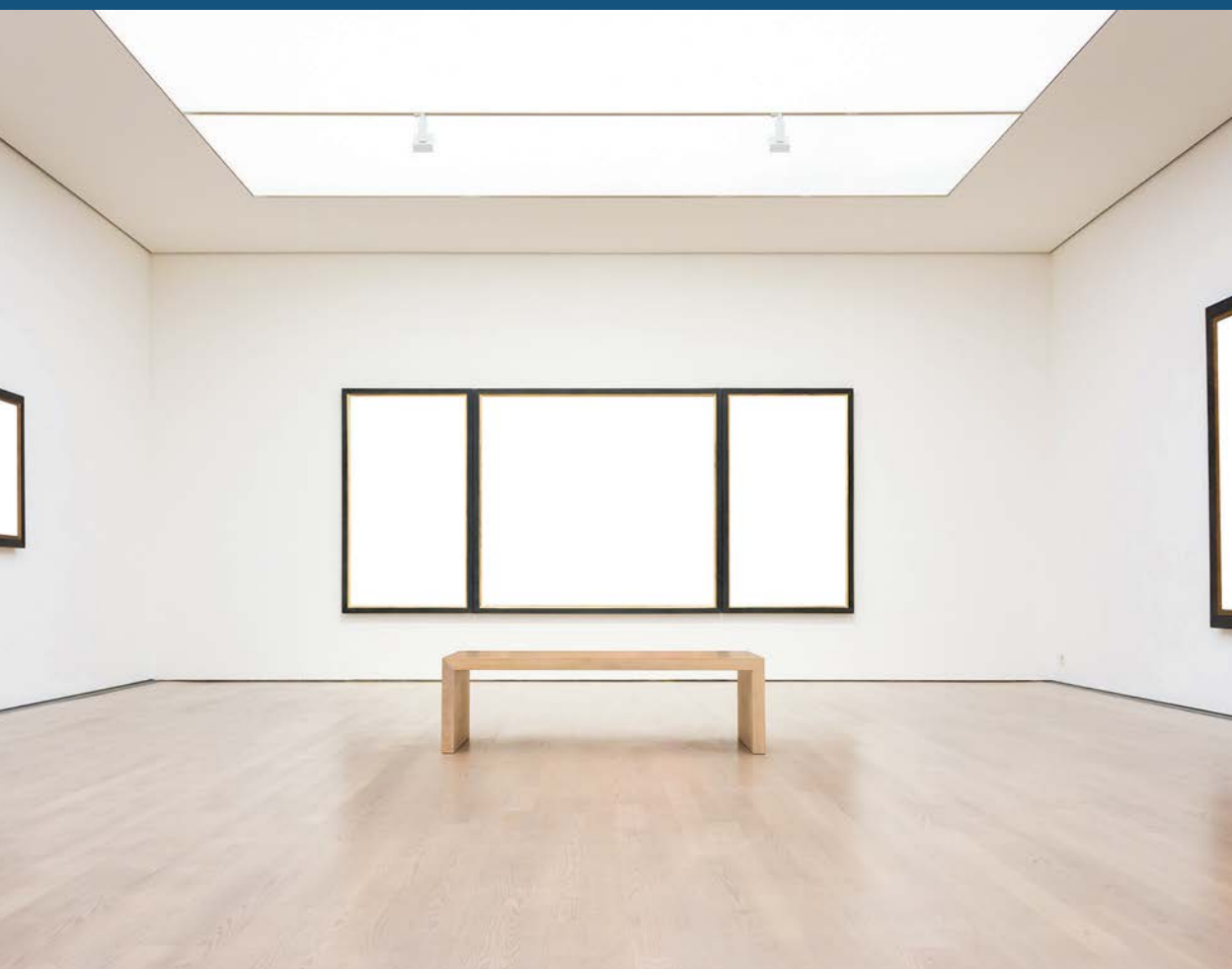


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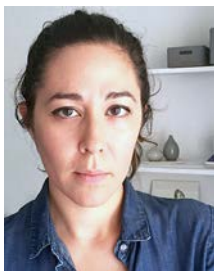
Investigating the Application of a New Governance Model
as a Response to Institutional Multiplicity

Irene Popoli



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Logic multiplicity is a common condition in organizational environments. While sometimes persisting from the very emergence of a field, it more often represents the resulting outcome of the institutional transformation of an environment previously dominated by a single system of beliefs and rules. When such institutional change occurs, organizations originally grounded in the cognitive foundations of one logic, are faced with the necessity to tackle the co-existence of multiple institutional categories. While organizational agency aimed at reconciling logic multiplicity at the cognitive level has been widely investigated, with extensive research discussing the enactment of organizational processes such as that of hybridization or bricolage, less attention has been given to agency extending to the formal, structural level. This dissertation is devoted to discuss what happens when a new governance model is applied in conditions and as a response to field-level logic multiplicity. Using a comparative case study of two public museums operating in Italy, I show that logic multiplicity in a previously monolithic institutional field can effectively be tackled through the design and application of a novel governance model. I further suggest that such phenomenon implies cognitive hybridization, and that the effective implementation of the new model on the structure and practises of the organization can be facilitated by the composition of its main governing body.



Irene Popoli

completed her PhD in Business Administration at Department of Management and Organization at the Stockholm School of Economics. Her research interests in organizational change and strategic innovation have brought her to the world of consultancy for the creative sector, where she supports organizations willing to pursue social, economic, and cultural sustainability.

Made Crudely for Success

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Model as a Response to Institutional Multiplicity

Irene Popoli

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Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Ph.D.,
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Made Crudely for Success: Investigating the Application of a New
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*To
My Family*

Foreword

This volume is the result of a research project carried out at the Department of Management and Organization at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE).

This volume is submitted as a doctoral thesis at SSE. In keeping with the policies of SSE, the author has been entirely free to conduct and present her research in the manner of her choosing as an expression of her own ideas.

Göran Lindqvist

Director of Research
Stockholm School of Economics

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Professor and Head of the
Department of Management and
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This journey has been very different from how I expected it. It has represented a definitive experience for me, both professionally and personally. It has not always been easy; sometimes the path has taken tortuous and challenging turns, other times exciting and enlightening ones. And yet I've enjoyed every moment of it, because it has made me the person that I am today.

Achieving something all by oneself is not only impossible, it is inevitably boring. My scholarly endeavour has been no exception, and many figures have entered the scene along the way.

Some people have been right before me, to show me the right way to take. I want to start with my supervising committee, who have believed in me and in my work: my primary supervisor Emma Stenström, who followed every step of this long journey; Lars Strannegård, who first saw potential in my research; and Karin Swedberg Helgesson and Udo Zander, who have supported my work with countless suggestions, comments, and stimuli. All in all, it has been a privilege to work with such talented, positive, encouraging people. I hope I will find someone like you in my future career. I also want to express my gratitude to Linda Wedlin, who selflessly dedicated her time and expertise to review my dissertation, offering her insights just when I needed them the most. Finally, I want to thank my colleagues from the Department of Management and Organization at Stockholm School of Economics, who made Stockholm a home for me; as well as those from the ASK Center at Bocconi University, who have welcomed me back to Italy as one of their own from the very beginning.

Other people have been right beside me, supporting me and giving me the motivation and the strength that sometimes I couldn't find in myself. To my family, who have always trusted my abilities and believed in my potential: I will do my best to be worthy of your trust and respect. To my partner

Matteo, who has always been there for me, enduring long flights, endless Skype conversations, and more museum visits than he had bargained for. Without you, none of this would matter.

Some people, finally, have remained behind me, to help me remember where I came from: I had to leave them there eventually, but not for one moment they will be forgotten. *Carta e penna, nonno.*

Verona, March 2018

Irene Popoli

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OVERTURE

It's not enough what I did in the Past – there is
also the Future. *Rita Levi-Montalcini*

This section represents the overture of my dissertation: as in an opera play, it introduces the audience to the story, offering a narrative context and setting the tone of the performance to come. In the more prosaic case of my research, it discusses how the empirical problem came to my attention, the main characteristics that have made it significant and warranted investigation, and how I translated them into a more specific Research Question. Finally, the section is concluded by a short description of the dissertation's structure.

Leading to the Research Question

The purpose of my research is to understand **what happens when the organisational model that has contributed to form a field is replaced with another one, given the transformation of the field itself**. I have investigated this phenomenon by taking into consideration the case of European museums, and the application of a specific governance form, the stakeholders foundation, in Italy. This dissertation reports the results of my study.

When he decided to write the Manifesto of Futurism, Italian artist Filippo Tommaso Marinetti had a clear idea of how he wanted the Future to be, and that idea revolved around the complete repudiation of the Past, in all its forms and versions: the new world of the 20th century would not dwell on the decadent practise of nostalgia, because social, political, and cultural innovations could be achieved only by discarding old-fashioned deadweights.

In 1909, when the manifesto was written, the embodiment of backward-looking practises was, more than anything else, the museum. With its imposing rooms filled with a plethora of dusty exhibits and visited by learned members of the elite, it was the perfect target for the zealous young artist: in Marinetti's view, in fact, museums were nothing more than "cemeteries, all identical in the sinister promiscuousness of so many anonymous bodies. Public dormitories, where one rests for eternity beside hated or unknown others. Non-sensical slaughterhouses, where artists and sculptors viciously massacre each other with colours and lines, along contested walls"¹.

When Marinetti wrote these lines, he had in mind a precise institution, a temple-like white box to which people would passively flock to gaze at the walls; an imposing building in which storytelling was meant to reinforce a precise interpretation of the past; a resilient organisation, with the authority to pick and choose what to display, to the benefit of a unified, reassuring cultural vision of the future.

Museums, in fact, were the result of an emerging process that reflects, within the limits of its organisational field, how any organisation comes into existence: the progressive structuration of a society, with its needs, rules, priorities, and players, make services considered optional and/or reserved for few social categories progressively available to larger parts of the same community. Although essential services such as health and education were fulfilled in almost all known societies, less-materialistic needs have found fertile ground in which to grow relatively recently, as more and more democratic societies settled in around the world.

On the eve of the 19th century, museums started to appear all around Europe, to embody the institutional need to manage a complex and varied collective heritage and to interpret and report the historical narrative behind it. With this intention, museums became operative tools for the fulfilment of cultural homogeneity, as required by most modern European democratic governments: they established themselves as part of the institutionalised social framework and, with it, they were governed as internal administrative offices of the public bureaucratic system, financially dependent upon and

¹ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *Manifesto of Futurism*, 1909

indistinguishable from their institutional referent. The built-in office configuration became dominant in the field, supporting its establishment, and reinforcing the role of museums as necessary actors in their social environment. From their creation, in fact, museums were inherently subordinate to their social acknowledgment as interpreters of specific needs and values; in this sense, as demonstrated by Marinetti's manifesto, their reason for existence left them highly susceptible to the volatility of changing environmental circumstances. In fact, although most people would probably think of museums as taken-for-granted organisations, the historical and sociological truth behind them includes the emergence of a specific vision of how a society was supposed to structure and govern itself.

As that vision eventually succumbed to change, then, the very nature of museums was put into question: at the turn of the 20th century, the museum as a cultural "ivory tower" became a preferred target of more or less radical disruptors such as Marinetti who were willing to reform an entity embodying declined values and rules.

After the end of World War II and of nationalistic ideologies, in fact, museums experienced a radical transformation of their environmental context. Requests for cultural homogeneity and uniformity gave way to calls for social representativeness and objectivity: as a consequence, the system of values and beliefs that had dominated the field until then became inconsistent with the new social expectations, and that system's decline eventually resulted in the emergence of new sets of beliefs and rules coexisting in the field. The changed social, cultural, economic, and political conditions of its environmental context combined to reshape the European museum field from one dominated by a unitary institutional interpretation of what a museum should be and do into one where multiple "ideas" continued to circulate. Because their existence depended on their role as cognitive translators and interpreters of their community's intangible needs, museums were then forced to reform their core missions in conditions of institutional multiplicity.

As a result, one hundred years after Marinetti's jeremiad, a visit to any European museum would most likely prove him wrong in denouncing the need to get rid of backward-looking museums: to fit into a transformed environmental context, museums variously managed to change many of their features, including their governance model.

Despite being the governance form that had shaped and dominated museums since their emergence, in fact, the built-in, public office model was progressively discarded for its operational inconsistency. As a result, different models started to be used all around Europe, determining the application of multiple governance forms. In most cases, existing configurations were drawn from other fields and reapplied to the European museum sector; in other cases, however, new ones were designed *ex novo*, with no direct precedents to which to refer. This latter circumstance was unprecedented in the field: it was triggered by the need to adapt to a changed institutional environment, it involved one of the key organisational features of museums, and it presented no precedent referents to help foresee its outcomes.

It is exactly at this point that I have engaged with the phenomenon, attracted by its peculiar nature: given its novelty for the European museum field, and its relative under-investigation in other sectors, I decided to research **the application of a new governance model by organisations experiencing a transformation in their environment (the coexistence of multiple institutional paradigms)**, especially focusing on **its organisational and institutional outcomes**, and using the European museum field as my empirical research setting.

Museums may seem to be a niche organisational category, hard to compare with or even equate to more-mainstream sectors. At the same time, the European museum context may appear to be a relatively rigid and static one: in it, organisations may seem stuck within a rigid web of connections with extremely powerful institutional actors, possibly suggesting the idea of a context adverse to organisational change.

Contrary to how it may seem, however, the apparent peculiarities of the field can actually represent a concentrated version of the tight and complex system of reciprocal interrelations that occur among organisations and between them and external actors in many fields. Evidence from other contexts, in fact, indicates that similar environmental transformations have occurred in universities, libraries, archives, and hospitals: having a comparable role as public service providers, organisations in these sectors can arguably benefit from an investigation involving museums, despite their apparent unicity. In this sense, European museums can offer a saturated version of how organisations can actively operate in their institutional, social, cultural,

and economic environment, making the choice to investigate them as the subject of organisational change particularly meaningful and open to multiple analytical possibilities.

The idea that organisations can be affected by the transformations occurring in their environment is an old one in the academic literature (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Hannan and Freeman, 1977; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Zucker, 1987). As scholars have investigated the dynamic relationship between organisational actors and their respective social, economic, financial, cultural, and natural contexts, more and more empirical proof has supported this claim, leading to multiple theories framing data within different theoretical models. In this sense, if the existence of an environment-to-organisation conditioning effect has been acknowledged by most organisational scholars, its specific nature has remained a matter of debate, determining the emergence of different streams of research, which has never stopped.

Apparently, then, the subject may seem worn-out, even sterile, if approached for new scholarly propositions. At the same time, however, the presence of multiple theories trying to model the subject stands as a confirmation of its actual and potential academic fertility, because no final word has been written on the subject. In particular, organisational change driven by the transformation of the governance model constitutes a relatively understudied phenomenon compared to other transformative processes, one that deserves an in-depth scholarly investigation such as the one presented in this dissertation.

In this sense, although the overarching phenomenon may escape the ability of one single researcher, its delimitation within more manageable analytical boundaries can make it accessible and, at the same time, it can prove fruitful not only to shed some academic light on that restricted context but, potentially, to support new contributions to the wider debate on the subject.

It is with this modest twofold aim that I have approached the phenomenon: on the one hand, I have been drawn by a professional and scholarly curiosity to uncover the organisation-environment dynamics occurring in a relatively underinvestigated and yet potentially insightful organisational field; on the other hand, I have approached the phenomenon believing that more

could be added to what has already been written about how organisations operate in respect to changing environmental circumstances.

Overall, European museums combine multiple interesting conditions that can both support and sharpen scholarly investigations of organisational agency: they are highly embedded in the social, economic, and institutional environment – to the point of being the physical embodiment of this environment; museums are highly susceptible to organisational changes and transformations; they operate in a relatively closed, inertial field. These conditions seem to make organisational agency, let alone a radical one involving the transformation of the governance form, very unlikely to be achieved. And yet evidence from the field indicates that it can occur.

For this reason, an investigation of agency revolving around the governance model – of why and how a new model is applied and with what results – can be fruitful on different fronts: more narrowly, it can help with implementing and refining the specialised literature on museum management; more generally, it can cut through the layers of empirical and theoretical literature accumulated on the topic of organisational agency in conditions of environmental complexity, to provide an in-depth analytical elaboration that joins the institutional perspective with the analysis of organisational change.

The *Orchestra*, or a Definition of the Museum

Museion: the place sacred to the Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, goddess of Memory. In III century BC, the greatest cultural institution of the western world, founded in Alexandria of Egypt, for the preservation and implementation of Knowledge.

If you ask someone “Which is the most famous museum in the world?” the most probable answer would be the Louvre in Paris, the British Museum in London, or the MOMA in New York. Clearly, they represent the quintessen-

tial museum institution, with their grand architectures and immense collections. But if you ask the same person “What was the first museum you ever visited?” then the answer would most probably include a much-less-known institution, one probably visited when the person was a young student.

Both types represent museum organisations, but they could not be more different from each other in terms of size, notoriety, prestige, typology, historical background, and ownership.

Museums are often thought of solely in terms of art museums, yet they actually include collections of many different kinds: specific periods or events, such as the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg (South Africa) or the D-Day Museum in Portsmouth, Hampshire (UK); individual civilisations, such as Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, in Santiago (Chile) or the Museo do Indio in Manaus, Amazonas (Brazil); particular professions and practises, such as the Design Museum in London (UK) or the Museum of Cosmonautics in Moscow (Russian Federation); products and industries, such as the China National Tea Museum in Hangzhou, Zhejiang (China) or the Miners Museum in Grace Bay, Nova Scotia (Canada); or even single objects, such as the Vasa Museet in Stockholm (Sweden) or the Museo dell’Ara Pacis in Rome (Italy).

Although museums provide a public service, they are not all publicly owned, and when they are they can belong to different public government bodies: municipalities, provinces/departments, regions, national agencies, or ministries.

The museum as an institution, then, is hard to define, because it represents the result of a specific social configuration: its nature is destined to change from one place to another, and, more crucially, over time. Still, all museums share one commonality: their mission, which is the preservation and the diffusion of human knowledge for the sake of posterity.

However, although the general idea of a space to collect and protect rarities is very ancient (drawn from the ancestral concept of a sacred place of contemplation), the opening of cultural organisations explicitly devoted to the conservation and the exhibition of communal material heritage is a phenomenon that started relatively recently (Alexander, 1995; Bennett, 1995; Paul, 2012).

In 18th-century Europe, the development of the museum was spurred by the elitist desire to access cultural products within a well-identifiable space in the urban landscape (Low, 1942; Dana, 2008). The diffusion of enlightenment ideas of democracy, welfare state, and social education led to the institutionalisation of material and immaterial heritage – intended as the general acceptance of its instructional and spiritual value for the aesthetic satisfaction and intellectual growth of society – and, as a consequence, to the building of ad hoc collections open to the public for its education and pleasure.

It was only in 1946 that the first definition of what a museum should be was formalised by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the international institution operating under the auspices of the UNESCO and uniting museum organisations and professionals from all around the world. With the creation of the UN after the end of World War II, in fact, different sub-organisations were created to cover all different aspects of communal life; along with education, healthcare, defense, and economy, culture was considered a crucial social variable to be governed and regulated.

The end of European aggressive nationalist movements, which had started in the early 20th century, peaked after WWI, and collapsed with the global tragedy of WWII, led international governing bodies – such as the UN, followed shortly after by the embryonal version of the EU – to focus their attention on organisations that could promote social concordance and enforce universal principles. So, whereas pre-WWII museums had been used to impose a unified vision of a specific society², post-WWII cultural organisations would spread the idea of a shared heritage, in which differences and peculiarities had to be cherished as part of a bigger picture, rather than seen as signs of an assumed superiority of one specific society.

² Considered as war crimes, the spoliation of museums and collections of invaded countries by Nazi Germany indicates the symbolic relevance of appropriating heritage as a sign of national domination. Far from being related to objects of desire destined to satisfy Nazi hierarchs' greed, ransacked collections were expected to fill the rooms of a new, immense Hitler museum to be built in Linz, the Führer's birthplace. The magnitude of resources involved in the project testifies to the importance given by the political leader of a nationalist dictatorship to the creation of a museum intended as the physical embodiment of a specific vision of society.

The crucial importance of a definition for the museum organisation derives from the fact that it can

describe, direct, or enforce the way in which a museum interacts with its cultural setting. A definition arises from the need to establish common ground to facilitate general or discipline-specific communication. When expressed within the discipline of museology, it both reflects and directs institutional behavior. However, a definition can have a prescriptive function or even an enforcement role when it is used outside the discipline. (Robb, 1992: 28)

The final version of the definition was edited during ICOM's 21st General Conference in 2007, and it asserted that "a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment".

Because this description ought to comprehensively unite different features from organisations that had not originally developed as a structured field, its boundaries were purposefully kept permeable to contaminations and flexible to integrations. At the same time, they could offer some level of limitation to the scope of what this specific formal organisation must be and can do, without losing its very purpose.

The analysis of the definition allows a better understanding of the specific nature of the museum as commonly accepted within the field.

Non-profit, permanent institution, open to the public. A museum is an organisation with a specific not-for-profit nature, which directly derives from its social role: it can manage financial resources and it can generate revenues from specific activities, but no profit can result from its overall balance. It is very different from exhibition centres or other cultural venues, because it holds a permanent status and it cannot be dismantled on a short-term basis. Finally, it must be visitable, because making heritage available to the public constitutes the essential aspect of its core mission. These features distinguish a museum from an art gallery, a temporary exhibition, or a private collection.

In the service of society and of its development. Its role within the social environment is clearly stated and constitutes one of its most important features: it derives from its conception as a place of communal sense-making, through

which heritage is preserved and transmitted. However, this part of the definition has been left purposefully vague: different delineations of the offered “service” would eventually emerge accordingly to requests and expectations that clearly reflect the dominant institutional logic and that therefore are susceptible to change.

Acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment. The number and variety of actions undertaken by a museum to fulfil its mission have increased over time; initially limited to the mere conservation, protection, and discretionary exhibition of the collection, they have been integrated with the more interactive processes of researching and interpreting the available heritage and of producing new knowledge to be diffused to the public. Moreover, the very concept of what has to be intended as “heritage” has changed, as its material nature has become a necessary but not sufficient feature. Rituals, narrations, and other intangible goods have been included: the anthropocentric view of the world has given way to a more comprehensive idea of heritage, in which the environment (in all its variations) is also taken into account.

Purposes of education, study and enjoyment. The service that a museum is required to offer to its visitors is composed of different elements and it is not limited to passive, homologated storytelling. On the contrary, it comprises a range of initiatives aimed at enhancing visitors’ knowledge by also entertaining them, at studying the heritage by making it understandable and intellectually available to the widest public, and at offering the most affordable and easy-to-access experience to people with different needs.

The Score, or The Research Question

People are curious. A few people are. They will
be driven to find things out, even trivial things.

Alice Munro, Friend of My Youth (1990)

So far, I have introduced my phenomenon of interest, that is, the application of a new governance form in organisations experiencing the transformation

of their field into one characterised by the coexistence of multiple systems of values. Then I presented the specific organisations that I have selected as my subject of analysis, discussing museums as entities tightly interconnected with their environment.

After this opening, I can now translate my investigative interest into an out-and-out Research Question: **“What happens when a new governance model is applied in conditions of institutional multiplicity?”**

Clearly, for me to engage with this broad Research Question, it has been necessary to reduce it to a more limited, manageable query: restricting the ambit, in fact, has allowed the design and the execution of a more manageable empirical investigation. With this intention, and given my research setting of choice – the European museum field – I have proceeded to sharpen the Research Question and to focus it on one specific empirical case, asking **“What happened when the stakeholders foundation model was applied by Italian museums?”**

The purpose of the dissertation, then, is twofold: on the one hand, I want to understand the field-organisation dynamics occurring over time in an institutional field (Warren, 1967; Scott, 1991), focusing on the systems of beliefs, rules, values, and expectations (logics) operating in it and on its respective organisational models; on the other hand, I want to investigate if and how organisational innovation in the form of the application of a new governance model can be used by organisations characterised by a complex institutional environment.

By filling this research gap, I want to understand if and how organisational agency in conditions of logic multiplicity can include any form of organisational innovation, thus extending and integrating existing research on organisational change in complex institutional settings.

The *Libretto* or The Structure

At the Opera, while the *Ouverture* is played and the stage is still closed, the audience would most likely go through the *Libretto*, to check who the main characters are, how long the play will be, and if there is going to be any interruption before the end. Behind the curtains, staff is busy *Setting the Stage*

with all the elements necessary for the actors to put on the narration. The first part of the dissertation, then, is dedicated to the description of the theoretical and empirical toolkit that has been used to investigate the Research Question.

Chapter 1 discusses the theoretical propositions and concepts selected from existing literature to frame the investigation. In particular, it reviews the most recent proliferation of institutional research – the logics perspective – as the main conceptual foundation of my research, and it intertwines it with transversal topics that have been called up by the phenomenon (such as decoupling, hybridity and translation).

Chapter 2 reports the methodology that I have used to investigate the phenomenon. First, it goes into details describing the design of the empirical research, which includes the methods selected to collect and analyse my empirical data. Then, it briefly discusses the epistemological implications of my research, focusing on the nature of my position as a researcher, and on the nature of the research process itself in respect to my specific ontological perspective.

After having set the stage, the *PLAY* can finally begin: this section includes the analytical discussion of the phenomenon at both the field and the organizational levels, as well as the empirical analysis of my selected data.

Chapter 3 reports the definition and the transformation of the European museum field: this initial analysis has been functional to provide the cognitive tools necessary to the organizational-level investigation. The purpose of the chapter is to follow Wooten and Hoffman's suggestion (2008: 143) on orienting research “toward the processes that encourage field formation” and on understanding “how the structuration of fields contributes to intra- and inter-organizational processes”.

First, the chapter gives an overview of the diffusion of museums in Europe during the late XVIII – early XIX century, focusing on the specific social, institutional, and economic features that concurred to build the new field. A final discussion is provided on the nature of the specific museum paradigm that dominated the field in that period – the elitist one, and on the logic that it embodied. Then, the chapter continues discussing the institutional transformation that has occurred in the late XX century. In particular,

it discusses the social, institutional, and economic changes that have determined the progressive decline of the original logic in favour of new ones – the social and the global museum logics, respectively. Then, it proceeds to analyse them, in order to understand their specific characteristics.

Chapter 4 introduces the organizational level of analysis: it discusses different governance models that have characterized European museums from the emergence of the field to its present configuration. In particular, it reports the emergence of a single model at the initial phase of the field's structuration – mirroring the categories promoted by the dominant elitist logic; then, it discusses the decline of this form and the concurrent emergence of new ones, designed to operate in the transformed institutional field. Then, the chapter eventually focuses on a governance model emerged in Italy at the turn of the XXI century, the *stakeholders foundation*, thus introducing my empirical research setting.

Chapter 5 reports the empirical analysis of my data: in particular, it presents the two cases of Italian stakeholders foundations that I have selected, focusing on the investigation of their respective logics, structures, and practices. The chapter is closed by a comparative analysis of the two organizations in respect to the same cognitive and organizational features, checking for similarities and discrepancies that may have emerged between the cases.

At this point, the dissertation, much like an opera play, should have revealed almost everything to its public: before *Closing the Curtain*, only a few things remain to be settled.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the analytical discussion of the analytical evidence from Chapter 5, which is confronted with propositions from the selected theoretical framework.

Chapter 7 closes the dissertation, reporting the general implications of the empirical analysis: first, it discusses the theoretical contributions that my research can have on existing academic literature; then, it offers some suggestions for practitioners and professionals; finally, it goes into the limitations that the research may present and into the possible ramifications that can be developed from it.

Finally, sections with the *Definition of Terms*, *Appendixes*, and the list of *References* complete the dissertation.

SETTING THE STAGE

To answer any question, no matter how general or specialised it might be, it is necessary to determine the right set of investigative instruments. Having the best conceptual and empirical toolkit is essential in easing the process of researching and analysing information: this part of the dissertation is dedicated to the discussion of the theoretical and methodological framework of my research.

First, it reports the main theoretical referents of the dissertation: to answer the Research Question, I take advantage of the analytical perspective provided by institutional logics, one of the most recent theoretical developments of institutional theory. In particular, I focused on propositions investigating organisational change, and I crossed them with transverse topics such as decoupling, hybridity, and translation. This allowed the definition of a theoretical framework covering all different angles of the phenomenon within a unitary, overarching perspective.

Second, this part of the dissertation discusses the design of my empirical research, with specific reference to the methodology selected to gather and analyse data: the exploratory nature of the research suggested the use of a qualitative approach, and the definition of a comparative study of two cases. To collect data, the investigation takes advantage of archival material from different sources (books, articles, proceedings, and reports), interviews, and on-site observations that have been elaborated through coding and content analysis.

Chapter 1. The Theoretical Background

Thou must now at last perceive of what universe thou art a part, and of what administrator of the universe thy existence is an efflux, and that a limit of time is fixed for thee. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Meditations (161-180 A.D.)*

Museums are the result of a specific social configuration: they are built to fulfill a precise institutional willingness to make Culture (in all its material and immaterial forms) accessible to everyone. In the broader sense, then, museums are products of a particular social, political, cultural, and economic context that can be traced with relative analytical precision (see Chapter 3).

To investigate organisational change, it is necessary to translate the entangled composition of a specific field's institutional features into analytically manageable categories: to do this, I grounded my research in a theoretical posture that is able to account for the conditioning effects that specific norms, ideas, practises, and beliefs can have on organisations operating in a defined context. In this sense, institutional theory, and its most recent theoretical development – the institutional logics perspective – offered a reliable analytical model, one that could “bring society back” into the picture of the organisations that constitute the focus of my research.

The institutional logics perspective, in fact, has the advantage of offering a conceptual framework explicitly designed to analyse “the inter-relationships among institutions, individuals, and organisations in social systems”,

and to support investigations on “how [...] organisational actors are influenced by their situation in multiple social locations” (Thornton et al. 2012:2).

Responding to Friedland and Alford (1991), in fact, the perspective has translated the complex, composite system of values, rules, and practises of an individual, an organisation, a field, or even a society into analysable categories. This new perspective in institutional analysis, then, has gone beyond the more formalised, conformity and legitimacy-driven interpretation of organisational agency proposed by early Institutionalists, offering an analytical angle that has taken into account the mutually influencing dynamics between organisations and their environment.

Institutional logics, then, is the overarching perspective from which to view my phenomenon of interest; grounded in this posture, I enlarge upon specific related topics, thus building a theoretical framework to support the empirical analysis. Each of the following sub-chapters discusses one column of my theoretical infrastructure.

1.1. Accounting for the Environment: From Old to New Institutionalism

The idea that organisations can be infused with meanings and values in relation to their social nature has come with the development of symbolic anthropology (Geertz, 1973) and of a *social construction of reality* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Progressively, organisations have begun to be addressed as complex organisms with multiple interpretative levels and strong non-technologically related elements to control, modify, and constrain them. As Scott (1987: 507) noted

“until the introduction of institutional conceptions, organizations were viewed primarily as production systems and/or exchange systems, and their structures were viewed by being shaped largely by their technologies, their transactions, or their power-dependency relations growing out of such interdependencies. Environments were conceived of as task environments: as stocks of resources,

sources of information, or loci of competitors and exchange partners. [...] Institutional theorists have directed attention to the importance of symbolic aspects of organizations and their environments. They reflect and advance a growing awareness that no organization is just a technical system and that many organizations are not primarily technical systems.

Many scholars have investigated the causes and, most notably, the consequences of embeddedness in strong nets of internal and external relations. Building upon seminal works from Selznick (1949) and Cyert and March (1963), who offered a first-glance analysis of the conforming effects that internal and external demands have on organisations, recent institutional researchers have further investigated the process of institutionalisation, positing it as a firm's compliance with external taken-for-granted myths.

Meyer and Rowan's seminal paper (1977: 343), in particular, described how external policies, practises, or beliefs can become "myths", that is, "rationalised and impersonal prescriptions that identify various social purposes as technical ones and specify in a rule-like way the appropriate means to pursue these technical purposes rationally". These "institutionalised acts", as Zucker (1977: 728) reported, "must be perceived as both objective and exterior", and all players are induced to conform to these prescriptions in view of social acceptance and inclusion.

However, if, on the one hand, conformity to institutional rules can allow for the achievement of external legitimacy, on the other hand, it can also result in the weakening of internal coordination and efficiency. In particular, Meyer and Rowan asserted that conflicting elements concerning the integration of social myths into organisational structures can reside, first, in the generality of ceremonial rules contrasting with the specificity of technical requirements in production activities, and second, in the frequent contradiction among different myths, making it almost impossible for the firm to fulfill all external requests.

To avoid this counterproductive effect, organisations can resort to decoupling, that is, to a separation between their formal structure³ and their

³ By "formal structure", Meyer and Rowan mean "a blueprint for activities which includes the table of organization. [...] These elements are linked by explicit goals and policies that make up a rational theory of how, and to what end, activities are to be fitted

actual internal operations. By doing this, both conformity to external expectations and the conservation of internal efficiency can be guaranteed.

In general, then, isomorphism is justified in light of the institutional legitimacy it can offer, rather than of the actual positive effects on organisational efficiency. Support from institutional referents, in fact, is guaranteed by the organisation's adherence to external myths, "beyond the discretion of any individual" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 344), rather than by actual performance. Organisations rationally *decouple*, that is, separate their formal, external structure from their internal activities, with the explicit purpose of guaranteeing acceptance. This process occurs with organisations avoiding the actual absorption of institutional myths that could change their technical cores. Internal incongruity with external requests is considered necessary to guarantee both conformity and efficiency, meaning that the former is irreconcilable with the latter (Westphal and Zajac, 2001; Fiss and Zajac, 2006; Tilcsik, 2010; Bromley, Hwang and Powell, 2012).

This duality between the front "facade" and the behind-the-scenes work in institutionalised organisations, then, assumes an inherent contradiction between social conformity and efficiency (Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 348-58), and the relative necessity to achieve both. As the public, formal, apparent structure proposed to society is split from the actual, efficient, profitable application of the internal working system, conformity-driven change for the sake of legitimacy is considered inconsistent with efficiency-seeking practises. Meyer and Rowan's variant of institutionalism has represented a significant change from previous work, which focused more on the necessity to reconcile and guarantee consensus between the formal and the informal forces acting on the organisational structure (Selznick, 1957).

The phenomenon of institutional legitimacy-driven isomorphism was further developed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), who moved the analysis from the societal level to that of organisational fields. In particular, they posited that once an organisational field emerges, its members become more and more similar to each other and to specific institutional models in order to

together. [...] In conventional theories, rational formal structure is assumed to be the most effective way to coordinate and control the complex relational networks involved in modern technical or work activities" (1977: 341-2).

guarantee themselves a sufficient level of social legitimacy and, consequently, to guarantee their survival from exclusion. Organisational fields, then, are institutionally defined: the “structuration” of a field is determined by the progressive rationalisation of different actors’ structures and relationships, thus increasing isomorphic behavior. Organisations progressively conform to rules and reproduce structures of existing institutional models, thus becoming isomorphic to those structures and between each other. By becoming more and more similar to existing institutional models, they increase their survival chances out of the legitimacy achieved by a conforming behavior in a structured field.

Overall, the theoretical posture provided by New Institutionalism has resulted in a convincing interpretation of how and with what effects the environment and organisations operating in it interact with each other, supporting a conformity-dominated interpretation of organisational reproduction. However, more than one criticism has been addressed to the theory, in particular because it appears to put the greatest attention on the conforming nature of institutionalisation, on the critical role of legitimacy, on the apparent dichotomy of isomorphism/efficiency, and, finally, on the residual analytical attention reserved for agency and interest.

The very definition of legitimacy provided by New Institutionalists, in fact, has offered room for discussion, because they have taken it beyond the initial description of legitimised organisations, those “infused with value beyond their technical requirements of the task at hand” (Selznick, 1957). In their interpretation, in fact, legitimacy has become the requisite for survival, without which organisations would be sent outside the institutionally accepted circle of social actors, into the desolate wasteland of unacknowledged subjects. This highly sociological view resembles teenagers’ groups or club dynamics (with validations and memberships), but it appears narrow in respect to interorganisational relationships, relegating organisations to playing the role of passive applicants of conforming, externally imposed behaviors.

Furthermore, by processing New Institutionalists’ hypotheses, it appears that the final tendency for strongly embedded organisations in one specific field would ultimately be to all become similar to each other, modeling themselves after other organisations on which they are dependent or that they perceive as being successful in surviving. This interpretation would intend

isomorphism as a variable of uncertainty and dependence, with little consideration of possible counteractions – that is, of organisational agency. The possibilities for decision making in organisations, then, seem limited to the mere reproduction of externally imposed, taken-for-granted norms and structures: as long as the organisations conform to the rules set by the legitimating authorities via isomorphism, they are guaranteed survival.

The theoretical posture proposed by early institutionalists had the merit of giving analytical relevance to the role of external forces and actors in influencing and conditioning organisations, and, at the same time, of supporting an interpretation of organisations as subjects “infused with value” (Selznick 1957: 17). In this sense, institutional theory, as a general academic stance, represented the one perspective for my investigation in which I could find conceptual and empirical resonance of the need to take the “landscape” and not only the “primary subject” into account, and to consider the latter shaped by such context.

At the same time, however, the proliferation of institutional theory proposed by New Institutionalists has resulted in framing the society-field-organisation dynamic too restrictively, focusing on institutional homogeneity rather than multiplicity, and showing “a likely dynamic of inertia” (Greenwood & Hinings 1996: 1027) for organisations. At the same time, having cornered institutionalism into the restricted perspective of a theory of stability and similarity, New Institutionalists have been criticised for overlooking the possibility of institutional change, in favor of convergent, isomorphic behavior.

Therefore, if, on the one hand, the institutionalist approach – with its analytical emphasis on the authoritative role of the norms, routine, and practices of value-infused organisations – would have been consistent with the environmental circumstances of my phenomenon of interest, on the other hand, the theoretical update of institutional theory provided by New Institutionalists has proved insufficient to support my Research Question.

Significantly enough, however, the acknowledgement of the constraining and conformity-dominated interpretation of New Institutionalism eventually occurred right within its circle. At the heart of the New Institutionalist debate, in fact, has been the advocating for a model in which both the environment and the organisations could be taken into account, and the latter could

be considered as active players, supporting the development of a new stream of study in institutional analysis.

The general “value” attributed to organisations by old institutionalists, and interpreted as a “taken-for-granted myth” by new ones, has been given back its social context and it has been translated into the new definition of “logic”. By breaking it up into specific sets of categorical elements, the logics perspective has allowed for a more in-depth, systematic analysis of the inter-relationship between the environment and the actors operating in it.

The institutional logics perspective

- Offers a definition of the elusive concept of social idea, paradigm, value, approach, and tendency which brings the environment (and its features) back into the analysis; because my Research Question refers to the institutional conditions of organisations, I have taken advantage of a theoretical framework that could account for them.
- Breaks up the complex social nature of the environment into specific categorical elements to make it manageable for in-depth, systematic investigations and comparisons. As suggested by Thornton et al. (2012: 52), in fact, the purpose of the perspective “of systematically developing analytic categories a priori is to highlight what is essential about the phenomena and to constrain the natural and often unconscious process of observer bias”. To answer the Research Question, I have relied upon a perspective that could translate the complex, various features defining the environment into opportune, manageable categories, in order to make the sociological aspect of the phenomenon comparable with the operative aspect and to guarantee an objective, scientific analytical approach to the empirical research.
- Implies an orienting strategy (Berger and Zelditch, 1993) that takes into account the central role played by actors in responding to environmental conditions and, if possible, in influencing them in return (institutional entrepreneurship). Because the research has investigated organisational change in a multiple-institutional context, I have

looked for a theoretical framework that, while accounting for the conditioning effect of the environment – thus referring to institutional theory, in general – could also locate “the identities and practises of actors within broader cultural structures that both enable and constrain behavior” (Thornton et al. 2012: 132).

- Considers institutions and the logics connoting them as historically contingent (Thornton, 2004) and, in turn, considers that such a condition supports an interpretation of status as not absolute but as institutionally related. My empirical analysis focuses on the application of an organisational model created in a specific historical, social, cultural, economic, and political context.
- Supports a multi-level analytical approach because it is a “meta-theoretical framework for analysing the inter-relationships among institutions, individuals, and organisations in social systems” (Thornton et al. 2012: 2). Because my research calls into question field-level environmental conditions and organisational-level responses, I found it necessary to use a theoretical framework that could provide conceptual depth and width together, “to identify the mechanisms that mediated between cause and effect” (ibid.: 14).

For these reasons, this posture has been the most reliable and viable choice to theoretically frame my phenomenon of interest.

1.2. The Environment Categorised: Institutional Logics

If you have knowledge, let others light their candles in it. *Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Memoirs (1852)*

In their seminal book, DiMaggio and Powell (1991) presented an essay by Friedland and Alford (1991) which argued for an interpretation of organisational behaviors and interorganisational relationships as indivisible from an understanding of the institutional context.

This model does not consider institutions only as constraining forces, but it accounts for the possibility of organisational reaction to environmental changes. In particular, it implies a society rather than a field-level process of institutionalisation: according to Friedland and Alford, actors' behaviors, structures, and relationships can be understood in light of the different institutional orders to which they refer and that shape them. These orders represent sets of beliefs, norms, values, and practises that define how actors make choices and take action, thus implying the existence of different senses of rationality.

Each institutional order is governed by a specific cognitive system – or logic – that provides meaning and identity, guiding practises and behaviors of individuals and organisations. At the same time, it leaves them the cognitive space to manipulate, to transform, and to redefine those principles, allowing for agency and innovation. Friedland and Alford (1991) interpreted institutions as sources of symbols and concepts used by players to make sense and to regulate actions and decisions.

An alternative interpretation of institutional logics was given by Jackall (1988). According to his definition, in fact, institutions can be intended as sets of rules, rewards, and sanctions built up by actors to regularise behaviors and practises.

Although this approach focuses more on the constraining, normative side of institutional logics, to bridge them with the initial propositions of new

institutionalism, both definitions seem to imply that individuals and organisations must be studied and understood in light of their institutional (social, cultural, and political) context.

Overall, then, the institutional logics analytical perspective resonates with Friedland and Alford's call to "bring society back in". If, on the one hand, this consideration draws from the New Institutional focus on the conditioning effects of the environment, on the other hand, it goes beyond the acknowledgement of the sole constraining nature of the forces at play, including the possibility of agency and change within that context (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012).

As defined by Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804), an institutional logic constitutes "the socially constructed, historical pattern 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". A single logic is constituted by both material and symbolic elements (culture and social relationships as well as products and services are substantial aspects of institutional orders); it is historically contingent (thus limiting the validity of analyses and considerations to specific lapses); and, finally, it can exist and operate at different levels (individual, field, industry, and societal) (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Society as a whole, in this sense, is considered as an interinstitutional system, in which different institutional orders interact and are reciprocally conditioned through the migration, absorption, and substitution of their elemental categories. The latter constitute the building blocks comprising both material practises and cultural symbols. Different societal orders offer corresponding categorical elements that are then translated, at lower levels, into institutional logics: in this sense, logics can be intended as "compositions of broader societal orders", which support the translation of their elements "into actors' practices" (Daudigeos et al. 2013: 324).

