e.g. Frey & Meier, 2002). It is also stated that hybridity in museums may cause conflict, but does not do so

necessarily (Rushton, 2014). Nevertheless, it is widely agreed upon that hybridity is an ambiguous phenomenon in the museum sector despite all different viewpoints on the desirability of hybridity in museums (Rius-Ulldemolins, 2016).

All this gives rise to the question whether it is possible that market logics have become more dominant or have even – to some extent – been introduced in Dutch museums. It is also imaginable that the increased number of volunteers have caused a shift in for instance the institutional logics of families. These are surely speculations, but then again it is undeniable that altered circumstances have had a significant, organizational impact on museums in the Netherlands making it realistic that changes in hybridity have taken place. These developments ensure that the Dutch museum sector is an excellent organizational field to conduct research about hybridity.

## 2.4 Research question and sub-questions

Thus, after having identified a research gap and having found a proper research field a central research question can be formulated:

*How is the process of hybridity constituted in Dutch museums?*

Several sub-questions have to be answered in order to answer the main research question. First of all, it is important to find out which different kinds of logics that occur in the Dutch museum sector entail. Underlying values and assumptions have to be found. The process of hybridity can only be properly researched when it is found out what the different kind of institutional logics that occur in Dutch museums entail. Without a clear image of how logics look like as they are now present in Dutch museums it is impossible to find out how logics have changed, adopted or have been rejected. Hence, the first sub-question is:

*What do the multiple types of institutional logics that occur in Dutch museums entail?*

Next to determining which logics coexist, it is important to find out which critical events shape the process of hybridity and how these interactions follow up on one another. Every organizational process consists out of events whether these actions are planned and intended or occur naturally. Light has to be shed on these events in order to lay bare the process that lies one

aggregation level higher. These building blocks of the process have not been researched yet, but do make up the structure of hybridity processes. So, two more sub-questions can be formulated:

*Which critical events shape the process of hybridity in Dutch museums?*

*How are critical events that shape the process of hybridity in Dutch museums related with one another?*

(Social) processes do not just happen. Events are driven by mechanisms. These mechanisms are unexplored. Hence, the last sub-question is:

*Which underlying mechanisms shape the process of hybridity in Dutch museums?*

## **2.5 Anticipating the process of hybridity**

Only limited research has been conducted about the process of hybridity, as has been stated. So, no hypotheses can be formulated. Still, it is useful to take a look at existing literature that contains hints of what might be encountered in field research.

### **2.5.1. Typifying hybridity**

Skelcher and Smith (2015) have founded an *a priori* framework for categorizing types of hybridity in the nonprofit sector. According to them, hybridity can be either (1) segmented, (2) segregated, (3) assimilated, (4) blended or (5) blocked. These typifications apply for states of hybridity at a certain moment in time. So, they are not useful for classification of processes or critical events. Still, it is useful to take a closer look at the framework of Skelcher and Smith since they classify states of hybridity that can be encountered in the field. These states are undeniably the result of the process of hybridity. The framework is also a good starting point to come up with a own *a priori* framework of processes and events that may be discovered.

Thus, the five types of Skelcher and Smith need explaining. Segmented hybridity was first observed by Cooney (Cooney, 2006). In this paper firms are mentioned that are composed out of several divisions (segments) that operate independently. Segregation resembles segmentation, but can occur in a greater variety of forms (Smith, 2010). The difference between segmented and segregated hybridity is that segregation is a term that is used to describe the coexistence of different institutional logics in a field and within an organization. Segmented hybridity can only

occur within an organization. So, the level on which logics are separate, divided entities differs. Assimilated hybridity entails that institutional logics have been altered by the coexistence of other logics (Reay & Hinings, 2009; Townley, 2002). Logics have, however, kept their own distinct identity in the case of assimilation. A blended hybrid is a hybrid in which multiple logics have changed into one new, unrecognizable logics. This ‘blending’ may be seen as integration (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). At last, there is blocked hybridity. It can occur that logics are incompatible with organizational tension as a result. It can happen that some norms and values embedded in particular logics lead to conflict (Smith & Lipsky, 1993).

### 2.5.2 Typifying hybridity process types

In this thesis another, though similar, framework will be used. Skelcher and Smith (2015) have developed a framework for *entity types* of hybridity and not for *process types* or *event types*. So, the subject that needs to be categorized differs. Also, Skelcher and Smith make a distinction between organizations and organizational fields in their definition of segmented and segregated hybridity. This distinction is abundant for this research since the focus of this thesis lies on hybridity within Dutch museums and not within organizational fields. Finally, terminology used in the framework of Skelcher and Smith may not be so applicable for this thesis. They use for instance the term ‘blocked’ for a state of tension that is caused by conflicting logics. The term ‘blocked’, however, insinuates inertia, a lack of movement and closes out the possibility of dynamics.

Thus, an own, newly developed framework will be used. Five typifications of (critical) events and process types that might occur in hybridity process are classified *a priori*. Thus, it is perfectly possible that other kinds of process types or critical events will be encountered. These five types are (1) (emergence of) conflict, (2) synthesis (or integration), (3) adaptation (or differentiation), (4) adoption and (5) segregation. These process and critical event types are visualized in figure 1. It is important to say that not only these kind of critical events or processes might be discovered in the field. This typification is merely a tool to identify and distinguish critical events and process steps that shape the process. They can be labeled as sensitizing concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

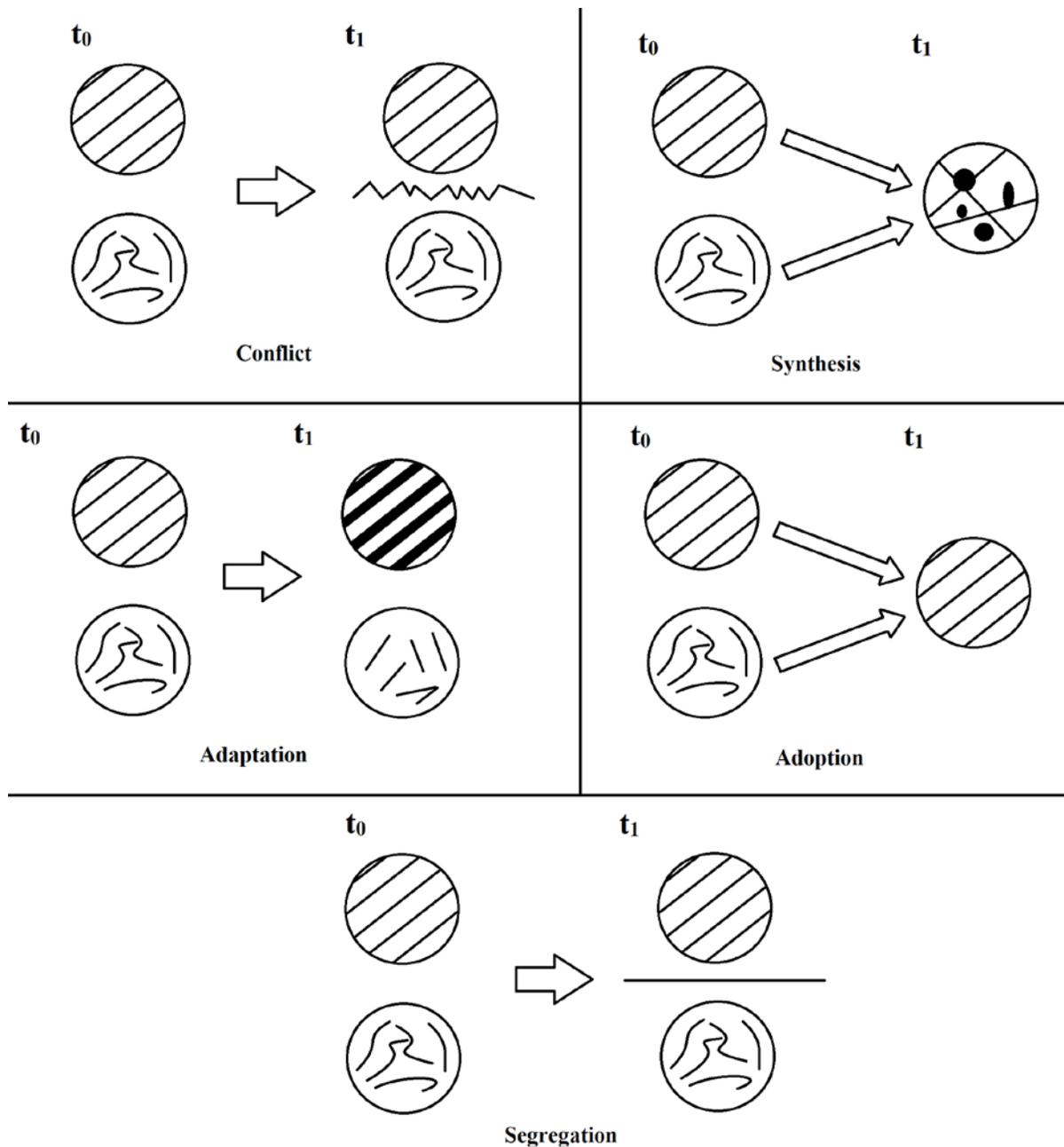


Figure 1. A visualization of a priori defined different critical events or process steps of the hybridity process

The five typifications require explanation. Differentiation of these different types is based primarily on the degree to which logics are altered. Conflict is, for instance, an event where institutional logics remain the same, but nevertheless clash. Its distinguishing feature is undesirability and key elements are tension and discrepancy. Synthesis is an event where a thesis

and an antithesis (in this case multiple different logics) merge into to one, the synthesis (Hegel, 1812). This might for the case of hybridity also occur with more than two logics. What is typical for synthesis it that the product of synthesizing may contain recognizable elements of the logics that merged, but is nevertheless not classifiable as one of the logics out of with it originated. The synthesized logics is distinctly different from the logics it has originated from. Adaptation or differentiation happens when logics change, but remain recognizable. Adoption is an event where one kind of institutional logics is adopted and ‘replaces’ another kind of logics. This inevitably entails that a prior logics disappears. At last logics can also segregate. Segregation is an event where logics alter in such a way that interact less or not at all.

### **2.5.3. Punctuated equilibria**

Next to research about typifications of hybridity, research of Gersick (1991) about punctuated equilibriums may also be salient. This theory states that organizations remain in relatively stable states until the equilibrium is punctured by a change in deep structure. No unambiguous definition of deep structure exist, but there are certain elements that are seen as fundamental characteristics of deep structure. One of them is the most basic ‘choices’ that a systems has made. These can be organizational goals for example. Another feature of deep structure is that certain patterns of fundamental tasks have been established. It is especially these ‘choices’ of a system that are possibly salient for this thesis. ‘Choices’ can be altered when new kinds of institutional logics are introduced or existing institutional logics become more prominent. Alteration of ‘system choices’ may eventually lead to a punctuation of the organizational equilibrium.

### 3. Methodology

Of the three basic research strategies in organizational research – experiments, surveys and case studies – the last seemed to be mostly suited for this thesis (Braster, 2000; Vennix, 2008). There were several reasons for this choice which all had to do with the inductive nature of this research. First of all, in-depth knowledge had to be gained. It had, for instance, to be found out what the institutional logics that occur in Dutch museums entail. Further, case studies are suitable for kinds of research in which it is desirable or even necessary that concepts and relations emerge. Only limited theory about the underlying process of hybridity exists yet. So, it is crucial that the methodology allows for concepts and relations to emerge and consequently theory building can take place.

Several case studies have been conducted at six Dutch museums in total. These case studies primarily consisted out of interviews with organizational members. Time was limited since this thesis was part of a one year master in business administration. This gave reason for the choice to conduct only one or two interviews per organization. The primary goal of this research was to gain insight into the underlying process of hybridity and thus form a theory. For this a thorough research about only a few cases was appropriate. On the other hand, performing multiple case studies allowed for comparison. This broadened the view of the researcher and consequently contributed to theory building. Studying more cases also contributed to the transferability of findings. So, a balance between conducting few and many case studies had to be found. Since the subject of the process of hybridity is unexplored yet, the emphasis is placed on comparison of (and finding similarities on a more abstract level between) cases. So, six museum cases have been studied.