The constituting elements of each institutional logic are not irreducible from their original logic, nor they are permanent in time and space: they can change or be substituted with others, thus making an institutional logic a dynamic system of rules and beliefs, prone to takeovers, transformations, and integration. As Dunn and Jones (2010: 114) affirmed, in fact,

“scholars who have focused on changes in logics tend to conceptualize change as replacement, whereby a dominant logic that drives field-level practices is abandoned and another dominant logic takes its place. [...] Similarly, scholars often examine change as a period effect, whereby a jolt or exogenous force ushers in a new dominant logic and effectively separates one relatively stable period of beliefs from another. [...] But institutional environments are often fragmented, with conflicting demands or multiple logics that may make agreement difficult and consensus impossible.

Rather than accounting for a sequential substitution of alternative dominating sets of beliefs, then, the logics perspective accounts for the possible co-existence of multiple – possibly divergent – systems (Reay and Hinings, 2009), that is, for institutional pluralism (Kraatz & Block 2008; van Gestel & Hillebrand 2011).

Environmental multiplicity, in fact, implies the possibility of conflicting institutional demands – defined by Pache and Santos (2010: 457) as “antagonisms in the organisational arrangements required by institutional referents”. In these circumstances, organisations can risk getting caught between different and contrasting requests, sometimes resisting them (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007).

To deal with this mix of alternative institutional requests from different actors, organisations can operate not only internally and isomorphically – as proposed by New Institutionalism – but also externally and strategically – as introduced by the logics perspective. The theorising of a system of relationships in which symbols, practices, and resources are interwoven; in which agency is allowed; and in which the interaction of different logics can create organisational change and innovation is the fundamental contribution from the logics perspective to the general debate on institutional analysis.

Friedland and Alford’s call to “bring society back in” has been taken up by scholars, who have then developed it in terms of the nature, the causes, and the consequences of organisational change. It is the decomposability and transferability of logic categories, in fact, that implies the possibility of both institutional and organisational change and the presence of possible divergent institutional conditions, in which isomorphic behavior as theorised by New Institutionalists seems unlikely.

A tentative move beyond it was proposed by Oliver (1991), who, accounting for a variety of organisational responses to institutional pressures, focused on the effects that internal representation of new demands can have on the strategic responses enacted by organisations. According to Oliver, organisations can work around institutional pressures in different ways – complying, balancing, concealing, attacking, and controlling – but they still have to confront the existing external logics at play.

The interpretative model proposed by the logics perspective has developed new propositions which have broadened the scope of potential organisational action (Greenwood et al., 2011), to include the possibility of operating with categorical elements for the transformation of the environment.

Research building upon from this proposition (Eisenhardt, 1980; Beckett, 1999; Zilber, 2002; Battilana, 2006; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Mutch, 2007) has discussed the possibility for individuals, single organisations, or groups to actively seek and achieve institutional change, by operating on the categorical elements of one or multiple logics. Defined as the “actors who serve as catalysts for structural change and take the lead in being the impetus for, and giving direction to change” (Leca et al. 2008: 3), institutional entrepreneurs can operate within a team, a single organisation, a group of firms, or a whole institutional field, because actor-driven institutional change can occur at all levels.

Because the logics perspective implies the definition of different sets of categorical elements characterising each specific system, scholars have also interpreted the role of the institutional entrepreneur as that of a “bricoleur” (Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013): by taking single different elements and matching, redefining, reshaping them, he or she can renegotiate new institutional identities to his or her advantage.

Finally, the possibility to redefine the building blocks of institutional systems, as proposed by the logics perspective, has provided an effective interpretative key to investigate organisations featuring apparently “blended” logics (Haveman and Rao, 2006). According to Battilana and Dorado (2010), in fact, organisations combining different institutional logics “in unprecedented ways” seem to be able to avoid conflicts and tensions by internally

balancing different logic categories and by building a new hybrid organisational structure with its own identity.

Hybridity in multi-logic organisations has been studied as an effective solution to tackle contrasting demands from the environment; the nature and characteristics of this process, however, have varied depending on the strategic objectives behind the process.

Pache and Santos (2013b), for example, proposed an interpretative analysis of the selection process to understand how hybrids incorporate elements of competing logics. In particular, they found selective coupling – rather than decoupling and compromise – to be a diffused response to divergent institutional requests in hybrid organisations. Organisations combining different logics can choose to couple their structures and their behaviors with specific elements (a form of institutional cherry picking) in order to “project at least partial appropriateness to a wider set of institutional referents” (ibid.: 973).

Because of the progressive development of a pronged literature, the institutional logics perspective can offer a broad spectrum of empirically based propositions that involve different aspects of organisational behavior. It is through a more in-depth discussion of some of them that I have further built my theoretical framework.

1.3. Thrust and Parry: Organisational Agency in Multi-Logic Institutional Fields

There was hope in him, and soon perhaps the
outline of his journey would take form. *Carson*
McCullers, The Heart is a Lonely Hunter (1940)

The idea that institutional actors can play a role in shaping and changing institutional systems was discussed by early institutional scholars (Selznick 1949; 1957). However, with the progressive prevalence of the New Institutional posture, and of its conformity-driven, passive interpretation of organisational dynamics, the need to account for agency in institutional research has only residually been taken into consideration (DiMaggio, 1988).

This stance has ignited extensive debate over the contradiction that might be inherent in the concept of institutional agency itself: the so-called “paradox of embedded agency” has emerged as a discussion on the plausibility of actors prone to change the very environment shaping their own beliefs and logics.

In general, explanations of institutional change engaging political collective actions (Rao, Morrill and Zald, 2000), the strategic use of power by subordinate groups (Levy and Egan, 2003), or the recombination of cultural materials taken from existing repertoires (Rao, 1998), have contributed to the debate on the apparently mutually exclusive nature of structure and agency, focusing on the enabling conditions of change that are inherent in the social and political frameworks of institutional systems, and that constitute their heterogeneous nature.

The level of institutionalisation of a field has also been shown to affect actors’ ability to act (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996), although debate is still very active on whether unstructured contexts (Fligstein, 1997; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2002) or, on the contrary, low levels of uncertainty (Beckert, 1999) are more likely to enable institutional agency. Combinations of different features have been elaborated to provide a more integrated definition of field-level enabling conditions. Dorado (2005), in particular, by taking into consideration both the level of heterogeneity and that of institutionalisation, proposed a model in which fields can be more or less “transparent” in terms of the opportunities for change that their characteristics determine.

On this issue, the logics perspective has suggested that different social systems can be analysed and broken down into distinct sets of categories, building a taxonomy of alternative institutional orders (corresponding to *family*, *religion*, *state*, *market*, *profession*, and *corporation*). Each order is composed of variable attributes summarising the structural, normative, and symbolic nature of a system. Borrowing from Philo of Alexandria, interinstitutional ideal systems (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004) can be considered as *archetypes*, the cornerstones of society. These ideal types are general models, formalised versions of social systems; in specific time- and space-contingent contexts, they are translated and reduced into different field-level institu-

tional logics. These time- and space-contingent systems of cognitive categories constitute the “localised” translation or the recombination of the ideal models, adapted to the peculiarities of a specific environmental context.

Empirical research using the logics perspective to investigate specific organisational fields (Greenwood et al., 2010) has found that fields are often characterised by the presence of more than one institutional logic. Institutional multiplicity implies the persistence of alternative categorical systems in the same organisational context, suggesting the persistence of cognitive competition (Dunn and Jones, 2010), and even conflict, between different logics (D’Aunno, Sutton and Price, 1991; Hoffman, 1999; Reay and Hinings, 2005).

Organisations operating in a multi-logic field are confronted with alternative sets of rules, norms, symbols, and routines, making for a complex institutional environment to be navigated. To survive such circumstances, organisations have different options (Oliver, 1991b).

According to New Institutionalists, the basis for survival in institutional fields lies in the maintenance of legitimacy, a condition determined by the organisation’s alignment with the field’s accepted institutional referents. As reported by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), this condition would lead organisations to become similar to those referents and, eventually, to each other; organisational isomorphism and, consequently, field-level homogeneity would then be the inevitable result, in an institutional context leaving little room to agency – or heterogeneity. Organisations could not escape formal compliance, notwithstanding the possibility that its achievement would negatively affect its organisational efficiency; to prevent this, they could resort to a form of decoupling between the form – with which they would be bound to comply in order to maintain institutional legitimacy – and the actual organisational configuration – that would be left intact from potential inefficiencies possibly caused by compliance (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

Conversely, by providing a system of logic categorisation, the logics perspective has included an alternative to institutional compliance, accounting for the possibility of operating on cognitive categories in conditions of logic multiplicity. Recent research investigating organisational agency and the formation of new logics, then, has introduced new concepts such as hybridisation (Heugens and Lander, 2009) and bricolage (Battilana and Dorado, 2010).

These propositions entail the idea that organisational agency responding to field-level institutional multiplicity would imply the recombination of categories: by selecting different elements from existing logics, organisations would be able to “project at least partial appropriateness to a wider set of institutional referents” (Christiansen and Lounsbury, 2013), increasing their chance of survival.

To discuss agency, whereas New Institutionalists have concentrated on decoupling strategies, scholars using the logics perspective have expanded organisations’ scope of action, accounting for the possibility of actively operating on cognitive categories.

The New Institutional literature has proposed decoupling to account for organisational agency without losing the conformity-driven framework; according to this model, firms would formally comply with institutionally accepted directives to deceive institutional legitimators, while maintaining organisational efficiency – therefore suggesting an inactive, conservative approach.

Conversely, the institutional logics perspective has introduced the concept of logic categorisation to support an interpretation of agency in which actors not only recombine or translate logics at the organisational level, but even have the possibility of reconfiguring field-level logics – thus suggesting a high degree of institutional latitude and cognitive manoeuvring space.

1.3.1. Decoupling

Loose coupling (Weick, 1976) or decoupling has been described as “a form of calculated deception” (Crilly et al. 2012: 1429) and a “form of post-adoption variation” (Bromley et al. 2012: 472) to guarantee both institutional legitimacy, through formal compliance, and the maintenance of organisational efficiency.

Introduced by theorists of open systems of organisations (Thompson, 1967; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978), the concept was discussed by early institutionalists as an unintended consequence (Selznick, 1949), whereas it has become crucial in the work of New Institutionalists (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), who have considered it virtually inevitable to keep practises unaffected by the formal adoption of specific policies or requirements; legitimacy-seeking

compliance with institutional demands, in fact, has been considered anti-thetic to efficiency, making it necessary for organisations to buffer policies from practises (Mezias, 1990; Edelman et al., 1991).

The concept of decoupling has remained effective in providing theoretical grounding to empirical analyses framed within the logics perspective (Lounsbury, 2002, 2007). More generally, the institutionalist approach to organisational research seems bounded by the need to account for a certain degree of misalignment between the formal configuration of an organisation and its actual operations and activities (Elsbach and Sutton, 1992; Westphal and Zajac, 1994; Schofer and Hironaka, 2005).

Although New Institutionalists have offered a single determinant of decoupling (the irreducible alternative between legitimacy-seeking policies and efficiency-seeking practises), thereby implying the inevitable occurrence of this action (even positioning it as the main form of organisational agency possible), more-recent empirical research has investigated different aspects of the process.

First, researchers have focused on the determinants of decoupling, moving beyond the New Institutionalist interpretation: according to Westphal and Zajac (2001) and Fiss and Zajac (2004), for instance, decoupling not only has resulted in compliance with the conforming pressures coming from the institutional environment, but also serves the interest of powerful internal actors (namely the CEO and the Board of Directors).

Similarly, research has suggested that not only the individuals' role but also their opinions and perceptions (Coburn, 2004; Binder, 2007) and ability to read the environment (Crilly, Zollo and Hansen, 2012), as well as internal capacity and will (Lim and Tsutsui, 2012), could influence the process of decoupling. By suggesting an intra-organisational determinant, researchers have added a level of analytical complexity, calling into question the influencing role of specific organisational members (Lounsbury, 2001; Spillane, Parise and Sherer, 2011) and their stances in enforcing or delaying decoupling.

Furthermore, Maclean and Behman (2010) suggested that decoupling could not necessarily serve the dual purpose of achieving legitimacy and maintaining efficiency; on the contrary, the facade built through decoupling

could cover or even enable the emergence of intra-organisational misconduct, leading to the loss – rather than to the acquisition – of institutional legitimacy. This apparently counterintuitive proposition offers a layered interpretation of decoupling, indicating possible detrimental effects of the process on the achievement of the very organisational goal it should pursue.

In parallel, Tilcsik (2010) complemented this consideration by suggesting possible self-destructive effects inherent in the process itself; the enactment of decoupling, in fact, would trigger intra-organisational changes that could eventually support the recoupling of previously decoupled policies and practises. In line with this consideration, Espeland (1998) and Hallett (2010) theorised decoupling as a transitory, rather than a permanent, condition; in particular, empirical analyses have indicated that gaps initially present between policy and practises could be filled over time (Cole, 2005, 2012; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui, 2005; Haack, Schoeneborn and Wickert, 2013), leading to their eventual recoupling.

In addition, researchers have introduced an expanded interpretation of the concept that involve not only the separation between policy and practises but also that between means and ends (Bromley and Powell, 2012). According to this proposition, in a rationalised institutional environment, organisations would be expected to comply with a progressively wider range of accepted features, and, to do so they would eventually implement policies “with a weak relationship to the core tasks of an organization” (ibid.: 3). This interpretation could then explain why some organisations seem to dedicate resources to practises having little correlation with their main goals. This has suggested a form of symbolic implementation, a condition that would support empirical evidence reporting distinct post-adoption heterogeneity (Bromley et al. 2012).

Overall, then, recent research has proposed significant organisational implications inherent in the process, proposing a picture in which decoupling can depend on internal conditions, can be detrimental to its own purpose, can lead to its own elimination, be temporary, and can be implemented with different outcomes.

Although the literature on decoupling is ever-growing and fertile, the logics perspective offers an analytical angle through which the nature of organisational decoupling could be studied more deeply, with specific reference to what exactly is decoupled, why and how the process unfolds, and what effects it might have at the organisational level.

1.3.2. Hybridity

As introduced by early New Institutionalists, organisations can reach the point of creating formal structures, roles, and procedures for the sole benefit of institutional compliance, and despite organisational efficiency and performance (Meyer & Rowan 1977). Priority seems to be given to the achievement of institutional legitimacy, a goal apparently preceding all other strategic objectives. However, in the perspective of a more dynamic environment, organisations have been investigated as actors with some manoeuvring space to strategically respond to changes and pressures from their institutional context (Sewell Jr., 1992).

Although Oliver's (1991) taxonomy of different strategic response had the merit of expanding the analytical spectrum of organisational agency, its indications have suffered from a prevalent attention to passive mechanisms (acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, and defiance), with only manipulation introducing the possibility of some organisational action. This specific interpretation seems to suffer from the interpretative influence of early institutionalists, according to which the taken-for-grantedness of a dominant system of myths and rules would leave little room to alternative or competing sets.

In the logics interpretation, conversely, the "near-decomposability" of the ideal systems has implied a sort of categorical modularity that can be used by organisations to adapt to multi-logic institutional environments. In this sense, the definition, or the reconfiguration, of cognitive systems combining elements from different logics has been interpreted as a strategic practise, leading to the emergence of organisations with hybrid identities (Durand et al., 2013).

Hybrids have already been discussed as organisations representing a "better fit with new market and technological demands" (Powell, 1987),

therefore supporting the possible coevolution of new organisational forms or even institutions (Haveman and Rao, 2006). However, the introduction of categorical elements as building blocks of specific institutional logics has also offered a conceptual grounding for a more elaborate interpretation of hybrids.

Empirical research (D'Aunno, Sutton and Price, 1991; Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998; Hoffman, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Washington, 2004; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Kim et al., 2007) has indicated that fields can be inhabited by multiple logics (Scott, 1994); the permanence of alternative, and sometimes divergent, systems of rules and norms (Purdy and Gray, 2009), has been considered a source of institutional turbulence, a condition that has been empirically investigated in many fields, the cultural field included (Alexander 1996; 1998).

Organisations facing an environment in which different categorical systems operate simultaneously (Whittington, 1992; Clemens and Cook, 1999; Dacin, Goodstein and Scott, 2002) could appear stuck in an unresolved situation, given the apparent impossibility of complying with one logic while defying another. However, the possibility of drawing from alternative institutional sets has been proposed as the solution to strategically solve this potential paralysis: according to the logics perspective, in fact, firms can choose to explicitly resist (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007), to adapt (Kraatz and Block, 2008), or to select elements from different logics and recombine them internally (Chen and O'Mahony, 2006).

Empirical research has shown that, in some cases, hybridity has only partially been achieved, with the competing logics still operating in less obvious ways (Townley, 2002; Khan, Munir and Willmott, 2007).

Existing literature has also reported that, in other cases, hybrids can enact various mechanisms to integrate different categories effectively; according to Battilana and Dorado (2010), in particular, organisations that combine institutional logics in unprecedented ways can stay internally sustainable by creating a common organisational identity which balances the different categorical characteristics of the originating logics. Conversely, Pache and

Santos (2013a) suggested that firms can be induced to selectively couple specific elements from different logics as a way to guarantee themselves legitimacy from external stakeholders.

Finally, although hybridity has mostly been intended as an organisational-level phenomenon, recent literature has suggested that this process can occur also within a field (York, Hargrave and Pacheco, 2015).

Overall, then, existing literature dedicated to organisational responses to multi-logic institutional fields has reported a multitude of alternative actions that can be undertaken by organisations. Although most scholarly propositions have concurred in acknowledging the turbulent and uncertain conditions inherent in field-level logic multiplicity, many alternative interpretations have been given of the nature and the mechanisms behind organisational agency in such a context. Among them, hybridity has been investigated as a reconciliatory organisational response, and has the advantage of explaining the emergence of new organisational configurations and cognitive systems through the logics perspective.

1.3.3. Translation

In order to enact change at the field, organisational, and individual levels, values, beliefs, ideas, and practises must have the possibility to move from one context to another. The concept of translation provides a definition of the process and movement of institutional elements in time and space (Czarniawska and Sevòl, 1996, 2005).

Research on the subject has enriched institutional analysis by providing an operational explanation of the transferring of ideas, values, and motives (also interpreted as the categories composing institutional logics) across fields and organisational contexts (Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008; Pallas, Fredriksson and Wedlin, 2016a).

In particular, translation theory has provided insights into the transformation of institutions into specific practises (Boxenbaum and Battilana, 2005; Boxenbaum, 2006; Boxenbaum and Strandgaard Pedersen, 2009; Reay et al., 2013) and configurations (Kirkpatrick et al., 2013), into how models operate with respect to specific institutional settings (Saka, 2004) or fields

(Lindbergh, 2014), and into how translation is affected by the characteristics of the involved actors (Waldorff, 2013).

Overall, the translation concept has proposed a specific process that can support the importation, exportation, and general movement of cognitive categories, and their interpretation as localised, embedded operational features (models and practises). In this sense, it has been identified as a process that can support change, offering an explanation of how large-scale, general concepts, requirements, values, and ideas can actually work their way down into small-scale, local practises and models. In this sense, translation theory has offered a dynamic interpretation of an ongoing process of migration and exchange of ideas across fields and contexts. At the same time, it has not been limited to the analysis of the nature of the process itself; research on translation processes has shown that organisations do not simply absorb specific ideas, adapting and adjusting them to their circumstances, but they can eventually be affected by the process itself, to a point where they can end up reconfiguring and reforming themselves (Werr and Stjernberg, 2003; Pipan and Czarniawska, 2010). Much like the logics perspective, then, translation theory has put its analytical focus on the reciprocal process of change that characterises organisations and the systems of beliefs and ideas that surrounds them.

Although the logics perspective has supported the categorisation of complex institutional circumstances into manageable, comparable cognitive categories for the sake of analysing why and how change can occur, translation theory has introduced a process by which these categories could move between higher and lower levels of analysis, thus suggesting a possible explanation for change.

The two theoretical perspectives have been demonstrated to have various points of connection, which have only just started to be investigated (McPherson and Sauder, 2013; Currie and Spyridonidis, 2015; Pallas, Fredriksson and Wedlin, 2016), providing many opportunities to further explore this fertile theoretical combination. In particular, research investigating the application of a new organisational model could verify if and how the process would involve some form of translation, and what effects such an occurrence

could have at the intra-organisational level, thus adding to the ongoing debate on the role of translation in processes of organisational change.

1.3.4. Changing Governance Models

According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), “the formal structures of many organizations in postindustrial society dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities”. By affirming this, they gave a ceremonial rather than an operative relevance to how organisations formally structure themselves: they are shaped to conform to the accepted institutional prescriptions coming from their context and, for this, “they employ external or ceremonial assessment criteria to define the value of structural elements” (ibid.: 348-9).

The formal configuration, then, has been considered a blueprint for actual organisational practises, with the latter sharply separated from the former. It represents the result of a process of institutional rationalisation of specific prescriptions and myths, and, therefore it has not been bound to the fulfillment of organisational efficiency, but rather to the maintenance or the achievement of legitimacy: “organizations incorporate elements which are legitimated externally, rather than in terms of efficiency” (ibid.: 348).

The process of decoupling, in fact, has been investigated to justify the apparent absorption of legitimacy-seeking requirements without the concurrent modification of internal practises: although the formal structure could be adapted to comply with specific institutional policies or requests, its internal separation from the organisation’s daily activities would have guaranteed organisational operativeness.

To New Institutionalists, then, the formal structure would represent a sort of organisational “lightning rod” for external demands, with changes in the formal structure itself being determined by the need to keep up with different requests. With the perspective of a single institutional set of rules dominating a field, this proposition could be viable. However, as supported by empirical research from the institutional logics perspective, organisations can be confronted with a multitude of alternative logics, making the maintenance of one acceptable formal structure more difficult.

In addition, according to New Institutionalists (Lawrence, Hardy and Phillips, 2002), the institutionalisation process within a field (that is, the acceptance of a specific set of rules in search for legitimacy) would create progressive conformity across organisations, thus limiting the range of existing organisational models. Institutional forces would pressure organisations to adopt the same form or, as DiMaggio and Powell (1991a: 27) put it, the same “template for organizing”. Templates considered as legitimate would be transmitted within a field “through tradition, represented by the field’s founding organizations; through imitation, based on the field’s currently most prevalent forms; through coercion, exercised by the field’s dominant organizations; and through normative pressures, diffused through educational organizations and social networks” (Palmer et al. 1993: 100). Given these determinants, the emergence and the diffusion of a specific model would be driven by the necessity to maintain conformity – and institutional consensus with it (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1987). The existing literature on the de-institutionalisation of specific templates (Davis, Diekmann and Tinsley, 1994) has supported the New Institutionalist idea that the persistence of specific configurations should be considered inextricably correlated with the level of institutional acknowledgement and legitimacy within the field.

Despite the New Institutionalists’ focus on the persistence of dominant models supporting field-level homogeneity through organisational isomorphism, transformations in the forms governing organisations have been deemed possible within the institutional framework (Greenwood and Hinings, 1993; Thornton, 2002), with organisational change associated with a movement from one “template-in-use” to another (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996). At the same time, however, research on how and with what results new governance models can actually emerge and be applied in institutional fields has proved scarce, especially in conditions in which some form of field-level transformation has occurred.

This is where my research comes into play, proposing an investigation of the determinants and the effects of the application of a new governance model in conditions of field-level change and resulting multiplicity, studied through the analytical lens offered by the institutional logics perspective.

I believe that the categorisation system offered by the logics proliferation and used to investigate many phenomena at the cognitive, behavioral level could be applied to reconnect the perspective with a topic that has always been discussed in institutionalist research. In particular, the application of specific templates to govern organisations has been interpreted by New Institutional theory as an isomorphic process, with organisational decoupling inevitably occurring to maintain institutional legitimacy and to preserve organisational effectiveness.

As suggested by much of the literature, then, New Institutionalists' discussion of organisational models has always put the accent on stability – or even rigidity, underemphasising the occurrence of change and innovation in organisational configurations. Conversely, my study takes advantage of the interpretative toolkit offered by the logics perspective to reverse the analytical focus, looking at why and how new “templates” can emerge and be applied in conditions of institutional multiplicity.

Chapter 2. The Methodology: A Qualitative Exploration

A creator is not in advance of his generation, but he is the first of his contemporaries to be conscious of what is happening to his generation. *Gertrude Stein, Picasso (1938)*

My research constitutes an inductive investigation, aimed at elaborating a new theory (Lee 1999) rather than at verifying an one. From the analysis of empirical data from the cases, I have drawn some considerations that I used to answer my research question and, possibly, that can be generalised into a theoretical contribution to the existing literature.

The explorative nature of my investigation made it necessary to design it so that I could collect and elaborate data providing both variability and depth: I therefore selected a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach in order to make it possible to achieve this dual quality of empirical data (Charmaz 2006). In particular, case study research constituted the most reliable and direct way to explore the phenomenon. As suggested by Pettigrew (1990); Maxwell (1996), and Gephart (2004), in fact, this method makes it possible to answer “how and why” questions about events that are relatively contemporary with the research itself, and over which the researcher cannot have control. At the same time, it does not prevent taking into account potential interactive effects from the surrounding context; during the data collection and analysis, cases were not considered as individual subjects operating in a

vacuum, but were investigated as agents immersed in their corresponding system of relationships and influences.

The main unit of analysis I chose to investigate the phenomenon is the organisation. Additional embedded units of analysis were selected within each organisation – namely, the structure of the organisation and the managerial practises it uses; although the main unit was established *ex ante*, the additional units were designed subsequently, as the analysis of empirical data suggested their definition.

To provide a “broader exploration of research questions and theoretical elaboration”, “a stronger base for theory building” (Silverman, 2013), and, ultimately, to construct validity, I selected two organisations for analysis in a “replication logic”.

Initial selection was based on research access: my previous position as a museum professional and consultant allowed me to preselect organisations keener to engage with me, compared to others whose organisational or leadership structure would prevent full accessibility. Furthermore, my knowledge of the field – knowing that the latter organisations are not as transparent as others – helped me to identify and to initially approach the right internal members of the selected organisations to ask for collaboration, avoiding failed attempts and desk rejections.

I then applied theoretical sampling to the different potential cases. In particular, comparability was granted by a certain level of similarities in the structural characteristics (multiveneue organisations), in the typology (public museum networks), in the qualitative composition (collections of different kinds – artistic, historical, ethnographic, etc.), and in the kind of ownership (the municipality as the main founder).

At the same time, complementarity was present because the two organisations have different sociogeographical environments (located in an industrial versus a cultural city), and they are of different sizes in terms of cultural (4 venues versus 12), human (174 versus 77 permanent staff members), and financial resources. Overall, the two cases provided sufficient organisational and environmental features to make them comparable, and, at the same time, to avoid data redundancy while allowing me to make maximise use of the small size of the case panel with a certain degree of feature variation.

o provide a full report of each case, I have followed general directions taken from Yin (2013), while implementing them in light of the specificities that the studied cases brought to my attention during their analysis. The research design was then structured thusly: first, data were collected on each case separately; then the data were organised in single case protocols; after data collection, data analysis was performed in each case through coding and content analysis; finally, the two cases were analytically compared based on the already partially elaborated data.

2.1 Data Collection

An initial review of specialised publications (Table 1) was undertaken, through content analysis, to delineate the main features of the field over time: time-wise (when it started and how it evolved), space-wise (where it started and how it spread), and kind-wise (what characteristics changed).

Table 1: Overview of Data Covering the Contextual Conditions of the Unit of Analysis

DATA SOURCE	pages	units
Books	12064	40
Articles, Newspapers, Magazines, Conference Proceedings	1157	69
Interviews		5
Fieldnotes*		17
All	13221	140

*They included notes on trips to museums covering different kinds (bigger and smaller), type of collections (scientific, artistic, archaeological, ethnographic), locations (around Europe).

The books studied included monographs and other publications investigating museums from both an historical and a thematic perspective. They were complemented with articles from newspapers and periodicals, as well as conference proceedings, covering the more recent events in the field from different analytical angles. Academic journals included *Museum Management and Curatorship*, *Curator*, *The Museum Journal*, *Management Decision*, *Urban Studies*, *Non Profit Management and Leadership*, *International Journal of Arts Management*,

Cultural Trends, and *Journal of Cultural Economics*, among others. Information was gathered from both paper and digital publications in different languages (English, French, Spanish, Italian, and German).

In parallel with archival data, a small round of interviews and informal meetings with practitioners, professionals, and policy makers was conducted to contextualise the phenomenon within the investigated setting, together with an analysis of field notes collected during visits to different public museums. This helped to pre-identify a group of concepts and phenomena that constituted the bases for term selection and pattern definition during data analysis.

Table 2: Overview of the Data Investigating the Main Unit of Analysis

DATA SOURCE	Case 1		Case 2		Total	
	<i>pages</i>	<i>units</i>	<i>pages</i>	<i>units</i>	<i>pages</i>	<i>units</i>
Annual Reports (Activity Reports and Balance Sheets)	432	10	607	11	1039	21
Other Archival Material*	109	11	149	12	258	23
Field Trips		6		3		9
Interviews	46	11	34	9	80	20
All	587	38	790	35	1377	73

*(Founding Acts, Special Reports, Ethical Codes, Docs on Transparency and Integrity, Three-year Corruption Prevention Plans)

This initial step of the research took about one year (during 2012), and led to the identification of the social, economic, cultural, and institutional background of the phenomenon, concurrently providing a longitudinal perspective; overall, it defined the environmental circumstances (context) in which the unit of analysis would operate.

After this initial step, I collected data from the main unit of analysis: the organisation. Data from each of the two selected organisations were collected from a variety of sources: archival documents (annual reports, legal statutes, budgets, publications, and catalogues), field notes during multiple visits to individual venues and headquarters, and a panel of 19 interviews (some subjects were contacted multiple times for specific explanations) (Table 2).

Archival documents included 1236 pages; I made field trips to the venues and, when possible, to the organisations' headquarters. The data include written notes and photos I took as the main observer.

To complement these data, I interviewed members of the two selected organisations between March 2013 and February 2014 (with the exception of the newly appointed President of Case 1, who has been contacted for a follow-up to be integrated with the interview with the previous President). In total, I conducted 19 semi-structured interviews, each one lasting between 15 and 67 minutes, with top managers from the two organisations and representatives from the main institutional stakeholders. I interviewed incumbents of all the decision-making top managerial positions in each organisation (Table 3). Most interviews were conducted in person, with a residual part conducted via telephone/Skype. Close contact was kept throughout the period of data collection via telephone and email. Whenever possible, I tried to plan multiple interviews on the same day to maximise accessibility.

Table 3: List of Interviewed Representatives from the Two Cases

CASE 1	CASE 2
President (until 2015)	Director GAM
President (from 2015)	Director Palazzo Madama
Administrative Secretary (2 meetings)	Director MAO (substitute covering temporary vacancy)
General Director (Also Director Museum Area Head of Communication and Marketing 1)	
Director Museum Area 2 and Head of Exhibition Office	Head of Administration and Audit
Director Museum Area 3	Municipal Council Member for Culture
Head of Communication and Business Development	Head of Regional Department for Culture
Head of Educational Activities	Secretary Compagnia di San Paolo
Head of Technical Office	Secretary Fondazione CRT
Head of the College of the Auditors	
Municipal Council Member for Culture	

The overall recorded interview material amounted to 612 minutes, corresponding to more than 90 pages of transcribed and translated (from Italian to English) documents, all of which I processed.

Openness and availability to participate in interviews was equal in both organisations, with one exception: the then-President of Case 2, despite multiple contacts with and requests to its collaborators, made herself unavailable to be interviewed. This has partially been compensated by the collection of articles about and interviews with her in newspapers; however, clearly, this persistent refusal to engage in an interview partially translated into a piece of data in itself, and I took it into consideration in the analysis.

Other than this singularity, all interviewed members were very keen to contribute to the research. I tried to meet all of them in person and I used Skype/telephone only as a last resort. In-person interviews, in fact, on average lasted longer and provided more in-depth data.

During each meeting, I focused on the respondent's professional background, changes within the organisation perceived by its members, the relationships with external stakeholders, and the effects that a change in the organisational structure had on its cultural and economic performance. This was needed to provide a general understanding of the appropriateness of cases for analysis and of the complementarity of the two cases in providing deep data on the phenomenon. Appendix 2 provides the list of questions.

In order to put respondents at ease and to trace their professional background, each interview started with a general question about his or her professional curriculum and role within the organisation ("As a start, could you describe your position within the organisation and how you got there?"). This approach proved successful in avoiding a mere report of official facts; by treating each respondent not just as an informant but as a professional, it was easier to move quickly into the core of the interview and to obtain more-elaborated, insightful answers.

After this introductory question, each interview proceeded differently, depending on the direction taken by the respondent; although the same questions were eventually asked of each subject, they often changed in order. Overall, questions were elaborated to cover both the structural and managerial aspects of each respondent's role and those of the organisation in general; whenever the conversation started to take a too-personal, narrow turn, I

asked a question about the organisation as a whole to redirect the interview. In addition, when a respondent clearly had a restricted amount of time available, I focused on questions that could provide more-meaningful answers, avoiding introductions and contextual questions.

As a conclusion, each respondent was asked a final question, with a more critical angle (“What would you consider the full achievement of the new foundation in terms of its performance, both cultural and financial? What would be its complete maturity?”); this allowed me to “squeeze” the last pieces of information from the respondent, while reinforcing his or her position as a valuable informant. In most cases, in fact, this last question received a more extensive response, prolonging the interview to the benefit of data quantity and quality.

2.2 Data Analysis

Data were analysed in a two-step process: whereas the initial analysis of archival material on the background was undertaken through non-systematic content analysis, empirical data from the two selected cases – from both archival sources and interviews – were analysed systematically through open coding.

The coding process allowed identification of the main features, both official and unofficial, that characterised the two organisations.

Data from annual reports and balance sheets, being official and thorough, provided an in-depth, all-encompassing picture of the main organisational features of the two cases. At the same time, they offered comparable material, because they were drafted on relatively similar templates. They provided me with all necessary information to know how the organisations came to be, how they were governed and managed, and how they performed. In addition, by covering multiple years (from 2009 to 2015), they made it possible to verify trends and variations in the features mentioned.

To complement these data, and to go beyond the official narration, data from interviews provided in-depth information from the inside, taking advantage of the memory and the first-hand experience of internal members of the two organisations.

The coding process included two steps: first, data were coded into general nodes, divided between information on the organisation's history (*Historical Background*) and data on its organisational features.

Then the latter were operated and subdivided as analysis proceeded. Initially, data were segmented between information related to the *Structure* of the organisation and data on the *Managerial Practises*. *Structure* passages were coded as patterns emerged from data (*Coordination, Centralisation, etc*). *Managerial Practises* were divided per typology of practise (e.g., *Conservation, Exhibition Design and Projecting, or Educational Activities*).

As the analysis went on, data were then regrouped based on the strategic objective they were directed to fulfill (e.g., *Increase the Common Good, Increase Visitors, or Achieve Self-Sufficiency*).

Each of the two main groups was further coded into objective data (informative) and comments (critical). Finally, as data were analysed, critical issues about the organisations reported in data were coded separately to segment the criticalities within the precedent topics (*Decoupling*).

Overall, coding progressed as it was undertaken, becoming more and more fine-grained and, in this sense, constituting the foundation for the subsequent comparative analysis of the two cases. Coding was completed in about two months, between March and April 2014.

The comparative analysis was undertaken after that. As it proceeded, it was in some cases necessary to go back to the data to verify the existence of emerging connections, similarities, and differences. Additional, although limited, coding was completed, following the grounded theory method of analysis.

2.3 Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

This research is grounded in a critical realist point of view: in my view, there is a real world that is separated from individual perception; however, the ability to understand and experience it is limited by both our physical nature and our implicit beliefs and opinions.

In this sense, I want to reaffirm my idea that every fact, event, and phenomenon is made of data that are partial, neither universal nor error-free. Likewise, no analysis and research can be completely impartial or possess the supremacy of truth. On a whole, therefore, I, as a researcher, assume that I act in a real world of which I have an only partial view and that I analyse with the help of a value-full system of inquiry (based on implicit beliefs and explicit ideas). To construct my research, then, I acknowledged this condition, balancing it through the selection of two cases, to offer more variability on the phenomenon limiting the possibility of empirical biases, and through their in-depth investigation, to take advantage of fine-grained data avoiding analytical shortsightedness.

My work leads me to propose a theoretical interpretation of the phenomenon that can be subjected to reviews and modifications, according to an evolutionary process of knowledge growth (Fleetwood, 2005). In this sense, my theoretical contribution places itself within the academic literature to provide both an integration and, whenever possible, an incremental addition that could push scholarly research forward in the investigation of less-developed phenomena.

Under the ontological point of view, I share the idea that “change” represents a dynamic status, a process that cannot be fixed in time but should be considered as a flowing and incessant series of events on how development and modifications unfold (Archer et al. 1998). This idea carries with it the assumption that time is a crucial variable in the analysis. Therefore, in my research, I necessarily needed to assess a certain starting time at which a series of concurring factors are considered as the determinants of the investigated change. In this sense, it is important to stress that the indication of a temporal beginning to the phenomenon does not contradict my ontological approach, but it has been empirically necessary to limit the scope of the research.

Overall, then, my approach to the phenomenon implies the acknowledgement of the time- and space-dependent nature of the phenomenon itself, while at the same time relying on an objective attitude toward the event and its empirical analysis. Because this research constitutes an inductive qualitative study, no predefined theory-based hypotheses were proposed, making my assessed role as a researcher coherent with the selected methodological approach to data collection and analysis.

THE PLAY

Thus strangely are our souls constructed, and by slight ligaments are we bound to prosperity and ruin. *Mary Shelley, Frankenstein, or the modern Prometheus (1818)*

This section constitutes the main body of the dissertation: it includes the chapters dedicated to the contextual circumstances of the phenomenon, to the phenomenon itself, and to the empirical analysis used to investigate it.

I have included the following chapters in a single section because they are cognitively related to each other: although the focus of my investigation is on the organisational level of the phenomenon, I have found it necessary to explore its field-level conditions over time. The application of the new governance form by European museums, in fact, resulted from a change in the field's environmental circumstances; for this reason, it was necessary for my analysis to identify how the European museum field emerged and subsequently transformed (Chapter 3). Using the institutional logics perspective, I analysed the field, translating and reducing its main features into analysable categories, a process which provided me with the cognitive toolbox necessary to move to the organisational level of my investigation.

From that standpoint, in fact, I have verified how governance models of European museums reflected, in structural and operational terms, the sets of values and beliefs present in the field at its different stages (definition and then transformation). In particular, I have found correspondences between distinct logics and governance models: although the initial presence of one dominant system of values and beliefs defining the field was reflected by the

diffusion of a single governance form, the subsequent coexistence of multiple logics was met by the emergence of various models (Chapter 4).

From there, I focused on the empirical investigation of the phenomenon. I selected one specific governance model present in the field – the *stakeholders foundation* – and collected and analysed empirical data from two cases of Italian museum organisations that have applied that new form, and I investigated the institutional and organisational outcomes of the application of the new model (Chapter 5).

Chapter 3. The Context: Definition and Transformation of the European Museum Field

The needs of a society determine its ethics. *Maya Angelou, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (1969)*

In this chapter, I discuss the definition of the European museum field, and its transformation. I have taken advantage of the analytical perspective offered by institutional logics; I have used the concept of logic, in fact, as an analytical tool in my investigation to provide a clear categorisation of the otherwise almost elusive complexity of an organisational field. Beliefs, values, rules, and concepts in the field have been collected and categorised into coherent systems, which have then been identified as specific “logics” present in the field at a specific stage. When changes of such elements have been detected, they have been analysed, confronted and interpreted.

The concept of “field” is central to institutional theory (Wooten & Hoffman 2008), to the point of representing the main unit of analysis for New Institutionalists. It has implied the existence of networks of relationships which could differently affect the involved actors and their behaviour, regulated by commonly accepted institutions, i.e., cognitive, normative, and regulative structures providing collective meaning.

In the case of European museums, they themselves, as social sense-makers, cultural and historical narrators and legitimators, were introduced as institutional “tools” in 19th-century national societies. Their purpose was to provide citizens with a communal sense of belonging to their community, to

their environment, and to their past. Museums were among those actors *defining* social institutions, building solid foundations for the progress of society; their increase in number and variety across Europe during the 19th century testifies to this crucial role. The emergence of a European museum field, then, is to be intended as part of a wider process of institutionalisation of modern societies, with the definition of specific structures aimed at supporting it. How it has unfolded over time is the topic of the following sub-chapters.

3.1. Definition of the European Museum Field: The Civilising Ritual of Museum Visiting

When we think of the past it's the beautiful
things we pick out. We want to believe it was all
like that. *Margaret Atwood, The Handmaid's Tale*
(1985)

Culture is an ornament in prosperity, and a refuge
in adversity. *Aristotle (343 b.C.)*

The emergence of the museum as an institutionally and socially acknowledged organisation occurred slowly over a few centuries, when private encyclopedic collections of *omnium-gatherum* – or *wunderkammers* – dating back to Medieval times – progressively became out-and-out topic-specific selections of pieces, hosted in ad hoc rooms or buildings (Bennett, 1995; Wellington Gahtan, 2014).

In the late 16th century, *cabinets of curiosities* became *cabinets of the world*, in which objects were collected to sum up all possible universal knowledge: they started to diffuse and to become a common pastime for private connoisseurs and royalty (Schaer, 2007). The idea that material objects, possibly from the past, could be valuable in light of the historical and cultural information they

embodied started to be acknowledged by philosophers, historians, and intellectuals, who promoted the idea with publications all around Europe.

However, it was only during the second half of the 18th century, with the diffusion of the Enlightenment ideals of social progress, accessible education, and rights equality, that the individual enjoyment of private collections became inconsistent with the spirit of the time. Therefore it was put aside – sometimes violently – in favour of a social consumption of public collections. As the German art historian Aloys Hirt argued in his *Letter to the King* in 1797,

“please, let me say that it is beneath its dignity for an ancient monument to be shown as mere ornament. Artefacts are the heritage of the whole human kind. [...] Only by making them public and exhibiting them collectively we can make them available as a true subject of study, and every result so achieved would be to the advantage of humanity’s common good.

With the diffusion of industrialisation, the emergence of new national superpowers, and the rise of imperialistic political agendas in many European countries, the role of public museums was updated to that of full-on promoters of unquestionable visions of society: “public art museums would appropriate, develop and transform the central function of the princely gallery. [...] Displayed chronologically and in national categories along the museum’s corridors, the new arrangements illuminated the universal spirit as it manifested itself in the various moments of high civilization” (Duncan, 1994: 282-283).

During the early 19th century, then, similarly designed and structured organisations opened all around Europe, with the purpose of hosting and exhibiting scientific, artistic, or historical pieces of local and national heritage (Wittlin, 1949). Their pivotal role as custodians of the culturally and historically preservable implied the progressive acknowledgement of the public museum as an essential actor of social life (Paul, 2012).

Museums started to be seen as the main contributors to the definition of what History, Science, or Art should be. “In many ways, museums are a meeting ground for official and formal versions of the past called histories,

offered through exhibitions, and the individual or collective accounts of reflective personal experience called memories, encountered during the visit or prompted because of it” (Kavanagh, 2005: 1).

Their displays of historical, scientific, or artistic pieces proposed predefined narrations of what should have been intended as culturally valuable heritage:

“Whereas proto-museums were concerned with the naming and ordering of the universe, the museums which developed during the 19th and the 20th centuries were influenced by the modern idea of progress and by the modern preoccupation with representing humankind’s place in a world which was recognized as being constituted by fleeting and opaque experiences. [...] Thus the modern museum has attempted to represent processes and experiences which are recognized as transient through static and objectifying displays. (Walsh, 2002: 17)

The service offered by the first museums was limited: they had to go straight to what was expected of them. The social fulfillment of cultural consumption had to be guaranteed and, at the same time, it had to convey a precise message of the division among past, present and future, between the artistically valuable and the dismissible, the scientifically relevant and the folkloristic, the natural and the fantastic (Stocking, 1988).

The management of material objects in early museums had a very strict rationalising agenda that could help make sense of the various material forms that Knowledge could take (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). As Cannon-Brookes (1996: 116) reported, “the fundamental role of the museum in assembling objects and maintaining them within a specific intellectual environment emphasizes that museums are storehouses of knowledge as well as storehouses of objects, and that the whole exercise is liable to be futile unless the accumulation of objects is strictly rational”.

The original social role of museums was to make sense of what had to be preserved, exhibited, and, ultimately, experienced: they had to help society rationalise its world, its actions, and its past, and, possibly, foresee its future. To achieve this purpose, no room could be left to personal interpretation; knowledge had to be equally diffused from the museum to all visitors. In fact, although scholars and intellectual elites were still a privileged audience,

because they could provide themselves with a learned interpretation of the exhibited collections, the main referent for these public institutions became the wider public of lay citizens of newly reshaped European nations.

The French Revolution – and the opening of the Musée du Louvre to the public – can be considered as a preeminent case (Duncan, 1995). New accessibility to collections once belonging to royals was, in fact, one of the central political actions of the French revolutionary government, whose representatives' political visions had been significantly influenced by Enlightenment precepts. After the violent coming into possession of private collections, the Musée du Louvre was transformed from a royal palace to the republican flagship of social enjoyment and civic education for all citizens: “already, public museums were regarded as evidence of political virtue, indicative of a government that provided the right things for its people” (Duncan 1994: 88).

This line of behavior set the tone for the future attitude of European rulers with respect to public museums as organisations devoted to heritage preservation, as confirmed by Duncan: “outside France, educated opinion understood that art museums could demonstrate the goodness of a state or municipality, or show the civic-mindedness of its leading citizens. By the middle of the 19th century, almost every Western nation would boast a national museum or art gallery”.

Museums were intended as institutionalising sense-makers, as elites' cultural playgrounds, and, at the same time, as social educators of the public (Smith, 2001): “the West, then, has long known that public art museums are important, even necessary, fixtures of a well-furnished state” (Pearce 1994: 279).

Together with public education and health care organisations, museums played their part in designing the framework of the modern welfare state, and their reassuring but nonetheless imposing presence became familiar to citizens in large and small urban communities.

Museums, in fact, were necessary because they provided one aspect of what was considered a mandatory governmental service, that is, controlled access to an understandable version of what had to be learned and experienced to be good citizens:

“Since the 19th century, representations of the past have, perhaps unwittingly in most cases, contributed to a form of institutionalized rationalization of the past. As people have been distanced from the processes which affects their daily lives, the past has been promoted as something which is completed, and no longer contingent upon our experiences in the world. (Walsh 2002: 2)

The purposes of institutionalising the past and providing cognitive clarity and narrative closure were consistent with the necessity of shaping new nations, and in order to achieve this, museums were crucial in bringing all citizens together in a single, agreed-upon vision of what could be considered as common cultural values.

“In Europe, the tradition of museums as institutions both reflecting and serving a cultural élite has been long established and, in many, is still maintained. The museum, the cabinet of curiosities, is the storeroom of a nation’s treasures, providing a mirror in which are reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures, and the material evidence of the colonial achievements of the European cultures in which museums are rooted. (Simpson, 2012: 1)

This condition promoted a positivistic interpretation of material culture, one that could eventually serve as the conceptual foundation of society. The intellectual awareness of the past could provide the ground for the social jump toward an industrious, democratic, and peaceful future: “the civic mission of great collections was to teach to a wider public to emulate their betters. [...] Seeing admired exemplars was meant to inspire mental exertion, noble actions and good conduct. [...] Museums bred decorum and civility. [...] Things were not to be fondled or even touched let alone doubted or derided” (Lowenthal, 1999: 175).

In this sense, museum collections became the medium of a one-way cognitive transfer of knowledge that could be limited in space and overseen by the State, the sole owner and financial patron of these organisations:

“The work of art, now displayed as public property, becomes the means through which the relationship between the individual as citizen and the state as benefactor is enacted. [...] In the museum, the prince’s treasures [...] now had to become art-historical objects, repositories of spiritual wealth, products of individual and national genius. Indeed, the museum environment was structured

precisely to bring out these meanings and to suppress or downplay others. (Duncan, 1994: 94)

During the 19th century, then, the educational role of museums, and their central part in institutionalising Knowledge became a taken-for-granted feature. Notably, in 1853, Henry Cole, the first Director of the South Kensington Museum, enthusiastically reported that, in his opinion,

the museum probably represents the only instrument to educate adults who cannot attend school as children do; nevertheless the necessity to educate grown-ups is as compelling as that of educating children. With the right display, a museum can be highly educational. If combined with appropriate readings and explanatory tools, the museum can change from being a place of contemplation to becoming an extraordinary school for everyone⁴.

Overall, then, in Europe, museums represented the offspring of an institutional necessity to store and to rationalise all material objects that had progressively ended up in the State's hands.

At the same time, the availability of such a significant amount and variety of material heritage – testifying to the achievements of humankind along History – was purposefully exploited by national and local governments; it performed the fundamental task of delivering a unified version of the past, the present, and possibly the future.

Museums, then, contributed to form a specific interpretation of what could be considered Culture; at the same time, they collaborated to legitimise the modern political and social form of the nation states emerged during the 19th century: “the civilizing ritual inscribed in the museum visit, which turned citizenship into a performative exercise and thus embodied and visualized the power of the state, was also being harnessed to enhance the nation's output of material goods” (Giebelhausen 2008: 43).

In this sense, European museums were a direct offspring of social welfare policies. Therefore their financial needs were considered a responsibility

⁴ Whitehead, C., “Henry Cole's European Travels and the Building of the South Kensington Museum in the 1850s”, *Architectural History*, Vol. 48 (2005), pp. 207-234

of public governments. The allocation of existing buildings or the construction of ad hoc new ones, on the one hand, and the assignment of funds to finance daily activities, on the other hand, were, originally, the sole concern of public bodies – ministries, departments, and local offices.

In most 19th-century European states, tax revenues were distributed among all different welfare services (education, health, and defence), cultural services included. Because museums were of public ownership, their financial treatment was the same as that of other service organisations (Bennett, 1995).

With their budgets covered by the State – or by other governmental bodies – museums considered funding as a taken-for-granted occurrence and they assumed access to total financial coverage. This implicitly released museum directors from the need to plan revenues and costs, to draft annual budgets, or to make sustainable financial plans. On the contrary, museum staffs were freed from administrative bureaucratic duties and left to concentrate on curatorial and research activities.

In a time when the individual prince was replaced by the public administration as the main patron, the predominant idea of public museums as social commodities offered by governments made their financial sustainability inherently dependent upon the State's goodwill.

The contribution of European museums to the stability and the rationalisation of social life gained them the direct and sustained financial support from public governments. In parallel, the desire of wealthy private individuals to have a tangible and visible effect on their society – and to receive the corresponding prestige and sense of gratitude – determined the transfer of their financial resources from the building of private collections for themselves to the participation in the cultural cultivation of society. Rich benefactors started to support the role played by public museums by having, in return, a social legitimation from their communities of reference: the benefit of donating pieces or sums to museum organisations was determined by the publicity of these acts (and, in some states, by the reduced taxation on patrimonies that was consequent upon them).

Therefore 19th-century European museums could count on double financial support. On the one hand, public governments provided constant funding, because they were keen to maintain their main source of controlled

public cultural promotion. On the other hand, rich private donors guaranteed generous donations to maintain social recognition in a time when wealth, instead of class, was the main requisite for respect and legitimacy.

These two apparently everlasting, secure, and considerable sources of funding allowed museums to pursue their social and cultural mission without putting too much effort into budgeting or cost rationalisation. On the horizon of 19th-century museums, no risks of reduction of those fundings were to be seen; their sailing toward the achievement of full educational and cultural assistance seemed as smooth and confident as possible.

Since the time of their very foundation, the main institutional role of European museums was to contribute to the narration of a culturally rationalised, bureaucratically organised, politically solid, and time-resistant system of society. In turn, the political and social legitimation of this role contributed to the definition of a proper system of privileged and persistent relationships between these organisations and public stakeholders. This, in turn, led to the development of a network of connections among museums (intra- and internationally).

The diffusion of the same museographic paradigm among European museum directors – with similar academic backgrounds – contributed to the formalisation of the social role of public museums. The appearance of the building and the internal layout of exhibited works were purposefully designed to convey the image of a place where a modern, non-religious ritual could take place. The museum as the temple of Knowledge, imitating classical Greek architectures, became an assumed feature of any urban landscape in European cities:

“From the beginning, the museum was conceptualized as a transformative space: at once educational and utopian, intended to celebrate the power of art and to display the authority of the state. [...] The museum-building boom of the second half of the 19th century was part of the transformation most major cities witnessed. The museum joined a range of new building types such as the railway station and the department store, which were regarded as typical markers of urban modernity. (Giebelhausen, 2008: 42-6)

During the 19th century, then, the progressive acknowledgement that museums were meant to fulfill a specific collective purpose of sense-making – by

collecting, preserving, and exhibiting what was considered communal heritage – participated in the definition of a common system of meaning and beliefs, which professionals, stakeholders, and the general public ended up absorbing.

The network of relationships between museums and external actors (institutional actors, visitors, and citizens) and among museum organisations started to be built upon a common need to store and research material objects belonging to the past.

The transformation of the elitist private hobby of antique collecting into the collective experience of cultural consumption started at the end of the 18th century, but gained momentum in the 19th century. It was determined by different political and social causes: the change of the government systems into more democratic regimes paired with the fashionable practise of archaeological research (which filled the deposits of artworks and relics), and with the rise of scientific and naturalistic research (making specimen cataloguing and classification a compelling necessity). Overall, museums became part of the European urban landscape, inescapable in their physical nobility, the intimidating embodiment of a society representing itself at its supposed best:

“A strange organized disorder spreads out before me. I am seized by a holy dread. I enter as a devout. My voice changes and it gets a little higher than when I speak in a church, but a little lower than when I speak on the street. I forgot why I came to those waxed solitudes, that evoked a temple or a hall, a cemetery or a school. Did I come here to be educated, to be bedazzled, or to respect conveniences? (Valéry 1957: 56)

Then, in a time of redefined geographical boundaries, revolutionary political movements, and nationalist sentiments, as the 19th century was (Rapport, 2005; Salmi, 2008), the cultural agenda of building museums was pushed forward all around Europe (Table 4). As they became more and more important for national and local communities, they established themselves as parts of a system of similar organisations, having the same institutional role and social recognition.

Table 4: National Museums in European Countries – Year of Opening

Austria	Albertina, Vienna	1776
	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	1872
Belgium	Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels	1835
Bulgaria	Nat. Arch. Museum, Sofia	1892
Croatia	National Museum, Zagreb	1846
Cyprus	Cyprus Museum, Nicosia	1882
Czechoslovakia	National Museum, Prague	1818
Denmark	Nat. Museum, Copenhagen	1849
Estonia	Art Museum of Estonia, Tallinn	1919
Finland	National Museum, Helsinki	1916
France	Louvre Museum, Paris	1792
	Cluny Nat. Museum, Paris	1843
	Nat. Arch. Museum, Saint Germain-en-Laye	1865
Germany	Alte Pinakothek, Munich	1836
	Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg	1852
	Deutsches Museum, Munich	1903
Greece	Nat. Arch. Museum, Athens	1829
Hungary	Nat. Museum, Budapest	1837
Iceland	Nat. Museum, Reykjavik	1863
Ireland	Nat. Museum of Ireland, Dublin	1877
Italy	Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence	1769
	Nat. Arch. Museum, Naples	1777
	Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan	1806
	Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice	1817
Latvia	Nat. Museum of Art, Riga	1905
Lithuania	Nat. Museum of Lithuania, Vilnius	1855
Luxembourg	Nat. Museum of History and Art, Luxembourg	1845
Netherlands	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	1800
	Mauritshuis, The Hague	1827
Norway	National Gallery, Oslo	1842
Poland	Nat. Museum, Krakow	1879
Portugal	Soares dos Reis Nat. Museum, Porto	1833
Romania	Brukenthal Nat. Museum, Sibiu	1817
Russia	State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	1764
	State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg	1895
Slovenia	National Museum, Ljubljana	1821

Spain	Museo del Prado, Madrid	1819
	Nat. Arch. Museum, Madrid	1867
Sweden	Nationalmuseum, Stockholm	1792
Switzerland	Swiss National Museum, Zurich	1898
United Kingdom	British Museum, London	1753
	National Gallery, London	1824
	Nat. Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh	1866
	Nat. Museum of Wales, Cardiff	1905
Vatican City	Vatican Museums, Rome	1506
Former Yugoslavia	Nat. Museum of Serbia, Belgrade	1844
	Nat. Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo	1850

At the same time, the definition, in most European countries, of a public system of funding to museums, together with the financial support offered by wealthy private stakeholders, represented an endorsement of their distinct role in preserving and promoting collective heritage. This dual acknowledgement reinforced their social position and allowed the strengthening of networks of relationships among these organisations, operating under a similar social, institutional, and financial logic, and interacting with the same set of referents – organisations and individuals.

Overall, then, the creation of a multiplicity of museum organisations, similar in ownership, collections (typology and classification), mission, and the concurrent financial support from institutional stakeholders guaranteed by their very role, together supported the definition of the European public museum field (Scott, 1991, 2013), one which shared the same institutional paradigm – and governance model – up to the early 20th century.

3.1.1 The Elitist Museum

Need is not quite belief. *Anne Sexton, All My
Pretty Ones (1962)*

In Europe, the first idea of a museum as an organisation with specific purposes and a distinct financial structure emerged in concurrence with the definition of sovereign, democratic nations. The social purpose of the museum was one engaging with the preservation of heritage intended as a public good.

At the same time, a new academic and research approach to historic, natural, and artistic material and immaterial heritage imposed a different conservation view, which included the creation of ad hoc places to preserve and to exhibit such heritage to the advantage of a wider community.

The institutional role of the museum encompassed the display of material heritage to the public, but at the same time it imposed a relatively passive role on the visitor: interaction with the collections was mediated by the educational agenda put forward by the museum, which was the main preserver of the physical testimonies of a shared past. In this sense, museums were created to provide a place for communities to retrace their origins and their achievements, thus making it easier for them to move tidily and with little resistance towards the building of stable, cohesive societies.

Figure 1: The Elitist Museum – Categorical Elements

	ELITIST MUSEUM
Root Metaphor	Museum a Mass Instructor
Sources of Legitimacy	Heritage Preservation Moral Status
Sources of Authority	Institutional Mandate
Sources of Identity	Institutional Role
Basis of Norms	Institutional Ownership
Basis of Attention	Status in Interest Group
Basis of Strategy	Provide Unified Interpretation of Heritage
Informal Control Mechanisms	Back-room Politics
Economic System	Welfare Capitalism

These museums, created to preserve a progressively increasing heritage, designed to reinforce the national sense of belonging, and fully supported by external funding, can be defined as *elitist* institutions. They represented the vision of a political and cultural elite, willing to shape society with a top-down approach and to invest significant financial resources in doing so, through the use of a system of collections seized from another, previous elite.

The characteristics of these museums can be divided into a set of categories which reflect the main cognitive elements behind the “system of beliefs, rules and values” – or logic – that formed the European museum field.

The elitist museum logic (Figure 1) revolved around the museum organisation as an instructor for the masses, the legitimacy of which was based on its role as preserver of the common heritage and on its moral status as *the* provider of Culture and Knowledge. The strategy of the elitist museum was directed to provide a unified vision of the social, historical, artistic, and scientific foundations of the community. The elitist museum was controlled by the public bureaucratic system, which represented the source of all norms regulating the organisation. The identity of the museum was based on its institutional role within its community of reference. The basis of attention came from the status of the organisation in respect of its social and institutional environment, and stakeholders and other influencers controlled and conditioned the organisation with informal political mechanisms. The economic system of reference – which was diffusing through most European countries at the time of foundation of these original museums – was that of welfare capitalism.

3.2. Transformation of the European Museum Field: Between Mass Cultural Consumption and Social Cultural Experiences

Every political good carried to the extreme must
be productive of evil. *Mary Wollstonecraft, The
French Revolution (1794)*

The organisational and educational paradigm defining the museum established during the 19th century remained the dominant one until the early 20th century.

Museums continued to be inaugurated all around Europe, with a distinct prevalence of local museums. This occurred also in light of the redefinition of administrative territorial divisions in many states: local governments, then,

were provided with a degree of financial autonomy that included the possibility of showing local heritage in ad hoc buildings.

After the political and military turmoil of the first half of the 20th century, the definition of stable democratic regimes in most western Europe contributed to guarantee increasing financial support, general political backing, and a growing interest by wider social bases (Stowell, 1956; Ripley, 1969).

In the late 1980s, with the dismemberment of the Communist bloc and the emergence of a society of “mass consumption”, the relative stability of museums’ position within the social fabric started to be compromised by a combination of political, social, economic, and cultural transformations. Different circumstances combined to force public museums to redefine both their cultural purpose and their financial and organisational structure. In fact, if on the one hand, as Kotler et al. (2008: 21) put it, “during the last decades of the 20th century, museums evolved into equalitarian, democratic organizations, respectful of cultural and social differences”, on the other hand, they were faced with a radical transformation of their institutional role, of their social position, and, concurrently, of their financial situation. As Lowenthal (1999: 176) insightfully pointed out:

“Though driven by new mandates they remain no less shackled by the old ones. They are expected to fulfill both modern roles – as exemplars of selfless scruples, of fleeting popular taste, of trendy relevance – and at the same time sustain old-time functions – gathering in the best of everything, mirroring national goals, safeguarding stored sources of memory and inspiration, truth and beauty.

In particular, the evolution of individuals into customers and the emergence of a “society of consumption”, consequent upon the diffusion of the capitalist mass production system after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Slater, 1997), changed the general behavior towards both material goods and immaterial experiences (Ritzer, 2004).

In Europe, the spreading perception that almost anything could be purchased and enjoyed through the act of buying (Ritzer, 2010) progressively modified the social scale of values given to products and actions. At the same time, it deeply affected those subjects which had always worked with symbolically loaded objects and experiences – among them, museums

(Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). As Lang, Reeve, & Woollard (2006: 7) noted, in fact, “museums and galleries were identified early on as one of the battlegrounds for postmodernism; the traditional museum being seen as another repressive, disciplinary institution controlling visitor behavior and access to art, history and other cultures, while providing grand narratives from a position of uncontested authority”.

Cultural organisations suffered the consequences of a deep and difficult transformation because of both the approach to consumers and the relationship with public and private stakeholders (Featherstone, 1995; Maffesoli, 2000; Griswold, 2008). If it is true, in fact, that individuals started to buy and to consume depending on the related cultural value that specific social groups assigned to a good (Russell, 2005), then, at the same time, the practise of cultural consumption ended up achieving a higher and higher social consideration. In this sense, therefore, the request to cultural preservers and promoters became dual.

On the one hand, people began to rely more and more on cultural products/services, in all its forms, to be entertained, educated, and, ultimately, offered a meaning to their lives and actions. By doing so, the public assigned a new crucial role to cultural actors, asked them to participate more actively and intensely in both the local and the global communities (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000) and to tackle novel responsibilities and social expectations:

“Over the past 50 years there has been a major shift in the relationship between museums and their audiences. In the 1960s the relationship could have been considered simple and one-dimensional; the museum was all-powerful and the uncontested authority. The museum staff saw their public as a reflection of themselves; knowledgeable about the actual and symbolic meaning of the collections and the obvious ‘value’ they held for society. Museums believed the public to be those who visited regularly and understood the rules and definitions by which the collections were collected and interpreted. The shift has been towards museums recognizing that the public is made up of many diverse groups who are keen to articulate their needs and make their views known, even through choosing not to visit. (Reeve & Woollard, 2006: 5)

On the other side, the progressive reduction of the social gap, the success of mass media communication, and the diffusion of a “religion of consumption” combined to downsize cultural institutions’ high status as “temples of knowledge and culture” and to equate them to regular service providers (Augé, 1992; Huang, 2006), with specific standards and performance levels (Ashworth and Johnson, 1996). Bradburne (2001: 77) analysed the change in the relationship with the audience: “we had to see our visitors as users, which is to say that our success could no longer be measured in terms of numbers of visits, but in terms of repeated, and thus sustained, action”.

The experience of visiting a museum, then, became more and more familiar and practised – in this sense, democratised – among wider, international audiences (Caldwell, 2000).

At the same time, however, the museum organisation was assigned a role as “bespoke” sense-maker, rather than as omniscient, authoritative provider of mediated, general information. Museums eventually replaced their legitimating position as mass instructors with one as social narrators of a common, collective interpretation of heritage. With the progressive democratisation of society, in fact, cultural audiences became wider – in number and in variety (gender, age, and education); at the same time, they became more and more exigent in regard to their experience. According to McLean (1996),

“the fragmentation of markets into increasingly smaller segments, or groups of a similar nature to be targeted through publicity. [This] offers a particular opportunity for museums: first, to fulfill their societal role by segmenting the public into minority groups, such as the disabled, single parents, and ethnic minorities, and second, to target a particular product or aspect of the museum at each of these groups.

The homogeneity of expectations – a standard feature of the typical 19th century visitor – gave way to the fragmentation of preferences typical of the so-called “critical visitor”, as suggested by Lindauer (2006: 204): “the visitor now notes what objects are presented, in what ways, and for what purposes. He or she also explores what is left unspoken or kept off display. And she or he asks, who has the most to gain or the most to lose from having this information, collection, or interpretation publicly presented?”

Overall, then, museums witnessed a distinctive transformation in the nature of their relationship with their most important stakeholders: the dominant paradigm of the passive visitor as a demure learner accessing a sacred cultural place gave way to that of the proactive user, the exigent customer choosing a museum visit among myriad alternative cultural offerings. At the end of the 20th century, then, the social role of European museums changed substantially: museum organisations were deprived of their superior institutional position and they were taken down into the arena of competition, subject to reviews and criticisms coming from a wider and yet more demanding system of stakeholders.

In the early days of public museums, in fact, the opening of a new cultural organisation used to be determined on the basis of its “necessity” for social enrichment, with few concerns over the financial costs to be sustained, all for the sake of its higher cultural status and educational value (Newman and McLean, 2006).

However, the taken-for-granted recognition of the necessity and utility of cultural organisations progressively gave way to concern over the economic burden that these entities could represent for public administrations (Martin, 1994; Abraham, Griffin and Crawford, 1999; Tobelem, 2010).

With the progressive redesigning of public financial support of Culture, based on a different order of priorities (Dubinsky, 2007; Lynch, 2011), and with the concurrent increased importance assigned to cultural products and experiences, the status of public museums as necessary institutions in social life was called into question (Scott, 2009). At the same time, their contribution to the cultural and economic growth of their local communities became more and more crucial in maintaining legitimacy from stakeholders. As reported by McLean (1996: 13), in fact, “since the Second World War the institutional nature of the museum has developed quite considerably. A national framework for government intervention in museums has emerged and a new managerial ethos has been imposed on museums. The collection has met bureaucracy.”

The “museum for museum’s sake” assumption permeating society, then, gave way to a more demanding and pressing attitude from citizens and policy-makers: museums started to be asked to play a more accountable and

palpable part in the growth and the enrichment of their social and economic environments, and these demands were particularly urgent in European metropolitan areas suffering the effects of declining economic conditions.

In some cases, in fact, the emergence of new nations as production leaders and the development of a global market for products and goods combined with the decline of entire European urban areas upon the closing or the reorganisation of preeminent district enterprises:

“Since the mid 1980s, European cities and regions have become increasingly concerned with competitive restructuring and economic growth. This concern goes hand in hand with a rediscovery of the central role of cities in the performance of regional and national economies as a whole. But, in a context of radical transformation of production and demand conditions globally, the performance of cities is mediated by their capacity to lead a process of competitive redevelopment. (Rodriguez, Martinez, & Guenaga 2001: 161)

This specific phenomenon led many local governments to try to restructure and to reconvert the local economic and social system by promoting urban planning and development projecting often centred around cultural organisations as main attracting factors (Paddison, 1993; Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Marti-Costa and Pradel i Miquel, 2011). As Van Aalst and Boogaarts (2002: 197) noted, “the development of cultural districts [...] was seen as a way for cities to increase their appeal”.

The building of a new cultural spot was an almost mandatory feature of these projects, making the construction of new museum buildings a priority for many policy-makers in both Western (Gonzalez, 2011) and Eastern Europe (Tali and Pierantoni, 2011). The need to characterise a new district for the purpose of making it more attractive to the global cultural public made the physical appearance of these new venues as pivotal for urban renewal as collections, exhibitions, and educational programs: “many new museums and galleries across the world became iconic buildings, both within the cultural sector and to the general public. Architects, designers, graphic and video artists also greatly improved the display of art works and exhibits, and the overall surroundings in which visitors experience those displays” (Rogers 2006: 197).

Museums started to be assigned roles as urban regenerators and economic rescuers (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009), pivotal strategic positions that represented a novelty for these organisations (Chong, 1999) but that progressively provided them with renewed social and political legitimation. New projects of public museums were initiated in depressed or underdeveloped cities and neighborhoods, with the expressed objective of promoting gentrification and economic renewal (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Degen & Garcia, 2012).

On the one hand, existing museums were more cogently held accountable for their very existence by virtue of their changed institutional role – being pushed by increasingly demanding audiences to launch more service-oriented programs and to adopt more transparent behaviors.

On the other hand, museums took a new central role as urban regenerators and economic hubs in depressed areas, thus putting themselves at the centre of a new urban paradigm supporting economic growth through cultural services and creative industries.

Since the late 1980s, then, the nature of the purport and of the sense that citizens, policy makers, stakeholders, tax-payers, visitors and, more in general, communities, assigned to museums as institutions progressively transformed (Weil, 1999).

While partially deprived of the institutional taken-for-grantedness implicit in the elitist museum paradigm, public museums started to be pressured into filling new roles and in responding to different social necessities to maintain social acknowledgement and legitimation (Rosenthal, Downey and Swift, 2010). According to Lumley (1988: 2), “museums are an international growth industry. Not only are they increasing in numbers, but they are acquiring new functions in the organization of cultural activities”.

Finally, at the end of the 20th century, changes in the social role of cultural institutions, a more and more competitive and crowded market, and the transformation of the institutional relationship between cultural consumers and preservers/diffusers, combined with the increasing reduction of public financial support at all government levels (Clair, 2011). This combination of occurrences led to most European museums becoming “extremely vulnerable in almost every regard. Falling visitor revenue, competition for donations,

and reduced government subsidies all threaten to upset the delicately balanced museum budget” (Bradburne 2001: 80).

The transformation in the social and institutional circumstances was paired with a concurrent change in the system of financial support involving public museums, a pivotal shift in the public/private funding ratio, and, more generally, a radical redefinition of the financial system of reference for public cultural organisations.

First, public funding – the main source of income of elitist museums – started to be affected by the changed institutional position of “contemporary” museums. In particular, since the 1980s, the revision of their role as taken-for-granted social instructors (Legget, 2009) led to a progressive re-evaluation of the level of financial priority assigned to them. In turn, this implied the consequent decision to reduce, to rationalise, and to strictly control funding on the part of local and national governments.

These policies directly and abruptly deprived many museums of a substantial part of their income, pushing them to review the nature of their financial structure, to revert to recovery plans (Fedeli & Santoni 2006; Janes 2009), and, although with different timing, to redefine their structural and managerial features.

Second, in conjunction with the reduction of financial support from public institutions, a transformation in the relationship with private donors and corporate sponsors combined to doubly affect the financial stability of many cultural institutions (Hughes and Luksetich, 1999).

Since the very first appearance of organised public collections in the late 18th century, wealthy individuals and corporate sponsors contributed to the support of cultural organisations. Progressively, the development of Corporate Social Responsibility routines in for-profit firms (Benamou & Tirole, 2010) and the transformation of the practise of cultural consumption incentivised corporations and individual patrons to contribute financially to museum activities, with the goal of obtaining visibility, higher brand awareness, and social recognition in return (Danilov, 1988).

However, the diffusion of sponsorship programs and the multiplying of fundraising projects in many museum organisations led to a decline in the level of incisiveness of these actions.

Therefore the nature of the relationship between museums and benefactors inevitably changed. In particular, public institutions and private donors became more and more adamant about having a voice in museums' decisions and actions; this occurred as they acknowledged the increasing importance of their contributions and the concurrent improvement of their bargaining power (Oliver, 1999; Rectanus, 2002; Tweedy, 1991): "museums and galleries of course accept that funders have objectives. Government departments, grant-making trusts, sponsors and private patrons are all seeking to achieve something in return for their money. Organizations that succeed in raising funds from a variety of sources do so because they are doing something that funders want them to do" (Shaw 2006: 157)

Private donors started to interpret their role as patrons differently from the way their predecessors did. In particular, they expected to have more than a "passive" relationship with cultural players: on the contrary, they longed for a long-term interaction, sometimes including participation in specific steps of the decision-making processes. Nevertheless, in some cases, the perks offered by museum organisations to wealthy funders became insufficient to satisfy the need for direct participation in defining strategies and activities.

Therefore private and corporate collectors looking for a more hands-on position within the field eventually decided to create entirely new museums hosting their own collections, instead of loaning pieces or transferring funds to existing museums. The opening of more and more private or corporate museums not only reduced the panel of wealthy private donors interested in supporting museums, but it also determined the definition of an increasingly complex and competitive cultural market. With one move, museums were faced with the emergence of more competitors for both sponsorships and attendance.

Third, this change in the nature and number of direct competitors determined a progressive acknowledgement by public museums of the necessity to rethink their fundraising strategies.

Finding alternative financial resources to implement the declining revenues from public and private sponsors became crucial for financial stability.

Activities dedicated to this specific purpose became more managerially demanding, as the amount of contributions and the number of requests from cultural organizations became inversely proportional:

“20 years ago, it was rare for a national museum to be employing more than a handful of fundraisers. Today, most have development departments dedicated to securing grants, donations, sponsorship from public, private and charitable sources. Every museum or gallery with an educational remit (whether national, local authority, university or independent) is looking for funding to support their education and audience development work. (Shaw 2006: 153-4)

Whereas traditional relationships between elitist museums and private partners used to be long-term and based on good faith and relatively informal agreements, sponsorship relations engaging contemporary museums with private partners started to be regulated by accurately drafted statements of intent. A *quid pro quo* approach became prevalent, as it was intended to attract – and, more importantly, to maintain – private support over time.

At the end of the 1980s, then, European museums found themselves needing to compensate the financial void left in their budgets by the shrinking of public funding. At the same time, they started to encounter increasing difficulties in maintaining the level of financial contributions that they were once guaranteed by generous private sponsors.

This transformation of the stakeholders landscape added to the emergence of a different cultural market system (with more-informed, demanding visitors and a different approach to cultural consumption) and to the re-definition of the institutional role assigned to museums (now intended as active cultural as well as economic players of their environment) to undermine the dominance of the original elitist paradigm. As suggested by Renimel (2006: 11),

“In the context of an accelerated integration of the world economy, the value of existence of the cultural heritages preserved by the museums are quartered more and more. The mutant museum of the 21st century tend to provide an immediate response to economic requests of short-term profits. This is helping the frontal contradiction with the rather secular rates of development of the museum institution.

In the emerging stage, although all museums were institutionally designed around the elitist beliefs and values dominating in the field, they eventually differed in some organisational characteristics, such as size, typology of collections, or location. At the same time, the social, cultural, political, and economic transformations discussed in the chapter made the elitist museum paradigm inconsistent with the beliefs and values present in the field, thus reflecting on all museums. However, the organisational features that progressively differentiated between small local museums and large national and international museums led to the emergence of a different system of values, rules, and beliefs.

Therefore, although the decline of the elitist museum logic left a cognitive, conceptual void, the presence of specific features among European museums determined the progressive replacement of that logic with distinct categorical systems.

On the one hand, small, local European museums (the absolute majority) were drawn more and more toward their communities of reference, thus redefining their system of beliefs and values around their role as social actors.

On the other hand, a minority of large international museums around Europe (mostly located in major cities and capitals) progressively reinforced their authoritative position as global players, reforming the categories of the elitist museum logic with new categories.

The transformations of social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances in the field determined the cognitive inconsistency of the set of categories constituting the elitist museum paradigm. As a result, the multitude of museums that had been founded in Europe during the emergence of the field eventually redesigned their systems of values, conjointly driven by the general change in demands and constraints in the field and by their own specific characteristics. This led to the definition of two main models for European museums: social museums and global museums.

3.2.1 The Social Museum

To live together in the world means that a world of things is between those who have it in common, as a table is located between those who sit around it, the world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time. *Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition (1958)*

Museums can exist and persist only as long as they can stay connected with the community whose heritage they preserve; whether they host corporate collections (the firm, its employees, and its clients being the community of reference), or public ones (in this case, the referent being the citizenry as a whole), museum organisations must fulfil their mission as sense-makers by staying in close contact with their social environment.

On the eve of the 19th century, museums emerged as out-and-out organisations embodying a specific system of beliefs and values: their legitimacy was originally based on their role as preservers of the communal heritage and on their purpose as providers of a shared social, cultural, and historical foundation.

However, the discussed transformations of the social and institutional circumstances in the field progressively eroded the paradigm of the elitist museum; the original paternalistic role of the museum organisation eventually became inconsistent with the new requests and constraints coming from the environment, which put the accent on the criticality of the interconnection between museums and their communities⁵:

“While 19th-century museums did often have radically inclusive ambitions, these were limited both by imperial perceptions of identity and by an intellectual focus

⁵ In this case, those physically close to the organizations and/or whose material and immaterial heritage the organizations preserve.

on categorizing and collecting artefacts. In the second half of the twentieth century, museums became better informed about and more focused on their audiences. [...] The challenge for twenty-first century museums is not to just embrace the many identities which are emerging, but at the same time to create a sense of democratic society in which they can all find a place. This requires far more than bolting on of some additional functions to a museum (e.g., outreach departments) or exhibitions targeted at specific groups: it requires the transformation of the museum. (McLean and O'Neill 2009: 217)

Museums, then, acknowledged the need to take more and more care of their communities' beliefs and exigences, the main purpose being to establish a mutually beneficial dialogue and a constant and intense relationship with their social referents:

“The 21st century museum is increasingly analysed in terms of its impact on society, taking its place alongside other cultural institutions which both define and are defined by contemporary society. This means that museums ‘must consider their impact on society and seek to shape that impact through practice that is based on contemporary values and a commitment to social equality’ (Sandell, 2002: 21). (McLean & O'Neill 2009: 215)

They turned their attention to the definition of activities that could meet the new requests from their communities:

“Encouraging community participation in museum activity is often linked to the idea of democratizing history and the museum space. It is linked with bringing in new voices, new histories, and new people. [...] The community participant is bringing new, and often welcome, challenges to the museum sector: through their engagement, museum services have reported becoming more welcome, valued, and relevant. (Crooke 2010: 183)

As a consequence of the increasing engagement of individuals and groups in defining priorities and activities, museum organisations tried to reassess their role within the social environment:

“Community collaboration has been a means to reach new audiences, build trust, and re-establish the role of museums in contemporary society. The idea of community and community engagement is drawn into the museum sector both

through projects that assert local identities and others that foster a social and developmental role. Community involvement with museum services has been promoted as a means to preserve the ‘once grand and imposing structure’ that is the traditional museum. [...] Engagement with the concept of community is prompting the museum sector to revisit the museum space and question its identity, role, and social worth. (Crooke 2010: 183)

Museums started focusing significant financial and human resources on their offer to different audiences; in an article on the possible nature of museums in 2020, David Anderson, director general of National Museums Wales, reported some of the expectations:

“Museums should be radical and participative institutions at the heart of their communities. They should be working in partnership with third-sector organizations to develop formal and informal learning, health and wellbeing, skills and social change. Museums are already the most innovative public institutions in the arts and cultural sector. By 2020, they should have turned this expertise outwards, to become centres for public creativity and local enterprise. (*The Guardian*, March 16th, 2015)

Then, a set of values and beliefs revolving around the idea of the museum as an engaged social player – a “social museum” – progressively became diffused among those organisations which were characterised by strong cultural, economic, and social ties with their communities (Figure 2), especially municipal or local organisations (with collections composed of locally collected heritage).

First, moving away from an authoritarian, univocal interpretation of cultural organisations as “instructors” of the masses (typical of the elitist museum), the social museum logic expressed a root metaphor of the cultural organisation as an active social actor of its community. This element clearly indicates a change from a welfare to a more bottom-up form of capitalism, as reported by the Münchner Stadtmuseum’s Corporate Report:

It was thanks to the patronage and sense of citizenship of the people of Munich that the Münchner Stadtmuseum was founded in 1888. What started off as a local history museum has grown into today’s diverse and outward-looking museum and exhibition center. [...] Today, civic engagement is more important than

ever. The Münchner Stadtmuseum relies on its friends and patrons in order to realize its various projects and maintain its unique mission despite cutbacks in public funding.

Second, whereas elitist museums had their main source of legitimacy in the moral status appointed by institutional stakeholders, social museums were granted status in relation to the level of cultural (quality/quantity of services) and economic (self-sufficiency, environmental spin-off) performance that they could deliver and communicate to stakeholders.

Third, in the social museum logic, social stakeholders were the main source of authority; conversely, in elitist museums, authority came from the mandate received unilaterally from institutional referents.

Fourth, whereas the elitist museum based its identity on its role as “instructor”, the social museum derived it from its actions as preserver, promoter, and communicator of the communal heritage to social stakeholders.

“Until the end of the 19th century, education was seen as integral to the character of museums, although how far and to what end was disputed. Education was based on the mastery of bodies of knowledge, its purpose to fit individuals to their expected station in life. The museum was expected to work towards the good society through inculcating a taste for the arts in the working classes, a civilising mission linked to the growth of citizenship. The educational purposes of the 19th-century museum do not hold today when it no longer seems possible to produce unified “good” society. Education is no longer expected to fit individuals for fixed stations in life, and instead is shaped around ideas about lifelong learning, flexibility, resilience, and self-realization. Learning is no longer concerned with the mastery of large bodies of knowledge, it is about producing people who, in a fluid and changing society, know how to learn, and who have strong self-identities. [...] Pedagogic style in museums today uses participative and performative modes of learning, where bodies are seen as potent resources for learning. (Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 13)

Fifth, the basis of norms and the informal control mechanisms are eminently different between the two logics. In the elitist logic, rules were grounded in the public ownership of the museum and control was informally executed by back-room political actions. According to the social museum logic, on the contrary, norms were based on the museum’s belonging to the community

of reference. It was the museum's system of inter-relationships with the same community that provided informal control over the organisation's activities.

Figure 2: The Social Museum – Categorical Elements

	SOCIAL MUSEUM
Root Metaphor	Museum a Social Actor
Sources of Legitimacy	Cultural and Economic Performance
Sources of Authority	Social Stakeholders
Sources of Identity	Heritage Preservation/Promotion
Basis of Norms	Community Membership
Basis of Attention	Social Impact
Basis of Strategy	Increase Common Good Achieve/Maintain Financial Stability
Informal Control Mechanisms	Social Relationships
Economic System	Participatory Capitalism

Sixth, whereas the elitist logic granted attention on the basis of a museum's status within the interest group (institutional stakeholders), a social museum's acknowledgement was secured only on the grounds of its impact within the community, and on the level to which its cultural effectiveness and economic efficiency were perceived: "the reorientation of cultural organisations toward educational purposes has opened them up to similar demands as central government has developed the expectation that museums, archives, and libraries would not only respond to its priorities, but would also be able to present evidence of the impact of their work" (Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 18).

Finally, radical differences emerged between the basis of strategy of the two logics. Whereas the elitist museum determined its line of action in order to provide access to a homogeneous yet homologated interpretation of the heritage, the social museum logic defined strategic goals involving both the increase of the communal good and the achievement of organisational self-sufficiency.

Overall, then, the environmental transformations that occurred in the field in the late 1980s led to the decline of the elitist museum logic; a new set of beliefs and values emerged, particularly among European museums with strong local ties to their communities. Activities started to be concentrated in educational and learning services to all citizens, with the purpose of providing long-term engagement and participation. In some cases, these initial actions were translated into projects of co-creation and crowd-sourcing, seeking to maintain the expected quality and intensity of interactions between citizens and collections.

“The Museum doesn’t want any more sponsors—it wants partners instead. [...] The same strategy that informs the development of museum content also informs the development of museum financing. The strategy goes far beyond partnerships—partnerships are an expression of the strategy. The strategy suggests that the long-term financial sustainability of the museum depends for the most part on use-generated income, rather than one-time investments. This means that the relationship to all stakeholders should be defined and contracted in terms of use, and the effectiveness of that use regularly evaluated. [...] And, once the Museum develops a reputation for being a lively ‘piazza’ with frequently-changing exhibitions, visitor revenue will in effect be user revenue. Even the City’s subsidy can be seen in terms of use—and be linked to functions the City wishes the Museum to fulfil—collecting new objects, maintaining the City’s existing collections, conducting research. (Bradburne 2001: 81)

Examples of this type of museum can be found everywhere in Europe, with prevalence in middle-sized urban areas; one researched case (Bonacina, 2016) is the Museo Salinas, in Palermo.

“Social” museums reaffirmed their identity as social actors; they acknowledged community stakeholders as the main holders of authority and legitimacy, and social impact as the main basis of attention; they accepted norms and control mechanisms regulated by social relationships; and, finally, they based their strategies on the pursuit of increasing communal good and on the achievement of economic self-sufficiency, for the sake of organisational survival. As summarised by Fleming (2006: 84),

“at the roots of this are the demands made of museums by modern society – not just the one-dimensional insistence on cost-cutting which characterized the

1980s and much of the 1990s, but the need to see an improved service by museums, and for as many people as possible. Not just efficiency, but effectiveness, and effectiveness as defined by social need, not by the museum itself. In face of this, museums have new horizons; there are new expectations of us; and new attitudes are needed”.