#### 3.1 Sample and data sources

The museums where case studies have been conducted differ for example in size, but also in what is exhibited in the museum. In this way characteristics of the process of hybridity could be broadly examined and elaborated allowing for a more complete image of the process to arise. The scope of this research was, however, limited to Dutch museums to limit the number of exogenous variables. These variables could influence the image of the process of hybridity too

much and blur it, hindering theory forming. One case study, however, was about a local library. This case study was conducted in order to get more insight in the transferability of the process of hybridity. Thus, the scope was limited to Dutch museums to balance between broad characterization and the possibility to form theory.

Furthermore, it was most desirable to interview various kind of organizational members while conducting case study research for this thesis. These organizational members could be conservators, managers, guides, educators or receptionists for instance. It differed whether these organizational members were either professionals or volunteers. It was mostly desirable if a mix of professionals and volunteers was interviewed. Further, it was most useful to address organizational members who were already active in the selected museums for some time. In an ideal case, respondents would have worked in the selected museums from 2011 on. So, from the time when subsidizing was cut tremendously (Donker, 2011).

There are several reasons why it was preferable if there is much variation in the kind of organizational members that were interviewed. First of all, adding variation increased the likelihood that addressed organizational members had distinct types of institutional logics. This in turn broadened the perspective from which the process of hybridity was researched, because it was likely that an individual talked differently about a kind of institutional logics that he or she did have than a logics he or she did not have. Organizational members may also have had different roles in the process of hybridity. Some persons may have been more influential than others. So, it could have differed to which extent organizational members had a change agent or a recipient role in the process of hybridity. Incorporating this variance in the data collection contributed to the broadening of the research perspective. So, addressing various organizational members within museums contributed to the broadening of the research perspective by investigating the process of hybridity from different angles in terms of logics and agency.

Next to performing case studies at museums two members from a regional heritage institution have been interviewed. The heritage institution they work for has as primary goal to advance the quality and visibility of cultural heritage in the region. Consequently, the organization helps museums in maintaining themselves and handling heritage. Thus, these two members of this regional heritage institution have had the chance to see numerous museums develop and differentiate over time. Their sector wide perspective was very valuable to this research. Also two other field experts have been interviewed. One of them is a lecturer and advisor and the

other has occupied several leading functions in museums and is now director of a cultural institution. Interviewing these field experts enhanced intersubjectivity (Bleijenbergh, 2015). It is for this that it was useful to report findings back to them and have seen whether these were recognizable, surprising or even odd to them. Thus, these four respondents were asked different questions than respondent from the museum cases. So, it could be more or less tested whether findings make sense to field experts and how plausible they were.

*Tabel 1. An overview of conducted case studies*

	<b>Function</b>	<b>Size museum</b>	<b>Type museum</b>	<b>Purpose interview</b>	<b>Discussed subjects</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>
A	Exhibition organizer	Large	Art	Exploring hybridity	Glass roof over garden, purpose and shaping of exhibitions	04-04-2018	49
B	Director	Medium	Art & cultural historical	Exploring hybridity	Subsidy cuts, health care projects, exhibitions, rebuilding	04-05-2018	56
C	Business director	Large	Art	Exploring hybridity	Identity museum, exhibitions, rebuilding	01-05-2018	50
D	Founder, director	Small	Cultural historical	Exploring hybridity	Subsidy cuts, founding of museum, problems with development	06-05-2018	31
E	Director	Medium	Cultural historical	Exploring hybridity	Rebuilding, subsidy cuts, change to 'theme museum'	25-04-2018	74
F	Volunteer			Exploring hybridity	Organizational changes in museum	08-05-2018	50
G & H	Volunteers	Small	Cultural historical	Exploring hybridity	Foundation of the museum, role of the museum in municipality	23-04-2018	27
I	Founder			Exploring hybridity	Foundation and development of the museum	04-05-2018	12
J	Volunteer, guide	Medium	Experiencing	Exploring hybridity	Growth of the museum, spending within museum, work as guide	26-04-2018	31
K	Field expert, director cultural institution	-	-	Testing findings	Damaging subsidy cuts, experimenting with exhibitions, rise market logics	28-05-2018	90
L	Field expert, lecturer, advisor	-	-	Testing findings	Value of heritage, grievances about museums, work history as advisor	11-05-2018	72
M	Field expert, advisor	-	-	Testing findings	Rise of market logics and surviving strategies of museums	18-05-2018	52
N	Field expert, advisor	-	-	Testing findings	Subsidy cuts, work pressure in museums	09-05-2018	38
O	Manager at a library	-	-	Investigating transferability	Collaboration of library with parties, transition process	24-05-2018	36

An overview of conducted case studies can be found above in Tabel 1. Museums have been categorized in terms of size in this table. This categorization needs explanation. A museum that is labeled as small is exclusively manned by volunteers. No professionals are present in a small museum. A museum that is typified as medium is managed by professionals and up to 15 FTE is filled in by paid employees. A museum is considered large if more than 15 FTE is filled in by paid employees.

### **3.2 Methods of data collection**

Data collection primarily consisted out of semi-structured interviews. Interviews were semi-structured, because of the inductive, exploratory nature of this research (Evers & de Boer, 2012). A lack of understanding of the underlying process of hybridity hindered the possibility of conducting structured interviews. The research object was too unexplored to ask only direct questions about it. So, space for emergent findings was created by allowing questions to arise. Interviews could not have been fully unstructured on the other hand. There were some aspects on which light should be shed by means of structured interviewing. It had to be captured, for instance, what the institutional logics of organizational members entail. Also events that may have constituted the process of hybridity had to be brought to attention. The mechanisms underlying these events also had to be addressed. A draft for interview subjects and questions for interviews with organizational members of museums can be found in appendix A.

These topics were in first instance generally addressed during interviews. Participants were asked about the function of the museum and their role in it. Questions were also asked about exhibitions, possible rebuilding and developments. Further questions were asked about subjects which seemed relevant for the process of hybridity or revealed much about goals and assumptions of respondents. As more interviews were conducted, more direct questions were asked about subjects which were relevant in previous interviews. It has to be added that in each interview the emphasis was placed on the process that had lead to an attitude, event or decision since the subject of this thesis is the process of hybridity and not per se hybridity itself.

### **3.3 Data analysis**

For data analysis a method that resembles the Grounded Theory Approach was used. The method used for analysis also resembled pattern matching (Sinkovics, 2018). Template analysis is,

however, the best label for the method of data analysis that was used (King, 2012). Thus, the steps of collecting and analyzing data were not strictly sequential. Analysis took place during collection. This allowed for testing and confirming of theory while it was formed (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). It also gave the opportunity to find answers for questions that emerged during coding of data. This contributed to that more accurate description and formulation of events, process types and logics.

It has to be said, however, that data analysis during the collection of data was not performed as thoroughly as the final part of the analysis when all data was collected. Analysis of data during the collection consisted mostly of reading transcripts, memos and interview notes and sketching formulating concepts and drawing diagrams of how processes might look like. Data was labeled and scanned multiple times when all interview transcripts had been produced. Several coding iterations took place after open codes were produced. After all process steps were determined, open codes were examined to find relations between them.

### **3.4 Operationalization**

It should be clarified how developments in hybridity were assessed and measured. This research is retrospective, so the process of hybridity is per definition a reconstruction of the past based on what is said in the present. So, it should be elaborated how data gathering has taken place in order to make this reconstruction possible.

A key element in this was the detection of events that have possibly changed the state of hybridity in the past. Participants were asked whether they could recall such events or such events arose naturally during an interview. Therefore, the interviewer should have been alert and had not to cling too much to a predefined interview structure.

When such an event was detected questions were asked about antecedents and changes in attitudes or changes in ways of thinking. Motives for actions were tried to be retrieved if an event had taken place by action of the interviewee. Also questions were asked about effects of the events for both the organization as viewpoints of the interviewee self and other organizational members. Examples of such questions can be found in Appendix A.

Such a manner of data collection required much improvisation and alertness. The most important element of this operationalization is that motives for change and opinions about change had to be retrieved during the interview so that changes in hybridity could be analyzed

later on. These changes in hybridity came forth out of the motives and opinions respondents had indicated since these are value-laden and larded with assumptions.

Hybridity as it was at the moment when data was gathered was assessed by asking participants about their view on how things in the museum were at the time of the interview. Questions about a desired state of the museum in the future or concrete plans for change were also asked. In this way underlying assumptions and values could be detected and the state of hybridity at the time the interview was conducted could be assessed.

### **3.5 Ethical issues, implications and solutions**

There are also some ethical issues that need to be discussed. Conducting organizational research involves working with people and treating them properly. Several issues seem to be salient. Implications of these issues will be discussed as will actions to deal with them.

There were several issues regarding the treatment of participants during the research. First of all, participants were asked for their time. Respondents, however, might not have wanted to give their time. Forcing them to do so would be wrong. That is why it was important to make clear to potential respondents that participation was fully voluntary. In this way they could decide for themselves whether they were willing to give their time or not. Respondents might be, however, have benefited from an interview in the frame of self-reflection. They also have might like to talk about their experiences and have had the full attention of the researcher. Further, unpleasant subjects or past events may have arisen during interviews. This may have lead to distress by participants. It would have been very undesirable if participants spoke of these unpleasant things while they did not want to do so. So, it was made clear before each interview and when asking someone for an interview that the interviewee could leave the interview at any time without stating a reason. Moreover, the researcher had to respond to signs of distress during the interview by asking whether the respondent wished to continue talking about the unpleasant subject. The researcher could also change the subject, repeat that the respondent has the right to leave, propose to take a break or even end the interview if it would have been necessary.

Confidentiality was also an issue. Participants agreed to share their experiences and opinions when they agreed to participate in an interview. What respondents said may only be used for academic purposes. Allowing what respondents have said to be traceable could have resulted in conflict, distress and decrease of academic esteem. Thus, names of museums or respondents

were not mentioned. Pseudonyms were used. Also transcripts were not shared with the exception of the first and the second corrector. Transcripts were saved on the database of the university. Data was secured with a strong password. In this way the possibility of hacking was diminished. These transcripts have been deleted after the research was fully completed. While conducting interviews answers of other respondents were not mentioned. If necessary, only rephrased, impersonal statements were used.

Transparency was indeed a potential ethical issue. Participants had to know what the research entails and what their role in it entails. Not being transparent may have led to deception. This was prevented by clearly stating not only to respondents, but also to the organizations, what the goal of the research was and what was asked from them. It was made clear how data was handled and analyzed. Participants were properly informed so that they fully knew how they would deliver data and how this data was processed.

Thus, a number of prominent ethical issues have been addressed. Possible implications and how to handle them have been discussed. This is not enough, however. Not only were these issues dealt with while conducting research, but also attention was paid to emerging ethical issues. During the research the researcher was vigilant towards potential ethical problems and handled them as both a responsible academic and as a responsible person.

## 4. Analysis

The main goal of this research was to shed light on the underlying process of hybridity and create a process model. After thorough reflection and multiple coding loops it seemed, however, more appropriate to produce two process models instead of one. One is about the change of hybridity and the other about organizational change. The first model is based on the observed rise of professional and market logics that seemed to have sent a third type of logics, ‘hobby’ logics, to the background. The second model describes how museums have changed organizationally. Figure 2 and 3 are visualizations of these two models.



Figure 2. A visualization of the change of institutional logics in Dutch museums

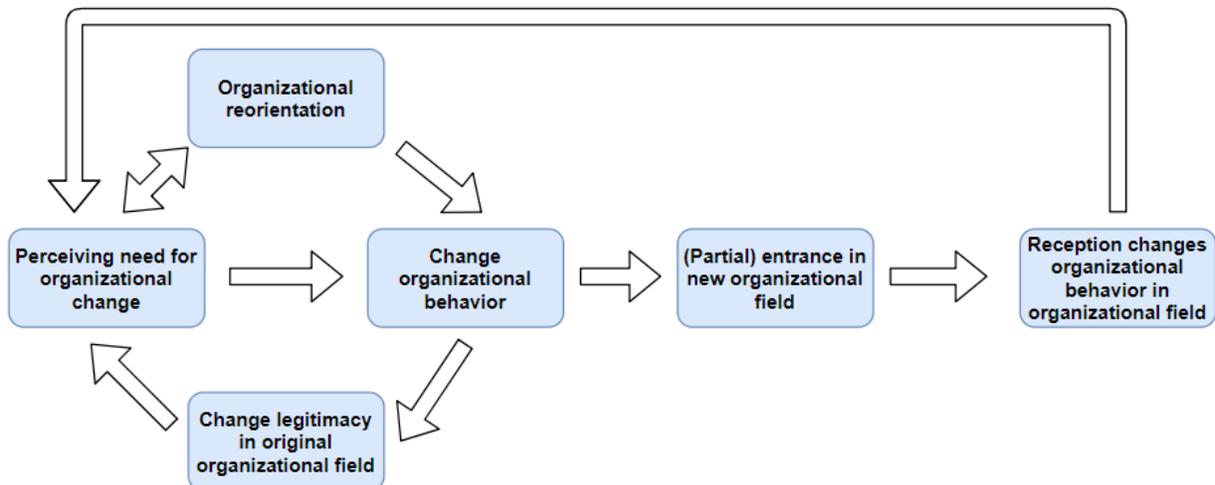


Figure 3. A visualization of organizational change in Dutch museums

Almost all of the organizations where interviews were conducted were in the middle of a transition or had just finished an intensive change trajectory. Examples of this are rebuilding, extensive changes in the exhibition of the permanent collection or reorganizations. So, these kind of transitions can be about the primary process of the museum or the organization itself, but in all cases changes involved both. This is an important reason why respondents mostly spoke about organizational changes when they were asked about events that had changed their logics. The notion of this focus on organizational change revealed the crucial role of organizational change in the process of hybridity. While analyzing it appeared that organizational change and change of logics drive each other despite their distinct nature. Thus, considering analytical clarity, it seemed most appropriate to first present both models separately as how they have emerged from the gathered data and integrate and theorize them in the end of this section.