3.2.2 The Global Museum

I care for myself. The more solitary, the more
friendless, the more unsustained I am, the more
I will respect myself. *Charlotte Bronte, Jane Eyre*
(1847)

The democratisation of political regimes that occurred in many European countries at the turn of the 19th century determined the birth of national collections. They were hosted in ad hoc buildings dedicated to the preservation of different typologies of works (e.g., artistic, technological, military, or historical) often coming from various sources. As a consequence of this composite origin, collections of national (or national-level) museums, although publicly owned and nationally acknowledged, did not represent the cultural outcomes of specific communities, but, rather, combined mosaics of various societies (Frey 1998). Museums hosting such collections appealed to the general public beyond their local referents, and they developed relations with similar organisations at national and international levels.

According to such characteristics, these museums have been variously defined: sometimes simply called “global” museums, they have also been described as “hyper-consumption” museums (Ciorra & Suma 2002), “universal museums” (“because their collections transcended national boundaries and served a public not belonging to a single nation-state”; Mathur 2005: 703), or as GLAMUR (GLObal Museums as Economic Re-activators) (Plaza 2010). Independently of the label, they were museum organisations with an international scope for what concerned the variety and notoriety of the collections, the volume and composition of visitors, the intensity and variation of institutional relationships, and the competitive market of reference. These

organisations, although still capable of and interested in maintaining ties with their local communities (in light of their public nature), were nonetheless drawn by the necessity to compete at a broader level⁶.

Examples of this kind of museum can be found in large European cities and capitals. In addition to the already mentioned Musée du Louvre, Paris also hosts other global museums, such as the Musée d'Orsay and the Centre National D'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou; in Berlin, a group of museums operates under the name Museuminsel (Neues Museum, Altes Museum, Alte Nationalgalerie, Pergamonmuseum); Rome has the Musei Vaticani and the MAXXI – Museo Nazionale delle Arti del XXI Secolo; Madrid hosts multiple global museums, such as the Museo del Prado, the Museo Nacional de Arte Reina Sofia, and the Museo de Arte Thyssen-Bornemisza; in Vienna are the Albertina, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, the Leopold Museum, and the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere; London, as one of the largest European metropolitan areas, hosts multiple global museums, such as the National Gallery, the Tate Britain and Tate Modern, the British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum; the Rijksmuseum, the Stedelijk Museum, and the Van Gogh Museum are found in Amsterdam; in Stockholm there is the Moderna Museet; Florence is known for the Gallerie degli Uffizi; and Saint Petersburg hosts the vast Hermitage State Museum.

The discussed social, economic, and political transformations that led to the decline of the elitist museum logic eventually affected these organisations as well; given their specific characteristics, they progressively defined their

⁶ An organisational reflection of this model can be found in the definition given by Tate of its own purpose and actions: “Tate vision is to be more: open by being receptive to new ideas, encouraging debate, exchange and collaboration within and beyond Tate, and by being more inviting to all people; diverse by presenting a range of different views, voices and perspectives across our programme and activities, and being more reflective of the diversity of Britain and the world; international by connecting the UK to the world, and the world to the UK through Tate’s programmes and collection; entrepreneurial by seeking new partnerships, examining new trends and leading and stimulating debate; sustainable by being financially sustainable, ensuring that scholarship and research are part of the fabric of our activities, and demonstrating leadership in response to climate change. Tate’s strategy focuses in developing these principles within these areas of activity: the Collection, Programmes, Audiences, Improving Tate” (Tate Corporate Report), the latter mainly referring to funding initiatives.

systems of values, practises, and beliefs, shaping a new model that differed and yet coexisted with the social museum one (Figure 3).

First, the root metaphor of the logic imagined the museum as a global actor, whereas the metaphor of the elitist museum logic defined such organisations as instructors for the masses. This difference is mirrored in the different economic systems to which the two logics referred: whereas the elitist museum operated as an outcome of welfare capitalism, the global museum reflected a managerial capitalist system, of which it would constitute an active player.

Second, whereas the elitist museum assigned legitimacy on the basis of its moral status as the preserver of heritage, the global museum received its legitimacy from the position it held in the global cultural market.

Third, the main source of authority in a global museum was no longer its direct institutional referent (as for the elitist museum logic) but the Board of Members of the museum – a condition similar to large corporations, in which authority is in the hands of directors and top managers.

Fourth, the identity of a global museum was derived from the nature and the notoriety of the works in its collections, because they connoted and distinguished the organisation from all others. In the case of elitist museums, in contrast, identity instead derived from the role assigned by institutional stakeholders (thus leaving the collection as a tool to convey a message).

Fifth, whereas the elitist museum logic based its norms in the public, institutional ownership of the organisation, the global museum was regulated by self-interest. However, its public nature was still present: the informal control mechanisms operating on it were represented by the system of institutional relationships that a global cultural organisation maintained at the local, national, and international levels. In elitist museums, in contrast, control was executed by back-room political connections.

Sixth, attention in the elitist logic was gained on the basis of the status acquired within the interest group, while for the global museum the main source of attention was gained by the notoriety of works that were part of its collection and that distinguished the single organisation from all other museums.

Finally, the strategic objectives of a global museum (the increase of the volume of visitors and the diversification of products and markets) were

markedly different from those of the elitist museum. To fulfil their objectives, these museums selected practises and managerial tools traditionally used by for-profit corporations. Even if the use of marketing and advertising tools and cost-efficient procedures was relatively common in most museums (even the small local ones) (Kotler, Kotler and Kotler, 2008), the passage from the localised application of single practises to the extensive redefinition of priorities and long-term strategies was pursued by a select number of organisations only.

Figure 3: The Global Museum – Categorical Elements

	GLOBAL MUSEUM
Root Metaphor	Museum as Global Player
Sources of Legitimacy	Market Position of Museum
Sources of Authority	Board of Members
Sources of Identity	Heritage Background
Basis of Norms	Self-Interest
Basis of Attention	Notoriety of Collections
Basis of Strategy	Increase Visitor Attendance Self-Sufficiency Diversification
Informal Control Mechanisms	Institutional Relationships
Economic System	Managerial Capitalism

In addition, in order to increase visitor attendance, global museums applied marketing practises (communication, branding, and public relations) (Kirezli 2011; Hume 2011) with multiple channels (social and digital media). At the same time, they integrated the offer of traditional services (educational activities for student groups and children) with new ones (bookshops, libraries, research centres, special programmes for adults and professionals, lectures, and cultural events):

“The number of subsidiary activities undertaken by museums has risen over the past few years. A development may be observed whereby educational and cultural activities become inextricably entwined with commerce and entertainment. [...] In their policies and programming, museums increasingly accentuate participation by the public at large. To that end, going to a museum is increasingly presented as taking part in a spectacle. (Van Aalst & Boogaarts 2002: 197-8)

In addition to product development, however, global museums also enacted strategies of market development by opening new temporary and permanent venues in other cities or abroad. In this sense, internationalisation constituted the most “extreme” action enacted by the global museum as it positioned itself as far as possible from the strategies of both the traditional elitist, nationalistic logic and the social, community museum logic (Popoli, 2011).

Diversification – that is, the entrance into new markets with new products – was also experimented with by global museums: the acquisition of existing museums (Tate acquiring the St Yves museum in Cornwall, later re-branded Tate St Yves), the creation of new branches in alliance with other museums (Louvre Abu Dhabi, which was the outcome of an agreement among eight French museum organisations), and the projecting of new collateral activities (the New Museum in New York opening a hub for creative start-ups) are all examples of how global museums tried to enter new markets in terms of both products and areas.

Summary. Definition and Transformation of an Institutional Field

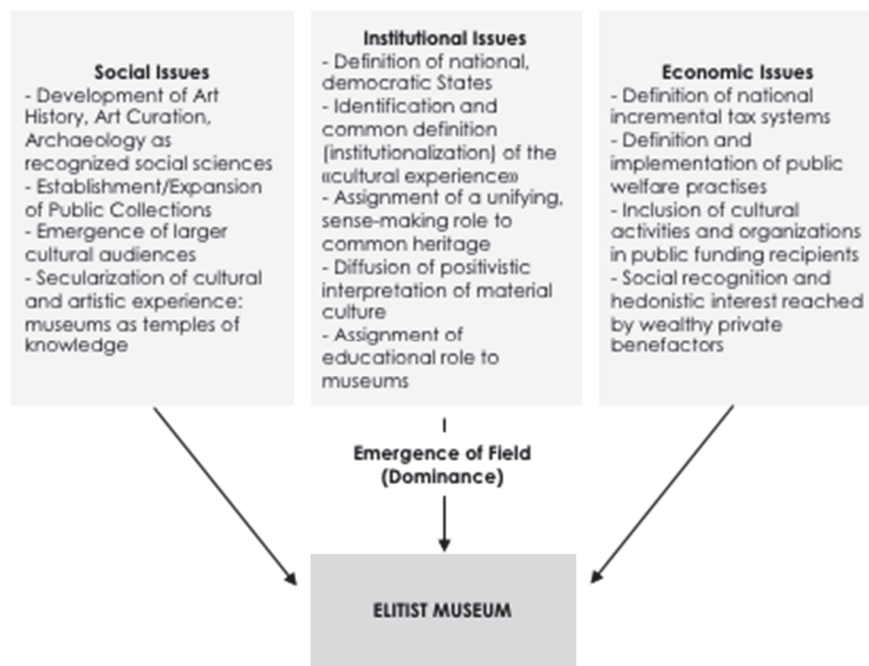
We aged a hundred years, and this happened in a
single hour. *Anna Akhmatova, White flock (1917)*

In this section, I have discussed how the European museum field emerged and then transformed, moving from being dominated by one institutional logic to sustaining the persistence of two systems of beliefs and rules

(Thornton, 2002; Lounsbury, 2005, 2007; Chen and O'Mahony, 2006; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007; Reay and Hinings, 2009).

In its emerging stage, the European museum field was characterised by relative impermeability from external factors, and by the presence of one dominating logic (Figure 4).

Figure 4: The Definition of the European Museum Field



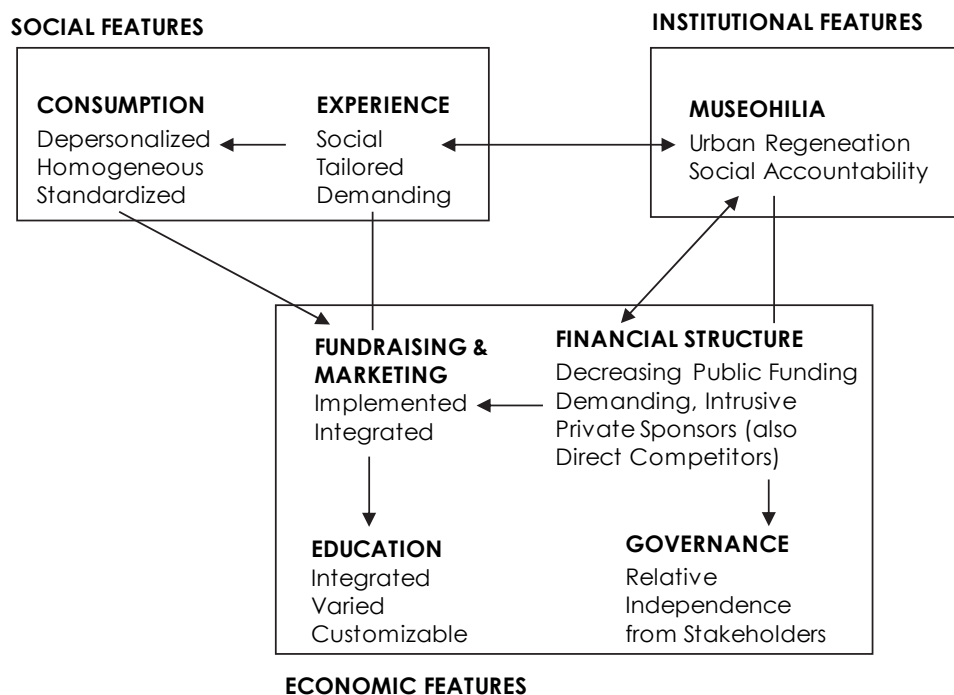
Research on how fields can emerge has investigated different possible institutional configurations related to the definition of a new sector. Most of the literature, however, has focused on the relatively conflicting conditions typical of an emerging field (Purdy & Gray 2009), functional to its progressive structuration. Maguire et al. (2004: 659) went so far as to say that “whereas institutions in mature fields tend to be widely diffused and highly accepted by actors, proto-institutions which are narrowly diffused and only weakly entrenched, are more likely to characterise emerging fields”. However, contrary to what Maguire et al. suggested, the analysis of the European public museum

field shows that, at its very formation, the field was characterised by one single dominant logic, with very distinct “institutional” features.

The values and beliefs that supported the establishment of the museum as a new organisation, in fact, formalised into a specific set of categories representing the elitist museum paradigm. The permanence of univocal categorical elements kept the levels of institutional uncertainty and potential cognitive conflict very low in the field, supporting its emergence and establishment.

The elitist museum logic, in this sense, operated as the cognitive framework upon which the European museum field progressively emerged and structured itself, providing the set of categorical elements constituting the institutional template of the museum organisation.

Figure 5: Interconnected Issues Operating to Transform the European Museum Field – Mid-20th Century



In this chapter, I have also reported that the conditions that determined the definition of the European museum field and the emergence of the elitist

museum logic in the late 18th century progressively changed over time. Although the field stayed relatively unaffected by environmental influences during the 19th and much of the early 20th century, the social, institutional and economic circumstances of post-WWII Europe (Figure 5) eventually put into crisis the elitist museum paradigm, leading to its decline and to the emergence of new systems of values and beliefs for the museum organisation (Lennon and Graham, 2001; Crooke, 2010).

The nature of cultural consumption started to progressively change in parallel with the transformation of general consumption practises. Western European citizens, eventually accustomed to the rules of capitalist economies, started to approach the cultural market similarly; the homogeneity and replicability featured by regular consumer goods were expected also in cultural products. During the second half of the 20th century, then, the elitist experience of museum visiting was progressively overruled by a standardised, popular, and yet superficial experience, more suitable for fulfilling the demands of a wider public of new cultural consumers.

This condition not only affected the social and institutional position of museums within society, but it also had effects on their financial structure (Harvey, 1999). In particular, the commodification and the homogenisation of the museum experience eventually led to the commercialisation of collateral activities and related products. The ratio of public funds to internal revenues inverted, with the progressive prevalence of self-generated income and the increase of investments in new practises (marketing and fundraising).

The escalation in the level of cultural accessibility by large publics implied the development of standardised and yet superficial forms of mass cultural consumption⁷. At the same time, the change in the social environment determined the concurrent emergence of new demands involving the nature and the quality of the museum experience. Elisabeth Merritt, Head of the Center for the Future of Museums, noted that

⁷ By this I refer to the nature and the length of the visit to a museum, during which a limited amount of time is usually spent going through the most important masterpieces from the collection.

“many museums are only now catching up with the need to have more flexible hours, opening earlier or staying open later to attract audiences. But the emergence of the new labour economy has happened so quickly, it has taken many institutions by surprise. More museums are just now saying we should have alternative hours. Just as they are getting that, the game is changing on them. Happiness intersects with this social change, as people begin to think more deeply about whether they are leading fulfilling lives. [...] Millennials have good instincts when it comes to pursuing happiness, preferring to spend their money on experiences rather than stuff, a strategy that has been shown to be more likely to produce lasting happiness⁸.

If, on the one hand, the widening of potential and actual audiences led to an increase in attendance rates (Guintcheva and Passebois-Ducros, 2009), on the other hand, the relatively low informational quality inherent in standardised forms of cultural consumption ignited the emergence of new demands of high-level educational and curatorial experiences. The original role of cultural products as controlled media of a unified interpretation of society gave way to a different interpretations of cultural practises: the individual, rather than the collective, took center stage and started to demand more person-specific, tailored cultural experiences (Tobelem, 2010; Hume and Mills, 2011).

To fulfill such expectations, museums were then pushed to provide more integrated, diversified, and customisable visiting experiences, with precise attention to the nature and the quality of the educational, curatorial, and entertainment offerings (Anberrée and Aubouin, 2015; Boudier-Pailler and Urbain, 2015).

During the second half of the 20th century, then, the cultural product not only became more accessible and common, but it also transformed into a more “socialised” one (Gilhespy, 2001). This double change crucially affected museums, because they represented one of the main social referents for the provision of cultural products and services (Poisson-de Haro, Normandin and Coblenz, 2013):

⁸ Kennicott, P., “What do museum audiences need most? More time to play”, *The Washington Post*, February 26th, 2016

“institutions like the British Museum, the Met, the Prado have always had a strong identity: a reputation, following and clear expectations about what you'll find there. However, until recently, this tended to happen implicitly and organically; almost accidentally. Three things have changed that. First, museology: the science and practise of organizing, arranging and managing museums, has changed the emphasis from collections to audiences, and from objects to stories. Second, television and the internet have provided competition, and have led audiences to expect a much more vivid and interactive experience. Finally, governments have insisted that museums get better at attracting wider audiences, and at funding themselves. All this has led cultural organizations, in various ways, to think more deeply about what they stand for, to manage their identity more deliberately, and to externalize it more clearly – both in the way they communicate and in the experience they offer visitors. It's a way for museums to win audiences and funding, to sign up partners and to unify and energize their own people”⁹.

At the same time, the definition of a new social approach to cultural consumption influenced and was conditioned by the emergence of a different set of demands coming from institutional stakeholders. Policy-makers at different administrative levels started to reconsider the extent and the nature of the contribution requested by cultural organisations (Arnaud, Soldo and Keramidas, 2012; Turbide, 2012).

In addition to the traditional role as sense-makers and heritage preservers, in fact, museums were progressively assigned new functions within their communities, based on their potential contribution as urban regenerators (De Frantz, 2005; Pratt, 2009; Gonzalez, 2011). Projects of “creative” neighborhoods and cultural hubs started to flourish all around Europe, boosted by the apparently positive results of some early cases; museums were no longer considered only as cultural players, but they started to be acknowledged for their contribution to the economic reigniting of cities and urban areas (Weinstein, 2010; Comunian, 2011; Gainza, 2016). As confirmed by Donald Hyslop, Head of Regeneration and Partnerships at Tate,

“we sensed and hoped that we could breathe new life into an important historical area of central London. To make this work, we set about building relationships to widen our impact beyond the building itself. Maintaining conversations with

⁹ Jones, R., Culture Professionals Network, *The Guardian*, May 1st 2014

local communities, businesses and political authorities has been a crucial part. [...] But this urban and social change is neither purely physical nor a matter of chance. The good quality of life, transport connections, facilities [...] and culture have all been achieved through a series of projects aimed at keeping some balance between the needs of local communities, businesses and tourists. These projects include employment and training, urban planning, community cinema, business improvement districts, travel planning, urban arts festivals, greening projects and neighborhood planning”¹⁰.

This new institutional position as all-around cultural and economic actors was inherently related to the concurrent transformation of the financial system supporting these organisations.

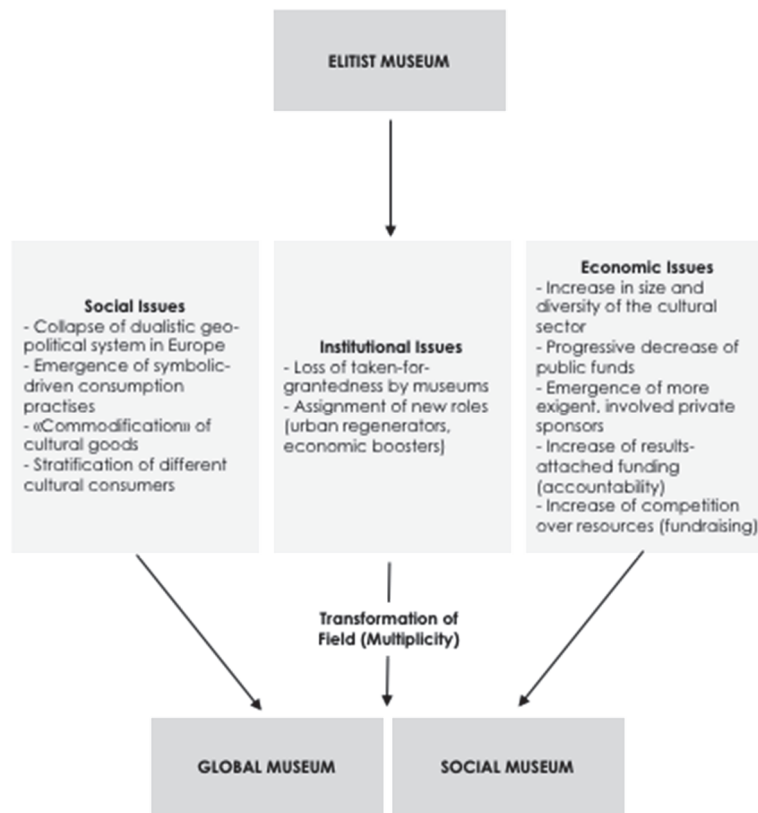
The discussed combination of social, cultural, institutional, and economic transformations led to the decline of the elitist museum logic, as its set of categories eventually became inconsistent with the new values and beliefs expressed in the field. As indicated by Kotler (2001:423),

“a successful future museum will not be an entertainment center although it will have entertaining elements. It will not be a ‘cabinet of curiosities,’ although art and artifacts will be important elements. A future museum will not be exclusively a place supported by collectors, cultural leaders, and elites, although their presence and support will be vital. Nor will it be a place, which caters mainly to adults who can afford membership fees. A future museum will be a place that attracts young people who want to learn and enjoy recreational activities. Museums in the future will be hybrid places, combining recreation and learning, allowing visitors diversions from the stimuli of strolling through galleries and viewing multitudinous objects”.

However, it was not replaced by a new, single dominant logic: two different models emerged, suggesting the presence of concurrent and possibly divergent systems of categories. The social and the global museum models represented the “extruded” institutional outcomes of the imploded elitist museum model, to which museums alternatively referred in search for new categorical references; their alternative nature contributed to reconfigure the field into a multiple sector (Figure 6).

¹⁰ <https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/museums-can-play-role-urban-regeneration>

Figure 6: The Transformation of the European Museum Field



Since the emergence of the field, museums were virtually granted full financial support from public administrations. However, the transformations of the European economic framework led to the progressive disengagement of public bodies from those fields that were not considered necessary sectors. Among these was the cultural field (Chatelain- Ponroy, 2001; Daigle and Rouleau, 2010; Youker, 2010). Museums ceased to be considered a social priority by most policy-makers, who then started to redirect resources to other sectors. At the same time, requests for accountability and efficiency from public stakeholders started to pressure museums into developing new practises destined to guarantee transparency and to improve self-sufficiency (Ames, 1990; Rentschler and Potter, 1996; Paulus, 2007; Legget, 2009).

Chapter 4. Changing Governance Models in European Museums

In yourself right now is all the place you've got.
Flannery O'Connor, Wise Blood (1952)

Reality is Never a Golden Age. *Joan Robinson,*
Economic Heresies (1971)

In Chapter 3 I gave an account of the institutional and categorical features that came into succession in the European museum field, from its emergence to its present condition.

First, I reported the main cognitive elements that characterised the emergence of the field, suggesting the definition of “elitist museum logic” for the system of beliefs and rules that dominated the field in its emerging stage. Then I discussed the transformation of the field determined by the concurrent variation of its social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances. In particular, I indicated that such change determined the decline of the elitist museum logic as the dominating system of reference for the field, and the concurrent manifestation of alternative sets of cognitive categories. Finally, I suggested that the new logics emerged in respect to different organisational characteristics of the museums operating in the field: whereas the social museum paradigm formed around a community-centric role of the organisation, present primarily among the large number of small, local European museums, the global museum model collected the beliefs and rules progressively

defined within the more scarce group of large, international European museums.

Chapter 3, then, offered an account of the cognitive conditions that characterised the field, translating them into comprehensive systems of categories, with the analytical support of the institutional logics perspective. This chapter builds upon Chapter 3, focusing on the organisational level of the phenomenon. In particular, it discusses the organisational models that have been used to govern European museums, taking into consideration their effectiveness in translating the cognitive categories of the operating logics into specific governance and organisational features.

To research the phenomenon, this chapter focuses on one of these governance models – the *stakeholders foundation* form applied by Italian museums – thus introducing the research setting of the subsequent empirical analysis, reported in Chapter 5.

4.1. Reforming the Elitist Museum (with New Governance Models)

The prospect of revolution seems therefore quite restricted. For can a revolution avoid war?

Simone Weil, Reflections on War (1933)

European museums developed out of the social necessity to find a physical place in which to preserve and to display meaningful pieces of human and natural heritage (Smith 2001; Cannon-Brookes 1996). They had to provide both a physical space and a cognitive sense for collections that had started to move into public hands at the end of the 18th century. They represented the offspring of a social necessity, and in this sense they were part of the collective material and immaterial identity while contributing to the conservation and diffusion of values and to the building of legitimate societies (Stocking, 1988; Simpson, 2012).

The very existence of museums was determined by the social agreement on the relevance of cultural products, on the importance of the preservation of material and immaterial heritage, and on the educational validity of their relationship with the public (Wittlin 1949; 1970). In this sense, their value and necessity came from the legitimation received by society and communities (Walsh, 2002). Institutional legitimacy, then, played a central role in the early history of European museums: as organisations, they were granted legitimacy¹¹ out of their very mission and purpose. In a broader sense, they answered a societal-level call to frame collective heritage and knowledge (Pearce, 1994), to conserve artifacts in ad hoc physical buildings, and to transmit and make them available in order to contribute to the collective social identity (Bennett, 1995).

In this role, they progressively became used for the political, military, economic, and social building of European nations. The main product or service they combined to make available, and for which they started to interact formally with each other, was the supply of a mediated access to heritage. This occurred for the sake of knowledge and education and, more abstractly, for the provision of a purposefully designed context for citizens to make sense of their role within society.

By virtue of this specific feature, European museums were characterised by strong connections with institutional stakeholders (the national government at all levels, local policy makers, government agencies, and international institutions) (Karp, 1992). At the same time, they were defined by limited conditioning relationships with the external environment. Inevitably, they had a privileged relationship with public stakeholders, but a similarly distinct distance from most other social actors. They justified their existence with the purpose appointed to them by policy makers and political institutions and, by virtue of it, they were ensured full financial support that made them relatively uninterested in and unaffected by the changing conditions of their economic context.

¹¹ Intended as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995: 574).

They featured top-down legitimacy, relative isolation from environmental influences, and institutional taken-for-grantedness, which together reduced the main strategic goals to the perdurance and the reinforcement of a filtered social narrative. Museums built around such a set of values and rules were framed within a very specific, distinct governance model.

As part of a larger bureaucratic system, the European elitist museum was governed as a built-in office of the central administration, directly controlled by the corresponding ministry of reference (usually of Culture or Education). The public nature of European museums implied direct ownership of these organisations by government bodies (at different levels). Museums and the collections they hosted belonged legally to and were governed directly by public administrations. This condition translated into built-in governance structures with no formal autonomy for financial and strategic issues.

The elitist museum had no organisational autonomy, and it depended on the public government for staff recruitment (all public employees), resource allocation (almost exclusively public funding), and strategic planning (directly defined by the central ministerial office). The organisational structure was minimal, and practises were all directed to support curatorial display and research.

As a consequence, museums were governed by personnel who were contractually comparable to regular public employees. Turnovers and flexible agreements – more in line with institutional policies pursuing economic efficiency and self-sufficiency – were almost impossible to apply.

At the same time, as part of the bureaucratic system of public government, the museum drew most of its financial resources from the public administration, with the remainder coming from rich sponsors in search of social recognition: overall, this joint condition made elitist museums dependent upon two sources of financial support that were considered as taken-for-granted, virtually guaranteeing long-term full financial cover.

In addition, the application of new management practises that could achieve these goals were generally prevented or slowed in light of the lack of managerial background by museum personnel (traditionally formed in humanities studies), and because of the low incentive to professional updating that could otherwise eliminate the existing skill gap.

The introduction of best practices; innovative managerial tools; standardised procedures; and flexible, autonomous decision-making processes was often obstructed by the rigidity of the governance structure – typical of public bureaucracies – on the one hand, and by the univocal background of most professionals, hired following out-of-date selection parameters, on the other hand.

Overall, the governance model enforcing the elitist museum paradigm left no space for financial autonomy, very little opportunity for long-term planning, and almost no possibility for cultural and managerial innovation: museums did not issue annual reports or budgets, they had no independent legal status, and the director constituted the main governing actor, on behalf of the ministry of reference.

Because the logic remained the same for almost two centuries, the governance form of European museums did not change; this contributed to the enforcement of the dominant logic, and, in parallel, to the establishment of the field itself. In this sense, the built-in governance model remained prevalent in most European museums until the field-level institutional change that occurred after WWII.

With the progressive decline of the elitist museum paradigm, in fact, that form, embodying the categories of a then-collapsed institutional model, eventually became incongruous with the beliefs and rules expressed by the social and the global museum logics. To translate the new cognitive categories, novel governance models were designed and applied to European museums, in some cases drawn from other sectors, in other cases designed from scratch.

Among different governance forms applied by European museums to reform the old model shaped around the elitist museum paradigm, **inter-organisational networks** and **foundations** represent two of the most widespread forms, because they could support the operative translation of the new cognitive categories from the social and the global museum systems.

Inter-organisational networks (Baker and Faulkner, 2002; Baker, 2015) were a common choice among European museums. Museums could resort to networking to different extents, and with different degrees of resource involvement; they could share information concerning conservation and research activities, they could access a combined educational offer, or

they could share offices and roles to reduce costs. In some cases, they could define a formalised structure to take care of coordination; usually this last configuration was the final outcome after the initial establishment of more-flexible, less-binding forms of interrelationships.

Although with different levels of closeness and formalisation, then, the definition of interorganisational networks was a choice with direct effects on both the increase in the communal good and the maintenance of financial stability (Bagdadli, 2001).

On the one hand, museums operating in the same environment but with different types of collections, or, alternatively, museums physically distant but with a similar typology of works and specimens, could form a network with the explicit purpose of mutually benefiting from each other's expertise and skills. They could exchange pieces and works for temporary display, as well as design programs, projects, and exhibitions with stronger cultural appeal (not only for their communities but also, possibly, for potential circulation elsewhere).

On the other hand, this solution could prove particularly efficient to pursue financial self-sufficiency. With the implementation of cultural offerings, museums in networks could experience a concurrent increase of revenues from entrances and correlated activities (e.g., bookshops, guided tours, audio tours, and special events). In parallel, the definition of networks to share expertise, offices, and roles could be a particularly effective solution to reduce costs, while maintaining – or even implementing – organisational effectiveness –both cultural and financial.

Overall, the definition of interorganisational networks seemed to effectively translate most of the beliefs, values, rules, and expectations that were featured by the social museum logic.

As discussed before, putting multiple museums and venues in a stable, operational relationship with each other supported the improvement of cultural and economic performance, thus securing legitimacy, especially from the main social stakeholders constituting the source of authority for many local museums. Significantly, in fact, the network governance model was very common among local museums with strong ties with their communities: as the preservers of the same communal heritage, in fact, museums with geo-

graphical proximity would find resource and office sharing through networking to be particularly effective in strengthening their role as social and cultural connectors and in reinforcing their identity as heritage preservers.

In effect, many examples of networked museums can be found at the urban and peri-urban levels, particularly in European countries in which physical heritage is extensive, diffused, and fragmented. Take the case of the network uniting the municipal museums of Rome in Italy: as expressed by their statute, the purpose was to

manage museums and monuments of the city to promote their knowing through a composite offer of services and educational activities. A system of networked ticket counters provides online reservations and pre-sales; a unified call-center can help customers with any kind of requests; a co-ordinated brand image can help identifying sites that are part of the System, while increasing brand awareness with ad-hoc campaigns for initiatives involving single members but of interest to the entire System. Beside fulfilling the traditional institutional and scientific activities (conservation, promotion), the System seeks to act as a centre for cultural interpretation and production as well as to operate as a definer and preserver of the city's identity. To complete the offer, the System proposes a rich program of artistic and historic exhibitions of international scope, that are often conceptually related with its own collections¹².

Other cases can be found in France (Réseau des Musées de la Ville de Paris, Réseau des Musées de Normandie, Réseau des Musées et Collections Techniques) and Spain (Red de Museos de Fuerteventura, Red de Museos de Extremadura).

Another governance model that started to diffuse as a replacement for the original built-in form was the **foundation**, an organisational framework particularly used by museums seeking greater financial and managerial autonomy from the main public stakeholder.

WAlthough foundations' statutes and its specifics might vary from one European country to another¹³, they generally shared some characteristics: a

¹² Statute of the Municipal Museums of Rome

¹³ A project to design a single form for all European nations is under discussion at the European Parliament at the time of writing.

not-for-profit, charitable legal status; a written statute indicating the institution's purpose, rules, and structure; and the assignment (from an individual, a group, or a corporate body) of a fund with which to support their existence and to fulfil their objectives.

Traditionally, this legislative tool was used by private benefactors to leave some material legacy behind and, later, by corporations and banks as their Corporate Social Responsibility branch. However, the not-for-profit status, combined with the relatively high level of autonomy and the rather flexible organisational structure, together represented a set of organisational features that fit with many museum organisations.

The new operational flexibility offered by the foundation form, in fact, allowed the entrance of ad hoc professional figures and the opening of new offices and roles (e.g., marketing, social media, fundraising, and business development). Also, it contributed to the introduction of new managerial practises and routines (e.g., accounting, cost monitoring, and standardised calls for tenders). As reported the Statute of the Museo Nacional del Prado¹⁴, the purpose of the new governance model¹⁵ was to “follow the line, already traced by other iconic museums, to improve public service, an objective translated into the increase and the improvement of its activities and, at the same time, into the implementation of the museum's ability to raise funds increasing its level of self-financing”.

Overall, the application of the foundation model would prove particularly effective in enforcing the categories that constituted the global museum paradigm. Significantly, in fact, it was pursued widely by large, international museums in the necessity of finding a governance model alternative to the obsolete, ineffective built-in model. In fact, the possibility of achieving managerial autonomy and financial independence while maintaining public ownership of the heritage represented an opportunity for those museums which

¹⁴ Law 46/2003, November 25th; Royal Decree 433/2004, March, 12th; Royal Decree 1713/2011, November 18th

¹⁵ The new organizational model has been defined thusly: “The Museo Nacional del Prado is a public entity, from those anticipated in the tenth additional provision, 2 of Law 6/1997 April 14th, Organization and Operation of the General State Administration, with legal personality and capacity to act, public and private, to fulfil its purposes”.

operated in an internationally competitive market, and that were in charge of extensive, composite collections.

The transformation into out-and-out foundations occurred in those European countries in which this solution could be legally applied. In other cases, in fact, because the system of public government would not allow formally changing the legislative status of museums, similar forms were selected and used. An example of this was the Musée du Louvre in Paris, which was transformed into an *établissement public administratif* (EPA) in 1993:

“Legal entity of public law having the administrative and financial autonomy to fulfil a mission of general interest, clearly stated, under the control of the public body from which it depends (State, Region, *Département*, or Municipality). It has a margin of freedom that allows it to better ensure some public service. Its main objective is the accomplishment of traditional missions of sovereignty or of social action. (Direction de l'information légale et administrative)¹⁶

The introduction of the foundation form (or its national equivalents) can be observed in many international museums: the Musée du Louvre, the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, and the Musée d'Orsay in France; the Rijksmuseum in the Netherlands; the Tate, the National Gallery, and the British Museum in the UK; the MAXXI – Museo delle Arti del XXI Secolo and the MUST – National Museum Of Science and Technology in Italy; the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in Germany, administering five museums of the Museuminsel (Pergamon, Neue, Altes, Bode, and Alte Nationalgalerie); and the Museo del Prado in Spain.

Overall, whereas the network form was more common among local museums, because it proved to support the application of beliefs and values and the pursuit of objectives from the social museum paradigm, the foundation model was preferred by organisations identifying with the cognitive categories of the global museum logic. Still, both the interorganisational network and the foundation represented governance models that were drawn from other fields and translated into the European museum field to replace the unfit, declined built-in elitist one.

¹⁶

<http://www.vie-publique.fr/decouverte-institutions/institutions/administration/organisation/structures-administratives/>

Although these models were applied by many museum organisations, becoming two of the most widespread models in the field, they did not necessarily represent the ideal governance solution for all European museums. In some cases, in fact, specific organisational and legal circumstances supported the definition and the application of governance models that were not translated from other sectors, but designed *ex novo*. In this sense, although expectations of the organisational and institutional performance of networks and foundations were based on previous applications in other fields, the operational and institutional outcomes of new governance forms were untested and, therefore, unforeseeable.

To research such outcomes – that is, to investigate what might happen when a new governance model is applied in conditions of logic multiplicity resulting from institutional change – I have selected the **stakeholders foundation**, a governance form designed in Italy at the turn of the 21st century.

4.2. The Stakeholders Foundation in Italy

I am made, crudely, for success. *Sylvia Plath, Diaries (1958)*

In Italy, after the end of World War II and with the redistribution of administrative powers in the newly founded Republic, the governance of museums was assigned for the most part to the cultural departments of local administrations. The diffused and fragmented nature of heritage made it necessary to create regional-level superintendencies specifically dedicated to governing and preserving the respective cultural heritage and acting as mediums between single museums and the central authority.

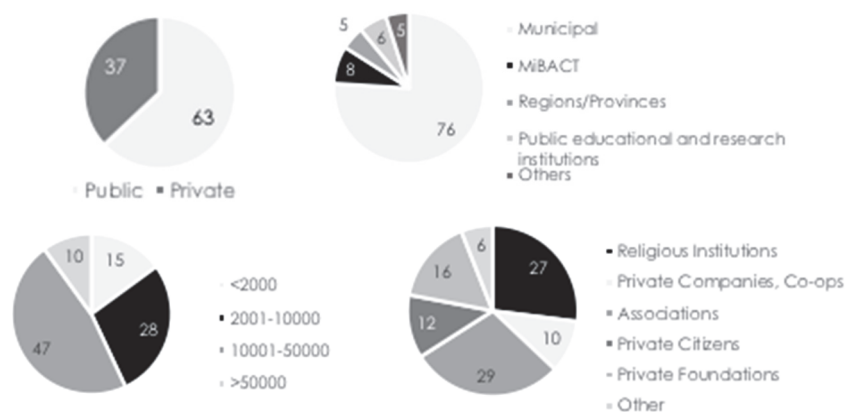
The Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – MiBACT (Ministry of Heritage and Cultural Activities) is the government body regulating and funding the cultural sector. Other sources of public funding are

constituted by the 20 regions, 100 provinces (which, however, have progressively lost administrative power over the former¹⁷), and 8000 municipalities into which the republican territory is divided.

The Italian cultural sector is particularly varied and multifaceted, because it comprises organisations managing both material heritage (archeological, historical, artistic, scientific, and natural) and performing arts (cinema, theatre, music, and dance). The most recent statistical analysis of organisations included in the former group was conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) in 2015.

Comprehensively, the Italian heritage sector is composed of 4976 sites, divided amongst museums (4158), archeological areas (282), and historical monuments (536). Museums represent 83.5% of the total; of these, 63% are public and the remaining 37% are directly owned by private individuals and organisations. Only 8% of public museums are state-owned, the vast majority belonging to local governments, with a clear prevalence of municipal bodies (68%) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Italian Museums per Ownership in Percentage (2015)

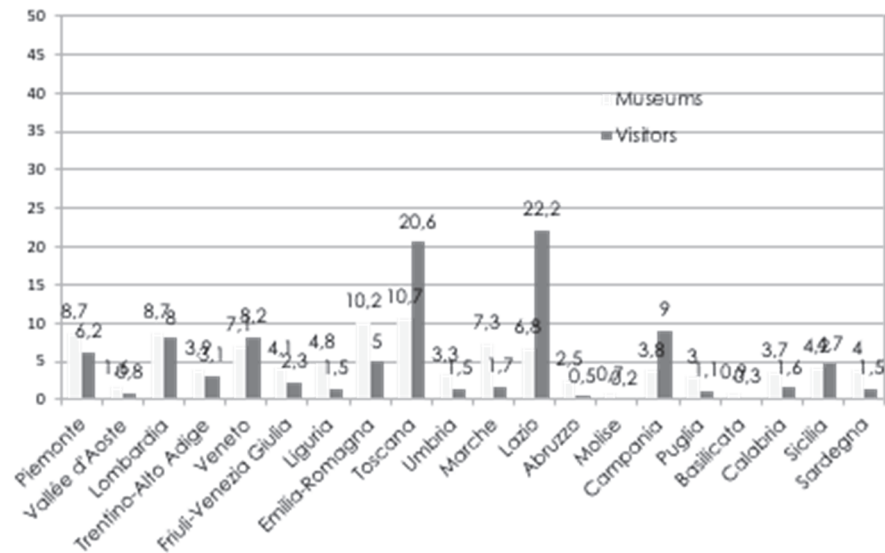


(Source: ISTAT 2011)

¹⁷ In 2015, provinces as autonomous public government bodies were formally abolished by the Italian Parliament.

According to ISTAT, Italy hosts 1.7 museums every 100 km², and one museum for every 12,000 inhabitants. One in three municipalities has a museum (or corresponding organisation), with some regions exceeding this statistic¹⁸. Most museums are located in mid-sized municipalities, with only 10% present in big cities – such as Rome, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Bologna, Turin, Trieste, Naples, Venice, and Siena. However, the concentration in these cities is particularly high, with municipalities such as Florence and Rome hosting more than 200 museums each.

Figure 8: Museum and Visitors per Typology and per Region (Percentage) (2015)

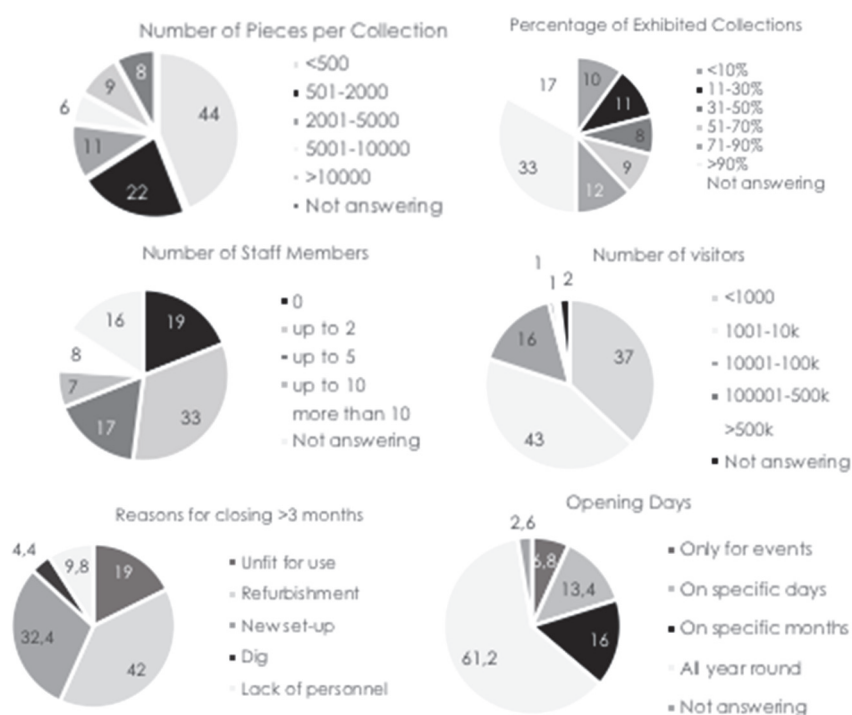


(Source: ISTAT 2011)

¹⁸ In the Marche region, 82% of municipalities have a museum; in Umbria, is 86%; and Tuscany 88% of municipalities host at least one museum.