The two models differ in several ways. First, there is a difference in the degree in which the process has been steered by organizational members. Organizational change is partly a product of deliberate changes in strategy and internal reorganization. Intentionality thus plays a major role in this process. Some of the respondents have initiated these changes and led the organization to a new place under the organizational sun. The process of hybridity is, however, not steered and led by organizational members. Also the degree of conscious experiencing of the process differs quite a lot. Interviewees were perfectly capable of telling about the changes organizations have gone through. Their whole set of beliefs, values and assumptions that changed with it was something they were only limitedly aware of. Like a fish is unaware of the water that surrounds it, logics are something that is taken for granted mostly. Interviewees could tell about critical events that have changed organizations or initiated change. Critical events that have changed logics were, however, more difficult to pinpoint.

There are also a few other reasons than these differences that have led to the conclusion that it was better to come up with two models and integrate them in the end. As has been said, it is easier to detect critical events that have changed organizations than changes in institutional logics. Critical events in the process of organizational change, however, may have everything to do with change in logics. For example, the appointment of a business director may be the starting point for a rise of market logics or a logical consequence of market logics that were already prominent in the organization. This is not so surprising since institutional logics may be defined

as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). So, analyzing organizational change can also give insights about changes in underlying institutional logics. Further, institutional logics and organizational change both belong to the realm of institutional theory (Scott, 2008). Institutional logics are part of institutions and changes in institutions have everything to do with changes in institutional logics. So, integrating a model of change in hybridity and change in organizational behavior gives the opportunity to place findings in a meaningful academic context and make an addition to existing theory.

#### **4.1 The organizational change model of Dutch museums**

First the organizational change model will be discussed. Museums have gone through quite diverse change trajectories, but there are still many similarities. Many of the stages museums have passed in their change trajectories can be labeled on a more abstract level. It will be discussed which type of real life events have taken place in Dutch museums and why they can be labeled as such.

Abstraction of such events and seeing changes in multiple –and quite diverse – museums have produced a model that looks like the model of organizational change of Schein (Schein, 1990). Stages of change like ‘disconfirmation’, ‘looking for role models’ are quite similar – if not the same – as ‘perceiving need for change’ and ‘reorientation’. The difference lies, however, in the interventionist nature of both models. Schein’s model is normative and prescribes how (cultural) change in organizations must come about. The change model of this thesis describes what has changed in Dutch museums and why and is thus descriptive and explanatory. Parts of it are very similar to Schein’s model, because organizational members and externals have steered the change process. There are, however, also less intended changes and those have to do with change in institutional logics. So, organizational change like Schein proposes is not so intentional as it appears. It is also important to say that the model is cyclical. Stages can be revisited and most of all perceived need for change changes with changes of organizational legitimacy and such. This cyclical nature also has everything to do with changes in institutional logics.

These differences are in line with critique that has been uttered about Schein’s work. Several authors have for example argued that Schein’s change model is too top-down oriented and too

simplistic (Burnes, 2004; Dawson, 1994; Pettigrew, 1990). It is also said that the world is too ambiguous for detailed plans and thus change always occurs organically (Kanter, 1989; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Further, it is said that power struggles play a major role in organizational change as well (Pfeffer, 1992).

In the next few pages it will be elaborated how collected data has brought about the organizational change model. Quotes of respondents will be used to clarify statements and various real life cases of more abstract phenomena will be discussed. Also external factors and mechanisms that have driven the process will be discussed next to the relation of parts of the model with one another.

#### **4.1.1. Perceiving need for organizational change**

Perceiving need for change has appeared in more forms than expected. Respondents talked about critical events that have made them believe that change was needed. These events shape a sub-process in which need for organizational change originates and is translated to a perception of disconfirmation on an organizational level. It was expected that need for change would be primarily driven by financial distress caused by subsidy cuts. Need for change is, however, also caused by problems with non-financial governmental support and a lack of public support. Museums were also struggling with recognition of their value as an institute. Analysis has also revealed that some museums were coping with identity problems. It differs per museum what has driven them to change, but nevertheless change they did.

As has been said, financial distress is an important reason for museums to change. This is partly caused by subsidy cuts. It must be said, however, that in general smaller museums were struck harder by subsidy cuts (Lent & Kammer, 2016). Subsidy cuts were not the only source of financial distress. Funds have also been reduced next to help with financial matters.

A decrease in governmental funding is related to various problems with governmental support that also urged museums to change (Van Oers, 2013). This problem can originate out of a lack of interest of government officials. ‘And then you look and the local politics here and the town council. Culturally, they have the baggage of a hamster’, respondent F said. Another source of disturbances can be found in the privatization of museums. The Dutch government has undertaken steps to make museums more self-sufficient, not necessarily in a financial sense, but more managerial. ‘You did not need to do HR and marketing. The municipal government did

that. You were just part of the municipal business. The whole businesslike part was there. You have to be able to do that all by yourself on the moment that you privatize', said respondent N who works for a heritage institution.

Closely related to problems with governmental support are problems with public support and lacking public support in particular. A lack of public support of museums is something that was experienced both on a national and regional scale. 'Lots of damage has been inflicted. Lots of damage. Also the whole image that people have of the sector. You're some sort of muppet if you're working in art and culture', respondent K said. Thus, the museum sector has lost esteem in general. Lack of support was also experienced more locally. 'For the rest we only received negative feedback. The museum stood with its back to the city. The museum stood with its back to the province', participant B said.

The perceived bad image of the museum sector has also to do with the need for recognition of value. Multiple respondents have indicated that museums individually and the museum sector as a whole have done too little to convince the public and the government of its value. Respondent K said the following about this, 'The museum sector must receive more trust but the sector should show itself more than only as a ticket selling institution that organizes exhibitions.' This statement resonates with the general discussion about the value of museums (Cool, n.d.; Gollin, 2007).

At last, museums have also dealt with identity problems. Some museum were struggling with their role and their image. They felt a need to change or clarify their identity. Respondent C for example said 'I think it is important that not all museums are alike, that it is good to give your museum an own signature.' Respondent K also uttered his disappointment about the loss of identity he witnessed at a museum he knew. 'I find it bullshit <exhibiting unrelated work>. But, it provides for a larger part in the needs of people. That is beautiful. And my mother-in-law finds it also fantastic. And for that I have all respect, but it is not your core business.'

Most of these problems are interlinked and are caused by one another. Some of them directly threaten the revival of the organization. This pressure to reform urges museums to change fast and vehemently. In some cases, there was a reorientation step between perceiving the need to change and actual change of organizational behavior. An example of this relation between need for change and reorientation came forth when I asked participant E how she looked for the best way to change the organization after a clear need for change was felt. 'I visited many museums

that had renewed themselves, conducted interviews with the ones that led the renewal and so my view of what museums do has been established.’

Need for organizational change can also occur by organizational reorientation. So, the relation is bidirectional. An example of this can be found in a quote about a research conducted by a bureau. ‘Then a research was conducted on our request.....And then it appeared that both groups <adults and children> were disappointed’, said respondent C. It must, however, be noted that this research was initiated by a need of change. The research has nevertheless changed and intensified the need to change.

#### **4.1.2. Organizational reorientation**

Events have brought some museums to the point that they took time to think what their proper function was as an organization. Organizations were making sense of their new organizational environment or oriented on their new meaning as an organization. This happened in various ways. Museums conducted research – in many cases an external party performed the research – and board members and directors sat down to talk about what the purpose of their museum was. This part of the process resembles perceiving need for organizational change, but is different in the sense that a need for change is already felt and the museum is already looking for ways to change.

Respondent E told something about a small study they were about to conduct to evaluate the effects of a discount action. ‘We are going to look if they are willing to come now and then we want to conduct a small study. For example, how many people have now come and what was the reason – for that one euro that they have to pay when they show their library card – to come if they might not have come otherwise.’ Findings of such a research shape the way a museum behaves as an organization.

This search to the right kind of organizational behavior and the right organizational goals has also taken place by discourse. A field expert (respondent K) talked about a museum that asked for his advice, ‘But now there is a conversation going on over there. I find that very good of them. ‘What are we going to do with our collection? And where has our brand gone?’ That is also a search and they do acknowledge that.’ A similar conversation was mentioned by another participant (C). ‘Then we wanted to make a request at a sponsor and then we began to talk with each other about ‘what should this museum be?’’

Once again it is important to say that conducting formal research and reorientation by discourse are closely interlinked. One leads to the other and vice versa. The bottom-line is, however, that a museum has already seen the need to change and puts in effort to determine which direction the museum should go to. The clarification of this direction by reorientation precedes organizational change. Participant C gave an example of an aspect that had changed after the renovation and reorientation of the museum: ‘And then we looked ‘okay, how are we going to build this up again?’ What do we find important? We can only change facilities – nice entrance, nice store, information centre, better routing – we have worked on all of that. We have a good service for the restaurant, but it is also about the content.’

#### **4.1.3. Change organization behavior**

Museums have changed organizationally in many ways. Some changes were more clear than other changes and some of them happened to almost all museums where interviews were held. Almost all museums have changed their way of presenting heritage. Museums have also professionalized. Further, serving visitor needs and all activities related to it became much more prominent. These changes were partially planned, partially spontaneous, so a nuanced version of Schein’s change step resembles this change stage museums went through (Burnes, 2004).

Changes have also occurred internally and very organizational wise. Participant B told about extensive changes that were made as a result of financial troubles, thus revealing a relation between perceiving need for organizational change and change of organizational behavior. ‘If you have to cut so much, that means – we had lots of people working here on project basis. So, we have had a severe shrinkage of the organization. So, we stopped working with lots of those project coworkers. But, also the permanent formation has shrunk.’ This happened in many more organizations in the sector (Bongers et al., 2016).

Museums have felt the need to present their collection differently than in the past. This has moved them to bring their collection outside in some cases. Participant B said the following about this, ‘We are going to the marketplace. We literally go to the marketplace with a miniature pop-up museum.’ Collections are also brought to the outside of museum walls by means of digitalization. ‘On this website collections of fifty museums are digitalized’, said respondent M. The way heritage is presented inside museum has also changed a great deal. ‘Before that it was only text. Now we work a lot with text video, animations, but also real videos. And we have also

inserted many layers in the information providence for a broad audience beginning with simple, short text', respondent E said. This change is predicted and described in literature (De Haan, 1997; De Raad voor Cultuur, 2017).

The last quote reveals a motive for presentation changes: serving visitor needs. Museums have become increasingly concerned with listening to visitor needs and serving these. Although perceiving a need to serve visitors is not actual change of behavior, putting in effort to make a museum visit more pleasant for visitors is. This change of focus has increased the importance and consequently the development of a good café for example. Respondent E said the following about this, 'I find the museum café very important as an extra part of and for the museum. So, if a museum visitor wants to eat or drink something here, then it can be an extra motive to do come here.' The same applies for museum stores. 'They have become much nicer. A museum store is just a nice place to walk around for a while', said participant M. It is also important to say that museums in general increasingly want to offer visitors the service of a nice day out. The museum café and store are a part of this. Respondent A said the following about this, 'As a museum you have ambitions. You want to offer your audience more than jacket off, seeing an exhibition, jacket on and gone. Visiting a museum is also often a day out. You want to give that to people.'