As for typology, Italian museums are characterised by a high variety of different collections: in 2015, although art museums were not the most numerous type, they attracted the highest number of visitors (Figure 8). Ethnographic and anthropologic museums are the largest category (17% of total organisations), but they are unable to attract a large public (only 5% of the total). Significantly, the cultural connotation is not limited to the hosted collections: 72% of Italian museums, in fact, are located in buildings of historical significance, making the latter the prevalent source of attractiveness for 19% of visitors (with 27% considering the building and the collections equally responsible for determining the visit).

Figure 9: Number of Pieces in Collections, Percentage of Exhibited Collections, Number of Staff Members, Number of Visitors, Reasons for Long-Term Closure of Exhibition Spaces (2015)*



(Source: ISTAT 2011) *In surveys investigating specific data, the percentage of subjects not answering is particularly high testifying for the lack of internal resources to keep track of some information

On average, Italian museums are of small to medium size in terms of both the extent of the collections and the number of staff members (Figure 9); more than half (66%) have a collection of less than 2000 pieces, and no more than two regular staff members (52%).

At the same time, however, almost one-third of museums (29% in total) exhibit less than half of the works in their collections; this is often due to the historical relevance of the hosting buildings, which may impede refurbishment and expansion. At the same time, the limited number of exhibited works implies the presence of a significant amount of archived and deposited materials requiring long-term management and exhibit rotation, a practise engaged in only by a limited percentage of museums (25%).

All these aspects, then, suggest the prevalence of very small museums, with limited human resources dedicated to their daily activities; this is confirmed by data regarding the services offered by Italian museums: the 2015 ISTAT report, in fact, indicates that 7% of museums are open only for specific events and that almost 30% are open only periodically.

Finally, the reason for the partial closure of rooms and exhibition spaces for long periods (more than three months) was attributed by almost 10% of museums to the lack of personnel, with the unfitness of spaces (correlated with the degeneration inherent in the historical nature of the buildings) accounting for 16%.

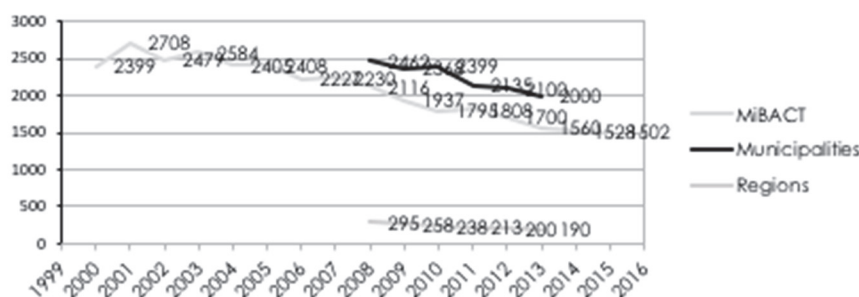
In 2015, the average number of visitors per museum was 26,591 (around 110 million in total); however, around 71% of museums were visited by less than 10,000 customers, and only 0.4% exceeded half a million visitors.

The regional distribution of visitors suggests stark differences: in 2015, three regions accounted for more than half the total number of museum visitors, with Lazio topping the list with 22.2%, followed by Toscana (20.6%) and Campania (9%). This suggests a distribution of museums among regions that does not correspond to the distribution of visitors: customers are attracted to a relatively limited number of museum attractions, mainly located in big cities. In 2015, in fact, the 20 most-visited museum organisations attracted almost one-third of all visitors (32%), and state museums had the highest number of visitors (42%).

From a financial point of view, the main source of revenues for Italian public museums is the public government at all levels. Depending on their

ownership, in fact, they are supported by public funding at different administrative levels, as well as by private sponsorship by not-for-profit organisations and corporate and individual supporters.

Figure 10: Central and Local Resources Destined to Culture (€1 Million) (2000–2016)



(Source: ISTAT 2011)

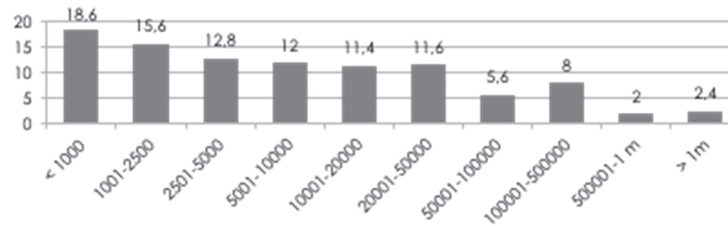
Archival data from MiBACT testify to the progressive decrease of state support to Culture: almost €1 billion was cut over a 10-year period by the national government, plunging the percentage of GDP allocated to fund culture to a narrow 0.11% in 2013. Moreover, the financial crisis of 2008 – and the consequent cuts in financial transfers from the central government – also affected the budgets of local administrations: in the four-year period 2008–2011, the funds allocated to culture decreased 13.3% for municipalities and 27.8% for regions, with a distinctive negative trend persisting until 2013 (Figure 10).

The general reduction in state funding allocated to the cultural sector also involved the specific subsector of museums: on a whole, museum budgets have suffered from the cuts, putting the financial sustainability and the long-term survival of these organisations at risk. In fact, although state museums receive most of their funding from MiBACT, all other public museums rely mostly on financial support from other local administrations.

The whole Italian museum sector has suffered an increasing reduction in public support at all government levels, a process that had begun at the end

of the 1980s, became more and more critical at the turn of the 21st century, and has been further spurred by the negative fallout of the 2008 crisis.

Figure 11: Museum Revenues from Ticketing (Euros) in Percentage (2015)



(Source: ISTAT 2011)

In addition to public funding, Italian museums count on the revenues from ticketing and from collateral activities, and on private and corporate sponsorships. In this latter case, however, the partnerships can have many forms, and there are many examples of agreements based on the free provision of services and resources rather than on the transfer of monetary sums.

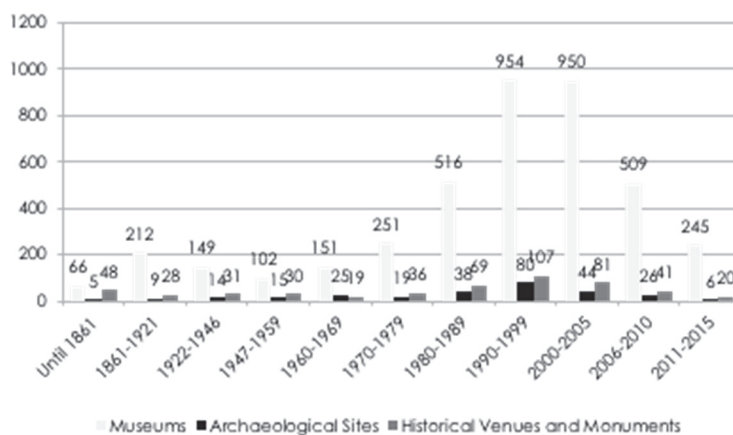
Data from the 2015 ISTAT report indicate that more than half of Italian museums do not collect any revenues from ticketing (53%); of the remaining 47%, only 4.4% collect more than half a million euros from entrance fees (Figure 11), whereas the majority raise less than 5000 euros. On the one hand, this circumstance reinforces the impression of Italian museums as small organisations, whose limited human resources determine the provision of reduced services, with effects on attractiveness and on attendance; on the other hand, it justifies the resulting persistence of Italian museums' dependence on funding to cover their expenses, rather than on internal revenues.

Despite the financial difficulties characterising the field in the late 20th century, ISTAT reports indicate that more than 87% of Italian museums were founded after 1980, with a distinct increase occurring between 2000 and 2015 (Figure 12).

Similarly, the trend in visitor attendance shows that, despite the financial cuts from public governments, the overall attractiveness of Italian museums

has continued to increase, with the number of visitors growing 9.8% between 2011 and 2015; the whole Italian heritage sector – museums, archaeological sites, and historical monuments – grew by 6.3% in the same period.

Figure 12: Heritage Venues Opened in Italy (1861–2015)



(Source: ISTAT 2011)

Overall, then, Italian museums:

- have been founded relatively recently (around 70% opened in the 30-year period between 1980 and 2010);
- are mainly public (63%), prevalently owned by municipalities (76%), and are of small to medium size (75%);
- are located in the north (38.9%) and central (38.3%) regions, where the majority of the public is also concentrated (30.1% and 51%, respectively), but in general are relatively dispersed throughout the territory;
- are predominantly artistic (26%) and historical (34%), topics that attract the majority of visitors (50% and 27%, respectively);
- are hosted in historically relevant buildings (72%);

- have small collections (66%), and less than five regular staff members (69%);
- are open all year (61.2%);
- have less than 10,000 visitors per year (80%), although some - have a high concentration of visitors (the 20 most-visited museums combined account for one-third of all entrances);
- have experienced decreasing financial support from public administrations at all tiers of government; and
- struggle to develop internal revenues through ticketing (82%), because most of them have a free entrance policy (54%).

The distribution of visitors and resources also suggests the existence of some centers of attractions located in the main urban areas, determined by the high concentration of museums and by the presence of a few large ones, with extensive, well-known collections.

The Italian public museum sector, then, is two-fold: whereas the majority of organisations are owned by local administrations, located in peri-urban areas, host a limited number of pieces, are managed by no or few staff members, and depend significantly on funding, a limited number of public museums – mostly state-owned – are located in large cities, conserve large collections, and attract masses of visitors, thus generating significant internal revenues from ticketing and collateral activities. Overall, Italian museums are highly related to their public stakeholders, with local museums playing a decisive role in guaranteeing institutional legitimacy and resource support.

In light of these characteristics, the need to find organisational and managerial solutions to avoid the inefficient dispersion of public resources for small-medium sized museums became clear to most policy-makers. To overcome physical fragmentation and resource dispersion, then, many museums – especially public ones – opted for the establishment of interorganisational agreements. According to ISTAT, between 2010 and 2015, 55.6% of Italian museums joined some kind of formal territorial network¹⁹ designed to share resources and to coordinate activities.

¹⁹ A museum network has been defined as “a system of museums or similar organizations of different nature, legislative status and/or formal title that, based on a formal

The main determinants of building a network of museums in Italy are both economic and cultural: first, the possibility of sharing roles and offices contributes to the reduction or at least the rationalisation of costs that are then divided among multiple members; second, the notoriety of some participants can help to draw resources that are allocated to the benefit of the smaller members, in a synergic scheme; and finally, the collaboration among different museums in cultural planning and communication contributes to define a more varied and appealing offer, able to reach different segments of visitors and sponsors.

In Italy, legislators have tried different formulations to design governance forms that could provide both high participation from institutional stakeholders (private and public) and a sufficient level of organisational autonomy. A relatively ill-fated configuration called *Istituzione* (institution) was experimented with by some municipalities; in this specific model, the local government maintained the ownership of all heritage while using the new organisation as an executive branch.

However, the legislative vagueness of this model led to the implementation of a new organisational form, partially drawn from the existing foundation form²⁰, a popular model in the not-for-profit and cultural sectors. As of 2011, in fact, Italy had 7846 foundations; of these, around 21% (1631) were variously devoted to the conservation of heritage and to the promotion of cultural activities— such institutions are called *Fondazioni Artistico Culturali* (FAC). In the six-year period 2005–2011, they increased by 144%, with regions in Southern Italy witnessing a mushrooming of FACs (Table 5).

written agreement, are connected with each other, with purpose of functional and managerial coordination and that, based on a common territory or theme-related project – share human, technological, and/or financial resources or services, with the purpose of achieving economies of scale. Given the scientific and governance independence of each organization to program research and conservation activities, this system can be set up as a distinct, autonomous legal subject in respect to its members. It can also identify itself with a title, having its own governance body, or common control center” (ISTAT 2011).

²⁰ This form was first experimented with in the cultural sector, applied to opera houses (Leon, 2004; Sicca and Zan, 2004; Finessi, 2010).

Table 5: Presence of FACs per Italian Region* 2011

Regions	FACs 2005	FACs 2011	Differ- ence	Regions	FACs 2005	FACs 2011	Differ- ence
Piemonte	75	150	+100%	Abruzzo	14	28	+100%
Vallée d'Aoste	3	7	+133%	Molise	1	5	+400%
Lombardia	141	340	+141%	Campania	25	84	+236%
Trentino-Alto Adige	12	32	+167%	Basilicata	2	8	+300%
Veneto	64	135	+111%	Puglia	16	50	+213%
Friuli-Venezia Giu- lia	13	24	+85%	Calabria	12	37	+208%
Liguria	21	49	+133%	Sicilia	25	67	+168%
Northern Italy	317	737	+132%	Sardegna	6	26	+333%
Emilia-Romagna	52	138	+165%	Southern Italy	101	305	+202%
Toscana	95	212	+123%	Italy	666	1623	+144%
Marche	13	37	+185%				
Umbria	15	29	+93%				
Lazio	61	165	+170%				
Central Italy	236	581	+146%				

(Source: Our elaboration from 9th ISTAT Census on Industries, Services, and the Not-for-profit Sector) *Note that the Census is held every 10 years, making the 9th the latest one available

Among them, 127 are out-and-out cultural foundations, specifically devoted to managing collections; of these, 67 are museum foundations, i.e., museums, museum houses, artist foundations, private collections dedicated to the conservation, study as well as to the exhibition and promotion of their heritage (Figure 13).

Included in these statistics are organisations governed by a form that differs from a traditional foundation and that was designed *ex novo* with the purpose of implementing the organisational potentialities of the foundation form specifically for the cultural sector.

A first draft of the stakeholders foundation (in Italian, *fondazione di partecipazione*) model dates back to 1996, but the translation of this initial attempt

into a fully formalised definition occurred only in the early 2000s, when it was regulated by MiBACT with a ministerial guideline on November, 27th, 2001.

Figure 13: Foundations in Italy (2011)



(Source: Report Fondazione Agnelli)

According to the legislation, the single formal act determining the constitution of a stakeholders foundation is the writing of a statute, which must report the nature and the use of the material and immaterial heritage at the foundation's disposal (its physical fund); the mission of the organisation; the main characteristics of the organisational structure and of the controlling bodies (composition and method of appointment); the procedure for its own termination; and the dispositions for the entrance of new founding partners.

In fact, although generally structured as a regular foundation, the stakeholders foundation had the specific peculiarity of allowing the participation of new partners after its legal foundation. This condition was particularly attractive for public administrations looking to reform their built-in configuration without losing public control and oversight of the interested heritage.

With the stakeholders foundation form, in fact, public administrations (especially, but not exclusively, municipalities) could appoint themselves as founders, assigning physical (the collections) and financial assets to the organisation. At the same time, the model allowed for the participation of additional actors – public and, most crucially, private – as contributors to the institutional fund and/or as long-term institutional sponsors (thus increasing

the annual revenues) – not only at the time of founding, but also after the formal definition of the foundation. This model has been defined by its designer, Prof. Enrico Bellezza, as

“a not for profit organization, to which it is possible to participate with money, material and immaterial goods, professional, or services. Within this legislative tool it is possible to have different categories of founders and participants after its actual foundation; this condition allows new entrants to directly control how the financial contribution is used and to actively collaborate to the fulfillment of the institutional mission, by bringing their dowry of managerial experiences. This open structure allows, on one side, to have a fruitful partnership between private and public actors and, on the other side, to support the participation of private subjects that, by joining as *partners*, become de facto active members of the foundation. This collaboration could be defined as a form of *diffused cultural shareholding*, that guarantees stability. (Bellezza and Florian, 2006)

The organisation was governed by the Board of Members, composed of representatives of the public and private founders. In addition to the Board, the organisation appointed a single auditor or a College of Auditors, in charge of the organisation’s accountability and, for this reason, composed of registered auditors selected by the foundation’s members. Finally, the Board was chaired by a President, who was the foundation’s official representative, responsible for the positive fulfillment of the mission.

On the operational side of the organisation, the stakeholders foundation was characterised by a private legal status, that implied total financial autonomy and managerial independence. Despite being a not-for-profit organisation, it could control for-profit firms specifically dedicated to collateral activities. The foundation, in fact, “can establish, also as majority shareholder, for-profit firms to carry out activities that are instrumental to the institutional ones. In this case, revenues from these operations must be subjected to a separate governance, under the D.Lgs. 460/97, with the possibility to re-use profits by reinvesting them to the fulfillment of the foundation’s mission” (Bellezza and Florian, 2006). The governance and organisational features of the stakeholders foundation, then, were designed both to maintain public control and to ensure managerial and financial independence.

On the one hand, in fact, this legislative tool could provide public representation within the main governing body (the Board of Members), thus

maintaining decisional power and overall supervision in public hands; it could safeguard the public ownership of collections (no form of alienation allowed); it could incentivise social control and transparency (the publication of annual reports and balance sheets were mandatory procedures included in the statute).

On the other hand, the stakeholders foundation form could provide operational and financial autonomy because of the legal separation of involved museums from the public administration: this would contribute to improved managerial efficiency (because the ensured independence in recruitment procedures could allow the introduction of new professional figures and the definition of new roles and offices); it could promote the involvement of private partners (securing long-term, stable relationships with corporate actors and the application of new-to-the-field memberships practises); and it would support financial self-sufficiency (with new sources of revenues coming from the instrumental establishment of for-profit collateral firms, and with the reduction of costs through the standardisation of procedures and the unification of roles/offices).

Overall, the stakeholders foundation was designed to provide a governance model that could fit with the new institutional and managerial necessities that emerged among Italian museums with the progressive change in their environmental circumstances. Similar to networks and foundations, then, stakeholders foundations were applied with the purpose of replacing the old, built-in governance model, which had become inconsistent with the beliefs and values present in the field after the decline of the elitist museum paradigm.

The institutional and operational outcomes of the application of this newly designed governance model are the subject of analysis of the empirical investigation reported in Chapter 5.

Summary. Multiple Organisational Models in a Changed Institutional Field

After the decline of the elitist museum logic, two alternative systems of beliefs and values emerged in the European museum field: the social and the

global museum logics. This condition of institutional multiplicity implied the progressive operational inconsistency of the built-in governance model that had dominated most European museum organisations: the necessity to reform their configurations, then, led to the introduction of multiple organisational models in the field. According to Di Pietro et al. (2014:246), in fact,

“the valorization process of museums implies the adoption of innovative organizational and managerial models able to generate virtuous circles of performance. These models entail the new view on the role of the consumer that has evolved in a proactive perspective. Visitors are not only passive receivers of the cultural supply, they are active stakeholders who should be involved in the service quality improvement. Museums have to redesign their identity by focusing on the principles of democracy and inclusion, to become a cultural, ethical and social system, able to meet the stakeholders’ needs and to generate value”.

Whereas most models – such as the interorganisational network (Podolny and Page, 1998; Baker and Faulkner, 2002) and the foundation – were drawn from other sectors and reapplied to the European museum sector, a few were explicitly designed *ex novo*. The stakeholders foundation model represented one of these latter models, created by the Italian legislature at the end of the 20th century as a new governance configuration combining the legal characteristics of a foundation with the operational possibilities of a for-profit corporation.

Given the novelty of the model and its unprecedented application to the field, the institutional and organisational outcomes were unforeseeable, and their actual correspondence with expectations remained largely uninvestigated. Chapter 5 provides an exploratory investigation of this phenomenon, reporting the empirical analysis of two Italian museum systems transformed from built-in public offices into private stakeholders foundations.

Chapter 5. Empirical Analysis

Sincere answers are never clear nor immediate.

Marguerite Yourcenar, Le Coup de grâce (1939)

In this chapter, I report the analysis of the two cases that I selected for my empirical investigation of the Research Question. In order to understand what happens when a newly designed governance model is applied in conditions of field-level multiplicity, I have investigated three different aspects of the cases. The analytical process, then, is composed of three single-case steps, followed by a final analytical comparison of the two cases:

- First, I identified the main categorical elements that denote each organisation. This helped me to detect the cognitive correlations with the logics operating in the field; at the same time, it supported the subsequent analysis of the structure and practises, because it provided me with the main values, beliefs, objectives, and directions that govern each museum and that should be enforced at the operational level;
- Second, I analysed each museum's organisational structure; and
- Third, I investigated the organisational practises operated in each museum, and whether their enactment might have been supported by the structure.

Overall, the comparative analysis of these three aspects allowed a full analysis of the two cases, which included both their cognitive and the operative features.

Finally, I confronted the two cases, to check for possible divergences in outcomes, and, in that case, to identify the possible determinants of such discrepancies.

Table 6: Similarities and Differences of the Selected Cases – MuVE and FTM

SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES
1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION (Northern Italy, regional capital)	1. URBAN ENVIRONMENT (population, economy, demographic composition)
2. COLLECTIONS (Multi-disciplinary)	2. PROFILE (Different international notoriety and tourist attractiveness)
3. OWNERSHIP (Municipality as Main Founder)	3. TIME OF FOUNDATION (2008 vs 2002)
4. COMPOSITION (Multiple venues)	4. PERSONNEL (72 vs 173)
5. STRUCTURE (Centralized Governance)	5. RESOURCES (financial autonomy vs public support)

As discussed in the Methodology chapter, I focus on two cases of museums that transformed from a previous configuration into stakeholders foundations: the Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani (MuVE) and the Fondazione Torino Musei (FTM).

The two cases were selected for having some similarities, to compare them, as well as some differences, to confront alternative outcomes of the same phenomenon (Table 6). Overall, the two cases were selected because they provided a multiple, comparable, and, in this sense, stronger representation of the phenomenon at stake.

The **similarities** include:

- The two organisations are located in northern Italy – in the respective capitals (Venice and Turin) of two of the most economically developed and productive regions of the country (Veneto and Piedmont);
- Both cases' collections constitute artistic (from different periods), ethnographic, and historical collections (MuVE also has a scientific

museum), making the overall heritage at their disposal multidisciplinary, varied, and complementary;

- They are both municipally owned, giving them the same main public referent;
- They are both networked organisations, uniting multiple venues and sites; and
- They have a similar clear, formalised governance structure, with defined roles and offices, a president and an administrative secretary to coordinate all activities, and individual managers for individual venues/thematic areas.

At the same time, they present distinct **differences**:

- The geo-demographic characteristics of the cities where the two cases are located are dissimilar:
- The population – Venice has 264,000 people, whereas Turin has almost 900,000;
- The economy, based on divergent industries – Venice is one of the most famous cultural cities in the world, and is the location of some prestigious higher education and research centres as well as of the world-renowned Biennale, Film Festival, and lyric theatre La Fenice; it is a UNESCO World Heritage site and it is a top international tourist destination, with 5.2 million arrivals in 2013, a 190% increase during the 2008–2013 period (according to Euromonitor International Report 2013). Turin is the third most important industrial centre in Italy – specialising in automotive, ICT, food, and publishing – as well as a preeminent financial centre – hosting the headquarters of many international bank and insurance groups;
- The national/international presence – Venice has a declining population but an increasing flow of national and international tourists, making its foreign presence temporary and yet economically relevant; Turin's past and present as an immigration city has made its international population a permanent, non-tourist one – in 2011, according

to ISTAT 2011 Report, 14.7% of residents were foreign, whereas the national average was 7.5%;

- The cultural relevance and international prestige of Venice's heritage – and of its museum venues – is significantly different from that of the nonetheless important Turin. The global attractiveness of iconic landmarks such as Palazzo Ducale puts Venice among the most famous and recognisable urban areas in the world. This condition is also mirrored by the difference in visitor flows between the two case study organisations (13 million vs. 0.3 million visitors in 2013 for MuVE and FTM, respectively);
- the two foundations were created six years apart (FTM in 2002 and MuVE in 2008), although systematic reporting on activities and budgets from FTM started approximately at the same time when MuVE was founded;
- the numeric gap between MuVE and FTM personnel (partially a consequence of the different number of sites) is quite relevant – MuVE has less than half the number of employees than FTM (72 versus 173 in 2016);
- the composition of resources (MuVE is fully self-sufficient from public funding whereas FTM is still dependent, although in a declining fashion, upon municipal financial support) and the overall amount of revenues.

The cities in which the two organisations are located, then, strongly define the respective foundations.

Venice's tourism-dominated economy makes the role of MuVE crucial in contributing to the definition of an urban development strategy. As suggested by the municipal councilwoman for culture, in fact, the design of an integrated, coordinated, and unitary offering by MuVE is integral to the improvement of Venice's brand image at the international level and to the enhancement of the living standards of residents. The quantity and quality of MuVE's venues, in fact, makes the foundation's role preminent, in a city dominated by culture-related institutions of international prestige (among others, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, the François Pinault Collection at Palazzo Grassi and at Punta della Dogana, and the Biennale of Venice).

Conversely, in Turin, despite the inherent quality of the collections, FTM's venues are not at the forefront of the urban cultural offering: heavyweights such as the Egyptian Museum and the Museum of Cinema are prevalent in conditioning the city's cultural brand image, gaining most of the attention and exerting their influencing power on the city's cultural strategy. This condition inevitably reflects on the relative role played by FTM and its venues in contributing to the improvement of Turin's brand image, and in leading the way in implementing the strategic directions given by the local administrations on the matter.

In this sense, the analysis of the cases also incorporates the specificities of the two urban environments in which the foundations are located, to take into account how the definition – if any – of a clearly designed urban branding strategy might have been supported by the introduction of a new governance model.

5.1. Case 1: The Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani (MuVE)

Imagine you are standing in the center of Saint Mark's Square in Venice, with your back to the four Byzantine horses surmounting the entrance to the Basilica.

In front of you, on the short side of the square, you see the Napoleonic Wing, or *Fabbrica Nuova*, built by the French Emperor in the early 19th century to put a mark of his passage in the most artistic of European cities, a ceremonial place for its official representatives, a material sign of the dictatorial military power that had put an end to the democratic mercantile might of the *Serenissima Repubblica* after centuries of prosperity, diplomacy, and stability. The Museo Correr is located there, taking its name from the Venetian nobleman Teodoro Correr, who donated his collection of modern art to the city in 1830.

If you turn right, you encounter the Procuratie Vecchie, rebuilt in the 16th century to house the apartments of the procurators of San Marco and now hosting the elegant Caffé Quadri, one of the most ancient in Europe,

founded in 1775, and the stunning Olivetti flagship store, a masterpiece of mid-century modernist architecture, designed by Carlo Scarpa in 1957.

Next to this long structure, you see a smaller renaissance building, with a facade dominated by a central tower: that is the clock tower, build at the end of the 15th century exactly on that spot to make it visible from the lagoon, to the ships arriving and leaving the *bacino*. On top, you see two bronze figures – called the Moors: every day, the old one hits the bell two minutes before midday and midnight, to indicate the passing of time, and the young one plays it two minutes after, to welcome the time to come. Just below, a marble lion holding an open book – the symbol of Saint Mark, patron of the city – surmounts a sitting figure of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by two panels indicating the hour in both Roman and Arabic numerals. At the center of the building you see the actual clock, in cobalt blue with 24 Roman numerals.

If you keep turning, going past the Basilica, you see the small square, or Piazzetta: on your right, you detect the headquarters of the National Archaeological Museum and of the Biblioteca Marciana, completed in 1591 by Vincenzo Scamozzi, whereas on the left, the iconic Doge’s Palace, or Palazzo Ducale, appears in all its polychrome, Byzantine-inspired architectural majesty. The building, as you see it today, is the result of about thirteen centuries of demolitions, additions, and expansions, to embellish and enlarge it as the residence of the Doge – the elected Chief Magistrate of the Most Serene Republic of Venice.

Now imagine yourself walking toward the lagoon, at the end of the piazzetta, through the two columns supporting the statues of Saint Mark as a lion and Saint Theodore. Don’t stop there – the space between them was used as the stage for capital punishments, a place so infamous and frightening that, if finding themselves in struggling circumstances, Venetians used to describe themselves as “being between Mark and Theodore”.

Just move forward, right to the *bacino*, and look for a boat stop: from there you could take the Line 7 vaporetto and go to Murano, where all glass-makers were relegated by a Doge decree in 1295 to avoid the risk of fires in the city center, and then to Burano, where lace-makers have been working their luxurious *merletti* for centuries.

Or you could just take the Line 1 boat and enjoy a short cruise through the Canal Grande. One by one, you would see the triple arched facade of Cà Rezzonico, designed in 1649 by Baldassarre Longhena, and completed more than a century later by Giorgio Massari, as the main residence of the Della Torre-Rezzonico family. Acquired at the end of the 19th century by Robert Barrett Browning, son of the famous writers Robert and Elisabeth Barrett, it was eventually bought by the Municipality in 1936 to become the main venue of the Museum of 18th century Venetian Art.

You could then get off at San Tomà station, and take a walk through the *calli* of San Polo neighbourhood – or *sestiere*, to visit the main residence of the great playwright Carlo Goldoni and its rich specialised library.

If you feel tired after such a long trip, you could stay on the boat instead: on the opposite side of the canal you would see Palazzo Fortuny, named after its last owner, the namesake Catalan artist Marià Fortuni i de Madrazo, creator of the famous peplum dress. Now, following the multitasking legacy of its last resident, the palace is a venue for temporary exhibitions of art and design.

Passing the Rialto Bridge, the vaporetto would take you to Cà Pesaro, another one of Longhena's creations, designed in 1652 and completed only in 1710, for the powerful Pesaro family. Donated to the Municipality by its last owner, Duchess Bevilacqua La Masa, in 1899, its richly decorated rooms host the public collection of contemporary art, which grew through the acquisitions of many pieces displayed at the then newly created Biennale. With a two-minute walk from Cà Pesaro, you could reach Palazzo Mocenigo, the residence of the namesake family for over three centuries, and now the venue of the Museum of Perfume and Costume.

As the last stop of your journey, you arrive at one of the most imposing, refined, and fascinating building in all Venice: built in early 13th century, it was later acquired by the Venetian government for the Marquess of Ferrara. At the beginning of the 17th century, with the increase of military tensions between the Republic and the Ottoman Sultanate, the building was transformed into a ghetto for the Turkish population living in the city, as well as their main commercial hub. For this reason the palace is known as the Fondaco dei Turchi, *fondaco* indicating a building serving as both warehouse and marketplace. It remained the headquarters of Turkish traders until the

late 19th century, when it was eventually restored and used as a cultural space (first hosting the collections that are now part of Museo Correr, and then as the venue of the Museum of Natural History).

After this last encounter, Line 1 leaves you at the train station: a last gaze at the new Calatrava bridge, and then you are ready, maybe, to bid the city farewell, thinking about the immense variety and richness of the buildings and sites you have just visited, all parts of the vast heritage managed and protected by the Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani.

5.1.1. The Logic

Collected data (Table 7) from the case offer a comprehensive overview of the main cognitive categories that define MuVE. In particular, the analysis shows that the organisation drew most of its beliefs, rules, and values from those characterising social museums. At the same time, the analysis also suggests that some of MuVE's categories resonate with cognitive features present in the global museum paradigm. In this sense, the overall analysis of MuVE's categories gives an account of the organisation's set of rules and beliefs as a combination of elements from the two systems present in the field.

First, data show that, in order to maintain legitimacy (from its main stakeholder, and only founding partner, the Municipality), MuVE has to "answer the new exigences of a 21st century museum". According to the main legitimator, this corresponds to the achievement of both the cultural and managerial cultural objectives set by the Municipality.

Second, at MuVE, authority comes from the Board of Members. MuVE, in fact, is an autonomous organisation with a private legal status, a condition that is inherently different from its previous built-in form.

Third, the main source of MuVE's identity is represented by its collections and the overall heritage of which it is in charge. The collections and the buildings, in fact, represent the two elements defining the foundation and driving its strategy: MuVE exists to preserve, restore, and make available to its community the municipal heritage.

Table 7: MuVE – Analysis of Categorical Elements

	MuVE	
Legitimacy	<p>“If the wanted to move forward from the sole conservative logic to a more flexible logic, interpreting museums as mobile places hosting exhibitions, acquiring and loaning works, offering educational activities, increasing accessibility, attracting bigger publics with special events, then we needed a managerial and contractual flexibility that the Municipality was unable to provide. This new form has been created because the Municipality is usually forced to follow very slow, complicated procedures” (municipal councilwoman for culture)</p> <p>“the municipality’s willingness was to give a different mark to the foundation, similarly to what is happening at the national, ministerial level, that is a managerial trait. [...] The willingness was to give a clear managerial, marketing mark to the cultural world, which might seem a sacrifice to many professionals” (municipal councilwoman for culture)</p> <p>“the new organizational form brings a modern view, which was not the natural approach of many professionals working in the sector” (President)</p>	<p>Cultural and Managerial Performance</p> <p>Managerial Performance</p> <p>Managerial Approach</p>
Authority	<p>“In this relationship, the founding partner acts as an inspector; the programming, however, is in the hands of the foundation – notably, of the Board of Members, which is the decision-making body of the organization. [...] it approves programs designed and proposed by the scientific committee, coordinated by the scientific director” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“a three-year program of activities is up to the Board of Members that approves the operative plan. Then, each office operates and works as for its responsibilities to achieve the results set by the program. The nature of the activities that each office put forward is agreed with the direction]” (Head Business Development)</p> <p>“the Board of Members is directly in charge of the decision-making process, with no political intermediation, thus making it much easier to discuss problems and to find solutions” (Head College of the Auditors)</p> <p>“The programming and the efficiency of the structures (museums and central offices) depend on the directives coming from the governance bodies, in particular from the Board of Members and from the President” (Annual Report 2013)</p>	<p>Board of Members</p>

Identity	<p>“The Foundation promotes, defines and diffuses cultural and artistic expressions intended as common goods. The Foundation, therefore, is aimed at defining strategies and objectives for the exploitation of Civic Museums’ cultural heritage, thus contributing to the definition of strategic development plans and to the integration, in the process, of public and private institutions from different productive sectors” (Article 2, Statute)</p> <p>“the mission of the foundation is the conservation, promotion, implementation of collections, the building of an idea among the community of our organization as a system. In fact, the pride to be part of this organization is one of the pivotal aspects that keep this foundation running on the right path” (Director Museum Area 2)</p>	Cultural Heritage Community Involvement
Norms	<p>“just like the Statute – the contractual agreement is very important because in it you can find on paper how responsibilities and rights are divided between the two partners; in this sense it represents our guide, because it indicates responsibilities on conservation, on ordinary and extra-ordinary maintenance – who is supposed to fund it and to take charge of it – with the former in the hands of the foundation and the latter under the responsibility of the municipality.” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“according to the contractual agreement regulating the relation <i>(between the foundation and the municipality, ed.)</i>, we are also responsible of promotion, conservation, and ordinary maintenance as well as the redaction of reports indicating all the necessary interventions with different priorities, an estimate of costs and a consequent three-year planning of the same interventions (imposed by the legislation regulating public works). This represents a way to recommend specific conservative and maintenance activities that are then up to the municipality as for their part of responsibility. In relation to ordinary maintenance of buildings and technical infrastructures, we collaborate with the public administration. At the end of the year, we reimburse the municipality that has paid contractors in advance.” (Head Technical Office)</p> <p>“We have realized a short manual for exhibition time planning, where every manager can have an idea of deadlines for the different activities concurring to realize a temporary exhibition. We have also edited a document with all the strategic objectives and priorities of the foundation, with the options for fundraising, etc. to be diffused among managers” (Head Business Development & Marketing)</p>	Statute Contractual Agreement Contractual Agreement Official Documents

<p>Attention</p>	<p>“The foundation’s main focus is on the quality of the offer, the attention and care to the social demand for culture, the high educational and ethical relevance” (Annual Report 2013)</p> <p>“another thing that (for me) is absolutely central is value sharing: we work in a field that is quite specific and, for the nature of this sector, it should be necessary to have an ethical framework to all activities. You cannot just say: ‘this is your mission’, but rather ‘this is your mission BECAUSE...’”. (Head Technical Office)</p> <p>“the unique peculiarity of the new foundation was the possibility not simply and not only to offer better services to the public but also to implement the organization as a whole, and to manage the museum organization as a whole, that is to conserve the collections, to do collection-based research and to promote the collection by building up a proper offer to the public” (Administrative Secretary)</p>	<p>Cultural Impact</p> <p>Social Relevance</p> <p>Social Effectiveness</p>
<p>Strategy</p>	<p>“[...] the final aim and the role of the foundation is to provide a coordinated cultural offer to the public” (General Director)</p> <p>“the organization increases the value of the collective heritage, [...] acquires, conserves, organizes and exhibits cultural goods with educational and research purposes, while guaranteeing public consumption” (Article 2, Statute)</p> <p>“We are 11 venues, we have a significant and multifaceted educational offer, we propose seminars, workshops, but it is very difficult to communicate this to the citizens. In fact, on one side, we want to have more and more visitors, on the other side, though, we want to keep a tight relationship with the city: we want to animate, stimulate, get citizens closer and closer to our venues. I must say that we are getting great results” (Head of Business Development)</p> <p>“The biggest mistake that has been made in many other cases is to give an insufficient fund to guarantee some level of revenue-generation. You have to ask yourself: what do you expect from this new organization that you are creating? Do you just want a new structure, or do you really want an autonomous organization that could be self-sufficient?” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“The objective is, of course, to make other museums more self-sufficient, that is with balancing revenues/costs. Clearly, not all museums will be able to do that, but succeeding in this with the four biggest ones would be a great result” (President)</p>	<p>Increase Communal Good</p> <p>Increase Cultural Offer</p> <p>Social Engagement</p> <p>Maintain Self-Sufficiency</p> <p>Maintain Self-Sufficiency</p> <p>Increase Competitiveness</p> <p>Increase Visitors Attendance</p>

	<p>“this was the main objective that we set together with the new director: being able to be competitive against big, international museums. And this is what is happening, while before this didn't occur” (President)</p> <p>“it is crucial for the foundation to acknowledge, for example, the need to disperse tourists from the central attractions: of course, Palazzo Ducale would always be a pivotal landmark, visited by most tourists, but we should not host all activities there: we, as a public administration, need to move tourists from the most critical areas, for the city's survival, considering the ratio tourists/citizens! Citizens are going away because we are invaded by tourists and regular commercial activities are closing in favour to souvenirs shops etc. we have to stop this emigration also by regulating tourist flows. So, this is the public policy and the underlining strategy: if we can impose this strategy to the foundation in charge of our most significant heritage in a democratic, conversational way, then the foundation is clearly a positive tool” (municipal councilwoman for culture)</p>	
<p>Informal Control Mechanisms</p>	<p>“Culture, in Italy and elsewhere, can be no longer centrally governed by public administrations as economic and financial problems have arisen to take precedence over cultural funding. That is, if I have poor infrastructures or schools to run, you cannot insist on investing millions on an artistic restoration, how can you justify this to the public opinion?” (Director Museum Area 3)</p>	<p>Social Relationships</p>
<p>Economic System</p>	<p>“We've tried to look at museums just as products: each one has its own philosophy and identity, and, most importantly, its target. So, just like any other product, if they are good they can sell, if they are not, they don't.” (President)</p> <p>“Under the organizational point of view, the foundation operates according to a typically business-like model, with a Central Services Area and a Museum Activities Area” (Annual Report 2013)</p> <p>“the risk is to create a structure that might not be very coherent with the policies of the public administration: it is always a political matter. We are used to think that politics is dirty, but, on the contrary, political control means democratic control: giving a strategic direction” (municipal councilwoman for culture)</p>	<p>Social Capitalism</p>

Fourth, at MuVE, responsibilities are assigned in the formal agreement signed with the Municipality, and norms are defined by the statute.

Fifth, at MuVE, the main source of attention – driving its strategies and practises – is the overall social impact that it has on its community, with a concurrent attention to the cultural effectiveness of its services and to the financial self-sufficiency of its management.

Sixth, data analysis identified the main strategic directions undertaken by MuVE in order to fulfill its mission. On the one hand, the stakeholders foundation pursues the increase of the communal good, intended as the qualitative and quantitative enrichment of the overall cultural offering made available to the community. On the other hand, MuVE aims at the maintenance of financial self-sufficiency and at the implementation of its economic performance. Finally, as a combination of these two objectives, the increase in attendance – in particular to minor venues – is considered an added strategic target.

Seventh, according to data, MuVE is informally controlled by the system of social relationships in which it is immersed: those connecting it with institutional stakeholders (the municipality, other public bodies, and the citizenship at large) and, secondarily, those more strictly related to its sector (competitors, potential and actual visitors, and partners).

Eighth, the economic system of reference is one in which managerial capitalist-driven practises are used to achieve MuVE's strategic objectives.

On the one hand, MuVE's cognitive system is dominated by the necessity to preserve and to further the organisation's public and social purpose (as part of its identity, as the source of attention, as a determinant of its norms and of its informal control mechanisms, and as driver of its strategy). On the other hand, some categories clearly indicate private-like connotations (such as the pursuit of specific managerial performance targets to maintain legitimacy, the assignment of central authority to the Board, the inclusion of private-derived strategic objectives within the organisation's priorities, and the identification of managerial capitalism as its economic system of reference).

The coexistence of these two aspects, however, does not translate into a competitive, or even contradictory, condition for the organisation: the analysis, in fact, indicates the concurrent existence of both public and private-

derived stances, resolved within the organisation with no indication of a conflicting cognitive dynamic. Organisational hybrids are defined as “organizations incorporating elements from different institutional logics” (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). What the concept of hybridity highlights is the combinatory nature of the hybrid itself: according to Pache and Santos (2013), hybrids selectively couple elements from different systems in a way that is new to the extent that it represents a recombination of other logics’ categories.

The analysis of MuVE’s cognitive elements, then, suggests a form of hybridisation between the categories of the social and the global museum paradigms. The application of the stakeholders foundation, then, has resulted in the enforcement, at the organisational level, of a hybrid logic, taking elements from those present in the field.

5.1.2. The Structure

As reported in the case description (Appendix 3), MuVE was transformed into a stakeholders foundation to achieve formal and factual governance and managerial autonomy:

“The stakeholders foundation form gives significant managerial autonomy: before, museums were part of the public administration, this making it only a section of the municipal department of culture. This condition used to cause a distinct separation between the governance and the operational body. Now, every member of the governance structure stays in close relationship with all offices. So, under the organisational point of view there has been a huge transformation. (member of the College of the Auditors)

According to the municipal councilwoman for culture, until the establishment of the foundation, Venice civic museums were governed “for more than 30 years by a director who interpreted his role as a conservative one – that is to protect the Venetian heritage – which he did with success”. However, in her opinion, that specific vision had progressively become inconsistent with the needs of the interested museums and with the transformations of the field, to the point of making it necessary to create a new structure fulfilling different expectations. In the policy-maker’s eyes, the introduction of the stakeholders foundation form had responded to the necessity of taking advantage from a more flexible organisational structure,

able to provide high-quality, varied cultural services, while guaranteeing implemented managerial efficiency and financial transparency.