The third prominent type of organization change is professionalization. The term 'professionalization' needs some explanation first, since the term is quite general. Professionalization can be seen as the disappearance of amateurish behavior. It is defined as "a social process by which any trade or occupation transforms itself in a true profession of the highest integrity and competence" (Nilsson, 2007). So, things are done by professionals or in a way that professionals would normally do them. This accounts for all facets of a museum organization like internal organizing, but also for outside performance. Also guidance of volunteers is professionalized. Respondent E said the following about this, 'It is nice to have a professional who can say 'that must happen that way. No, that must happen this way.' Putting things in the depot. In which circumstances? How do you do that with numbering? What is logical? In that we guide.'

Changes in organizational behavior have led to changes in legitimacy of the original organizational field and partial entrance in new organizational fields. One example of changes in legitimacy can be found in a quote from a field expert (respondent M). 'Then it appeared that those museums that have participated in the project, so with that website and their collection on

it, that that group of museums really had higher visitor numbers than non-participating museums.’ It does not mean, however, that an increase in visitor numbers equals an increase in legitimacy, but it nevertheless shows that changes in behavior can lead to ‘being seen’ more and being seen more as salient.

The relation between changes in organizational behavior and entrance in new organizational fields also became clear. Participant B explained what the health care projects that they were running entailed. Eventually, she said something that stressed the new position of that specific museum in society, ‘Now, they <health care projects> have both become integral part of the museum package. They both began as projects, but now it is a structural offering.’

#### **4.1.4. Change legitimacy in original organizational field**

Changes in organizational behavior have had profound implications on the position of museums in organization fields. One effect is that it has changed the legitimacy of museums in the organizational field they operate in. Organizational legitimacy can be defined as “the acceptance of the organization by its environment” which is “vital for its organizational survival and success” (Kostova et al., 2007). So, the perceived salience of stakeholders was altered. Changes in legitimacy can be detected by observing behavior of stakeholders. Much research has been dedicated to this topic (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Hannan & Carroll, 1992; Meyer & Scott, 1983). Organizations with a weak organizational legitimacy tend to be neglected and ignored more by other organizations (Singh, Tucker, & House, 1986). Such organizations have difficulties in attracting funds and getting governmental support for instance (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Organizations that are widely seen as legitimate are seen as relevant by stakeholders on the other hand (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975). Many museums seem to have become more relevant in various ways by for example being recognized more as a part of local recreation facilities (SER, 2017; Stichting Museana, 2016).

Changes in legitimacy have occurred for example by changes in identity. One museum (that of respondent C) has established a new, stronger identity and thereby improved the legitimacy of the museum. ‘And now that <read identity> is clear, a major increase in popularity has occurred. It has indeed led to that the neighboring museum that in the past received 45,000 visitors now receives 165,000.’ This does not mean that popularity and legitimacy are the same thing, but it illustrates that being recognizable and being seen as relevant can translate itself in positive

effects as an increase in visitor numbers. Note that visitors are a key stakeholder for museums.

Improvements in legitimacy have also occurred via societal relevance. Some museum have placed their focus on societal weak groups and thus became more relevant for society. Respondent B said about this, ‘They had terrific programs for aphasia, for autistic people, for visually impaired. That has now become a knowledge centre. <Other museum> also participates in this a lot. So, since a year or two three a trend has emerged of caring for other target groups and being socially salient by doing that.’

This change in legitimacy has also created the need for organizational change in some cases. In one case a redefinition of mission and vision was the result of a decrease in legitimacy. ‘That everything you do supports your mission. And if that is okay, then your public support is okay. That means that you collaborate a lot with external parties and we do that. So, we began to redefine our mission and vision’, said respondent B. So, a decrease in organizational legitimacy gave the incentive to alter organizational goals.

#### **4.1.5. (Partial) entrance in new organization field**

Change in organizational behavior has also led to partial entrance in new organizational fields. This phenomenon is described in several papers (Meyer et al., 2005; Zietsma et al., 2010). Some museums have changed their role and function in such a way that they ended up in other organizational fields with other field forces and stakeholders.

Some museums, for example, have been increasingly focusing on recreation. The main function of museums, however, is not recreational (ICOM, 2007). The primary focus of museums lies on preserving heritage and education. This trend is happening for quite some time (*Trendrapport toerisme, recreate en vrije tijd 2016*, 2016; van Mensch, 1992). Respondent G said the following about the recreational function of the museum he was part of, ‘We have a beautiful recreation area. Hence, the collaboration with organizations that want to promote recreation in the municipality. So, we try do to that together as much as possible. Looking how to attract extra people to the village and that they can sleep at the campsite or something. So, that is the plan.’ This focus on recreation and entertainment differs greatly from the focus museum had years back. A field expert (respondent L) said about this, ‘I can blindly declare that if you would have asked fifty years ago ‘what are you doing in this museum’ nine out of ten people would have answered ‘I am here to learn something.’ Now more than half of them would say that it is

an unique experience.’

The number of collaborations with health care facilities have also increased. More projects focused on people who need care have been organized by museums. Many examples of such projects can be found (Meijer, 2015; Stamet-Geurts, 2018). This does not mean that those museums are now fully part of the health care system, but it does mean that they have entered an organizational field that was priory completely unknown to those organizations before.

Participant B said, ‘There is also a collaboration with a health facility. Those elderly people all come from that health facility. We started with that and it has gradually evolved in a trinity (with a professional education institution and a health care facility).’

Some museums – primarily smaller museums – have placed more emphasis on the societal function of stimulating local cohesion. They have become a meeting place with a binding function in many cases (DSP-groep, 2011; Trienekens, 2009). Collaboration with local organizations is also a key element in stimulating local cohesion. These museums bind local organizations to their organization. A field expert (K) said about this, ‘As a small museum you can also often fulfill a community centre function. So, to prove their right to exist those small museums need it far more, that social cohesion function.’

These changes of organizational field are followed up by a reception of multiple parties. One example (of participant K) illustrates how a particular museum has changed and became more salient in a new organizational field. ‘It has become a workshop institute....And with that they have gained a very sustainable place in the system. Nobody doubts the use of the <museum>.’

#### **4.1.6. Reception of behavioral changes in organizational field**

Behavioral changes are noticed in the (new) organization fields museums operate in. The reception of these changes differs like the opinions of stakeholders on these behavioral changes. This reception shapes and creates the need for organizational change. Organizations that only receive positive feedback will not tend to change as much as organizations that receive very negative feedback.

There is for example appreciation (of respondent K) for the societal role that museums fulfill. ‘The societal function of an art institute is for us of the utmost importance, because that is the most sustainable.’ There are also some positive sounds regarding commercialization of museums, but most respondents seemed to be skeptical or even negative on this topic. One

interview was conducted in a hall with a glass roof for example. Until a few years back that hall was centre garden, like it was originally designed in the beginning of the 20st century. The glass roof was placed there to better receive visitor and to be able to rent for commercial purposes. The interviewee (respondent A) said, ‘You come here not for the first time, but for the first since long, and you think that this is how it normally looks like. Which is not the case. That is sometimes a pity.’ The use of the word ‘pity’ illustrates the disappointment in the reception of this architectural change initiated by management.

Reception of changes has led to a new need for organizational change in some organizations. This relation makes the model in total cyclical. An example (of respondent B) illustrates this. ‘In the first phase <of the exhibition development>, we just determined everything..... Both <other museum> as the school said, ‘it is nice that you find that <wood carvings> important, but that is not what it is about. If you want to become a good craftsman, than you have to begin at the basis. And the real basis is the pinhole connection.’ So, we have thrown out all wood carvings..... And we have brought completely different things out of our collection than we have initially thought.’

## 4.2 The process of hybridity

The organizational change process and how it has emerged from the data has now been discussed. It remains to examine the process hybridity and to couple this to the organizational change model.

The process of hybridity consists out of three stages: (dis)confirmation of logics, change logics and change attitude towards logics. These stages are gone through mostly subconsciously. These three stages partly resemble the three stages of a process model of event attention and environmental sense making that was developed by Nigam and Ocasio. They marked three stages – anticipation, deliberation and retrospection – that linked change of institutional logics to event attention (Nigam & Ocasio, 2010). The research of Nigam and Ocasio is, however, focused on change of logics on itself and leaves out hybridity.

It must be said that changes in logics does not necessarily mean that logics disappear or new logics are introduced. It can also mean that changes occur in the relationship of different logics. One type of logics may become more prominent for example. This effect is described in several articles (Lounsbury, 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Thornton, 2002). Logics may also

become more interlinked. Which types of change have taken place will be elaborated per stage of the model.

#### 4.2.1. Different types of logics

First, it is important to state which type of institutional logics have been encountered in the field. Friedland and Alford (1991) were the first to have identified several distinct and key institutions. These were later revisited and revised by Thornton (2004) and transformed into institutional orders. These orders are the family, the profession, the corporation, the market, the state and religions. While conducting research it became clear that both professional logics and market logics, but also a third less clear and prominent kind of ‘hobby’ logics were present in Dutch museums.

Professional logics are not clearly defined in literature. It is, however, clear that professional logics are based on an occupation of an individual or a group of people and concerns everything that has to do with properly and competently carrying out work (Scott & Mendel, 2000). Such logics became apparent in various ways. Respondent E for example praised a co-worker for working in a professional fashion, ‘Just like me went to the Reinwardt Academy. Of course he has proper education.... He is just good at his work.’

Market logics are also not very precisely defined in literature. A key element of market logics is the focus on value creation and value capturing (Shortell & Alexander, 2004). Another important feature of market logics is its emphasis on fulfilling customer needs (Davies & Quirke, 2007). A quote from respondent F illustrates the presence of this logics by emphasizing (and perhaps even mentioning) the importance of advertisement, ‘What you can also notice is word-to-mouth advertisement. People that sit here say ‘we have heard from those people and those’ and it really works. I am convinced of that.’

While conducting research a third kind of logics became apparent. No literature is written about it, but there seems to be some kind of hobby logics that has to do with personal aspirations and hobbies of organizational members of museums. This is, however, not so surprising concerning that museums in many cases arise from someone’s personal hobby. Respondent D said the following about the foundation of his museum, ‘I had a collection of <musical instruments>. The attic was full, the basement also and suddenly the bedroom as well. Then my wife said ‘we are going to get rid of it or we are going to do something with it.’ Then I thought,

‘what am I supposed to do with it? A museum.’

Key elements of market, professional and hobby logics can be found in table 2. These key elements are categorized in related activities, focus points and main goals. Related activities are examples of activities that are carried out in a museum to achieve goals that are typical for a certain type of logics. Focus points are subjects of interest that belong to specific logics. The main goal can be seen as the primary purpose of a museum as it is seen from a point of view of a certain type of logics.

*Table 2. An overview of logics encountered in Dutch museums*

<b>Logics</b>	<b>Main goal</b>	<b>Focus points</b>	<b>Related activities</b>
Market logics	Being a (financially) viable organization	Visitor needs/expectations, visitor numbers, financial viability, efficiency, profit, value of the organization	Organizing blockbusters, making exhibitions more accessible for a broader audience, advertising
Professional logics	Connecting people to heritage in an informative, impactful and meaningful way	Education, heritage preservation, effectiveness, social relevance as an organization	Making exhibitions more impactful (culturally and education-wise), collecting heritage, preserving heritage
Hobby logics	Experiencing joy from performing activities with heritage	Uniqueness of heritage, historical/cultural/aesthetic value of heritage	Collecting heritage, observing and analyzing heritage, telling people about heritage

#### **4.2.2. (Dis)confirmation of logics**

Change of multiple logics starts with (dis)confirmation. Some logics can either be embraced or rejected. This happens mostly subconsciously, but participants were still able to point out ways of thinking, goals and values of the past and more or less how they have changed. Also logics as they were at the time of the interview were either praised or scorned. Participants spoke about their past and current views of market logics, professional logics and indirectly the opposing logics of professional logics: hobby logics.

A clear need for market thinking came forth in the interviews. Participants were already – to

various extents – speaking out of a market oriented point of view, but also stressed in some cases that a more market oriented approach was needed. An example of this is thinking of a museum in terms of an organization that delivers an unique product. Respondent E said, ‘We wanted to differentiate us from normal city museums. Those are about the history of the town. There are of course a lot of those in the Netherlands.’ Also a clear need for marketing was expressed. ‘Our whole society is ‘if there is no marketing, then you’re nowhere’. If you don’t show that you exist, then you’re not there. So, marketing has become much more important in the last years’, said respondent M. Such statements reveal that market logics are already prominent in the organization. The market driven motives participants reveal are the reasons for organizational change.