As suggested by the Administrative Secretary, the possibility of having governance and managerial independence was even more crucial given the presence of multiple venues involved:

“The topic at stake here is the possibility to build a real network, not just the exchange of managerial tools, but the coordinated, centralised governance of all involved museums. I believe that it could be possible to overcome many critical situations in the field if we would be more prone to create these centralised systems. [...] It is necessary! Of course, you cannot just copy/paste a model, since every case is different, but, at the same time, you can translate many tools. [...] I believe that there has been long view on the part of the then administration which has been able to understand the usefulness of the combination between the stakeholders foundation and the necessities of the network in terms of the institutional-legal form and of the potentialities for financial autonomy, which are both fundamental aspects to take into consideration”.

The application of the stakeholders foundation model determined the definition of an organisational structure in which the Board of Members represents the sole organisational body in charge of governance, and in which specific roles are assigned to different offices:

“There was a substantial change that affected the internal organization: services, such as HR and accounting were in charge of the Municipality; after the creation of the foundation we had to figure them out internally. So, under the organisational point of view, this meant a lot. (Head Administration and Audit)

“Before, museums were supported by the central administrative services of the municipality, and after the definition of the foundation there were no offices or roles: everything was at a really early stage. The main work we did in the first two years – and we still are in a “work in process” situation – was focused on re-organising the structure, with the help of KPMG Advisory unit, in a corporation way. By looking at the main processes, at the contractual agreements with service contractors, at external and internal stakeholders, we were able to redesign an organisational structure – roles, offices, responsibilities. (Head Business Development)

The importance of a clear organisational structure, with the Board of Members on top, was also discussed by the Head College of the Auditors: “the foundation is smaller in size and it allows much stricter control and resource allocation. Moreover, it can relate directly with contractors and it can start interventions rapidly: visitors can then see results right away”. At MuVE, then, the new organisational structure allows the enactment of practises that were almost off-limits in a built-in system:

“Now it is possible to plan long-term interventions in advance. By keeping the decision-making process in the hands of the Board it is possible to plan things more quickly and efficiently, as it is possible to prioritize based on actual necessities reported during meetings. Conversely, in a public body, it is not possible to allocate resources so rapidly and precisely: all resources are available for all activities, so the decision-making process is much longer to put some of these resources at a specific project/subject's disposal. (Head College of the Auditors)

At the governance level, the Board of Members is responsible for defining the main strategic objectives and for checking their actual accomplishment, without interfering with daily managerial activities. This condition was foreseen by the Municipality: “the foundation is an organizational structure able to do that, to sign agreements with private sponsors, to build long-term inter-relationships, to enter international networks, to have high-level, new professional figures” (municipal councilwoman for culture). At the same time, it was partially perceived as potentially threatening to the maintenance of public representation within the organisation:

“It is possible to spot some potential threats. The principal one is the separation of power between the foundation and the municipality, the latter risking to be not so clearly and strongly represented in the decision-making process. It can become like a son that has become independent but that has also cut all connections. This doesn't mean that the Municipality wants to keep a total control over the foundation, but the Municipality should be kept in the loop. (municipal councilwoman for culture)

This perception is acknowledged within the organisation:

“So, this autonomous condition is very positive for the foundation; but there is also a potentially negative aspect, since the municipality might get frustrated by not being able to have that level of control that it has in other cases – notably public companies. [...] But, in our case, this is not so necessary considering the fact that we do not have any public funding, so, in this sense, strict control is not so yearned for. (Administrative Secretary)

The main reason for this preoccupation is related to the actual fulfilment of the public needs that the foundation is supposed to achieve: the policy-maker, then, is willing to keep a certain level of public control over the foundation with the purpose of monitoring its activities and maintaining them in line with public needs and expectations.

At the governance level, the Board operates to provide public representation of all stakeholders (with the Mayor of Venice having a permanent seat as Vice President, three to five seats assigned to persons nominated by the Municipality; and, to include participation from institutional stakeholders, a single representative nominated by the Assembly of private partners). Public control over the foundation’s governance, then, is indirectly guaranteed by the public-dominated composition of the Board: authoritative power is indirectly executed by the main public stakeholders (and, residually, by private partners).

“After its creation, it should be guaranteed a certain degree of autonomy independently from the changes that might occur in the municipality. This is mostly the case, but there still is a certain level of influencing power. [...] In fact, as long as the members of the Board are appointed by the mayor it is obvious that there is a clear connection. (Administrative Secretary)

What emerges from the analysis is that MuVE’s governance structure, while securing public control over the organisation, also limits the authority of the Municipality at the Board’s level. The Board operates as the buffering organisational space in which the public stakeholder is present – with its representatives – to guarantee oversight over “the general policies, coherently with the foundation's mission; budgets and balance sheets; rules and guidelines” (Article 11, Statute of MuVE). In particular, “the Board relates with the founding partner at least twice a year, first presenting an informative (with no approval requirement) document of yearly and triennial activities and, then, drafting a

report of passed activities and budgets. [...] They are just transmitted out of transparency” (Administrative Secretary).

The provision of indirect public representation also supports effective governance practises: “the Board of Members is directly in charge of the decision-making process, with no political intermediation, thus making it much easier to discuss problems and to find solutions” (Head College of the Auditors).

Overall, the analysis indicates that the application of the stakeholders foundation model enforced the definition of an organisational configuration that supports public representativeness while guaranteeing governance, managerial, and financial independence. As indicated by the Administrative Secretary, “the real change occurs whenever you really give full managerial autonomy to the foundation, while keeping intact the overall control on the part of the founding partner, in this case a public administration. Without this change, there would be very little real effect”.

5.1.3. The Practises

The analysis of MuVE’s organisational structure indicates that the stakeholders foundation form provides public representation at the governance level, while allowing managerial autonomy at the operational level. The analysis of the MuVE’s managerial practises (Table 8), then, is crucial to verify this condition and, more generally, to analyse how practises are operated after the application of the stakeholders foundation form.

To simply and clarify the analysis, I divided all organisational practises into three groups, identified with the different strategic objectives driving MuVE’s strategy: the **increase of the common good**, the **increase of visitors** and the **maintenance of financial self-sufficiency**.

These objectives are mutually interconnected: the achievement of the increase of the common good²¹ contributes to the securing of self-sufficiency (because a better cultural offering attracts new partners, sponsors, and visitors) and, at the same time, it contributes to the increase in attendance rates

²¹ This is defined by the organisation's mission, reported in the statute, and drafted by the founder – in this case, the Municipality of Venice, in representation of its citizens (as owners of the interested heritage).

(because a richer cultural offering can be more competitive in attracting a wider public). Conversely, the maintenance of self-sufficiency (with an increased availability of resources) supports the implementation of services increasing the common good and, concurrently, is achieved through the increase in visitors (which implies higher revenues from ticketing and collateral activities). Finally, the increment in attendance rates contributes to the increase of the communal good (because it implies a diffusion of knowledge to a larger public), while at the same time it is supported by specifically designed practises (e.g., communication, marketing, and PR), financed with resources made available with the securing of self-sufficiency.

All three objectives are inherently directed to achievement of a social purpose: the increase of the common good contributes to the cultural and social enrichment of the community; the increase in visitors implies the expansion of the foundation's range of contact; the securing of self-sufficiency provides financial independence from the public administration. Notably, in fact, MuVE's main source of attention is its social impact on the community, as indicated in Articles 2 – “the foundation promotes, creates and diffuses cultural and artistic expressions intended as common good”, and 3 of the statute – “the foundation preserves, conserves, promotes, diffuses, manages the Municipality's heritage as a permanent structure that acquires, conserves, archives, and exhibits cultural goods, for the purpose of education and study, guaranteeing their public fruition and access”.

Increasing the Common Good

At MuVE, the enrichment of social welfare through effective cultural performance is related to the conservation of existing cultural expressions (permanent collections), their diffusion (membership, events, and education), and the creation of new ones (temporary exhibitions).

A. Permanent Collections

According to Article 3 of MuVE's Statute, MuVE's permanent collections and buildings were disposed by the Municipality with the purpose of conserving and promoting them. Organisational practises directed to the increase of the common good and involving permanent collections include **conservation, access, expansion, and research**.

To secure the optimal physical preservation of the collection, conservation programs were defined and completed by the stakeholders foundation.

A long-term campaign of interventions was designed with the purpose of guaranteeing a level of accessibility in line with expectations from the public. In parallel, MuVE has pursued an extensive program of refurbishments with the purpose of implementing access to collections. These practises have ensured the physical preservation of public heritage for its transmission to future generations, the implementation of a more accessible experience for the public, and the cultural boosting of relatively declining and/or niche venues.

MuVE has worked on expanding its permanent collections via purchases and donations, ensuring the availability of a wider heritage to the public.

Research on collections has been incentivised passively, through the opening of archives and deposits to scholars and the design of an integrated online database of all collections, and actively, through the organisation of international conferences and the publishing of catalogues and other scientific publications. These activities make heritage available, combined with to the ongoing production of cultural materials investigating heritage.

Restoration practises have been planned with a clear focus on both conservation priorities and financial programming. Refurbishments are executed considering the potential effects of temporary closures (determining both reduced incomes and service disruptions) and subsequent re-openings. Acquisitions are considered in terms of the cost-free incrementation of the collections but also of the increased maintenance costs. Research activities are approached by defining effective and efficient systems to provide a better scientific service and to reduce fixed costs.

Overall, analysed data indicate that practises involving the permanent collection have contributed to the increase of the common good, while pursuing organisational efficiency:

“They are not just the efficiency logics but also ethical logics: we cannot just say that we must conserve the work, but we must understand that we are doing it because that work is something that will be transmitted to the future generations because it represents our identity. We take this for granted, but we shouldn’t: when you identify yourself through an ethical perspective then you can work with a different approach. There is a real change in the overall logic: of course,

you can change your managerial practises and so on, but what is really important, the real qualitative difference comes from a shared ethical vision. We should all go in that direction. This doesn't mean that we should just break loose! (Head Technical Office)

B. Memberships and Education

The increase of the common good has also been pursued with activities informing citizens about the collections, as well as promoting and incentivising the fruition of the collection on the part of the general public and of the community of reference.

On the one hand, practises have been enacted to communicate with the public and, at the same time, to increase visitor retention. Although memberships campaigns had already started before the transformation into a stakeholders foundation, they underwent a major rationalisation by MuVE's managerial team in order to acquire and to maintain more and more loyal visitors.

On the other hand, MuVE has implemented a varied, intense educational programme to offer multiple interpretative tools to different publics (from youth to adults). At the same time, it has worked with teachers to integrate the formal educational curriculum provided by the school system.

Overall, the implementation of a dense program of events, the involvement of local citizens in long-term relationships, the diffusion of mediated knowledge to various visitor groups, and the integration of MuVE's programs into formal education together have contributed to the enrichment of the public well-being.

At the same time, the operational approach to these practises has contributed the maintenance of financial self-sufficiency: "activities that we offer to schools are not for free. Of course, with that revenue we cannot cover all costs, but at least the operational ones. Now we can be directly paid, while, before, schools had to pay fees to the Municipality and not to us, making it particularly difficult!" (Head of Educational Activities).

C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events

MuVE has also invested in the definition and the implementation of the cultural offering delivered to the public, with reference to temporary exhibitions as a complement to the traditional visit to permanent collections.

The definition of a program comprising both high-level, specialised exhibitions and popular, accessible ones has been undertaken to maintain the organisation's profile as cultural promoter. In addition, the offering of temporary exhibitions has represented a pivotal aspect of the contribution to the common good. In particular, the analysis suggests that MuVE's implementation of its cultural offering has been destined not only to fulfil local demand and expectations, but also to compete in the international cultural tourist market. At the local level, temporary exhibitions can contribute to enrich the cultural offering to the community; at a broader level, they combine to raise MuVE's cultural profile, making it appealing to the international public.

Finally, the analysis of the practise indicates that the operative approach of MuVE's managerial team to temporary exhibitions and events has been directed to ensure MuVE's financial sustainability: a balanced investment in niche and popular exhibitions has compensated the limited revenues coming from less economically successful, but culturally relevant exhibitions with significant earnings drawn from more popular initiatives.

Increasing Visitors

The analysis also suggests that practises have been enacted to engage not only with the local community but also with other potential visitors.

Data show that significant effort has been put into the definition and implementation of practises to increase the overall number of visitors, while keeping an eye on the sustainability of fluxes and on the qualitative, rather than quantitative, level of the visiting experience: "we cannot expect to increase the number of visitors indefinitely: the city we operate in does not allow it" (President).

Data on attendance (Figure 23) show that permanent collections have played a central role in attracting visitors, especially foreigners. At the same time, the definition of a complex program of exhibitions has been developed

to integrate entrance rates to permanent collections, and to engage local and non-local visitors, especially during off-season months.

The analysis also indicates that a general increase in visitors has been considered by MuVE to be less preferable than a relative increase in visits to less-known venues. The objective of increasing visitors, in fact, was intended by the managerial team as the pursuit of a better distribution of visitors throughout the year and to all venues, with the maintenance of the Doge's Palace's position as the main attraction, but with a reduction of its relative weight in favor of minor sites. Multiple practises directed to this purpose have been enacted: notably, the offering of combined tickets has supported diversification; similarly, educational programs involving multiple venues have been offered to take youth to less-known venues; furthermore, communication campaigns have been designed with ads promoting minor venues placed in popular venues.

The analysis shows that this strategic objective has been pursued with resource effectiveness as the main operational reference: the full exploitation of all sites to increase overall visitors has constituted the ultimate managerial objective.

Maintaining Financial Self-Sufficiency

Finally, the analysis shows the enactment of multiple practises to maintain the organisation's financial self-sufficiency from the public administration and, at the same time, to implement its overall financial results, as reported by the President: "if we want to increase revenues and to guarantee a sufficient amount of resources destined to the conservation of our heritage, we have to develop new practises".

A. Fund

The fund was assigned by the Municipality at the time of its foundation: it was composed of physical heritage (buildings and collections), and by a limited monetary sum, which constituted the financial basis of the organisation. Overall, the fund represented a central asset to be operated in the pursuit of self-sufficiency. The analysis suggests, in fact, that the maintenance of finan-

cial self-sufficiency has represented a strategic priority within the organisation, because it would guarantee long-term independence from external financial support and from market fluctuations.

According to the analysis, the securing of a significant operative fund has constituted a central strategic objective pursued by the managerial team through the implementation of different practises. The rationalisation of expenses, the centralisation of some roles and services, and the introduction of audit and accountability procedures have doubled the original monetary fund, with no transfer from the public administration. The increase of the fund has been explained by the President as the result of an efficient management of financial resources and of a thought-through decision-making process: “as any head of the family, we must be able to even revenues with costs, and to put something aside for hard times”.

B. Administration

Although the increase of the monetary fund has represented a step towards the maintenance of financial independence, its investment has proved insufficient to cover all MuVE’s operative costs.

In parallel with the mandatory assignment of a monetary fund, in fact, the creation of the stakeholders foundation implied the definition of accurate, timely multi-year financial plans to cover the projected long-term programs of activities and interventions.

The possibility of implementing a better administrative system, then, was central to supporting the application of the new governance form; as reported by a Director, “the past situation was, in my opinion, a consequence of the very low and modest professional skills of many directors, who used to survive and live out of public funding and, therefore, who didn’t care about a good, progressing management of resources”. The analysis shows that, in order to contribute to financial self-sufficiency, MuVE’s administrative practises have been rationalised and simplified, creating a more efficient use of financial and non-financial resources.

C. Partnerships

The maintenance of financial self-sufficiency has been pursued also through to the development of long-term relationships with private partners.

With the progressive contraction of public funding, MuVE has been forced to address the system of private stakeholders with a strategic approach in line with the changed environmental circumstances; the analysis of practises involving the development of partnerships and sponsorships with private actors, in fact, shows that MuVE has operated to build a corporate identity that communicates trustworthiness and reliability to its private counterparts. In particular, the design of agreements involving not only monetary transactions but also the coproduction of projects with long-term results indicates its willingness to involve private partners in the decision-making process and to offer the procedural transparency expected by corporate subjects. This strategic approach to collaboration indicates both a distinct awareness of the high level of competition for private resources – and the concurrent necessity to satisfy more-demanding partners – and a clear understanding of the necessity to plan interventions with secured financial cover.

D. Collateral Activities

Finally, the analysis of practises indicates that the maintenance of self-sufficiency would not have been possible only through the increase of the monetary fund, the development of a transparent and efficient administrative system, and the establishment of long-term agreements with private partners. Data (Figure 27) indicate, in fact, that the relative majority of revenues has come from museum services – MuVE's core business. The absolute and relative increase in self-revenues, then, has constituted a central objective for the managerial team, one that has been pursued through the development of new practises.

Table 8: MuVE Practises – Analysis of Strategic Objectives

PRACTICES	MuVE
Increasing the Common Good	
<p>A. Permanent Collections</p> <p>Conservation Ordinary maintenance Safety Security Update of Electrical Systems Heating/AC Systems</p>	<p>“in the Statute you can find the relevance that we give to the conservation and research activities, that are crucial and that have been kept in the hands of the foundation, we have outsourced only the collateral services” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“Some things were successful: notably, the refurbishment of Palazzo Mocenigo, transformed into a Museum of Perfumery and Crafts, that, together with Ca' Pesaro, is regenerating the San Stae neighbourhood. (They) attract visitors interested in exploring a different side of Venice while enjoying high-level cultural contents. Similarly, Ca' Pesaro was internally refurbished, we opened more spaces and liberated the existing ones from heavy layouts” (municipal councilwoman of culture)</p> <p>“also, the foundation intervened on the Glass Museum in Murano: glass represents an incredible material and immaterial heritage that characterizes the city, therefore, it is necessary to promote it” (municipal councilwoman of culture)</p>
<p>Refurbishment Extraordinary maintenance Update of Internal layouts Energy Saving</p>	<p>We have done many interventions: we have changed the cloakrooms, the cafeterias. These are things that are not so clearly perceived as an external visitor who is used to international standards, but we really had the necessity to do them.” (MuVE President)</p> <p>“(before the creation of the foundation), not all 11 sites were fully operational: some were closed, some were not equipped with all necessary services. Then, I designed and filled forms for every single venue, with the purpose of requesting funding for interventions and, finally, I designed a general plan, called “Project Museums” with an expected cost of around 80m Euros. This was very useful to access special funding from the central government, and a lot of money came. We worked quite a lot and I believe we did quite a good job. Of course, much more has to be done: necessities change, norms and rules are updated, there is always a lot that has to be done.” (Head of the Technical Office)</p>

<p>Expansion Purchases Acquisitions Donations</p>		
	<p>Research Centralization of Archives Opening of Archives and Deposits to Scholars Digitalization of Catalogues Publication of Catalogues</p>	
	<p>B. Membership and Education</p>	<p>“My office covers all events, cultural, social, and business ones: all activities that are not comprised within conservation and education are managed by this office. We are also in charge of fidelity and membership programs” (Head Business Development)</p> <p>“Municipal residents enter our museums for free: until a few time ago, we didn't know how many of these people visited our venues. Membership cards had been created but they didn't work well. So, when I became responsible I took charge of this aspect. We eliminated all cards and we created a new one, differentiating between residents and not-residents. We now propose a stimulating program: every resident is allowed to take one person with him/her. At the same time, we commit to propose something new every month: special tours. For us this is very important: we have reached 1000 members in less than 2 years. We can have a constant dialogue” (Head Business Development)</p> <p>“There were a lot of offers – similar to those proposed by most museums – but they didn't work because what we really wanted was to communicate with local residents. 70% of our visitors of permanent collections are foreigners, so they are hard to reach; but, when we work on temporary exhibitions, we can have a different relationship with locals, who are more likely to come visiting them. We wanted to change how we communicated with locals” (Head Business Development)</p> <p>“MuVE has different activities, many are interactive; we propose many laboratories: we implemented our offer and managed to keep up with expectations and requests” (Head Educational Activities)</p>

<p>C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events</p>	<p>“the program of exhibitions is articulated in a series of events of different size and level of attractiveness, all focused on the objective of promoting collections and of making masterpieces from international museums available to the public’s view” (2014 Annual Report)</p> <p>“the perception is that the most important thing seems to be the success of exhibitions and museums just in term of number of visitors. Of course, everyone is happy if an exhibition attracts a lot of people – meaning that cultural knowledge has been incremented, however, we must also take into account less popular but maybe more scientific exhibitions to completely fulfil a cultural organization’s mission” (General Director)</p> <p>“the foundation must also offer and contribute to an urban offer, with an eye on globalized tourism’s trends: think global and act local. The foundation must well understand the context in order to define its own vision” (General Director)</p> <p>“it must keep up with exhibition production, as visitors are an important entry in our revenues [...] A good director must be able to keep the balance even and to build up a scientific program which is financially sustainable (with sponsoring, fundraising activities or ticketing), putting together popular, appealing projects with others that may not be as widely successful but that are very important under the scientific point of view. It is not possible for all curatorial research to be financially self-sufficient: we should not all just offer Impressionists! Therefore it is crucial to find solutions for long-term sustainability creating a varied cultural planning, where the big projects supports the small, experimental one. In contemporary and modern art as well there are still many overlooked topics which don’t have any economic return but which must be investigated for scientific progress, as this constitutes our mission: we’re not here to make a profit but to have a transparent, sustainable, even balance” (General Director)</p> <p>“we must be more complete on the contemporary arts offer, but, of course, this means using very big spaces to host pieces. This is the city of the Biennale, we have now the Pinault Foundation in town, there is Guggenheim. So, one of the objectives that I completely share with the general director is that we have to find our niche, our identity, a very clear one, in the contemporary art offer” (Head Museum Area 2)</p>
<p>Increase Visitors</p>	<p>“[...] there has been a clear strategy aimed at increasing the number of visitors by building up a complex exhibition program, which has succeeded in keeping our numbers up” (President)</p>

	<p>“the need to disperse tourists from the central attractions: of course, Palazzo Ducale would always be a pivotal landmark, visited by most tourists, but we should not host all activities there: we, as a public administration, need to move tourists from the most critical areas, for the city’s survival, considering the ratio tourists/citizens! Citizens are going away because we are invaded by tourists and regular commercial activities are closing in favour to souvenirs shops etc. we have to stop this emigration also by regulating tourist flows. So, this is the public policy and the undefining strategy” (municipal councilwoman for culture)</p> <p>“the foundation has worked with the classical marketing levers, that is prices, merchandising, communication. We have updated the logo and the brand reuniting all museums. We have redesigned museums’ websites [...] This has occurred also via the redefinition of the internal structure, opening new positions, roles, and offices (social media, communication, marketing) as well as by redesigning the cultural product” (President)</p> <p>“Please note that these museums are visited yearly by more than 2m people, so we are talking of one of the most important museum networks, actually the second most visited museum organization after the Uffizi. The Doge’s Palace, of course, is our champion, as for both the number of visitors and the amount of revenues, representing around 65% of our total revenues from ticketing (it is rather the amount of visitors, ed). The percentage is relatively stable, but we are working on the diversification of revenues and the redistribution of income among all museums” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“When I became president the Doge’s Palace represented 80% of total income, now it has lowered to 63%: the purpose is to get to a 50/50 ratio, that is to let other museums grow. [...] The objective is, of course, to make other museums more self-sufficient, that is with balancing revenues/costs. Clearly, not all museums will be able to do that, but succeeding in this with the four biggest ones would be a great result” (President)</p>
	<p>Securing Self-Sufficiency</p> <p>A. Fund</p> <p>“The biggest mistake that has been made in many other cases has been to give an insufficient fund to guarantee some level of revenue generation. You have to ask yourself: what do you expect from this new organization that you are creating? Do you just want a new structure, or do you really want an autonomous organization that could be self-sufficient?” (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>“[...] these kind of foundations should have funds that could allow much more financial autonomy by providing alternative sources of income whenever financial difficulties might arise. You know that tourist flows are irregular, and to prevent the negative effects of these aleatory flows, foundations should be provided with secure sources of revenues with more significant assets. That should be the ending point: we</p>

	<p>cannot rely on external sponsors coming now and then, to compensate our falls" (Head College of the Auditors)</p> <p>"we have managed to raise our fund, this means that we have not only improved our cultural offer but we have also succeeded in saving some resources for potential future developments" (President)</p>
<p>B. Administration</p>	<p>"The 30-years agreement between the foundation and the municipality also states what are the mandatory reporting requirements (budgets and balance sheets) that the foundation has to fulfil. So, overall, thanks to it we can understand our governance boundaries and requirements" (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>"now we have a three-year financial program, approved by the Board of Members, and a yearly budget with single entries for each office/department and around which each office operates to plan cultural activities. This has represented a great cultural, conceptual, logic challenge! These are new ways" (Administrative Secretary)</p> <p>"the foundation has its own budgets and balance sheets, within which every museum's balance sheet is reported, making it possible to analyse single entries for costs and revenues and making it much easier to allocate resources to museums and/or activities. Differently, by being in a built-in structure, it was impossible to detect single aspects of balance sheets, they all went in a big one and they were lost. This condition completely prevented management audit. Now we have a much more effective system: having a single manager/director in charge of a single budget allows much clearer control and a more transparent relationship with external stakeholders. We must realize that the foundation is completely self-sufficient: this is achieved by constant management audit, controlling objectives, checking activities, and monitoring results" (Head of the College of the Auditors)</p> <p>"[...] we have a clear yearly budget, that keep us on track: for example, every three/four weeks in my office we do a back-stop to check on budget availability and results. We have a strict relationship with the administration, as we are all centralized by a single on-line program where expenses are reported. Overall, then we have to follow the guidelines, but, at the same time, we have to keep some room for manoeuvring. New problems come up every time, but, as our records grow, we now know better and better how to respond, it is a trial-and-error process. On the other side, we have a clear budget and we stick with that. I want to know not only what we have to do but also why and to what extent. We need clear rules" (Head of Business Development)</p>
<p>C. Sponsorships</p>	<p>"the approach has completely changed: now we have to stay in contact, discuss with corporate partners, to understand their interests and objectives – is it about visibility or testing new products? A lot has changed</p>

	<p>as for making business with for-profit partners. We are lucky because we have a strong brand, we are in Venice, we have Palazzo Ducale but we have also other specialized, varied venues that can be particularly interesting for partners" (Head Business Development)</p> <p>"we prefer to define these relationships as partnerships rather than sponsorships: the latter do not exist any more as they did 30 years ago; now we have agreements with corporate partners, with shared aims and objectives to pursue together as equals. Of course these can be co-funded projects or be technical partnerships: with Philips, for example, we have agreed to have them provide us with new lighting, in this sense we have developed a shared project with a clear slogan: "New light for art". This has occurred because they were investing a lot on new high-performance lighting solutions in cities, so we realized a shared plan" (Head Business Development)</p> <p>"we recently had a generous contribution for the restoration and refurbishment of two rooms dedicated to Antonio Canova at Museo Correr: we create the program but the management of the single project stays in others' hands. This is a huge advantage for the foundation because, in this way, we get the cultural result without burdening itself with more bureaucracy and it stays flexible. We are not interested in increasing the balance of, I don't know, 500k Euros for that project and only accounted for that year, making it look that, the next year, we underperformed or were discontinuous when, in reality, the sum was all dedicated to an ad-hoc intervention" (General Director)</p> <p>"We also are in charge of fidelity and membership programs: every year, we plan a dedicated program of activities. [...] Membership cards had been created but they didn't work very well. So, when I became responsible I took charge of this aspect: there were a lot of offers – very similar to those proposed by most museums – but, in my opinion, they didn't work because what we really wanted was to communicate with local residents" (Head of Business Development)</p> <p>"now we have agreements with corporate partners, with shared aims and objectives to pursue together as equals. These can be co-funded projects or technical partnerships: with Philips, for example, we have agreed to have them provide us with new lighting, we have developed a shared project with a clear slogan: <i>New light for art</i>. This has occurred because they were investing a lot on new high-performance lighting solutions in urban contexts, so we realized a shared plan" (Head of Business Development)</p> <p>"the approach has completely changed: now we have to stay in contact, discuss with corporate partners, in order to understand their interests and objectives – is it about visibility or about testing new products, etc. A lot has changed as for making business with for-profit partners. We are lucky because we have a strong</p>
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	<p>brand, we are in Venice, we have Palazzo Ducale but we have also other specialized, varied venues that can be particularly interesting for partners" (Head of Business Development)</p> <p>"the foundation is always looking for new companies interested in working with us: we have many interested people but not all end up as tangible agreements. Anyway, what is important is to keep the system of connections as intense as possible, just like when you go fishing and you chum for fish, or, as a mathematician would say, it is the law of large numbers" (President)</p>
<p>D. Collateral Activities</p>	<p>"[...] new procedures were finally able to let the foundation grow by 21% as for annual incomes despite the difficult financial conditions of the cultural field" (President)</p> <p>"we should have an integrated plan for proposing different temporary exhibitions for the foreign market. I think that we should have an exhibition office dedicated to this business – touring exhibitions. It will take some time, but we do have a lot of room for implementation" (Manager)</p> <p>"The other aspect, considering our mission, is to work on all the collections that we have: the works that are exhibited as just the tip of the iceberg. So, one of our future directions should be to export pieces, exhibitions: of course not our masterpieces but, instead, formats with one preeminent work and many less known pieces to be sold as packages abroad. They can be a great source of income to support our permanent venues. [...] I believe that this should be a strategic priority to be introduced in our next board: it will allow us to have new incomes. Rather than waiting for visitors to come, I believe it should be the mountain to go to from the Far East to South America, but also the United States, not the big cities, but the smaller, peripheral ones, where big exhibitions usually don't arrive. I see this as a critical future source of income, because we cannot rely on additional raise in ticket fares: we have already done it a couple years ago but we cannot go too high" (President)</p> <p>"I believe we haven't succeeded yet to produce a fully planned and designed merchandising. Especially considering our immense heritage, we do have incredible local craftsmanship. Creating specific lines of textiles, bags etc. Not only for our bookshop but also for other museums! We do have to find our stuff in international museums (Buenos Aires, Paris, London, the US, etc), and not only in museum shops. Yes, we are trying but still in a very shy, wandering way" (Head of Museum Area 2)</p>

First, ticketing strategies (including the design of a varied offering of combined tickets to multiple venues or for multiple days) have been developed to promote access to less-known sites and to increase ticketing revenues per visitor. Data (Figure 27) indicate that entrance fees to permanent collections have constantly increased.

Second, museum services have been implemented to keep up with the expectations of an international public with higher willingness to pay. Notably, sales channels have been multiplied, focusing on those guaranteeing pre-sale (website) or integrated sales (Venice Card); by doing this, the foundation have been able to monitor revenues while taking advantage of “package deals” and promotions from other local cultural and tourist organisations.

Third, the program of temporary exhibitions has been constantly updated and integrated, to support ticketing revenues through diversification.

Fourth, collateral activities (bookshops and merchandising, cafeterias) have been updated to lengthen the visitor’s stay and to multiply the sources of revenues from a single customer; data (Figure 28) indicate a progressive increase in revenues from these activities.

Overall, the analysis indicates that the managerial team has developed multiple practises to increase the absolute and relative amount of self-revenues, thus contributing to the maintenance of MuVE’s financial self-sufficiency.

Summary. Analysis of MuVE

The overall analysis of MuVE’s logic, structure, and practises indicates that the application of the stakeholders foundation model has had effects on all three aspects (Figure 14).

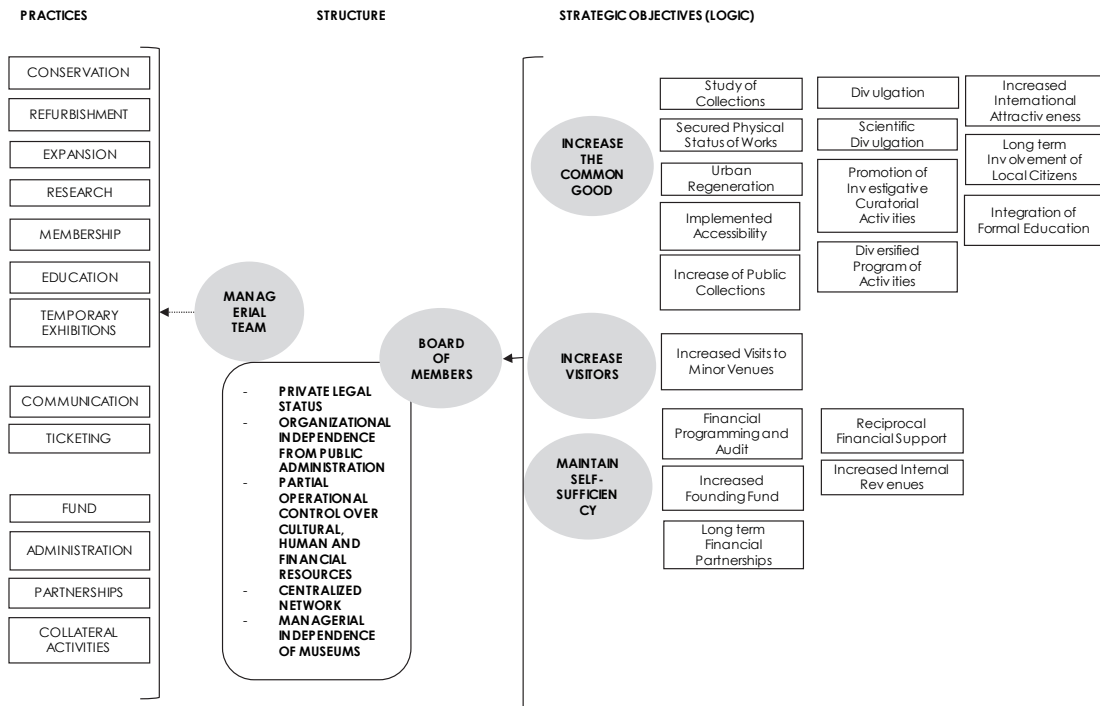
First, the new model has supported the composition of a system of cognitive categories that have been drawn from both the social and the global museum paradigms operating at the field level. A process of categorical hybridisation was observed after a confrontation between the categories featured by MuVE and those characterising the two field-level logics: a **new hybrid system of beliefs and rules** has resulted from the application of the new governance form.

Second, the analysis implies that the transformation into a stakeholders foundation has determined the enforcement of an **organisational structure** guaranteeing both public representativeness – with the participation of the public stakeholder to the Board as a member, and private effectiveness – through the ensuring of operational independence for the managerial team.

The analysis indicates that the structure has been designed reflecting and enforcing the beliefs and values expressed within the organisation. MuVE's structure, in fact, is characterised by a centralised governance, a rational distribution of roles, an independent management of departments, and a regulated internal coordination between Board and offices. As suggested by the General Director: “we are 11 museums with many peculiarities and, therefore, a lot of complexity issues going on. However, the sense of belonging as a unitary organisation should compensate single issues and prevail”.

Third, the adoption of this organisational structure has supported the definition of a number of **practises** (Appendix 5) enacted to fulfill the strategic objectives indicated by MuVE's mission.

Figure 14: Effects of the Application of the Stakeholders Foundation Form on MuVE – Logic, Structure, and Practices



Practises have been operated in light of the specific organisational features offered by the new model: the private legal status of the foundation, its organisational independence from the public administrator (and, as a consequence, its autonomy in managing cultural, human, and financial resources), the operational freedom allowed to individual offices, and the centralisation of governance together have supported the operationalisation of activities that, while pursuing the public-driven goals set by the Board, have followed private-originated principles of managerial efficiency.

5.2. Case 2: The Fondazione Torino Musei (FTM)

I just left you on a train leaving Venice. Imagine now that the train takes you inland, across the Liberty Bridge, following the course of the Po River, the longest in Italy, in reverse.

You pass through Padua, where one of the most ancient universities in the world was founded in 1222, protected by the democratic, tolerant power of Venice's *Serenissima*: a beacon of free education for all European scholars, it was called by Sir Herbert Butterfield "the home of the scientific revolution"²², due, among other things, to the creation in 1545 of the most ancient botanical garden in the world, still open today.

The train then takes you to Vicenza, and to its Basilica, a masterpiece by Andrea Palladio, the architect of Neo-Classicism, built between 1549 and 1601, that, contrary to its name, was not used for religious purposes, but as the headquarters of the local government; recorded in Goethe's *Italian Journey*, its magnificence was said to have left even the famous German writer lost for words.

But do not stop there: you would miss Verona, a jewel of medieval and Renaissance architecture, so evocative that it inspired the location for the Bard's most famous play – *Romeo and Juliet*. However, far from being just the city of lovers, it can claim the title as a preeminent international opera centre, having hosted the famous open-air Opera Festival in the Roman Arena for more than one century.

If you decide to take a break from the journey, its close neighbour, Brescia, provides you a day of strolling around the monastic complex of Santa Giulia, declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2011 as part of the Langobardic legacy in Northern Italy.

The train eventually stops in Milan, the economic capital of Italy; famous for its design and fashion industries, in 2015 it hosted the Universal Exposition dedicated to nutrition, making the city a hub of food and cuisine-related ventures, and it is a centre of new, sustainable architectural projects. You will have to wait for some time in the terminal for the train to switch directions, so take the chance to get out for a few minutes and enjoy the

²² Butterfield, H., *The Origins of Modern Science*, 1957

elegant volume of the Central Station, a recently refurbished jewel of late 19th-century industrial style. Then, get back into your carriage: after a one-and-a-half hour trip on the high speed train, you will finally arrive at your destination, Turin.

Exiting the station, you then have two choices: you could take a bus to the Parco del Valentino, a beautiful English-style park with a secret gem, the Medieval village and castle, a Gothic Revival complex created for the 1894 General Exposition and transformed into a civic museum in 1942.

If you prefer to stay in the city, look to your right: there is a straight pedestrian street, Via Lagrange; you have a kilometre-long walk to get to the city centre. Just before getting there, you pass by the Egyptian Museum, the largest in the world after the one in Cairo. But let's rush to the end of the street, to the large square of Piazza Castello: on your right, dormant behind an unassuming facade, is the famous Teatro Regio, one of the most important opera theatres in Italy.

Without hesitation, your attention is taken by the impressive size of the main building dominating the square, Palazzo Madama. In 1758, during his Grand Tour around Italy, the future Marquess of Martigny, and younger brother of Madame de Pompadour, had the chance to stop in Turin: he was accompanied by an up-and-coming artist and writer, Charles-Nicolas Cochin, who recorded the impressions of the nobleman visiting the palace. According to him, it had "the most beautiful and imposing facade in all Turin, with features evoking Louvre's peristyle"²³. And yet, that brief description does not give the proper credit to a building that incorporates more than 800 years of history. If you go around it, in fact, you will see the delicate 17th-century facade backed by a medieval looking castle – the Casaforte degli Acaja, constituting the body of the building. The palace, then, presents a superimposition of different artistic and architectural styles, which reverberates with the collections that are now on display in its rooms, ranging from medieval sculptures to 18th-century porcelains.

At this point, you could exit the beautiful Palazzo Madama, and take a right, heading west. Pass between Palazzo Chiabrese, home of the Royal Museums, and Palazzo Reale, just next to the city's Cathedral, in which the

²³ Cochin, C.-N., *Voyage en Italie*, 1758

Holy Shroud of Turin has been conserved since 1694. After a five-minute walk, you arrive at a crossroads of two streets with names of saints, Augustine and Domenico; there, a red vertical flag should catch your attention, signalling the entrance to the Museum of Oriental Art. It hosts a collection of more than 2000 pieces from the Near and Far East: from China to the Himalayas, from Japan to the Arabian Peninsula, artefacts from different times and civilisations have been put on display in the rooms of 16th-century Palazzo Mazzonis since 2008.

You could be tired at this point, quite understandably, but if you decide to keep your attention for a little bit longer, I direct you to the last stop on our journey: exit the Museum and reach Piazza Savoia. From there, just go straight south: you will quickly understand the peculiar street planning of the city, an intricate and yet perfectly regular grid, reminiscent of the military background of the Savoia family who governed the city for almost five centuries, and inspired by the rational simplicity of the Roman centuriation.

After almost a kilometre, you will arrive at a modern building with Brutalist accents: it is the headquarters of the GAM, the Modern Art Gallery. Imagined in the late 19th century as the first civic museum of modern art, its collections were transferred to this location in 1959; after a long period of refurbishments and expansions, the gallery finally reopened in 1993, displaying its wide variety of works of Italian and foreign artists, including Fattori, Morandi, Pistoletto, Boetti, Klee, Picabia, and others.

Now our journey has really concluded: the venues of Fondazione Torino Musei have no other secrets to tell you. You just need to exit the building and walk a few hundred meters: the train station is just there, and you are finally free to say goodbye, and to go home to rest.

5.2.1. The Logic

Data analysis (Table 9) indicates that the main cognitive categories characterising FTM as a stakeholders foundation have been drawn from the social museum paradigm that is present in the field, with some elements selected from the global museum logic. This suggests the definition of a system of beliefs and values that has developed through a process of hybridisation similar to the one that emerged with the analysis of MuVE's cognitive set (see Chapter 5.1.1).

First, the analysis indicates that the main origin of legitimacy comes from its potential for pursuing specific cultural and managerial objectives. The possibility of playing an active cultural role within its environment and doing that in conditions of increasing financial autonomy represent the main determinants of FTM's creation as a stakeholders foundation.

Second, the analysis indicates that authority is exerted by the Board and by its members as representatives of the different institutional stakeholders (the Municipality, the region, the two bank foundations).

Third, the main source of identity is represented by the organisation's physical heritage (collections and buildings).

Fourth, to define its norms, FTM relies strongly on the indications provided by the Statute and by other documents and regulations that have been progressively approved by the Board²⁴.

Fifth, the analysis indicates that the main source of attention directing the organisation's activities and strategies is the social impact that the stakeholders foundation is expected to have on its community of reference.

Sixth, FTM's logic is characterised by a "strategy" category that combines different aspects. On the one hand, the organisation is driven by the strategic objective of increasing the common good (intended as the cultural enrichment of the citizens through the implementation of a varied and high-quality offering); on the other hand, FTM's beliefs direct the organisation towards the achievement of financial self-sufficiency (especially from public funding). These two aspects are sought together with the correlated pursuit of an increase in visitor attendance.

Seventh, the analysis indicates that FTM is positioned within a strong network of interrelationships with different institutional stakeholders: such

²⁴ Since its creation in 2002, the foundation has released a Contractual Guideline, drafted in 2004 and edited in 2007; a Guideline on Acquisitions, one on Property Management, and a Rulebook on the Management of the Library, in 2004; a Procedure List to access documentation, in 2005; a Guideline on accessibility to permanent and temporary exhibitions, in 2007; and a Regulation on copyright and reproduction by third parties, in 2008. In addition, the Annual Reports constantly refer to multiple national- and local-level legislative resolutions concerning different aspects of the conservation and promotional activities operated by public cultural organisations.

ties constitute the main source of informal control exerted on the organisation by external actors. These subjects – primarily the Municipality, the Province, and the region, in conjunction with local bank foundations – are strictly interconnected with each other in defining local cultural policies and, together, they contribute to the definition of an informal system of supervision and control of FMT's main objectives, strategies, and results.