A clear need for professionalization and thus professional logics was expressed as well. ‘And that whole exhibition project had to be professionalized, because more and more exhibitions were organized’, said respondent A. Another participant (E) said, ‘So, we have decided to attract a museum coworker. He still works here. He is an all round museum professional.’ These two quotes express the need for new functions, fulfilled by professionals. Also a need for professional guidance was uttered by the same participant. ‘But that is where that professional leadership is just very important. We initiate that. We are there. We guide volunteers in that.’ There was also disconfirmation in terms of unprofessional behavior giving rise to a need for professionalization. ‘You have a folder for this, a folder for that and a folder that has to be worked out later. In short, the registration was a mess. Really, there was no structure in it whatsoever’, said respondent F. So, in short, a need for professionalization of many facets of museums was expressed next to disconfirmation of unprofessional behavior. Thus, it can be derived that a need for professional logics was felt.

Thus, participants expressed that the museums they are part of must become more market oriented and more professional. So, market and professional logics are generally confirmed as proper logics. Then it remains to be answered which logics is then disconfirmed? Results seem to point out in the direction of hobby logics, though it is not explicitly mentioned much. It is, however, logical that hobby logics are disconfirmed with regard to professional and market logics since hobbies are about personal pleasure of the person who is performing it and not with market and professional logical aspects like financial viability, performing tasks efficiently and

being properly trained for tasks. So, these hobby logics seem to be incompatible with market and professional logics per se.

#### 4.2.3. Change of logics

As has been said previously, actual change of logics on a day-to-day level is almost impossible to detect from a retrospective point of view. So, the focus has been laid on pinpointing critical events that have changed and determined the course of the process of hybridity. These critical events are partly externally driven in many cases.

One type of critical event for change of logics is the introduction of new ideas in the organization. I asked participant C about the origin of his vision on cultural entrepreneurship. He answered, 'Frankly, I have to say that it has emerged by a research of a student that wrote his thesis here.' The participant further said that he already had ideas about cultural entrepreneurship, but that the mentioned student phrased it in the best and clearest way. A more or less similar idea clarification happened at another museum. Participant B handed me a book from the national museum association. 'We have used this as a source for inspiration to present our performance arrangements with the province and the municipality differently.' In both cases an external party has clarified, if not altered or introduced, new ideas by which museum carry out values, views and goals. In another case the museum was recommended to become an officially registered museum by a local heritage institution. Respondent D said, 'They said, 'you can't do this' or 'you can't do that. That is not handy, because you won't receive any subsidy. And you have to be a registered museum in the Dutch museum register.'" This particular museum eventually became a registered museum and a foundation. Thus, change of ideas, goals and values – being fundamental parts of logics – seem to have changed by the introduction of new ideas. The introduction of new ideas in a museum by external parties can thus be labeled as a critical event in the change of hybridity.

Change of logics also happened by the emergence of new functions. The need for new functions is of course preceded by reasoning that comes forth out of particular logics, but nevertheless changes logics as well. After one of the interviews I again explained briefly what my thesis was about. Then the participant said he was the first business director of the museum. Another participant (M) spoke about an article she had read in which museums were recommended to hire econometrists. 'They should all hire an econometrist. Then they can score.

Then you really introduce something that is not of your own kind.’ The emergence of functions is closely related to the introduction of people with other backgrounds and possibly other institutional logics. The emergence of new functions, however, concerns changes in organization structure while the introduction of new people is about organizational demographics. One participant (A) was asked to fulfill a new function in which her non-museum like background was a pre. ‘Then I went to intercollege. That is some sort of education focused on event organizing. What comes in handy now, since exhibitions are somewhere also an event.’ So, in some cases the emergence of new functions is followed up by an influx of people with different background and logics. The emergence of new functions also seems to have facilitated changes with regard to organizational structures and thereby ways of performing tasks. This differentiation in the way tasks are performed is likely to influence the logics of organizational members in these new functions as their focus on tasks and responsibilities is altered with it. New functions can also change power balances and increase the power of organizational members with particular logics and thus change the state of hybridity. Such shifts in power balance would be in line with work of Pfeffer (Pfeffer, 1992).

Many participants talked about their educational backgrounds. The variety of these backgrounds was striking. Among the prior educations participants had followed were history, biology, archeology, business economics, event organizing and business administration. Working life backgrounds of participants also varied greatly. Some have always worked in the museum sector, but some came from trade and industry. These backgrounds are related to the kind of work participants performed in museums and which way they did it. ‘I was hired to shape educational programs around nature and environment, because it was my background. I am biologist. I graduated in didactics and ecology’, said respondent K. So, entrance of entirely new people in museum also might change or even introduce institutional logics. A specific case of this phenomenon is described in an article of Zibler (2002). This paper is a case study of an organization in which a group of people entered and brought with them a particular kind of institutional logics and made it dominant in the organization. There is no evidence that something similar has happened in the museums where interviews were conducted since nothing was said about introductions of groups of people or particular influential individuals, but it does confirm the influence of the introduction of members with different backgrounds (and possibly different logics) on hybridity. Thus, the introduction of such a person in an organization can be

labeled as a critical event in the process of hybridity. It must be added, however, that the institutional logics of such an organizational member must stay distinct from logics in the organization for such an event to occur. It is also vital that a new organizational member acquires the power to change logics for example by organizational function.

#### 4.2.4. Perceiving changes logics

Changes in logics are perceived in various ways. Not many opinions were uttered about professionalization and thus professional logics. The opinions that were uttered were quite positive. One museum advisor (respondent M) said, 'I find it very much fun – it is a pity for those volunteers that fancy their own collection – but I find it a very nice trajectory to make that step <professionalization> with organizations. 'How do I make that step, so I can better seize my societal function?'' Professionalization is also rejoiced internally. 'She is also one of the professionals. People just get paid for that. They lead the team. They can say that it should go this way or that way. A volunteer should be able to work properly in that fashion. And they like it. I notice that. They like it, such a course. And they enthusiastically participate', said participant E.

Reception of market logics is, however, more much ambiguously. In some cases, market logics are received gladly. 'You should be a cultural entrepreneur. That has everything to do with the government that withdraws as a subsidy provider. And it keeps you sharp. I find it important and good that you should partly generate your own income', said respondent E. In many more cases, market logics are received with less enthusiasm, but still quite positively. Market logics are generally accepted as something that is justly present and is a helpful way of thinking. Participant A added some words to what she had said about the installation of a roof over what was an inner garden before. These words were about the one of the reasons the roof was installed: commercial hall rental. 'There must be more people like me, but at the same time you must be realistic and know that this also determines that you receive your salary every month. You have to be realistic and practical also.' This statement resonates with something a respondent (K) said about an exhibition he had organized with his team, 'It is so tempting. We now have an exhibition with <famous person>. And we have had extensive discussions about this. He is not really a good photographer. He is a good documentary maker, an exceptionally kind person. Splendid. Very young. But I still do that <plan an exhibition featuring his photos>,'

because the tourist, those people that usually never visit us – I want them to come.’

There was also resistance against market logics. Especially market logics that seemed excessive or became too prominent was viewed upon negatively. One respondent (K) regarded market thinking with fear. ‘But the market is not leading. That is the great danger.’ Another participant regarded market thinking with disgust. He was asked what he thought of discounts on museum tickets and he said it was damaging for the image and value of the museum as an institution. Market logics were also received with disappointment. ‘I find it very sad that everything should be expressed in numbers and be measurable. It really has its disadvantages’, said respondent N. Finally, market logics are also received with anger like the anger with which blockbusters are seen in some cases. Respondent M said, ‘Rather 240.000 visitors less, but being at the top of the contemporary art world than going from blockbuster to blockbuster which people have already forgotten after a week.’

#### 4.2.5. The interplay of logics

After describing the process of hybridity the interplay of logics needs to be analyzed further. It would be shortsighted to only mention the rise of market and professional logics and accept it as a fact that these particular logics have emerged at the cost of hobby logics. Several modes of interplay have been observed. These modes of interplay draw further on the sensitizing concepts that have been stated in the theoretical framework.

First of all, market logics and professional logics seem to be incompatible with hobby logics, resulting in the disappearance of the latter. These process types have already been mentioned in the theoretical framework, but not in the sequence that a conflict results in the extermination of a type of logics. So, this process could be typified with regard to prior formulated sensitizing concepts as conflict followed by adoption or more accurate; rejection.

This interplay raises several questions. First of all, does the combination of professional and market logics contribute to the presumed swiftness with which hobby logics were ousted? There is some overlap between hobby logics and professional logics and hobby logics and market logics. Preserving heritage is for example regarded as an important activity both from a hobby and a professional point of view. Preserving heritage is, however, not a very market oriented activity. So, hobby logics might not have disappeared as rigorously if only professional or market logics would have become more prominent. Now it seems like market and professional

logics have conflicted with hobby logics on certain activities and goals pushed hobby logics to the far background in an institutional pincer movement.

Further, market logics and professional logics seem to be incompatible on some points. Such is the case with heritage preservation. Preserving heritage is an activity that takes place ‘behind the scenes’ and thus does not add direct value for the public. With market logics on the rise heritage preservation has lost attention (De Raad voor Cultuur, 2017). Heritage preservation is, however, a key element of the museum profession (ICOM, 2007). This incompatibility stimulates reflection (Seo & Creed, 2002). This reflection may have helped with a reconciliation of both logics.

On the other hand, adaptation of logics also seems to have taken place. Market logics are accepted, but no respondent said anything about making profit. Market oriented ways of thinking were used, but only in service of the museum and its performance (as a social relevant institution). So, it could be the case that market logics are a subordinate type of logics with regard to professional logics. Market logics are not dominant and only adopted or allowed to cope with real life problems that require market thinking.

One can even argue that market logics and professional logics have merged and a new type of logics is created. Market logics are concerned with value creation and value capturing. If respondents talked about monetary value, however, they only mentioned it in terms of means to carry out primary processes. So, this synthesized type of logics would entail a dominant professional logics with financial realism and market oriented elements in it. The main goal within this type of logics is being socially relevant as a museum, but with respect to several important focus points that are market oriented like serving visitor needs and financial viability.

These modes of interplay remain abstract. So, a clarifying figure is needed. In figure 4 a visualization of the two proposed scenarios can be seen. Hobby logics disappear in both scenarios. Market and professional logics interact differently in this sketch. They merge in a new, synthesized logics in the first scenario and remain the same, but in other positions of dominance in the second. It is important to note that the pointy line that visualizes conflict between market and professional logics is thinner (and thus less intense) than the pointy line that visualizes conflict between these two logics and hobby logics.