Eighth, the foundation operates within the economic boundaries of a capitalistic system, in which different managerial activities are enacted to achieve the strategic objectives set by the Board, aimed at fulfilling the public interest, as imposed by the stakeholders.

Table 9: FTM Logic – Analysis of Categorical Elements

	FTM	
Legitimacy	<p>“at the beginning the foundation has been created as a functional body to transfer the management of museums outside the municipal administration” (municipal councilman for culture)</p> <p>“The general perception is that the foundation form constitutes a potentially fruitful organizational model: [...] it implies a different governance and decision-making system, as an organization separating from the public administration brings simplification of bureaucracy and freedom from political ties” (private member of the Board)</p> <p>“we have to take into consideration the national-level legislation, where there is a separation between conservation and promotion, an idea with which I don't agree. In this sense, the foundation has also be a way to reunite these two aspects” (Head Marketing and Communication)</p> <p>“the positive side of the foundation is that it is useful to make museums' daily governance much more flexible, agile, quick [...] the foundation, as a governance structure, is an enormous step forward, because it allows museums to get free from bureaucratic procedures and it eases their management” (Museum director)</p>	<p>Managerial Performance</p> <p>Managerial Performance</p> <p>Cultural and Managerial Performance</p> <p>Managerial Performance</p>
Authority	<p>“let me recall that the president of the foundation is also the mayor. Then, of course the Municipality has representatives in the Board of Members, but the objective was to be able to manage these museums collectively, differently from the municipal governance, where museums were managed individually. [...] So, there is a coordination in the board of members that is then operated daily in the foundation, autonomously” (municipal councilman for culture)</p> <p>“my doubts (are) on the possibility to manage the highly differentiated, varied public heritage with no political control: in fact, some level of public political control guarantees the democratic, shared management of these public heritage” (Museum director)</p>	<p>Board of Members</p>
Identity	<p>“each museum has its own specific identity, and we do not want to create a confusing medley. Of course, on the other side, a strong brand awareness for the foundation could be helpful to reinforce</p>	<p>Cultural Heritage</p>

	<p>other museums' one. So, with time, the willingness is to go in that direction" (Head Marketing and Communication)</p> <p>"The conjunct management of all museums assigned to the Foundation is not meant to erase the specific identities that connote each single venue. It is based on the very history of the Civic Museums, and on their heterogeneity of collections and missions, that the creation of an autonomous organization aimed at promoting each identity through specialized, ad-hoc services and, at the same time, a conjunct, systematic policy, has been foreseen" (Annual Report 2012)</p>	Heritage Specificities
<p>Norms</p>	<p>"To ensure the achievement of the minimum quality standards in heritage management, human resources, and museum services, the Foundation's effort is on the adoption of regulations and internal circulars formalizing ordinary procedures able to determine a common mode of conduct and operation for each structure" (Annual Report 2012)</p> <p>"The relationship with the Municipality of Turin are regulated by a formal Convention that indicates the specific procedures through which the Municipality supports, directs, and controls the Foundation, while respecting the organization's managerial, financial, and cultural autonomy. The Convention defines the technical-cultural principles and minimum standards that the Foundation commits to respect in the execution of its activities. Finally, the Convention defines the obligations that each party has to comply with and the respective system of norms and procedures for evaluation and coordination" (Annual Report 2012)</p>	<p>Formal Documents</p> <p>Official Agreements</p>
<p>Attention</p>	<p>"social changes have involved the museum sector in the last 30-40 years, transforming the museum from a place for connoisseurs and scholars to a place visited by families, collectors and private individuals, in any case a much vaster public. The interest toward museums, these new requests have imposed a radical change in museums: from this change the foundation has been developed" (Museum director)</p> <p>"The mission is pursued in accordance with the principles and the values that have been defined in the Council of Ministers' Guideline (January, 27th 1994), which respond to the necessities of maintaining equality, impartiality, continuity, right of choice, participation, efficacy and efficiency" (Annual Report 2012)</p> <p>"if we also think about ICOM's definition of the museum, then it results clear that there is an intrinsic correlation between the exhibition of collections for visitors' enjoyment and their conservation, an</p>	<p>Social Relevance</p> <p>Public Interest</p>

	<p>idea that is clearly acknowledged at Palazzo Madama. For this reason the director's vision, differently from other museums, is fully oriented toward visitors services" (Head Communication and Marketing)</p>	<p>Social Service</p>
<p>Strategy</p>	<p>"the purpose was to be able to access new resources, that is to move from the management of single museums to the building of a museum system" (municipal councilman for culture)</p> <p>"I think that the will was to create a more flexible, quick organizational structure, with a long-term vision; an organization that could operate more easily in relation with private sponsors – private foundations" (Head Marketing and Communication)</p> <p>"on one side we want to offer a better, more integrated service to the public and, on the other side, to improve the potentialities for self-sufficiency and financial autonomy" (municipal councilman for culture)</p> <p>"I still think that the main objective is not only to administrate a museum but to give it a real sense. The role of the museum is a cultural one and we do not have to lose that with the foundation. We have collections from different time periods and this is a great treasure to use, although keeping intact each subject's special features" (Museum director)</p> <p>"While guaranteeing total transparency in the relationship with other actors who concur to achieve the objectives, and while communicating strategies and results on time, the Foundation pursues: the best possible fruition of the heritage and the museum services by the public; the realization of exhibitions, studies, researches, artistic events, educational activities, also in collaboration with the educational and academic system and with other research institutions; the completion of restoration and refurbishment activities on single works; the programming of cultural programs, including the connection between the artistic and the environmental heritage, in collaboration with tourist government agencies; the fulfillment of activities directed to the optimization of economic resources" (Annual Report 2012)</p>	<p>Achieve Self-Sufficiency Increase Private Funding Increase the Communal Good</p> <p>Achieve Financial Self-Sufficiency</p> <p>Increase the Communal Good</p> <p>Implement the Conditions for Self-Sufficiency</p>

<p>Informal Control Mechanisms</p>	<p>“[...] the foundation has allowed to make the system of museums a social one and to be much more transparent and accountable: we have released all our records as open data, we have budgets and salaries publicly available. And this has been possible because we are separated from the rigid structure of the public administration” (Head Marketing and Communication)</p> <p>“The foundation has been created within an institutional background where different municipal and regional subjects have concurrently participated to the definition and to the implementation of the local cultural policies. The Region and the local bank foundations have always worked together on this: there is a strong sense of collaboration and co-participation to the development of social and cultural policies in the regional and urban territory, a phenomenon that is much more pervasive than what is occurring in other regions” (General Secretary)</p>	<p>Social Relationships</p> <p>Shared Decision-Making Process</p>
<p>Economic System</p>	<p>“[...] intrusion from policy-makers and public administrators is significantly limited thanks to the autonomous structure of the foundation, keeping intact the fact that it still depends hugely on public funding” (private member of the Board)</p> <p>“the Municipality of Turin is not only the founding partner but, also, if you can let me use this improper term, a majority shareholder” (municipal councilman for culture)</p>	<p>Social Capitalism</p>

Legitimacy is dependent upon the achievement of specific performance results, involving the provision of cultural services, as well as the operative management of activities. Furthermore, authority is exerted by the Board as the only governance body. Similarly, identity is defined by the heritage's historical background and by its connection with the local environment. Norms are drawn from formal documents. Attention is focused on the pursuit of the public interest, intended as the enrichment of the community. Control is informally exerted by the system of social relationships that the organisation maintains with the community. Finally, managerial capitalism represents the economic system of reference.

The analysis suggests that, as observed for MuVE, the logic permeating the organisation is mainly drawn from the social museum field-level logic, with integration of the global museum logic; a process of cognitive hybridisation eventually occurred in correspondence with the application of the stakeholders foundation form substituting for the previous built-in form.

5.2.2. The Structure

Similarly to MuVE, the stakeholders foundation model was applied to the Turin civic museum network with the purpose of taking advantage of its legal independence from the public administration: “the general perception is that the foundation form constitutes a potentially fruitful organizational model. [...] It implies a different governance and decision-making system, as an organization separating from the public administration brings simplification of bureaucracy and freedom from political ties” (Private Member of the Board). To achieve these purposes, the organisation has

“adopted a governance model inspired by for-profit firms, with and function and process-oriented organisational structure. [...] This organizational model wants to fulfill the request of flexibility, to take the utmost advantage from the rationalisation of internal procedures, and to promote a quick actualisation of procedures and decisions defined by the main governance subject. Whereas the unified governance is guaranteed by the bodies appointed by the Statute, managerial autonomy is provided to each museum, which is ensured an autonomous direction, functional to its peculiarities and mission, and which is responsible for

the definition of a promotion and development program tailored to fit the specific characteristics of its own collections”²⁵.

The analysis indicates two main determinants for the transformation into a stakeholders foundation: the definition of a centralised structure coordinating multiple venues and the structuration of a governing configuration which could allow the entrance of new, private partners as founders.

The possibility of centrally governing all museums constituted a central reason for the application of the stakeholders foundation model: “in our case, the real advantage comes from the possibility to put together multiple museums, thus making it possible to work on some scale processes centralising some activities” (General Secretary). According to the FTM Annual Report 2012, “the foundation’s structure is complex and its description must not overlook a necessary distinction between two different areas: general services and museum services”. General Services are in charge of coordination of and support for each venue, with the purpose of achieving some form of economy of scale. In this sense, the organisational structure has been designed with General Services offices operating as functional service providers of human resources management; of technical and legal support; of the press office, communication, marketing and web management; and of auditing, accounting, and protocol.

Museum services, including educational activities, laboratories, curatorial projects, and exhibitions, are managed separately by the staff of each museum.

In addition, at the time of writing, no Scientific Committee (which should include the directors of each museum) has been appointed, although it is requested by Article 10 of the Statute²⁶: “the Board of Members is constituted by representatives from administrations and bank foundations; on the other

²⁵ FTM Annual Report 2012

²⁶ “The Scientific Committee is responsible for the provision of non-binding opinions on the scientific and cultural guidelines to be followed by the Foundation and on the general criteria concerning the preservation, the management, and the development of permanent collections” (Article 10, Statute of FTM).

hand, there is no Scientific Committee which supervises to all cultural activities, such as acquisitions, exhibitions, etc. The Board of Members is not in charge of that role” (Head Communication).

The analysis indicates that FTM’s organisational structure does not provide a coordinated governance system with centralised offices managing all activities for all museums. On the contrary, the organisation operates with a limited governing structure which overlaps those existing in each venue, and without general oversight of the practises enacted by each museum:

“What we have realized was that, in order to adopt and, potentially, to take advantage from the stakeholders foundation form, the municipality had created a system of central offices that, although relatively small, it overlapped the structures of the individual museums. So, we have been impressed by the definition of such an overscaled structure, disproportioned to the managed museums and unable to provide some essential services that could be needed: for example, there was no centralised exhibition office, but the same can be said on many other activities, such as marketing, fundraising, etc.” (private member of the Board)

This condition as an unintegrated system is evident within the organisation:

“There are central services in the foundation and then there is a referent for each specific service in every museum. So far, there has been a certain level of detachment between central offices and individual museums: the will, as I’ve experienced first-hand with this condition, is to change the situation. But this feeling is a two-way one: the museum doesn’t feel part of the decision-making process, but, at the same time, the foundation feels excluded”. (Head Communication)

The analysis of FTM’s configuration indicates that the centralisation of governance via the definition of a formalised structure reuniting multiple venues has been achieved. At the same time, data show that the structure has eventually developed into a super-entity, with limited governing power over its museums and with increasing cognitive detachment, reinforced by its specific physical conditions: “the physical distance from the museum to the foundation’s HQ mirrors the conceptual and practical distance between them” (Head Communication). This condition also has been perceived externally: “one of the problems, in fact, is that other institutions don’t perceive the

foundation as an autonomous body with all its museums: it is not like the Smithsonian where there is a central organisation and then all individual museums, but, rather, we are perceived singularly like, GAM, Palazzo Madama, etc.” (Manager).

The other main feature that prompted the public administration to transform the built-in organisation into a stakeholders foundation form was the possibility of including private founders, as suggested by the municipal councilwoman for culture:

“The foundation has been created to allow the engagement of new partners and, at the same time, to create an organisation that could manage in a more innovative way the involved museums while offering an administrative, transverse support with new offices, such as the exhibition one, the HR one, or the marketing one: it should have been at the service of the individual museums entering it and, potentially, it should have become the governing body of all participating museums”.

Although the foundation has only one main founder (the Municipality of Turin), its statute includes the possibility of adding new founders, public and private. The analysis shows that two bank foundations (Fondazione CRT and Compagnia di San Paolo), closely tied to the local community, have been included as institutional founders:

“We also have the support of two private foundations which banks are competitors in the financial market but that, as their not-for-profit offspring, can nonetheless work together in defining the local cultural policies in relative harmony. So, this condition reverberates in the foundation’s governance, where representatives of both the public administrative bodies and the private institutional actors are present in the Board of Members” (Secretary General)

At the same time, the analysis suggests the progressive emergence of a necessity, on the part of the private founders, to increase the institutional weight of their presence in the Board, as suggested by one of the Secretaries of the two private foundations: “before we used to have an agreement according to which our foundation appointed an external representative in FTM’s Board of Members, now we have been asked to have the General

Secretary of the foundation as representative, that is to have a direct presence in the Board”.

This circumstance was determined by a perceived predominance of the public founder on the Board, to the detriment of the full operational implementation of the new model:

“I would divide between the regular relationship that we have had with the foundation in the past years and the change that has occurred from 2013. [...] If we look at the previous phase, in that period we have tried to rationalise the newly created organisation, as it was still characterised by a public profile and it was undergoing an updating process with yet no real radical change behind it. So, at that time, the feeling of a real transformation from the previous built-in system to the new one was not there. Yes, of course they had tried some form of rationalisation but the managerial logics were the same. So, all along that period, the Compagnia had repeatedly pointed out some critical aspects”. (Secretary General)

In effect, the analysis shows that the internal composition of the Board is characterised by a prevailing presence of public representatives, including both the Municipal and the Regional council members, and the Municipality-nominated President of the foundation. As reported previously, then, private partners decided to appoint their Secretaries as Members with the explicit objective of reinforcing their internal position and of making the case for organisational efficiency and managerial rationalisation: “it must be said that the presence of private partners also imply the definition of a more professionalised approach to the management of activities and practises” (General Secretary).

However, data show that the striving for private effectiveness, although upheld by private members of the Board, has been partially sidelined by other members, and, more generally, is ancillary to the priorities set by the public members.

Overall, the analysis indicates a lack of centralised governance: few shared offices and departments, primary museum activities independently managed by the single venues, and physical and organisational separation between the foundation and the single venues. In addition, data indicate a Board composed largely of members representing the public stakeholders (in

some cases, by the policy-makers themselves), with those from the public founders in a permanent minority. Finally, the analysis suggests that this composition of the Board has maintained organisational priorities divergent from the objective of financial and managerial efficiency advocated by private members.

5.2.3. The Practises

In 2012, the foundation, in collaboration with a consulting firm (Fondazione Fitzcarraldo), defined a “museum value chain”, according to which activities and practises were grouped: the purpose was “to create an organisational prototype able to manage the whole chain, to verify the overlap between the prototype and the foundation, and, in case, to define the actions to be taken in order to complete that super-imposition”²⁷.

The guiding principles of the organisation’s practises were rooted in managerial efficiency and cultural effectiveness:

FTM’s museums provide their services accordingly to principles of efficiency and effectiveness and adopting specific indicators to value the quality level of their performance. In particular: effectiveness is defined as the supply of services following the highest qualitative and quantitative levels, in respect to the needs of the public and by pursuing their full satisfaction; efficiency is defined as the supply of services following the highest qualitative and quantitative levels, in respect to the available resources and the defined programs, and by enforcing managerial and bureaucratic simplification, and cost reduction”²⁸.

Practises were distinguished in accordance to the different functions of the value chain (protection, security, conservation of collections, management of collections, administrative support, technical support, development support, relationship with the local territory, fruition, and promotion). All these practises reverberate with the main categories featured by FTM’s cognitive system (see Chapter 5.2.1).

²⁷ FTM Annual Report 2012

²⁸ Ibid.

The increase of the common good represents a primary objective, coherent with the identity of the organisation and supported by the Board of Members (especially by its public members).

The increase in the number of visitors constitutes another strategic focus, because it implies, on the one hand, a wider participation in FTM's cultural activities on the part of local citizens (contributing to the increase of the common good) and, on the other hand, an increase in the number of paying visitors (to the advantage of financial self-sufficiency).

The achievement of financial self-sufficiency, supported by an increase in attendance and by the implementation of collateral activities, is considered particularly important in a context of general financial crisis: "I'm not sure whether [the founders] could imagine the critical financial situation we are living, they freed the administration from the public structure thus allowing it to be more agile" (Head Communication).

Increasing the Common Good

FTM's mission is one of "conservation, study, and investigation"²⁹ of all forms of art and crafts represented by the works that are part of FTM's permanent collections. The foundation

seeks to pursue the best possible public consumption of the heritage; the projecting of exhibitions, as well as of studies, researches, scientific projects, educational activities, also in collaboration with the national and international educational and academic system; the projecting of events and cultural activities, also in relations with specific aspects of the heritage, e.g., refurbishments and restorations; the planning of cultural programs, defined with the specific purpose of connecting different cultural and environmental heritage, also in collaboration with the administrative bodies in charge of tourism³⁰.

The increase of the common good has been pursued in different directions, which involve the permanent collections, the educational offer, and temporary exhibitions and other cultural events.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Article 2, Statute of FTM

A. Permanent Collections

FTM's permanent collections are composed of different typologies of works from various periods and of different geographical origins. The analysis shows that practises destined to increase the common good, and involving permanent collections, include protection and security, conservation, and management of permanent collections.

First, the foundation has operated to guarantee the physical preservation of collections (protection against accidents and criminal episodes, maintenance of stable conditions during visiting hours, and security practises – which are coordinated by the central administration, but are the responsibility of each museum).

Second, the organisation has been involved in the conservation of its permanent collections through a series of activities (oversight of physical conditions, planning of refurbishment and conservative interventions, and analytical and scientific research on works for a better understanding of their specific characteristics and needs). However, both conservation and research have been carried out autonomously by each venue; no apparent general directive has been given by the central governance on a practise that, as stated in its Report, could crucially affect the organisation's cultural effectiveness.

Third, FTM has been involved in the “active” management of its collection (expansion through additions, updating of internal layouts to optimal curatorial standards, historical and artistic research, publishing of scientific documents, cataloguing of collections, and management of the museum deposits).

Each potential acquisition has been proposed by a museum director, verified by the Scientific Committee, and evaluated according to a series of parameters set by the 2004 *Guideline Document for Acquisitions*.

Cataloguing activities have focused on the digitisation of inventories and on the centralisation of archives via dedicated software. However, data indicate that the level of engagement in these practises has been quite heterogeneous from one venue to another: no coordinated effort to proceed at the same pace and on the same issues has been reported.

Overall, the analysis of practises operated on permanent collections indicate a distinct organisational irregularity in procedures and outcomes. Each

museum has operated according to its necessities and priorities and little coordination has been provided by the foundation.

According to Article 10 of the Statute, the Scientific Committee should constitute the consultancy body responsible for providing the general guidelines for the management of permanent collections and for the effective development of cultural programs. However, the lack of an appointed Committee has critically limited organisational efficiency and coordination of these practises, which, because of their specialised nature, should have been integrated within a centrally coordinated program of activities.

B. Membership and Education

In order to pursue an increase of the common good, the protection and the conservation of permanent collections has been accompanied by their promotion to the public; related activities have involved the definition of audience development practises – such as the implementation of membership programs – and the promotion of educational services for different typologies of visitors.

At the time of writing, neither the foundation nor a single museum have activated any kind of membership program. It must be noted that FTM can count on the external support of the “FTM Friends” association, which, despite operating to support it and to promote accessibility to it, is an autonomous subject. The same goes for the “Torino Piemonte” cards that, while allowing free entrance to all FTM’s venues, are not managed or controlled by the organisation.

In order to promote collections, activities, and events, the foundation operates through its central communications, marketing, and web office, which has been forced to coordinate with its corresponding referents present in each museum. Overall, the practises operated to engage audiences and to promote visitor retention have varied significantly from one venue to another, and as a whole they have been loosely coordinated by the central office formally in charge of them.

FTM’s museums also have been involved in the definition and implementation the educational offerings. The foundation does not include an Educational Office in its structure, because these services are provided independently by each venue. This condition has determined a certain level

of fragmentation of the variety, quantity, and quality of the educational offerings. In addition, the lack of a centralised system has prevented reciprocal promotion of these services among museums.

Overall, the definition of practises to engage visitors has followed two main directions.

On the one hand, communication practises have involved the promotion of the cultural offerings via traditional marketing channels (paper and online communication, and PR activities). At the same time, the lack of tight coordination has implied an unbalanced, asymmetrical communication by each venue and by the foundation. Furthermore, the lack of a membership program has prevented FTM from managing important marketing and fundraising tools internally, making audience engagement extremely low and dependent upon each museum.

On the other hand, educational activities have been carried out by the staff operating in each venue; with no centralised educational office, managerial coordination and homogeneity of offerings have not been achieved. This organisational heterogeneity has made it impossible to offer standardised, comparable, easily identifiable educational services, making it more difficult to maintain long-term relationships with representatives from the formal educational system.

Practises designed to promote the permanent collections have been conducted to provide a certain level of cultural enrichment to the local community. However, the lack of coordination has affected the quality of communication and educational practises, thus negatively affecting the increase of the common good. In parallel, the nature of communication and educational practises – featuring an incomplete centralisation of roles and offices – has suggested a limited attention to principles of organisational efficiency and cultural effectiveness.

C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events

The increase of the common good has also been pursued by implementing the cultural offering of temporary events – exhibitions, concerts, special visits, conferences, and workshops.

As reported by a private member of the Board, “the foundation has no centralized Exhibition Office”, but, instead, each museum is responsible for

conducting temporary events on its premises. This condition, together with the lack of a Scientific Committee, have impeded the definition of an integrated program of temporary exhibitions, thus limiting the possibility of strategically coordinating the offerings. The definition of these programs has been left to the responsibility of each museum, with different results.

Data (Table 21) show that the offering of temporary exhibitions has been particularly varied and composite: specialised, niche exhibitions have been proposed in parallel with more “blockbuster” events. At the same time, the lack of centralised coordination has led to less-coherent offerings, ineffective in both satisfying its local community and in proposing curatorial projects able to stand out at an international level.

Most practises have been characterised by extreme heterogeneity; although security, conservation, and cataloguing have been guaranteed in all venues at a similar qualitative standard, research on collections has varied significantly depending on the priorities set by each museum, and acquisition has depended on the system of relationships developed by each venue. Similarly, the intensity and the quality of marketing practises and educational services have been tightly tied to each museum’s capabilities. Finally, the definition of an integrated program of temporary exhibitions has been limited by the lack of coordination among museums, which has impeded the smooth design of a strategically defined, multi-venue offering of temporary events.

Increasing Visitors

The analysis suggests that practises have been designed and enacted to increase the number of visitors.

Data (Figure 36) indicate a significant increase in general attendance rates since 2013, a transformation supported mainly by the raise of visits occurred at GAM.

This has been achieved by the definition of a cycle dedicated to Impressionist Masters³¹. The cultural contribution of these initiatives to the visitors’ enrichment is relatively small, in consideration of the low level of curatorial

³¹ Exhibitions of this kind have been defined as “blockbusters”, given the choice of eye-catching, famous names to attract a vast public.

novelty and the inversely proportional cognitive accessibility of the exhibited works, which puts the event closer to edutainment.

In parallel, the foundation has used its ticketing offerings to implement cross-visits to multiple venues to allow non-local visitors *in primis* to attend all museums during a limited period. At the same time, no conjunct educational program has been developed to promote the use of venues by youngsters and school-age minors.

Overall, the increase of visitor attendance has been pursued primarily by offering temporary events to attract visitors from outside the urban boundaries, as well as by proposing ticket combinations to incentivise visits to multiple venues. At the same time, practises designed to increase the number of local visitors have been limited by the lack of membership programs and by the low level of coordination of communication and marketing. This indicates that principles of managerial efficiency and cultural effectiveness have not been applied systematically in the enactment of practises promoting the attraction of both local and foreign visitors.

Securing Self-Sufficiency

The increase of the common good and of visitor attendance are inherently connected with the achievement and the maintenance of financial self-sufficiency. According to data, FTM relies for the major part on public support, mainly from its main founder, the Municipality of Turin. This situation has inevitably affected the practises designed to pursue financial independence.

A. Fund

At the time of its creation, FTM was assigned a fund by the Municipality, constituting the buildings and collections that were previously managed in-house by the public administration. Together with the physical heritage, the organisation was provided with a fixed monetary fund, which has not been increased at the time of writing.

In addition, an agreement was made for a yearly fund from institutional founders (Municipality, Province, and region). The analysis shows that, from the very beginning of FTM's creation, the timing of the transfer has been systematically delayed and inferior in respect to the amount necessary to fulfill the organisation's financial needs. This condition has proved particularly

problematic for FTM, making it almost impossible to design long-term financial plans, to the detriment of financial efficiency and organisational effectiveness. Given the resulting inability to provide a stable, trustworthy financial profile to potential private partners, the persistence of public financial support has paradoxically ended up getting in the way of securing alternative sources of revenues, thus limiting FTM's ability to achieve full financial self-sufficiency. As a result, a discrepancy between the ability to maintain public support and the need to take advantage of private sponsors through its autonomous status has persisted within FTM's administrative system, negatively affecting its economic and cultural performance.

B. Administration

The analysis of the administrative practises at FTM suggests the enactment of transparent and yet highly bureaucratised procedures.

According to data, internal procedures have been formally defined to guarantee the levels of transparency and control required by the organisation's cognitive categories. At the same time, however, the enactment of these principles has ended up determining the emergence of administrative rigidities and the formalisation of procedural red tape.

In this sense, the pursuit of self-sufficiency via the rationalisation of resources and procedures has not been fully achieved, because the focus on formally transparent practises has determined the concurrent development of a public-influenced – i.e., bureaucratised – administrative approach.

C. Sponsorships

The analysis shows that the transformation into a stakeholders foundation was promoted by the public administrator to simplify and to incentivise the financial engagement of private partners. In effect, data indicate that two private bank foundations eventually joined FTM as founders.

Although participation of these two long-term subjects was crucial for financially supporting the organisation, collaboration with additional private partners on specific projects and activities has been considered as very relevant by the organisation, given the possibility of securing not only additional financial resources but also specific skills and professional competencies.

At the same time, however, the inefficient nature of the ongoing relationship with public actors has ended up affecting the quality and the stability of FTM's partnerships with private actors: fundraising practises, then, have not been operated to their full extent, limiting FTM's opportunity to achieve increasing financial autonomy.

On the one hand, the organisation has been able to count on the long-term financial support of the two private cofounders, who are also engaged in the governance body. On the other hand, FTM has been only partially involved in fundraising practises, limiting the amount and the quality of private sponsorships involving short-term, ad hoc collaborations.

D. Collateral Activities

According to data, FTM has been involved in the implementation of collateral activities to pursue financial self-sufficiency; however, the analysis shows an unsatisfactory percentage of self-revenues from these activities, mainly related to a lack of strategic direction from the governing body and to a correlated incomplete projecting of dedicated organisational practises.

First, ticketing initiatives to incentivise access to multiple venues, to promote multiple visits to the same venue, or to implement the participation of groups (in particular, families) have been limited.

Second, museum services have been kept under the responsibility of each museum, with little control by the central administration. As a consequence, the possibility of planning integrated offers involving multiple museums has been impeded and, when exploited, it has not involved the projecting of long-term initiatives. The amount and the quality of cultural services have therefore been limited by the capabilities of each venue, determining a distinct variation between venues.

Third, the program of temporary exhibitions has focused on projects targeting non-local visitors (blockbuster events). The result has been a significant increase in revenues from ticketing, with limited effect on the long-term cultural impact to the local community.

Fourth, revenues from collateral activities (cafeterias and bookshops) have remained stagnant. At the same time, practises destined to rationalise contractual agreements have not been carried out; different firms have been

kept in charge of different services with different contractual conditions (loans, outsourcing agreements).

Overall, the analysis indicates distinct managerial inefficiency determined by the organisation's unstable financial structure and by the lack of internal coordination and centralisation. The presence of the public stakeholders as the main contributors to the operative fund has implied the introduction of administrative procedures aimed at guaranteeing transparency. At the same time, these have resulted in the increase of bureaucratic practises, to the detriment of organisational efficiency. Furthermore, the timing of financial transitions from the public funders have interfered with the optimisation of a long-term program of fund raising activities, that, in turn, has limited the level and the quality of private sponsorships. Finally, the main contribution of collateral activities in supporting the organisation's financial self-sufficiency has been an increase in ticketing revenues from a cycle of blockbuster exhibitions.

The securing of self-sufficiency should have been pursued by taking advantage of the organisational autonomy ensured by the stakeholders foundation model. This should have brought to a centralisation of the decision-making process and, more crucially, to a rationalisation of procedures and a simplification of the organisational structure. However, the analysis indicates the subsistence of an over-scaled structure with residual governing power in single venues, a redundancy of offices and roles in each museum, and the relative failure of most economies of scale.

The pursuit of financial self-sufficiency, then, was incompletely achieved because the application of practises guided by principles of efficiency and effectiveness has been limited by a public-dominated governance body and by a rigid, disproportionate structure.

More generally, the analysis of practises operated by FTM (Table 10) shows that they have been negatively affected by the specific composition of the main governance body and by the configuration of the organisational structure.

The public-dominated Board of Members has been an inertial obstacle to the enforcement of the cognitive principles expressed within the organisation; the prevalence of public policy-makers, in fact, has moderated the striving for efficiency-seeking change by private members, thus limiting the

Board's ability to enforce the new organisational model. In parallel, this has determined the configuration of an organisational structure that has not been designed to take full advantage of the organisational autonomy and of the managerial independence implied in the stakeholders foundation form. As a consequence, the organisational practises at FTM have been ineffective in enforcing the principles expressed by the system of categories defining the organisation, as emerged in the analysis.

Table 10: FTM Practises – Analysis of Strategic Objectives

PRACTICES	FTM
Increasing the Common Good	
A. Permanent Collections	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Protection and Security Vigilance Structural and Functional Security Environmental and Fire Security Anti-crime Security 	<p>“the foundation has obtained the Fire Prevention Certificate for all its four venues; it has decided to appoint an internal employee (rather than an external contractor, as occurred until 2012) as Responsible for Prevention and Protection Services; the foundation issued plans for the management of emergencies and it has defined specific groups of employees to manage any environmental or sanitary emergency; finally, custodians and other front-desk personnel have been updated on emergency issues potentially occurring during opening hours in the exhibition spaces; specific procedures are defined to ensure complete security in case of temporary events; each venue has been provided with a Control Log reporting the number and typology of controls carried out according to the present legislative requirements” (2012 Annual Report)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conservation Analysing & Programming Planned Conservative Activities and Restorations Research 	<p>“[...] guidelines are translated daily in the elaboration of data sheets and documents easing the constant oversight of the works, in the systematic documentation of conservative specific needs, and in the use of each available technology to manage and to monitor the collections and the exhibition spaces. The commitment to comply with specific conservative standards involves not only the permanent collections but also loaned works. Special care is given to works in deposits or on long-term loan to other organizations” (2012 Annual Report)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Management Expansion of Collections Layout Update of Permanent Exhibitions Research and Publishing Documenting and Archiving Management of Deposits 	<p>“the expansion of collections thanks to acquisitions and to donations represents an important practice that is supported by the foundation” (2012 Annual Report)</p> <p>“the increment of knowledge on collections constitutes a fundamental condition to communicate and to transfer the civic heritage’s values” (2012 Annual Report)</p>

<p>B. Membership and Education</p> <p>C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events</p>	<p>“the exhibitions offices of each museum are responsible for the artistic offer, as they coordinate and organize temporary exhibitions following each step of the projecting process. Exhibitions are proposed by directors with the optional support of external professionals. [...] Each event is curated by taking into consideration the peculiarities of each museum. Exhibitions are usually laid out within the museum’s premises, therefore they do not have a separate ticketing policy, but the feed to access them is included in the regular entrance ticket. Similarly, Exhibition Offices are also in charge of organizing other events (concerts, conferences, film festivals)” (2012 Annual Report)</p> <p>“now we have the chance to take a step forward, keeping realities such as the Smithsonian as an example. Palazzo Madama is working in this sense: we are building a system of relationships with international partners, at the moment we are exchanging exhibitions with Portuguese organizations, for example. We are trying to do that also in France and in China, hopefully with success” (Head of Communication, Marketing, and Web)</p>
<p>Increase Visitors</p>	<p>“The foundation is still focusing a lot on increasing visitor attendances, but we must be realistic: we are in Turin, a city that is not touristic, and that, despite the significant efforts concentrated on developing its tourist attractiveness, is not a cultural city. We are not in Rome or Venice. To be realistic, we should make efforts to increase visitors but we cannot think to rely on revenues from this entry to find a definitive financial solution. At best, having more visitors can help raise financial self-revenues by a couple of points, nothing really groundbreaking” (Manager)</p> <p>“Of course, [the increase of visitors] is important and it must be pursued, as long as the quality level is not affected. We have a responsibility in promoting knowledge with a high qualitative standard. We must not forget the scientific level that Italy has always had in producing and diffusing knowledge: we cannot fail that. It is quite negative and frankly ridiculous to imitate American models: it is a tendency that is not recent but it has further developed recently. The Anglo-Saxon one is a very different model and it is extremely prosaic to try to mimic that” (Manager)</p>
<p>Securing Self-Sufficiency</p>	

A. Fund

"FTM depends mainly on funds from the Municipality; our self-revenues are around 10-15% of the overall ones; the Region provides a very limited fund; the two bank foundations transfer the same amount each year – € 1.291.000; one, Compagnia di San Paolo, has increased it to € 1.5m. All the remaining income come from the municipal funding that we receive each year, around 60%. As for sponsorships, they vary significantly from one year to the other" (Head of Accounting and Audit)

"the foundation form implies also the existence of an ad-hoc fund destined to its financial support, a fund that can be managed efficiently. However, in FTM's case, this is not so straightforward, as the fund is constituted by the physical heritage, something that cannot be disposed of or alienated and which makes the composition of the foundation's assets quite weak. This phenomenon is quite diffused among museum – as well as opera – foundations in Italy: in this sense, we can say that they are not 'true' foundations as they lack a crucial element – the fund – which is central in this kind of organizational forms" (Private Member of the Board)

"I have one thing to say about the foundation form: I believe that, to be a real foundation, what is really needed is a full fund that could guarantee a proper organizational autonomy and independence; on the contrary, many foundations that are created in these period in Italy are pseudo-foundations, especially if compared to those abroad. They are born without a sufficient patrimony and they manage to survive only thanks to the non-recurring financial support from institutional funders: in fact, whenever the founder(s) passes away or he or she loses interest towards these organizations, they inevitably die. On the contrary, in the Anglo-Saxon system, this doesn't occur, since each foundation is usually provided with a significant capital which shares are used to self-support the organization's activities" (Secretary General)

"another aspect is the difference between American and European museums: the formers have the possibility to use their collections for financial investments. If we could invest part of our collections in a hedge fund, then we would be rich! But we cannot do that because the European law prevents this" (Director)

"One problem that we have with the Municipality and that has become more and more cogent over the years is the fact that the Municipality approve its contribution at the end of the year. At the same time, our Statute obliges us to approve the budget in October, programming expenses for the next year; however, the Municipality approves the funding in December for that same year. So, what often happens is that the Municipality does not approve the sum that we had put in the budget the previous year, but a smaller sum! So we have very strong programming problems! This

	<p>become even impossible if we have to plan a three-year budget, as we must. This prevents us from having a long-term financial as well as cultural program" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p>
<p>B. Administration</p>	<p>"in light of the financial crisis, the Municipality has increasingly reduced its contribution. To face this situation, we have operated on different levels: we have focused on increasing self-revenues (sponsorships and ticketing), and, in parallel, we have operated a significant spending review, in order to cut fixed costs, that represent 80% of the total (the remaining 20% being educational activities, communication)" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p> <p>"The Municipality decided to create the foundation to govern the civic museums in a centralized manner, with the objective of rationalizing and limiting expenses" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p> <p>"the foundation has some administrative limitations typical of a public organization: we still have to use public announcements to recruit new personnel, which is used by private companies too, but with much less bureaucratized, formal procedures; the necessity to fulfil specific requirements to outsource; finally, the maintenance of transparency – necessary to respond to institutional requirements – determines significant problems in terms of loss of negotiating power with potential contractors: if I'm required to publish every financial information with no filter, then I'll have serious problems. All these rigidities come with extremely high costs, as for engaged personnel, for example: if the foundation weren't forced to follow these mandatory steps, it could reduce the number of employees and, with it, the level of fixed costs; notably, the work that is done by one person in a regular company, in a foundation usually requires four people; this indicates a disproportionate engagement of resources on inefficient activities" (Secretary General)</p> <p>"under the administrative point of view, the foundation form results more functional compared to one where the museums are internally managed by the public administration, however, in my opinion the differences are not so substantial" (Secretary General)</p> <p>"we have implemented a centralized system, shared by all employees through our intra-net, where each person can find details on each cost. We see how much a museum can spend and whenever it signs a contract, they know their availability and they can monitor their expenses. This situation determines a system of authorizations, because each expense must be approved by the central office: nothing can be done if it does not pass through us. So, the manager predisposes the contractual agreement, that is first be approved by the director, then the practice moves to accounting, it is reviewed by my office and, finally, it is approved by the general secretary. The SG is</p>

	<p>the one that actually sign the approval document: after that, the contractor can be designated. This is the procedure, so that everything can be kept under control" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p> <p>"We have two accounting systems: a general accounting system of the foundation; and an "industrial" accountability different for each museum and, within it, for each activity. I know that Palazzo Madama spends that much in maintenance costs, etc.... I know everything about each museum. These entries are collected together in the general budget. Based on the "industrial" accounting system, we define our budget" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p>
<p>C. Sponsorships</p>	<p>"my foundation has a slightly different interest in collaborating with FTM, compared to the average private partner, since we are somehow compelled to intervene and to collaborate with cultural organizations operating in our environment" (Private Member of the Board)</p> <p>"As for completely private sponsors, we must recall that the creation of the foundation has occurred in a very critical time where the national and international economy has suffered stagnation and even recession, making private resources destined to the cultural sector extremely scarce. So the thing that has really changed, allowing us to take advantage of some potential improvements that were just latent within the organization, is the level of organizational autonomy that is guaranteed by the foundation form. This is not sufficient per se, as we need to side it with other aspects that are more complex and difficult to provide, but at least its achievement represents the first step toward that vision that we foresee for the foundation" (Private Member of the Board)</p> <p>"the administrative red tape influences the possibility to look for private sponsors: if we don't know for sure what exhibitions we will be able to have, then raise private funds becomes a nightmare. We have rushed fund raising activities necessary to patch things up" (Head of Accounting and Audit)</p> <p>"[...] the passage from a built-in structure to an autonomous foundation is, undoubtedly, the road to follow. Especially because this choice allows, although it doesn't guarantee, the diversification of financial resources with the entrance of private partners. We have left behind a condition with no sustainability whatsoever to start a process that is extremely appropriate but that also has some critical issues that have to be taken into consideration" (Director)</p>

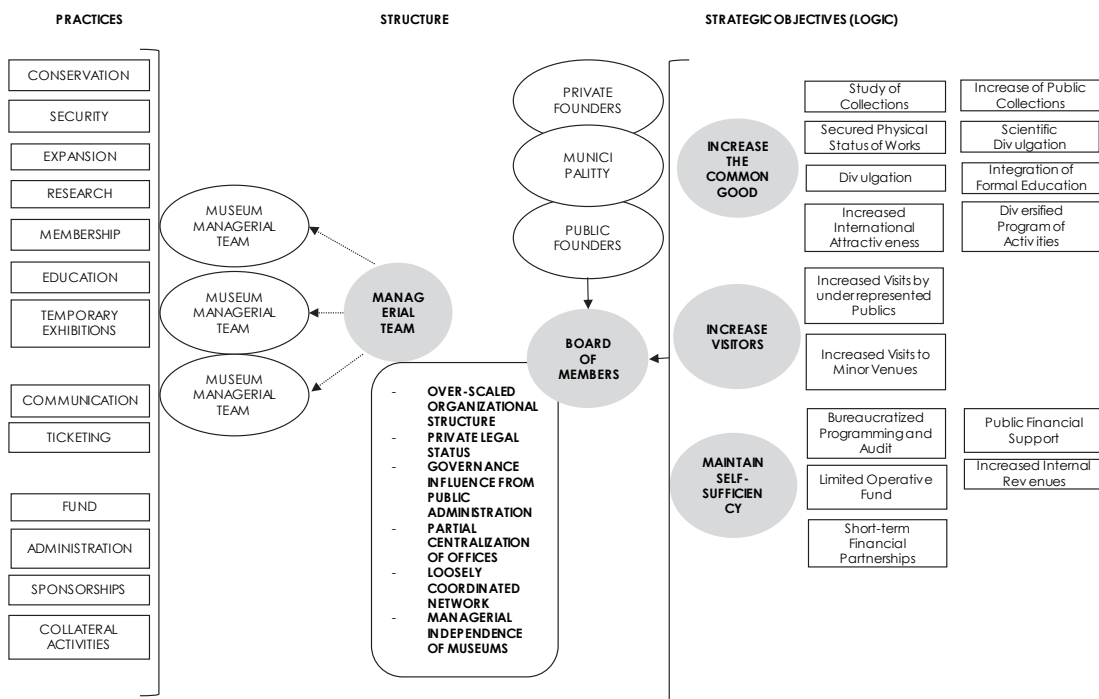
	<p>“another added value is that it has a private status and, more crucially, it allows the more active participation and the inclusion of private partners. In my experience, the possibility to have a private partner implies the opportunity to take advantage operatively from its know-how” (member of the College of the Auditors)</p> <p>“we should take advantage of a real, strong, long-term fund-raising plan, with a clear strategic view behind. This has not occurred yet, and we have started to discuss about it in 2009-2010, when the global financial crisis has stricken the hardest: before it didn't seem to be a real necessity to define clear fund raising campaigns. In addition, at the present time we move in a complicated complex: organizations in Milan, for example, can access sponsorships more easily as they operate in a “rich” environment. In Turin, we have more difficulties: we must be aware of what is the territory we operate in and don't deceive ourselves...” (Manager)</p>
<p>D. Collateral Activities</p>	<p>“we are also thinking about acquire the society that is responsible of the Torino Musei Card, with the purpose of adding this new activity to the foundation thus making it more effective thanks to the system, rather than having it managed by a single society” (Municipal Councilman for Culture)</p> <p>“Our concern were not quite high costs but rather low self-revenues, comparable to those of small organizations. As you might have noted looking at the foundation's balance sheets, the percentage of self-revenues stagnates at 10/11%, a percentage that has to be considered unsatisfactory if we compare it not only to the numbers of other cases – such as those of the Egyptian Museum in Turin, which can self-make more than 50% of its revenues – but also to those of even less performing organizations, that can still achieve up to 25/30% of self-revenues. So, the persistence of such a low percentage along time, despite the new organizational form, has been interpreted by us as the actual inability to move on from the past public governance to the new private one. Our ambition is to reach a percentage around 20% in around 3 years, making some small adjustments and updating the panel of networked museums (that is including Castello di Rivoli and alienating Borgo Medievale): I believe it to be reasonable objective” (Private Member of the Board)</p> <p>“We are a foundation that put together three museums with collections from very different time and geographic origin. If we don't consider MAO, which is very recent, let's talk about GAM and Palazzo Madama: they both have extremely large deposits. Why couldn't we take advantage from them, with a program of touring exhibitions to be sold all around the world? Taken for granted that we must not empty our rooms! Internationally, there is a group of countries that are now trying to impose themselves as central in the global cultural market: beside China, there are countries such</p>

as those in the Arab Peninsula, that are interested in developing their cultural offer and that are willing to host temporary exhibitions from abroad. We do not have a brand as strong as that of Louvre or British, but there are some niches that could be developed. I think that the Foundation could operate with partners of a similar "size" with great profit. Even more, the foundation can coordinate these projects and receiving managerial fees from them. We could offer package exhibitions with works from all the civic heritage. MAO could operate as the forerunner to start the relationship: this is its real added value: to take advantage from its specific nature. We have competences and we could use them to promote exhibitions around the world: there could be a managerial fee given to the foundation, and an exhibition fee to the single museum. This can represent not only a financial revenues, but also a possibility to reinforce the image of museums but also the value of competences that work within the museums: conservators, transport companies, curators, etc. You can create significant positive externalities in the city: we can support the economy of the city" (Manager)

Summary. Analysis of FTM

The analysis indicates that FTM’s logic, structure, and practises (Figure 15) have been affected by the application of the stakeholders foundation form.