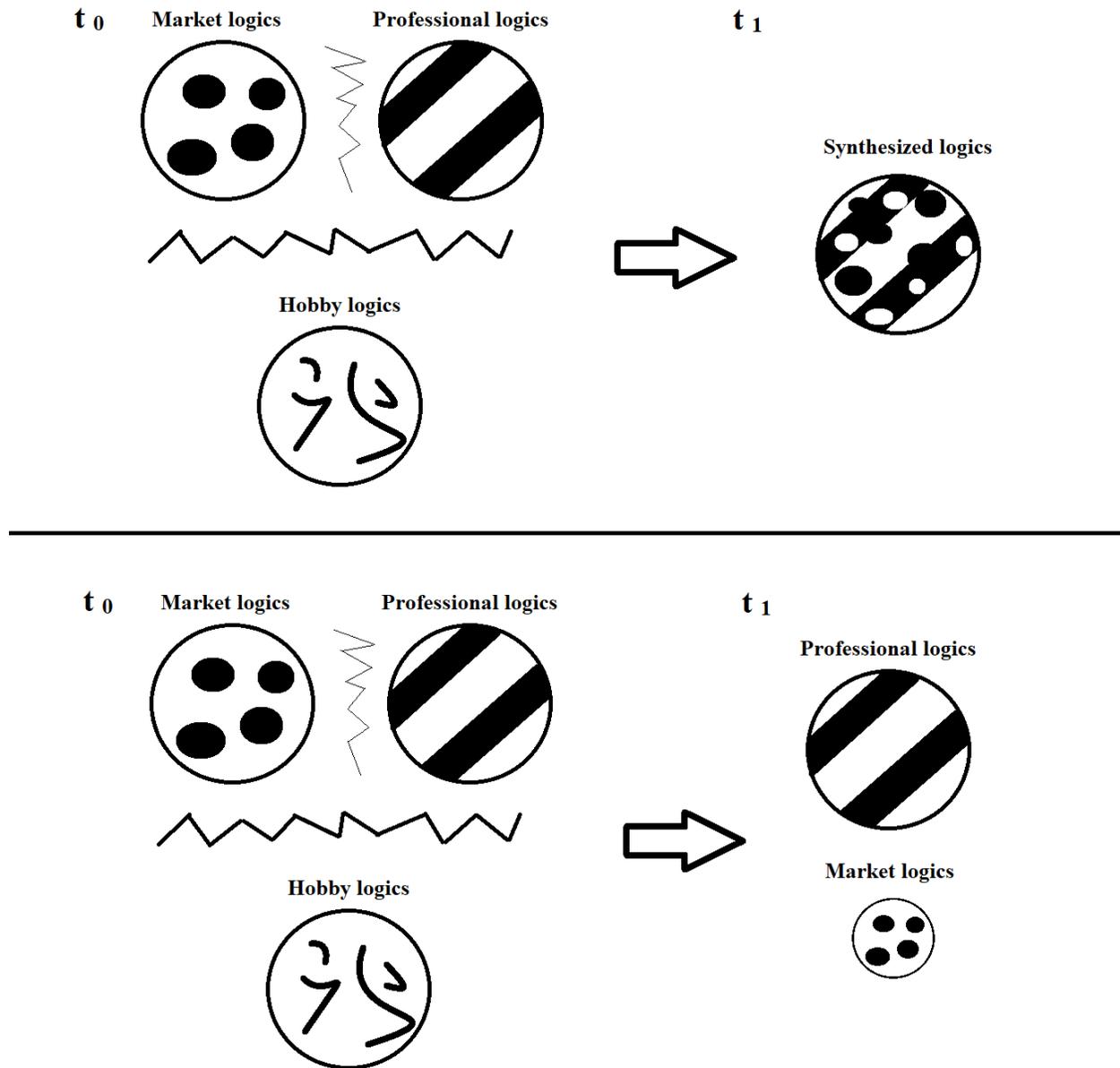


Figure 4. A visualization of logics interplay scenarios in Dutch museums

### 4.3 Change processes in similar organizations: comparison with a public library

During the research it became apparent that libraries went through a similar change process. Interviewees mentioned local libraries and talked about collaboration with those organizations. So, it seemed useful to conduct an interview at a library of which I knew that it had changed a lot in the last few years. Striking similarities came forth. No important differences were found. A

few examples of these similarities will be discussed.

First of all, the library had improved its facilities. A professional coffee corner was installed 3,5 years ago with as motives to become a meeting place and use the profit to reinvest in the organization. When I asked which of the two reasons was most important the interviewee (respondent O) answered, 'Frankly, the first thing <facilitating> is the most important, because good coffee really contributes to – we receive that also as feedback and you can read that in the reviews – that residential function. And a good image of the library where you also drink a nice cup of coffee. And we find that more important than the profit that renting it brings.' This statement also reveals a possible increase in prominence of market logics since a coffee corner was installed (partially) to gain profit. It also indicates that professional logics have become more prominent. The library focuses more on facilitating a good working environment and a good meeting place. So, professional logics may have changed internally, but also risen at the same time. Since profit is evidently less important than offering a nice place to stay as a library it is clear that these professional logics are dominant with respect to market logics in this case.

The library also evolved into a much opener organization that collaborates much with other organizations, both cultural and non-cultural. Collaboration with schools has especially increased. 'The most important partners with whom we search more and more active collaboration are educational institutions. So, I already named preschool institutions, elementary schools, high schools, professional education institutions, regional educational centers. And that happened a lot less five or ten years ago.' This collaboration has had profound effects on the organization. It has made the library more flexible, because this is necessary for collaboration with other organizations to be productive. Thus, opening up the organization and getting more engaged in the field intensifies organizational change and change of logics. A quote to illustrate this, 'This collaboration with all sorts of cultural clubs in the region and in the city – of which I named a few – that makes that we as an organization are becoming more flexible. Originally a library is a traditional organization and that asks a different way of observing and thinking and working of us to find a connection with those clubs. If we won't think otherwise or operate otherwise in that, become more flexible, than those clubs will not want to do something here. So, it asks for a different mindset and that has become much stronger and has positively changed in the last few years.' So, external pressure and a (partial) entrance in a new organizational field are both mechanisms that drive change of hybridity at the library just like it does at some museums

where interviews were conducted.

Further, organizational demographics have changed and the variety of experts has increased. These changes, like in museums, may have facilitated the influx of logics or the change in dominance of certain logics. ‘New people have been hired. Younger people, more men, have entered the organization. And some people with other cultural expertises.’ This is in line with what has been observed at several museums. A diversification of backgrounds and demographics arises, bringing new logics with it and shifting balances of logics.

Last of all, it is important to say that significant changes in the core function of the library have taken place. The library increasingly focuses on educating low-literates in reading and writing. Thus, the library has become more of an educational institution instead of an information providing institution. It is important to say that this change of focus has mainly come about by demands of the municipal government. I asked the interviewee what were the most important focus points for the near future. I received the following answer, ‘That is fighting low-literacy. That is a very important point of attention the coming years. Also prompted by municipalities that ask us to pay attention to that.’ This change in core function is related to the entrance in new organizational fields of which possible effects of logics have been discussed.

#### **4.4 The integrated model & theorization**

The process models of organizational change and change of hybridity have now been described and explained. It remains to integrate both models and more closely examine mechanisms and factors that drive and shape the entire process. After all, as has been said, institutional logics can be defined as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). So, a clear link between organizational change and change of logics is apparent.

##### **4.4.1. Critical events**

Integrating both models creates the possibility to place findings in a meaningful theoretical context. Four sub-questions were asked in the beginning of this thesis. These were mainly about critical events. It is important to examine the role of events closer. Literature reveals that events are crucial in institutional change processes (Baron et al., 1986; Fligstein, 1991; Hofmann et al.,

1999). Critical events are specific dramatic events that draw and sustain attention to something. This sustained attention effectuates collective contemplation and redefinition of particular issues (Pride, 1995). It must be added that such events may not necessarily be things that happen at one point in time. They may also be processes or series of smaller events (Abbott, 1991; Isabella, 1990).

It were these critical events that respondents talked about, because these were so radical and changed much personally. Respondents gave many examples of how these critical events changed the organization and also to some extent how it changed logics in the organization. Examples of such critical events are the entrance of new people in the organization, discussions, beginnings of collaborations etc. These critical events are the building blocks of both models. Steps in the model are abstractions of such events or small chains of events. It must be added, however, that critical events may be deliberate actions of museums themselves. Many respondents indicated that the renovation or rebuilding of the museums was a turning point. One respondent (F) said that the museum was very unstructured and the organization was a mess. I asked him when this had changed. He answered, ‘when she became director and she initiated the rebuilding.’ So, the appointment of a director and the rebuilding were both critical events in this particular case. Further, it must be said the salience of events differs. This difference determines whether an event can be marked as critical or not. Fiske (1991) had already determined that such salience depends on prior knowledge, novelty, the degree of distinctiveness, what is expected and the relation to organizational goals. So, this were points of attention in identifying critical events.

#### **4.4.2. The reciprocal relation between organizational change and change in hybridity**

Much literature has been dedicated to determinants of organizational behavior, but also to the effects of organizational behavior on institutional logics. Thus, findings can be linked to theory and a reciprocal relation between organizational change and hybridity can be theorized.

##### ***Organizational change shaping hybridity***

Hybridity can shape organizational change in several ways. Organizational sense making has to do with one of these. Organizational sense making is basically about two questions. The first one is more or less ‘what is the story about?’ and the second one is ‘what should I do?’ (Weick et al.,

2005). Sense making can also occur selectively (Ocasio, 1997). So, there is some steering possible in this process. Sense making can happen via the creation of models that help with understanding an organizational field and its practices (Strang & Meyer, 1993). This abstraction makes it possible for different organizational forms to arise and practices to alter (Greenwood & Hinings, 2002; Maguire et al., 2004). So, it is possible that the entrance of museums in other organizational field has caused organizational members to come up with abstract models to deal with their new environment. Such models only came vaguely forward in interviews in terms of simplifications or abstractions of cause and effect relationships. These models have underlying assumptions and are highly relevant for someone's view and thus for institutional logics in the organization. Entering a new organizational field would thus facilitate or even accelerate the change of hybridity in this way. So, more change in hybridity can be expected in organization that are entering new organizational fields, because new ways of thinking emerge as a means to understand and make sense of the new organizational environment.

### *Hybridity shaping organizational change*

Literature also points in the direction of logics changing and shaping organizational behavior extensively. Institutional logics influence organizational actions and outcomes greatly (Rao, et al., 2003; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). This relation became apparent in several museum cases. Respondent B told me about a project of the museum that involved extensive collaboration with a local health care facility and a professional educational institution. 'This is not about large numbers, but it is about impact. And that is what I mean with public support', she said about the importance of the project. Thus, institutional logics shape organizational goals that are focused on helping a small group of people a lot (instead of large numbers of people in a less impactful way). These new goals consequently shape organizational behavior in the way that resources are allocated and scarce human resources are invested in such a project.

Logics can also alter relationships between actors in an organizational field (Fligstein & Mara-Drita, 1996; Hoffman, 1999; Leblibici, et al., 1991). This relation became apparent during the interview at the local library. 'Originally a library is a traditional organization and that requires a different way of observing and thinking and working of us to find a connection with those clubs. If we won't think otherwise or operate otherwise in that, become more flexible, than those clubs will not want to do something here. So, it asks for a different mindset and that has

become much stronger and has positively changed in the last few years.’ This quote is already mentioned and explained, but it still reveals more. Change in logics (‘different mindset’) has enabled the library to become more flexible and in that aspect the relation with actors in the organizational field (‘those clubs’) has changed.

#### 4.4.3. Antecedents of the processes

Having theorized the reciprocal relation between logics and organizational change possible antecedent of the change processes remain to be discussed. In the theoretical framework it was suggested that subsidy cuts would have had a great impact on institutional logics. It is clear that subsidy cuts have had a great impact on organizational behavior, but also on hybridity. The relation between the organizational change and change in hybridity also seems to have been influenced by financial troubles.

Interviews revealed that subsidy cuts and financial troubles were, however, not the biggest problem faced by museums. There were also many problems regarding governmental and public support. The Great Recession (2007-2013) raised the question of the use of funding museums. This issue was widely discussed in the media. This increase in public attention has had a large impact. A ‘march for civilization’ was organized for example (ANP/Redactie, 2011). Also other actions were held where politicians gave speeches, increasing the heat of the debate (Bockma, 2010). Public attention can be defined as the discussing of social subjects and issues in communication channels that are public and organized (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). Research has indicated that this rise in public attention intensifies and ‘speeds up’ differentiation of logics (Hoffman, 1999). So, an increase in public attention may have both given an incentive for organizational change and changed logics, intensifying both processes and their interaction.

It was also mentioned in several interviews that ‘the world is more about money now’ when market logics became a topic of conversation. Some interviewees were suggesting that an increase of focus on finance and expressing everything in monetary terms has incensed parties to lay pressure on museums or has altered the people within museums. It is, however, hard to theorize this since there is no consensus about this macro-sociological trend. Some studies even disconfirm it (e.g. Roth, 2013).

#### 4.4.4. Combining antecedents, organizational change and hybridity

After theorizing the reciprocal relationships between organizational change and the process of hybridity and stating which antecedents have started or intensified the interaction it remains to combine both. Combining these and visualizing them contributes to pragmatic validity (Worren et al., 2002). A visualization of this can be found in figure 5. Note that antecedents not only precede the interaction between organizational change and the process of hybridity, but also organizational change and the process of hybridity separately. Financial pressure has for example led to reorganization, but also to a need for market logics. Increase in public attention has for example also intensified the relationship between organizational change and the process of hybridity by stimulating reflection. These antecedents are related mutually, but are still distinct. That is why they are placed in the same rectangle.

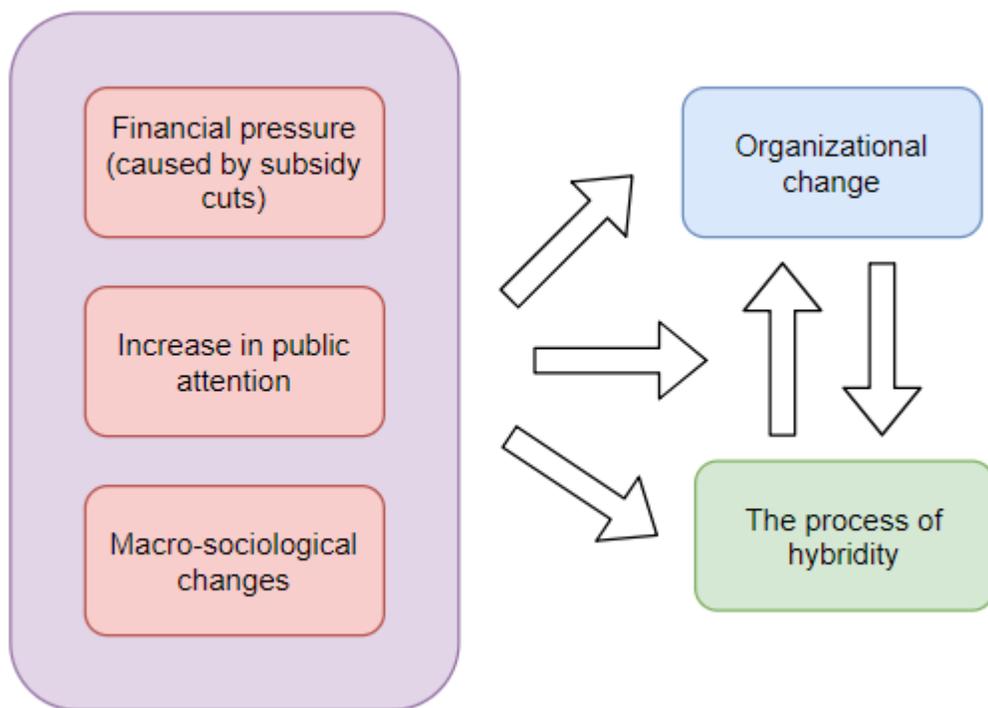


Figure 5. A visualization of the process of hybridity and its drivers/antecedents

## 5. Conclusion & Discussion

The process of hybridity is a constant interaction between organizational change and change of multiple institutional logics. Stages in these processes can be identified. The actual change process of hybridity consists of (1) (dis)confirmation of logics, (2) change of logics and (3) perceiving changes of logics. The organizational change process of Dutch museums consists out of (1) perceiving need for organizational change, (2) organizational reorientation, (3) change in organizational behavior, (4) (partial) entrance in new organizational fields, (5) change in legitimacy in original organizational field and (6) reception of changes in organizational behavior in organizational field. Both process are cyclical. A visualization of their exact order of occurring can be found in figure 2 and 3. Thus, the first two sub-question are answered:

*Which critical events shape the process of hybridity in Dutch museums?*

*How are critical events that shape the process hybridity in Dutch museums related with one another?*

After presenting these process stages, which are composed out of abstracted critical events or series of critical events, two more sub-question remain to be answered. One of these concerns institutional logics which have been found in Dutch museums:

*What do the multiple types of institutional logics that occur in Dutch museums entail?*

Market logics was one of these logics. Market logics are about financial realism, fulfilling customer/visitor needs and the importance of marketing and displaying value. Market logics are a way of thinking in which operating as a (financially) healthy and viable organization is key. Professional logics also came forth as prominent logics. Professional logics are focused on doing ones job properly. So, in the case of museums: being an organization that performs its primary process adequately and making sure that desired results of core tasks are achieved. There is also a third less clearly defined type of logics present in Dutch museums: hobby logics. Hobby logics seem to be concerned with the personal pleasure of the person (e.g. conservator) who carries out activities with regard to a certain subject. So, this type of logics is about carrying out activities in such a way that the actor experiences maximum enjoyment.

Finally it remains to be answered which underlying mechanisms shape the process of hybridity and answer the last sub-question:

*Which underlying mechanisms shape the process of hybridity in Dutch museums?*

For this sub-question it is crucial to examine both models and the interaction between both since the interaction itself, but also mechanisms driving the interaction, eventually shape the process of hybridity. Both change models are connected in the way that organizational change brings about change in hybridity and vice versa. Critical events play a major role in this. Critical events are impactful events that shape and change institutional logics in organizations. These critical events are partially caused by organizations themselves.

Organizational change has brought some museum organizations (partially) in new organizational fields. This appearance in new organizational fields has possibly intensified or accelerated the process of hybridity. This entrance in new fields may have forced organizational members to come up with new abstract models in order to make sense of their new environment, thus altering logics. This change in logics has stimulated organizational change and thereby further change of hybridity.

Furthermore, museums also increasingly engaged in collaboration with cultural and non-cultural organizations. They have become more open and outward-focused, increasing the influx of ideas and people with different backgrounds and logics. This influx has changed hybridity a great deal. Collaboration also played a major role in this. Collaboration forced museums to operate and think differently, but also facilitated influx of new ideas and people. This collaboration is also encouraged by the Dutch government (De Raad voor Cultuur, 2017; “Samen Werken, Samen Sterker,” 2013).

The interaction between organizational change and change of logics has caused a rise of both market and professional logics. Market logics became apparent via the relevance of marketing uttered by respondents and the importance of healthy finance. Professional logics were brought about by a need for professionalization in order to survive as a museum. Professional logics were received quite positively in contrast to market logics. Market logics were received skeptically or even with hostility in some cases. At the same time, market logics were also received rather peacefully as a vision on the inevitable financial reality that cannot be neglected, a vision that could even be helpful. Market logics and professional logics did not seem to have clashed much.

For this matter it is important to say that market logics were not dominant. A market oriented approach was always seen as a means to fulfill a societal task as a museum.

It seems that the process of the rise of market logics and professional logics has been stimulated if not initiated by subsidy cuts and by the public discussion about the value of museums. These events were associated with governmental and public support and financial problems. These have led both to a change of logics and organizational change.

## **5.1 Theoretical implications & suggestions for further research**

This thesis has shed light on certain aspects of the process of hybridity that have not yet been discussed in literature. It has also raised doubts on prior studies. This gives reason to discuss these issues and relate them to existing literature.

### **5.1.1. Implications for literature about the process of hybridity**

First of all, a new kind of institutional logics can be proposed on the basis of this research: hobby logics. This type of logics is concerned with individual enjoyment derived from activities that are carried out in the context of studying, acquiring and modifying certain objects in the realm of a certain subject (Gelber, 1999). These logics seem to be incompatible with market and professional logics since for instance inherent goals are conflicting per se as personal interests and organizational viability clash. Further research can shed light on this new institutional logics. These logics can be further examined by means of a number of case studies conducted in for example small museums that have only recently been founded. New museums that are founded by volunteers are likely to foster this hobby logics since they might very well be founded by hobbyists. Such case studies can also be conducted in other hybrid organizations where hobby logics are present. Volunteers could very probably be upholders of hobby logics. Hobby logics are for example also probably present in music schools or community colleges.

It also has to be found out to which institution this hobby logics is related. Friedland and Alford (1991) have identified several key institution that were later revised by Thornton (2004) resulting in a categorization of institutional orders. These orders are the family, professions, the corporation, the market, the state and religion. Both the family and the religion seem to be related to hobby logics. The family is related to hobby logics in the way that a hobby is performed in someone's spare time (in most cases) and often at home where the family resides.

Hobbies are also often performed with family members and also by children. It can be a means for intergenerational binding. Hobby logics can be related to religion as well. Provided we interpret religion here in a more general way as a philosophy of life. A dominant philosophy of life in more secular countries as the Netherlands is hedonism (Feldman, 2004). Hedonism is all about experiencing as much pleasure as possible (Veenhoven, 2003). People perform hobbies primarily for personal pleasure. So, hobby logics may be a meaningful activity in the realm of hedonism and thus the institution of religion. More about this relation with either the family or religion can be found out with the proposed case study of small, new museums. Another possibility is that hobby logics are no institutional logics. Maybe it is more appropriate to classify hobby logics as personal or individual type of logics that are related to the leisure activity of hobby, but not to an institution. If this would be the case, than it could clarify the incompatibility of hobby logics and market and professional logics. The roots of these logics could cause conflict as conflict between individual goals and organizational goals often occurs (Katz & Kahn, 1978).

It has also to be found out why market and professional logics seemed to coexist without creating too much tension. Several articles have been written about hybridity and organizational effects (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Jay, 2013; Santos, 2010; Smets et al., 2012). Besharov and Smith (2014) seem to provide an explanation. Professional logics were dominant in museums. Dominance combined with compatibility has been identified as a beneficial factor (Besharov & Smith, 2014). This explanation is, however, not fully sufficient since tension between the two logics has been detected. There are, however, many other factors that could have played a role in this productive combination of market and professional logics. Literature is still divided on this matter (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Ocasio & Radoynovska, 2016). Perhaps the answer lies in organizational configurations, which can be assessed using qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) (Fiss, 2007). Organizations incorporated market elements like new market related functions and people with more financial/marketing oriented backgrounds. This may have caused important shifts in configurations which could be assessed using the proposed method.

What also raises questions is the use of sensitizing concepts that were based on typifications of hybridity created by Skelcher and Smith (2015). Conflict, adoption, adaptation and synthesis all seemed to apply to the case of Dutch museums. This new typification can be useful for identifying logical orders of process steps. Hobby logics for example conflict with market and

professional logics resulting in the disappearance of hobby logics. So, this typification may be a good addition to literature on how hybridity arises (Billis, 2010; Christensen & Lægheid, 2011; Hasenfeld & Gidron, 2005; Jäger & Schröer, 2014). It remains, however, to test these typifications and find out if there are more possible types.

### **5.1.2. Organizational change and the process of hybridity**

In the context of organizational change it is useful to take another look at literature about punctuated equilibria. In this field of organizational science it is stated that organizations are most of the time stable until the equilibrium is punctured (Gersick, 1991). Then a turbulent episode in the existence of the organization takes place in which the deep structure of the organization is altered. This seems to have taken place at several museums where interviews were conducted. One museum for example increased its focus on healthcare and local collaboration. This raises questions about the relation between the process of hybridity and punctuated equilibria. Is an important change in hybridity (like the disappearance of logics) always something that happens when an equilibrium is punctured? No research about this relation has been conducted. Thus, a fine addition to hybridity theory would be an investigation of this relation by for example means of a case study.

Further, this thesis proposes that examining the process of hybridity in its relation to organizational change processes allows for a richer understanding of its underlying mechanisms and sequence of occurring. This has several implications for existing literature. First of all, only the reciprocal nature of the relation between both processes has been identified. Model forming has been discussed next to sense making in the case when an organization enters a new organizational field (Strang & Meyer, 1993; Weick et al., 2005). Abstract models are created when an organization changes its field of operating, facilitating alteration of practices (Greenwood & Hinings, 2002; Maguire et al., 2004). Logics, on the other hand, can also change organizational action and outcomes and alter relationships (Fligstein & Mara-Drita, 1996; Hoffman, 1999; Leblibici et al., 1991; Rao et al., 2003; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). It is, however, perfectly possible if not expected that one of the two – organizational change and multiple institutional logics – drives the interaction and the other lags. Actions are performed with certain motives that fall back on goals and assumptions that are held in an organization. Institutional theory remains vague on this matter, “Institutions are composed of cultural-

cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life” (Scott, 2004). So, behavior and beliefs seem to be connected, but an order lacks.

### **5.1.3. Antecedents of the process**

Several factors that can have influenced if not initiated the interaction between organizational change and change in hybridity have been identified. One of these is the increase in focus on monetary evaluation of everything in society. Some interviewees expressed their grievances about this development. This trend is not confirmed, but it raises questions about the relationships between macro-sociological changes and changes in hybridity within organizations. It is for example possible that macro-sociological changes have an effect on organizational members who on their turn alter practices in the organization and start an interaction between organizational change and change of hybridity. If this is the case, then it would be possible that institutional logics in organizations ‘lag behind’ macro-sociological changes. To investigate this a study could be conducted in which macro-sociological trends are analyzed and compared to changes in hybridity in organizations.

### **5.1.4. Hybridity in other fields**

It was mentioned in the introduction that hybridity is grounded in many organizational fields. Some examples of these are professional services (Smets et al., 2012), the cultural sector (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), health care (Dunn & Jones, 2010), social enterprises (Dacin et al., 2011) and life sciences (Murray, 2011). To examine this matter more closely an interview was conducted with a manager at a library. Many similarities were detected. A library is, however, also a subsidized cultural institution. It would thus be extra useful to examine more distinct organizations in which hybridity occurs. Case studies seem to be most appropriate for this. In this way process models can be compared and a more complete view of the process of hybridity can be established.

## **5.2. Recommendations for practitioners**

The explorative nature of this research makes it inappropriate to come up with prescriptive statements of how practitioners should act to achieve certain goals. Being aware of hybridity and

knowing to a certain extent how it changes, on the other hand, can help practitioners a great deal. Being aware of institutional logics in the first place and knowing that more of them can be present in one organization can be helpful in conflict situations for example. It can create understanding for differences in underlying assumptions that create differences in opinions.

Knowledge of hybridity and how it changes can also be helpful in situations where organizational goals are changed or set. Goals of especially non-profit organizations can vary much over time. One field expert told me about a case in which a director asked him to fix him a million euros so he could buy good art and the museum could go back to the top again. The field expert (respondent L) said the following, 'Then I said 'I don't think that is the problem. You cannot go 'back to the top'. That top has gone. The world has changed. So, you have to stop and think about your true societal value.' We had conversations for half a year. A brilliant policy note was created. 'Towards a new top'. I am very much satisfied about that.' This example illustrates how ignorance of institutional logics regarding organization goals can hinder decision making and even exclude options for organizational goals. In this organization probably an influx of market logics has found place with change of organizational goals as a consequence. An intervention was needed to reset these goals. So, if there is some misalignment of goals in an organization a proper intervention for a practitioner can be to revise goals with leading members within the organization.

It is further relevant as a practitioner to be aware of the profound effects of organizational changes on institutional logics. Critical events brought about by organizational change can have a great impact on the coexistence of multiple logics. These effects may not necessarily be wished for. It may for instance change logics in such a way that they are not compatible any more with internal tension and conflict as a consequence. This is something that change agents like consultants have to keep in mind when intervening in an organization.

There are also some practical implications for governments. The largest part of income museums receive is governmental funding (Centraal Bureau Statistiek, 2016). Hence, it is not unsurprising that governments on all levels want to steer museums in certain directions. It has, however, become clear that organizational change (possibly encouraged by governments) drives change in hybridity (and vice versa). Thus, governments have to realize that urging museum to change can change those organizations greatly in terms of logics. These logics have a considerable impact on organizational goals.

Change in logics can also drive organizational change. So, change agents can also alter hybridity by for example introducing new ideas, new functions or new people in an organization and thereby facilitate organizational change in a desired direction. A change agent that for example wants an organization to become more aware of the importance of healthy finance can change hybridity in favor of market logics by introducing people with marketing backgrounds in the organization.

### 5.3 Methodological reflection

There are four important quality criteria regarding qualitative research in organizations. These are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. They resemble quality criteria for quantitative research like reliability and generalizability, but they are not quite the same. Each of these four criteria will be assessed.

Credibility can be defined as a proper fit between ‘constructed realities of respondents and the reconstructions attributed to them’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: 237). Various measures were taken to come to such a fit. First of all, not only organizational members of museums were interviewed, but also various field experts. Also, multiple organizational members within some museums were interviewed to better reconstruct what has happened within that particular museum. It is, however, a pity that there was no participant who had a full time function as conservator. Much was said about this function and type of organizational member, but unfortunately such an organizational member was not interviewed. Many museums had no fulltime conservator in the organization or these conservators were hard to reach as a researcher. Further, anonymous quotes of respondents were told and questions were asked about them to other respondents. In this way it could be better reconstructed whether participants felt the same way about events and if they agreed on what had happened.

Transferability is all about the possibility whether the observed process could have taken place in other contexts. An interview was conducted at a library to test this. Similarities were striking. Especially organizational changes were quite similar since the library was changing and extending its original core function of providing information. Market logics also seemed to have become more prominent in the organization. The installment of a coffee corner and the increase in events is a sign of this. Data and literature is, however, insufficient to determine whether a library is a hybrid organization in the first place.

The similarity in organizational change is something that can be transferable. Libraries and museums are both non-profit organizations that heavily, but not completely, depend on subsidies. Their societal value in their original function has been a point of discussion threatening their survival as an institute. Thus, both types of organizations have become more outwardly focused, changed their core function and got into contact with other institutional logics. It is possible that this process is applicable for other subsidy funded organizations that change to remain relevant. Whether the process of hybridity and organizational change is applicable for all kind of organizations whose relevance is doubted is very speculative. Public organizations are for example far less flexible than private firms. Thus, the entire orientation and decision process might well be completely different.

Dependability concerns to which extent a “methodological shift in constructions” is available (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: 242). So, it should be assessed whether the same findings would emerge if the inquiry was repeated with the same subjects in the same context. For this research it is unlikely that findings would be the same on a detailed level. Interviews were very improvisational and focused on detecting and reconstructing the path of critical events in specific contexts. Very much space was left open for respondents to talk about things and events that in their eyes have changed the way they think or which events have had a great impact on them. This great diversity of opinions, context and event paths made it difficult to come up with a model very quickly. A model was created after long and thorough analysis and reflection. Thus, it seems likely that on a more abstract level findings will be similar, but not on a detailed level.

Confirmability is the last of the four quality criteria. Confirmability resembles neutrality of the researcher, but is not quite the same. It is the degree to which the findings of the inquiry are determined by the subject and conditions and not by anything else. To enhance this, all data is stored and traceable. Transcripts were not translated to prevent the influence of the researcher by reconstructing raw data. During the interviews it was tried to steer the interview as little as possible by letting respondents talk much about what they thought was important in the framework of the research. Respondents were, however, challenged in their views when these seemed to be somewhat unbelievable. Nevertheless, qualitative research in organization is never without interference of the researcher in my opinion. More about this will be said in the personal reflection.

There are also a few process related limitations that require explanation. First of all, quality of

interview data differs a lot. Factors related to the respondent like eagerness to share, expertise, capacity to retrieve memory of events and factors related to the interviewer like alertness and capacity to relate concepts on the spot combined with situational factors like ambient noise and time restraints affected the quality of the data gathering process and thus the data. In some cases these factors added up in such a way that the interview data was barely useable. One interview was for example only twelve minutes long and almost exclusively concerned the founding of the museum. This variation in quality is partly compensated by the amount of interviews that were eventually conducted, which is fourteen.

Further, many different museums and mutually unrelated fields experts have been interviewed. There were only two museums where more than one interview was conducted. While conducting a second interview (with respondent F) at a museum I noticed a difference in opinion about several aspects with regard to the prior interviewee. Respondent F sketched a slightly, but noticeable, more conflict-laden view of changes. In addition respondent E is the director and respondent F a volunteer at the museum. Further, five of the nine participants who worked at a museum were founder and/or director. It is likely that a director tells a far more positive story about change in an organization than a change recipient since the director is in most cases responsible for such changes. So, the lack of thorough investigation of individual cases combined with the overrepresentation of directors may have caused a too positive representation of actual change and thus a too less conflicting image of different institutional logics.

## 5.4 Personal reflection

Reflexivity can be defined as “an awareness of the researcher’s role in the practice of research and the way this is influenced by the object of the research, enabling the researcher to acknowledge the way in which her or she affects both the research processes and outcomes” (Symon & Cassell, 2012). This is especially relevant when one keeps in mind that qualitative research is very diverse and depended on philosophical worldviews (Avramidis, 1999; Blaikie, 2010; Bryman, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Thus, it remains to be discussed how personal beliefs, attitudes and assumptions have shaped the research.

First of all, when I began with this research I regarded the subsidy cuts of cabinet Rutte I on culture and museums in specific as unjust, stupid and disrespectful. I regarded it as a crippling

blow for the Dutch museum sector. My opinion regarding the motives behind the subsidy cuts has remained unaltered. I still think that subsidy cuts should have been presented differently and museums should not have been urged to become economic entrepreneurs. One respondent phrased this perfectly, ‘You could also have said, ‘guys, I’m sorry. There will be far less money for art and culture’.... ‘It’s a pity, but we will advocate your importance. We are going to stimulate businesses. We are going to help you in various ways to make sure you will manage financially.’ But that did not happen.’

My opinion about the effects of the subsidy cuts, however, has changed a lot in the course of the research. Museums where I have conducted research have become much more relevant for society. Lots of terrific initiatives have come to existence, connecting people with museums and heritage who would otherwise never even have visited a museum. Also during the research, I came to think that museums have the duty to tempt people who do not usually visit museums to come. These people are often low educated, have an immigration background and/or are not very wealthy. Still, museums are funded by their tax money as well. One can say that a museum is a public institute that can be visited by anyone and that it is a choice of those kind of people never to visit a museum, but I do not agree with that. I regularly visit museums, because my mom took me to a museum every single school break. But there are also very many individuals who find the threshold to enter a museum very high, because it is something very unusual for them to do. This statement resonates with what is said in an essay of Ranshuysen (Ranshuysen, 2005). Thus, in my opinion museums have been putting up great work artistically and really performing well in terms of presenting heritage, but have been underperforming in making a museum something that is paid for by everyone and enjoyed by everyone. Others share this opinion and have influenced my opinion (“Musea moeten niet gaan voor veel, maar voor nieuw publiek,” 2018; ten Thije, 2016). The subsidy cuts have – how wrong their motives and presentation may have been –in my opinion brought about a process in which museum became an institute that has much value for all layers of society in general. This change in opinion has influenced the research in various ways. I think it has changed the way I conducted interviews, stimulating respondents to say more about positive changes. I think it has also influenced how constructs were named and how change in general is described quite positively in this thesis.

Further, I also think that thinking, reading and talking about logics for half a year have also changed my view about independency of human thinking greatly. There were for example two

fields experts who had worked in numerous museums and had decades of experience in the sector, but completely disagreed on the most fundamental aspects of museums. I have tried to find reasons for this lack of consensus and searched for events that have shaped their very different opinions. The reasons I found were only partly explanatory. Experiences like this made me come to believe that it is impossible to really reconstruct the way logics are developed and altered. There are so many experiences and observations that shape logics of which people are not even aware. I think that you as a researcher only can see a very small consciously experienced part of institutional logics which the interviewee allows you to see. Intersubjectivity only partly solves this. This insight has certainly contributed to the decision of creating a model of organizational change next to a model of change of hybridity.

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## Appendix A: Interview text and questions for museum case studies

This appendix contains text and questions for the interview. Questions are placed in categories. It is important to say that it is not the intention to ask all questions when interviewing. Many questions can only be asked if the respondent has given certain answers to prior questions. The order of questions is also not predetermined. So, these questions serve more or less as a tool for conducting an interview than as a strict setup.

### Introduction

First of all, I would like to thank you for your time and for the fact that you have agreed to participate in this research. This interview will take an hour at most. I will keep an eye on the time, so not more of your time is used than what you have agreed upon. Before we begin I would like to stress that you can leave the interview at any time without giving a reason. Further, I would like to ask you if you have any questions?

### Questions regarding institutional logics of the respondent

- What is your function in the museum and what does your function entail? What kind of tasks do you perform?
- What do you believe is the purpose or are the purposes of this museum?
- If the museum has multiple purposes, which one is the most important?
- For whom or what are these goals strived for?
- Which activities are performed for fulfilling this purpose?
- Which activities are in your opinion the most important?
- Which activities are secondary/supportive?

### Questions regarding institutional logics of others within the organization

- Do you have the idea that others in this organization have a different view on the primary goal(s) of the museum? Do they perhaps have the same goal(s) but value them differently?
- What do these views entail? How do they differ from your view?

- If other people have different views on the primary goal(s) of the museum, why do you think that they have them?
- Do you think that other people in this organization value certain (core) activities (very) differently and if yes why do they do so?

Question regarding critical events in the process of hybridity

- Do you have the idea that your view on the purpose of the museum has changed over time and if yes, in which way?
- Do you have the idea that you value certain activities differently than in the past?
- Can you think of reasons why this has changed?
- Can you recall events that contributed to this change?
- Have you witnessed such a change by others in the organization or in the organization as a whole?
- If you think such a change has taken place, can you think of reasons why it took place the way it did?

Closing of the interview

Thank you for your time and that you have shared your thoughts and experiences. These are very valuable for my research. Before we end this interview, I would like to ask you if you have any questions now you have answered all my questions?