Figure 15: Effects of the Application of Stakeholders Foundation Form on FTM – Logic, Structure, and Practises



First, data suggest that the system of categories dominating FTM has emerged through the hybridisation of the two systems operating in the field: in particular, the analysis shows that the process has involved the importation of elements from the social museum logic, with some categories coming from the global museum logic.

Second, the application of the new model determined the design of a new organisational structure: the analysis indicates that the resulting frame was designed with limited internal coordination among the venues and the

different administrative offices. As a result of this configuration, the rationalisation of positions and roles has not been achieved, leading to the persistence of coordinating problems among the different governing bodies.

Third, the definition of an organisational structure of this specific nature has implied the enactment of organisational practises (Appendix 5) that have not fully enforced the categories implied in the cognitive system which dominates the organisation. On the one hand, pre-existing practises have not been thoroughly implemented after the introduction of the new model; on the other hand, the specific composition of the new organisational structure has impeded the enactment of new practises or, in some cases, has determined the emergence of logic-defiant ones.

5.3. Comparative Analysis

Single-case reports from Chapters 5.1 and 5.2 are used to complete the last empirical step of the research, the analytical comparison of the organisations.

Table 11: Comparative Analysis of MuVE and FTM Logics

	MuVE LOGIC	SOCIAL MUSEUM LOGIC	GLOBAL MUSEUM LOGIC	FTM LOGIC
	Museum as Glo-cal Actor	Museum as Social Actor	Museum as Global Player	Museum as Glo-cal Actor
LEGITIMACY	Cultural and Man-agerial Perfor-mance	Cultural and Eco-nomic Perfor-mance	Market Position	Cultural and Managerial Per-formance
AUTHORITY	Board of Mem-bers	Social Stakehold-ers	Board of Mem-bers	Board of Mem-bers
IDENTITY	Cultural Herit-age/Community History	Heritage Preser-vation/Promotion	Historical Back-ground	Cultural Herit-age
NORMS	Statute, Contrac-tual Agreements	Community Membership	Self-Interest	Formal Docu-ments
ATTENTION	Cultural Impact Social Effective-ness	Social Impact	Notoriety of Col-lections	Social Rele-vance
STRATEGY	Increase Commu-nity Good Maintain Self-Suffi-ciency Increase Visitor Attendance	Increase Commu-nity Good	Increase Visitor Attendance Achieve/Maintain Self-sufficiency Diversification	Increase Com-munity Good Achieve Self-Sufficiency Increase Visitor Attendance
INFORMAL CONTROL MECHANISMS	Social and Institu-tional Relation-ships	Social Relation-ships	Institutional Rela-tionships	Social and Insti-tutional Rela-tionships
ECONOMIC SYSTEM	Social Capitalism	Participatory Capitalism	Managerial Capi-talism	Social Capital-ism

This provides the opportunity to analyse in depth the implications that the application of a new organisational model can have on the cognitive and operational conditions of organisations operating in a changed institutional environment.

5.3.1. The Logics

The analysis suggests that, in both cases, the logics featured in the organisations represent the results of a cognitive reconciliation of the cognitive systems operating in the field (Table 11).

The categories of both logics are drawn from the social museum logic (legitimacy, identity, attention, informal control mechanisms, and the economic system of reference) and the global museum logic (authority, identity, strategy, informal control mechanisms, and the economic system).

The comparison of MuVE and FTM indicates that the new organisational-level categorical system presents similar characteristics in the two cases, and, on a whole, it features categories that have derived from a similar process of hybridisation, consequent upon the application of the stakeholders foundation model.

On the whole, then, the analysis suggests that the application of the same governance form has determined the emergence of a hybrid categorical system which has mediated the cognitive divergence present in the field between the social and the global museum logics.

5.3.2. The Structure

The application of the new model has implied compliance with specific structural requirements inherent in the legal requisites necessary to be formally acknowledged as a stakeholders foundation. The formalisation of this transformation, in fact, has depended on the definition of specific roles and offices within the new organisation. In this sense, the two cases have a very similar composition³².

³² In particular, the governance structure is established by the Statute, which imposes the definition of a Board of Members, a President, a General Secretary (or Director), a Scientific Committee, and a College of the Auditors. Both organisations unite multiple venues (museums or other historical sites), with personnel, coordinated by Area or Museum Directors, operating both in the HQ (in different offices and departments) and in the individual venues.

The main characteristics that differ between the two organisations are the **qualitative composition of the governing bodies**, and the **composition** and the **dimension of the managerial structure**, with offices and roles that are differently distributed and operated (Table 12).

Table 12: Comparative Analysis of MuVE and FTM Structures

	MuVE	FTM
President	Formal, representative role	Senior Manager, Operative role for all venues
Board of Members	Composed by independent subjects	Composed by public policy-makers and secretaries of private founders
Scientific Committee	Operative	Non-operative (provided by the Statute)
Directive Committee	Operative	Non-operative (not provided by the Statute)
College of the Auditors	Operative	Operative
General Director	Cultural and administrative role for all venues	Not provided
Administrative Secretary	Administrative role	Administrative role
Area/Museum Directors	Cultural and administrative role for each Area; strongly tied with General Director	Cultural and administrative role for each museum; weakly tied with President; highly independent
Offices/Departments	Unified in the HQ	Central HQ with limited responsibilities Others replicated in each museum
Museums	Reunited into 3 Areas, strongly tied to the HQ	Weakly tied, highly independent

MuVE has built upon its previous networked arrangement to design a centralised, coordinated, independent organisation. In particular, existing ties have been strengthened to implement coordination; governance independence has been enforced and exploited by autonomous governance bodies; and nodes have been rationalised while guaranteeing a certain degree of operational independence.

FTM has not implemented its former networked system without taking advantage of the possibility of organisational maneuvering allowed by the new model. Conversely, the main feature of the new arrangement has been the definition of a new central administrative structure on top of – not as a replacement for – the existing offices operating in each venue. In addition, the distribution of managerial and cultural mandates among managers has focused an unbalanced concentration of decision-making power in the hands of the President (and of the public-dominated Board) which, in turn, has not implied a reshaping of responsibilities for museum directors. The direct consequence has been the replication of roles instead of their rationalisation, to the detriment of coordination and process centralisation.

President

The operative role of this position is **different** in the two foundations.

At MuVE, the President is responsible for the maintenance and the development of institutional relationships with public and private partners, in support of the foundation's activities (Article 12 of the Statute). The role is a representative rather than an operative one (similar to that of the president of a for-profit corporation).

At FTM (Article 5 of the Statute), the President is the senior manager, holding a distinct operative position: he or she chairs the Board and is in charge of all daily and extraordinary managerial activities; of the creation of the budgets, the balance sheets, and the annual reports; of institutional relationships with the founders; and of the appointment of directors, managers, and the General Secretary.

Board of Members

The qualitative composition of the Board of Members is **different** in the two cases: although both Statutes seem to require representatives from the main

founders, FTM's Board is composed of the actual policy-makers³³ in office, whereas MuVE's Board includes only external representatives selected by the founder. Significantly, then, the analysis indicates a distinct difference in the level of direct political influence of the main public stakeholders, with FTM strongly tied to its public referents.

Although MuVE's Board members are appointed representatives of the Municipality, their membership is not directly related to a political position, making them independent from possible fluctuations (turnover of political seats). In this sense, the analysis of the Board's turnover supports this consideration: since its creation, MuVE has had three presidents³⁴ and seven members, with the last Board accounting for only one change in seats since 2010.

Conversely, the analysis of FTM's Board composition indicates a public-dominated one. Until 2013³⁵, the member appointing process was similar to the one at MuVE, with external representatives nominated by public and private founders.

However, in consideration of a need for stronger representation expressed by the public stakeholders, seats on the Board were then occupied by the actual policy-makers representing the different public founders (Municipal, Provincial, and regional Councilmembers). This reconfiguration of the Board composition eventually led to the concurrent appointment of the Secretaries of the bank foundations as private members:

Before [2013] we used to have an agreement according to which our foundation appointed an external representative in FTM's board of members, now we have

³³ For the Municipality and the region, the respective Councilmember for Culture; for the two bank foundations, their respective Secretaries

³⁴ One of whom has been in office only for three months, one who served between 2008 and 2010, one who served for three months in 2010, and another who has served since 2010. A new Board, with a new President, was nominated in late 2015 – and only two members out of three have been replaced.

³⁵ From 2010 to 2013, the members remained the same. The then-President, nominated at the time of the foundation's creation in 2002, resigned in 2011 for health reasons and was temporarily replaced by the Municipal Councilman for Culture until a new President could be appointed, in 2013.

been asked to have the general secretary of the foundation as representative, that is to have a direct presence in the Board. (Private Member of the Board)

If, in both foundations, the Board constitutes the formal authority holder, at the same time, its composition in the two organisations indicates a different distribution of authoritative power. At MuVE, members are nominated by the public founder but have no direct political ties to the public administration; at FTM, policy-makers are present in person on the Board, systematically outnumbering the members nominated by the private founders. Although not explicitly required by the FTM Statute (which only mandates that the public administration nominate its representatives), praxis has sedimented, shaping a Board with local politicians from the public administrations and executives from the private founders as members.

Secondary Governing Bodies

Whereas the Board of Members represents the main governance body in both organisations, the Statutes of MuVE and FTM mandate the definition of other collateral organs to support the decision-making and governing processes. In particular, a College of the Auditors and a Scientific Committee are requested for both foundations. The former is the body responsible for auditing the organisation, whereas the latter constitutes the main curatorial referent, overseeing the quality of the foundation's cultural offerings.

A College of the Auditors operates in both organisations, drafting yearly final reports on each organisation's financial status and the potential for improvement.

In addition, whereas MuVE's Scientific Committee is operational, supporting the organisation's cultural planning, at FTM its presence has been discontinuous: the last Committee, nominated in 2008, was dissolved in 2013 with no subsequent replacement, as noted by the Head Communication: "there is no Scientific Committee which supervises, with all directors, all cultural activities, such as acquisitions, exhibitions, etc. So, the Board of Members is not in charge of that role at the present moment". As a result, centralised oversight of cultural activities, with a unitary directive coordination, has not been guaranteed:

There was a Scientific Committee, that is allowed by the Statute, and that could be used for the coordination. However, it was composed by all directors, notable personalities and so on, and it had become such an intricate, distorted structure that prevented its positive use for scientific coordination. So, in my opinion, the Scientific Committee can work only as long as you have a certain level of scientific homogeneity among museums: then, in that case, it become useful by staying in touch with the administration representing a specific sector, with specific necessities. (Director)

In addition, MuVE's Statute (Article 14) also mandates the existence of a Directive Committee, in which all heads of departments and offices, and directors of the museum areas, must meet to coordinate with each other and with the General Director, and to propose cultural and managerial issues to be reported to the Board. Overall, the ability to rely on a Directive Committee was effective in supporting MuVE's managers, although its full effectiveness was questioned by some of them, stressing difficulties and proposing possible improvements:

These meetings are still too few, it depends from ad hoc necessities. If the administration has decided to create this tool which, on paper, looks just perfect, then it is important to make it systematic and an active participatory instrument: now, everyone contributes – making these meeting also quite fatiguing, actually. We are quite a lot of people, and, in my opinion, the selection of the participants demonstrates a slight misunderstanding of the role of this committee. [...] We are using it in the right way, although implementations can always be made. In order to reduce conflicts and incomprehensions, we can do much more. For example, by using this tool with a more leadership-oriented manner. However, it is clear that there are people who are not interested in having responsibilities and just want to have directions from others, which is fine, we need also those. (Head Museum Area 2)

We have a Coordinating Committee, where all top managers meet and discuss matters with the director. We all keep in touch with each other, but we have centralized offices coordinating all venues. The Committee doesn't have precise dates for meetings: we get together four to five times a year, or more if there are specific matters that need further discussion. (Head Communication)

At MuVE, then, the presence of a Directive Committee supports the coordination among all senior managers and between them and the central governance. This seems to allow the ongoing alignment between activities and objectives, contributing to maintaining a tighter relationship between single directors and the administration, and ensuring a higher level of organisational awareness among managers.

Conversely, at FTM, the lack of a Scientific Committee and of a coordinating body has deprived the organisation of crucial coordinating organs, thus impeding the full managerial integration between central administrative offices and single venues. Difficulties in aligning processes, rationalising activities, and coordinating decisions result frequent at FTM:

A separation between the people who work in the foundation's central services and those who work in each museum; this separation is resolved only thanks to personal relationships and to goodwill, but we cannot base the management of the organization on this! So I believe that the present situation, where directors are not members of the Board, can be considered a symptom of a general problem of assignment of responsibility: it is not the directors' fault, it is a systemic problem. (Manager)

Overall, the two foundations seem to have fulfilled the directions set by their Statutes with **different results**: the analysis shows that MuVE has managed to set up all the governance bodies required by the Statute, enforcing them at the managerial level; conversely, FTM has struggled to establish and operate these organs for its own organisational integration and coordination.

General Director and General Secretary

The position of General Secretary or General Director, defined by the Statutes of both organisations, covers significantly **different managerial areas**.

At MuVE, the role involves the coordination of all cultural and administrative activities (HR, communications, business development, IT, auditing and control, and marketing) for all museums. The General Director is aided by an Administrative Secretary, who coordinates non-cultural activities for all museums. According to Article 13, “he or she identifies the cultural, artistic, exhibition, promotional, and research activities destined to incentivize

the public fruition of the foundation's heritage"³⁶. In this sense, the role of MuVE's General Director reflects the position usually held by a CEO in a for-profit corporation.

At FTM, the General Secretary "is responsible of the operative structure; [...] he or she executes the President's decisions; drafts Guidelines for the foundation's management; supports the President in defining budgets, balance sheets, and annual reports; puts them through the Board" (Article 9). In this sense, he or she is responsible for the management of some services (which are operated by corresponding offices present in each single venue), and no responsibility of the cultural planning.

This divergence indicates different levels of coordination and control at both the managerial and the cultural levels. At FTM, the role of the General Secretary mirrors that of MuVE's Administrative Secretary, whereas at MuVE, the competencies covered by FTM's President are shared between the President and the General Director. Furthermore, at FTM, the President shares the cultural mandate with the directors of the individual venues, determining an overlap between the central and the peripheral executive figures.

Overall, senior positions in the two organisations differ in terms of the distribution of responsibilities (both their extension and their nature – cultural and managerial) and in terms of the level of operative interconnection with each other.

Area/Museum Directors

At MuVE, directors of individual museum areas are in charge of daily management: they support the General Director in defining cultural programs – in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Board – and in coordination with other directors. This condition implies the establishment of a tight relationship with the central administrative offices: the centralisation of departments leaves directors to manage their venues without losing track of the overall cultural and organisational performance. At the same time, "this in-between role of Area Managers implies the ability to mediate, to act as the

³⁶ Article 13, Statute of FTM

interface avoiding conflicts between the personnel and the central administration. I view my position as such, I'm not a non-decision maker, otherwise it could wreck me, alienate me" (Head Museum Area 2).

Conversely, at FTM, one director is appointed for each venue³⁷, and he or she is responsible for all administrative and cultural activities, including the definition of artistic programs and the coordination of internal administrative offices. Given the lack of both a Scientific Committee and a coordinating organ, each director has a significant margin of cultural and organisational autonomy. The President's mandate seems to partially overlap the cultural and managerial prerogatives of single directors, without, at the same time, including a coordinating role:

Another risk is the potentially increasing gap that can emerge between the administrative and the scientific aspects, a condition that any museum should avoid. The present Statute calls for a Board, in which directors are not involved! So, it is obvious that there is a detachment. How can an administrator build a financial budget if he or she cannot directly discuss with the main scientific referents, which are the directors of each museum. It is an anomaly, because it is very hard to build up a strong system of relationships if the main administrator doesn't have a direct connection with the scientific referent. This doesn't necessarily mean giving the chance to vote to directors, but at least you should hear them! (Director)

Some problems have arisen. There are definitions that are not clearly stated, for example the role of directors is too vaguely defined: directors are not members of the Board, a condition that is absolutely contradictory. I can imagine that, for a director of a museum, is absurd not to be included in the main governance body. It is not even about coordination, which is up to managers, etc.: it is a problem of a higher grade, since to me it makes no sense for directors to be excluded from the only decision-making body in the organization. This means that directors are not aware of what the real problems are, especially now that

³⁷ With the acquisition of Castello di Rivoli in 2016, the foundation decided to appoint a single director for that venue and for GAM, for a total of three directors for four venues.

we have a significant financial crisis within the foundation. This structural problem determines a sort of de-involvement on the part of directors as for budget issues. (Manager)

At FTM, directors' managerial autonomy is negatively correlated with their inclusion in the decision-making process, to the detriment of efficient problem solving and organisational coordination.

Overall, directors of the two organisations have **different levels of responsibility and autonomy**, both curatorial and financial.

Whereas MuVE's directors represent the executive interface between the central governance body and the museums under their responsibility, FTM's directors are given a level of autonomy that has resulted in a lack of integration of the decision-making process. Furthermore, cultural and financial autonomy are guaranteed to MuVE's directors, with the centralisation of administrative offices securing general oversight of practises.

Conversely, at FTM, the role of directorship has implied a looser coordination of cultural activities, and a concurrent tighter control over financial matters on the part of the central administration: "how can an administrator build a financial budget if he or she cannot directly discuss with the main scientific referents, which are the directors of each museum? I don't know any other example of museums where directors are not involved in person with the decision-making moment" (FTM Director).

Offices and Departments

The organisational structure of the two foundations is substantially **different**.

At MuVE, Central Services³⁸ has senior managers as heads, all supervised by the Administrative Secretary. Similarly, Museum Services³⁹ has individual supervisors, operating under the responsibility of the General Director. Overall, administrative and cultural activities are coordinated by central offices providing the same services to all venues.

³⁸ Human Resources, Business Development, Marketing, Finance and Control, IT and Organization, Technical, and Security

³⁹ Exhibition, Education, Conservation, and Cataloguing and Archiving

This condition guarantees similar qualitative standards of service, an integration of cultural and development programs, and a rationalised distribution of resources. The level of interconnection between managers and the governing body is high:

We can work quite well thanks to team work. Eleven museums to manage are a lot and I think that the real greatness of the foundation is the ability to work together as a team. We work in close, constant contact with the director. Formally, my boss would be the Administrative Secretary, but we are in contact with all other top managers. [...] We have a lot of freedom and we maintain a very free relationship with the direction. [...] Individual top managers can get in contact with potential partners, but it is my office that is responsible to develop that potential connection and make it happen. We plan communication plans, etc.: we implement the commercial strategy necessary to make corporate partnerships happen. (Head Communication)

This last passage indicates that, although individual directors govern their areas, they are all required to coordinate with the central office in charge. At the same time, the distribution of personnel among offices and of professional skills seems to imply some issues that have not been solved by the foundation:

Appointing new persons can be done as long as the organisational chart can allow it and, for now, we are still suffering, in terms of personnel. We are understaffed in a system where collections are as varied as you can get and they need specific curators. We are too few in the exhibition office, as well. And we have external consultants to manage archives: incredible! I had to let go amazing professionals because we couldn't afford it. And, in the administrative offices, there are so many people: you have the Director, the Vice, the one who does only some specific things. The General Director has tried to change things but they always come up with the limited resource excuse as a threat. (Head Museum Area 2)

At FTM, Central Services⁴⁰ have individual supervisors who are coordinated by the General Secretary. In turn, Museum Services⁴¹ and Human Resources are replicated in each venue, and they operate under the direct responsibility of the respective directors. Overall, administrative services are provided by the central offices, whereas cultural activities are autonomously managed by each museum.

This condition implies lack of coordination, which is incentivised by the ongoing lack of a Scientific Committee and of a coordinating organ. “As for managerial difficulties, the main purpose is to overcome the conceptual, cognitive barrier, and I believe that the new president can support this idea. So, in this sense, we should have regular meetings, in order to make the foundation more knowledgeable on the contents of the single museums” (Head Communication).

The analysis of organisational charts indicates differences in the structures, with full centralisation of offices and roles at MuVE and a significant separation and duplication of managerial responsibilities between the central administration and individual venues at FTM:

FTM is an administrative structure that manages museum activities, giving, of course, the outmost scientific freedom to the director. I answer to a Board but the scientific freedom is always guaranteed. Managerial, administrative activities, on the contrary, are in the foundation’s hands. This is another problem, in my opinion: decoupling administrative activity from scientific ones can work well with small-sized museums; but, if you put together big museums with a long history and hundreds of millions of euros worth collections, then this choice isn’t so linear, because it is very hard to separate the two aspects in big museums.
(Director)

Overall, then, the two organisations result to feature **very different configurations**.

At MuVE, the organisational structure has been designed to provide a tight relationship between the Board and the managerial staff, through the General Director. In addition, the role of the President has been designed to

⁴⁰ Human Resources, Legal, Technical, Communication, Marketing and Web, Audit, Finance, Mailing, and Protocols.

⁴¹ Education, Conservation, Exhibition, and Works Handling

provide the organisation with an institutional referent, who has been given a representative prerogative, leaving the operative implementation of the mission to the General Director. At the same time, secondary governance bodies have been set up to support the organisation in fulfilling its cultural mandate, as well as in guaranteeing long-term financial sustainability and transparency. Furthermore, the supervision of cultural and administrative practises has been put under the responsibility of two different subjects (the General Director and the Administrative Secretary, respectively), with the purpose of rationalising procedures and resources while maintaining control over the quality of the provided services:

I believe that the creation of the foundation form preeminently came from this belief that the most important thing is a good budget management. This is a critical element, and it is at this point that personal relationships come into play because if you have a good relation with your administrative secretary, such as the one that I have with the Secretary you can move forward together, but if you have an adversarial relationship, it is not the cultural side that stays prevalent, notwithstanding the fact that I presume that a foundation must even its balance, making the core cultural mission less relevant and central. (General Director)

Another crucial aspect of MuVE's structure has been the complete centralisation of administrative and cultural services: all museums are integrated in terms of roles, offices, services. This condition has allowed the rationalisation of financial and human resources⁴².

On the other hand, the analysis of FTM's structure indicated a lack of coordination and of centralisation, a strong influence of political owners in the governing body, and an overlap of managerial roles and offices.

⁴² However, a certain level of implementation is still considered attainable: "In terms of human resources, we should rationalise much more roles and number of people assigned to offices. In our legal office, no one is an attorney! And we have to use consultants, it is unacceptable. As long as contracts are simple we can manage but when we have to sign contracts for loans or other projects with international partners, we need to have people with the right competencies. And they risk creating rigidities, inefficiencies rather than flexibility! I don't know, they can do courses.... But in other cases, we do need specific professionals. I can mention registrars, for example, who are not even recognised as professional roles. We still have a long way ahead of us" (Head of Museum Area 2).

The strength of the President's position and the concurrent lack of inter-venue coordinating organs have created a problematic insufficiency of organisational integration: on the one hand, the President is the only executive referent of the Board, being assigned extensive decision-making power; on the other hand, directors seem to have little opportunity for intra-organisational coordination⁴³.

In addition, the integration of different venues into a unitary organisation has not been completed at FTM, especially in terms of the centralisation of offices and of their respective staffs; on the contrary, many museum practises are still operated by personnel working in individual venues, leaving only a small part of the administrative activities under the direct control of the central offices:

So far there has actually been a certain level of detachment between central offices and individual museums: the will, and my will also, as I've experienced first-hand this condition, is to change the situation. But this feeling is a two-way one: the museum doesn't feel part of the decision-making process, but, at the same time, the foundation feels excluded. In fact, for example, we do not even have regular meetings! Just having regularly scheduled meetings would be a burden but important as well. (Manager)

In parallel, the application of the stakeholders foundation form has created central offices that are disproportionate compared to the actual administrative needs of the organisation, and that are considered as small-scale replicas of the built-in administrative governance model:

⁴³ Informal relationships that exist at the personal, individual level seem to partially compensate this condition: "Please note that I have no problems with other directors, but with the administrative/scientific connection. [...] It is empirically resolved by informal relationships with the individual offices, by the President or by the Secretary General. Of course, it is not a personal relationships issue: the necessity is to have a functional structure independently from the single individuals" (Director). Furthermore, "this produces a separation between the people who work in the foundation's central services and those who work in each museum; this separation is resolved only thanks to personal relationships and to good will, but we cannot base the management of the organisation on this! So I believe that the present situation, where directors are not members of the Board, can be considered a symptom of a general problem of assignment of responsibility: it is not the directors' fault, it is a systemic problem" (Manager).

In this case, there are two aspects that overlap: a personal and an institutional level. On the personal side, relationships are very good and we collaborate easily and pleasantly; on the institutional level, we must not build structures where offices can overlap or interfere the one with the other. So the main issue is not to create superfluous superstructures. [...] The risk of these kind of foundations is that they become just like a replica of public departments of culture. (Director)

The rationalisation of resources, the definition of a homogeneous cultural offer, and the provision of standardised, controlled services have been made difficult by FTM's organisational structure: "The vision may be absorbed formally, ideally, but operationally not so much, not to the full extent. The foundation's behavior used to be a little unwilling to delegate, a centralising attitude, and the feeling was that each one had to defend itself from the foundation's strong arm" (Manager).

The analysis shows that FTM's structure has kept the governing power in the hands of highly politicised Board and President; it has prevented internal coordination and rationalisation of venues and offices; it has determined the multiplication of roles and offices (taking little advantage of the opportunities for resource rationalisation and practise coordination offered by the foundation form). As summed up by an FTM manager, "there is a significant problem and the necessity of an osmotic system, but I have the feeling that we are improving and operating to implement it".

5.3.3. The Practises

The single-case analysis of the two organisations indicated that both MuVE and FTM have structured their practises to pursue the categories expressed by their respective cognitive systems. However, the comparative analysis of practicess (Table 13) indicates significant differences in the level of practise implementation between the two cases.

Increasing the Common Good

The analysis shows that the two organisations have structured and implemented practises **differently** to increase the common good.

MuVE has structured its permanent collections through conservation, refurbishment, expansion, and research activities. Its centralised structure

has supported the implementation of conservation programs, the rationalisation of archival and cataloguing processes, and the provision of improved research services for both internal and external scholars. At the same time, its independent private status and the ability to control the acquisition process have sustained the building of a reliable institutional profile that has helped expand the collections via donations and collaborations. These activities have produced significant results in terms of accessibility, divulgation, and heritage securing.

Table 13: Comparative Analysis MuVE and FTM Practises

	MuVE	FTM
Increase the Common Good	Implementation of conservative programs Rationalization of archival and cataloguing processes Improvement of research services Increase of donations/collaborations	Implementation of security Varied/ad hoc conservative practices Stagnant acquisitions Sparse, un-coordinated research activities
	Integration of educational program Implementation of promotional activities	Non-coordinated educational activities Externally managed membership programs
	Integration of temporary exhibitions in one single program	Diverse, non-coordinated exhibition programs
Increase Visitors Attendance	Opening of new venues Increase of regular visitors to multiple venues Increase of under-represented visitors Increase of visits to peripheral venues	Increase of one-visit costumers through blockbuster exhibitions
Secure/ Maintain Self-Sufficiency	Increase of operative fund Design and application of internal audit and accounting systems Definition of long-term financial and technical partnerships Diversification of revenues (Implementation of ticketing offer, development of collateral activities for self-revenues)	Dependence on public and private founders for operative fund Limited administrative efficiency, transparency, control Limited fund raising activities Limited collateral activities (self-revenues)

In addition, multiple educational and promotional activities have been developed and implemented to provide accessibility to collections, due to the centralised administration.

Finally, because the foundation is an autonomous organisation with control over its financial and cultural resources, MuVE has been able to develop a varied and intense programme of temporary events, designed to reach different publics: by mixing niche, exploratory exhibitions with blockbuster, popular initiatives, in fact, MuVE has fulfilled the dual objective of contributing to the international artistic dialogue and of making artistic heritage available to large audiences.

Conversely, the analysis shows that FTM resorts to a smaller but varied combination of collections and venues. The relative cultural autonomy of the different museums and their organisational separation between each other and from the central governance have determined the configuration of a mosaic of multiple practises with limited cultural and organisational effectiveness.

In particular, although security practises have been operated thoroughly, conservation, research, and expansion activities have suffered from the lack of a centralised governance, relying mostly on the specific organisational capabilities of each museum. In particular, the lack of coordinated control over resources has made conservation and refurbishment practises extremely varied and ad hoc; furthermore, the incomplete integration of venues and the lack of a single institutional profile has created a stagnation in acquisitions; finally, the lack of centralisation of museum services has led to research practises being conducted differently by each venue.

At the same time, educational and promotional activities, having no central coordination, have been ineffective in contributing to the cultural offering; venue-based educational initiatives and the cumbersome presence of externally managed membership and “friends” initiatives have kept the quality and the quantity of practises far from being incisive.

Finally, the lack of a centralised exhibition office has produced little control over the quality and quantity of the offering of temporary events, leaving these activities under the direct management and responsibility of the individual museums, with negative effects on the cultural coherency and complementarity of the overall cultural programme.

Increasing Visitors

The increase of visitor attendance has been pursued **differently** by the two organisations.

The analysis shows that MuVE has invested extensive resources in opening new venues, with the explicit purpose of attracting a wider, more varied public. At the same time, data indicate MuVE's strategic focus on the development of long-term relationships with regular visitors, a practise resulting in the concurrent increase in visitor attendance and of ticketing revenues. In addition, the analysis suggests the development of practises to raise the participation of underrepresented groups of visitors and to increase access to peripheral venues, all enacted upon an explicit mandate from the public founder.

For its part, FTM has pursued the increase in visitors through the implementation of a long-term program of temporary exhibitions; in particular, the definition of a multi-year cycle of blockbuster events has resulted in the increase of visitors to one specific venue, concurrently contributing to the improvement of overall attendance rates. At the same time, data for other venues (Figure 35) shows significant yearly variations that testify to the one-shot, short-term nature of such initiatives.

Overall, the analysis suggests that MuVE's centralisation of offices and roles has allowed the enactment of practises that have contributed not just to increase overall visitor attendance but, more crucially, to increase accessibility to minor venues and by underrepresented categories. Practises, then, have been enacted with MuVE operating as a unitary organisation with different cultural assets at its disposal, and considering the possible resulting benefits produced for each and every museum as part of an integrated system. Conversely, the relative fragmentation of FTM's structure has led to the development of practises that, although effective in the short term, have not been able to influence the long-term increase of visitors.

Securing/Maintaining Self-Sufficiency

The two organisations have implemented **different** practises to secure or maintain financial self-sufficiency.

MuVE has focused on the increase of its operative fund, defining internal auditing and accounting processes to control costs and revenues, establishing long-term private technical and financial partnerships, designing a varied

ticketing offering, and implementing its collateral activities. These practises have been possible because of MuVE's specific organisational structure: in particular, centralised administrative offices have full control over each venue, contributing to the efficient allocation of resources and to the definition of a unitary institutional and contractual profile. At the same time, data show that the organisation, as a coordinated organisation, has been able to propose a coherent combined ticketing offering homogenising its fees among venues. Finally, the analysis shows that the centralisation of administrative offices has helped the creation and the renegotiation of advantageous agreements with contractors.

For its part, the specificity of FTM's structure has limited the effectiveness of practises defined to secure self-sufficiency.

In particular, resource dependence on public and private founders has led to the persistence of a limited operative fund.

Furthermore, the overscaled structuration of administrative offices has led to practises that have sacrificed efficiency and rationalisation in favour of transparency and control.

At the same time, the lack of centralisation has prevented the organisation from creating a homogeneous ticketing offering, conducting incisive fundraising practises, and developing long-term relationships with private sponsors, thus affecting FTM's ability to access private technical and financial resources.

Finally, the lack of coordinating organs to mediate between managers and the governance body have prevented FTM from activating practises supporting its financial sustainability:

I'm not saying anything particularly innovative: these things should occur and they already occur; by doing this, the foundation operates as an entrepreneur. We would also need strong collaboration from single directors, which has not always been the case in other situations. So, we need a clear strategy; and then a programme implementing that strategy. [...] One thing that has not been developed is the ability to develop a managerial approach, also in relation to potential developments and business opportunities. This, of course, should be much more developed: in a condition of significant financial crisis, it should be pivotal to start a clear revision on the potentialities that a foundation with three museums have in terms of museum entrepreneurship. We are quite far from that. (Manager)

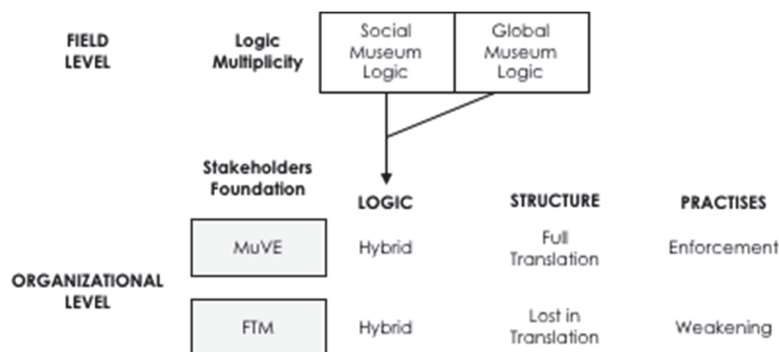
Summary. MuVE and FTM as Stakeholders Foundations: Overall Remarks

The comparative analysis of MuVE and FTM has been conducted to understand the cognitive and operative effects that the application of the new stakeholders foundation model has had on the two organisations, focusing on the logics dominating them, the structures they have adopted, and the practises they have enacted.

The results of the comparative investigation indicate that the two organisations have installed a similar **system of beliefs, rules, and principles**; in particular, the analysis shows that a process of organisational-level hybridisation has occurred as a result of the application of the new configuration. Both MuVE and FTM, in fact, are characterised by a set of cognitive elements that originated from the integration of categories coming from the two institutional logics operating in the field. In this sense, the analysis suggests that the application of the new form has resolved field-level institutional multiplicity.

At the same time, the analysis shows that the same hybrid categories have been translated differently in terms of the adopted structural configurations and of the enacted organisational practises. In this sense, empirical evidence suggests that the application of the same governance model has created a similar hybrid system of beliefs and rules, but the concurrent implementation of different organisational structures and practises (Figure 16).

Figure 16: MuVE and FTM as Stakeholders Foundations – Logics, Structures, and Practises



The analysis of MuVE and FTM's structures, in fact, suggests that **the stakeholders foundation model has been applied differently by the two organisations.**

Before becoming stakeholders foundations, both museum organisations were framed in networked systems administered by their respective municipal offices in charge of Cultural Affairs.

As reported by Powell (1990:322), network forms (Thorelli, 1986; Johansson, 1987) have been considered particularly effective "when resources are variable and the environment is uncertain", because they constitute "critical venues for the acquisition of resources necessary for firm survival and growth" (Hite & Hesterly, 2001: 275) and they "offer a highly feasible mean of utilizing and enhancing such intangible assets as tacit knowledge and technological innovation". Previous research has indicated that one crucial rationale for network formation is the need to cope with volatile, uncertain environments (Quinn 1992; Cravens, Piercy, Shipp 1996). The network structure can support the tackling of complex, turbulent environmental conditions, having different organisational advantages, such as the sharing of resources (Jarillo, 1988), as well as the maintenance of relative organisational independence (Halinen and Törnroos, 1998). The successful application of this form, in fact, has been related to the specific nature of the network itself (dimension, tightness, durability) and with the ability to manage it in respect to changes in the environment (Koka, Madhavan and Prescott, 2006).

The actual and potential positive effects of the application of networked forms designed to acquire resources, reduce uncertainty, enhance legitimacy, and attain collective goals (Galaskiewicz, 1985) have been widely investigated (Alter and Hage, 1993; Ebers, 1997; Borgatti and Foster, 2003; Brass et al., 2004), and they have been particularly appealing to public policy-makers (deLeon, 1994; Provan and Milward, 2001; Bode, 2006).

The analysis of the two investigated cases indicates that both the MuVE and FTM organisations have transformed their public, built-in interorganisational configurations into private, unitary organisations governing all the museums previously participating in the precedent networks.

In the cases at stake, then, the same organisational model was applied to organisations with similar structural precedents. However, the analysis also indicates a different level of structural implementation⁴⁴ of the organisational opportunities offered by the new form.

MuVE's coordinated, centralised, rationalised, flexible structure implemented the potentialities for resource rationalisation and managerial coordination offered by the previous network configuration, boosting them due to the organisational opportunities implied in the stakeholders foundation model. In contrast, FTM's structure, characterised by an unbalanced centralisation of power, lack of coordination, and replication of roles and offices, crystallised the previous built-in network configuration, taking little advantage of the potential improvements offered by the new governance model.

The analysis, then, shows that **positive cultural and financial results have been accomplished by the organisation that built a structure characterised by administrative centralisation and coordination, distribution of decision-making power, managerial independence of offices, governing independence from owners, and lack of overlapping roles.**

The full implementation of the network configuration in a new, unitary structure would have enforced the cognitive categories set by the hybrid logic. Evidence, however, suggests that whereas MuVE has been able to translate its cognitive categories into a new structure, FTM has only partially altered its precedent configuration, creating an overencompassing, central administrative arrangement in addition to its existing structure:

If a museum with its own cultural identity and organisational structure moves from public to private law, then the organisation in its core stays the same while taking advantage from all the positive effects of being a private subject. If, on the contrary, the foundation becomes an organisation existing just to put together different museums, with diverse heritage and collections, with different identities, then the risk is that the foundation becomes a superstructure that is

⁴⁴ Sharing resources (financial, technical, and human), maintaining legitimacy (by complying with the global museum logic), and achieving collective goals (in this case, those set by logic)

dependent upon those museums, for which museums work (and not the opposite)! That might be a big mistake to avoid! (FTM manager)

The comparative analysis of the two organisations indicates a possible determinant of this condition, one involving **the lack of logic enforcement on the part of the main governing body.**

In particular, the composition of the Boards of Members differs between the two organisations: whereas MuVE's governing body, in fact, features members with no direct political roles, the FTM Board is composed of the direct representatives of the public and private founders. At FTM, this condition has implied the prevalent presence of members with public-oriented interests and, at the same time, a high turn-over⁴⁵ of members that has prevented the establishment of a stable governing body.

The analysis, in fact, shows that the MuVE Board's composition and stability have allowed the enforcement of the organisation's cognitive categories through the opportune transformation of the structure and the enactment of apt practises. Conversely, the analysis indicates that the prevalent persistence of public policy-makers in FTM's Board (with specific political interests and a bureaucratic mindset) has partially impeded the reforming of the precedent structure, and the persisting instability in the Board composition has represented an obstacle to providing coherent directives for the enactment of logic-enforcing practises. As suggested by an FTM manager:

Change in itself has not been supported by some form of "psychological" support, to take everybody smoothly into the new organisational form. So, these low-level, human-level problems have not been tackled as a whole, systematically. On the contrary, in my museum Palazzo Madama, thanks to the director, the leadership has provided a clear vision of the foundation, of its relationship with the museum. It is not by chance that she allowed me to move from the museum to the foundation. But that seems a peculiar case in this system, because

⁴⁵ The appointment of Municipal, Provincial, and regional Councilmembers to the Board has implied a presence conditioned by election turnovers for the different tiers of government, which are not time-consistent with each other. In this sense, members are often replaced at different times, impeding the settlement of the same Board for the period indicated in the Statute

there is a clear managerial ability, despite the director's artistic background.
(Manager)

Singularly, this condition has occurred despite the appointment of Members representing the Municipality – the main actor responsible for FTM's transformation into a stakeholders foundation and, most likely, a strong supporter of the full implementation of the model's organisational potential.

A possible cause of this apparent incongruity can be found in the **ongoing change in the local administration's governing bodies**, with different Councils and different electoral programs to guide policies. Because FTM's statute mandates that, for the public part, Board membership must be assigned respectively to the persons appointed as municipal, provincial, and regional Councilmember for Culture, the constant turnover of these positions due to short electoral cycles has implied a frequent change in the people on the Board.

The recurrent reconfiguration of the main governing body, then, has negatively affected the long-term, coherent definition of univocal strategies. In particular, the constant change in the Board composition, with different political figures – often from divergent sides of the political spectrum – has contributed to stalling the implementation of the organisational structure as well as the definition of effective practises. As suggested by an FTM Manager, in fact, “this is a very demanding project, a very ambitious vision: we need competences, we need resources and, most crucially, we need the willingness to do it, a political willingness”.

Third, the analysis indicates that the application of a new governance model has had **different effects on the practises** of the two organisations. This has had a direct correlation with MuVE and FTM's structural arrangements, because they constitute the operational frameworks within which activities and processes have been enacted.

The analysis (Appendix 5) suggests that, MuVE's coordinated, centralised, flexible structure has supported the definition and the enactment of activities and procedures that have positively contributed to the pursuit of the organisation's mission. The application of the new model has contributed

to defining an organisational structure that, in turn, has supported the reforming and the implementation of practises previously conducted in the built-in, network configuration.

Conversely, empirical evidence indicates that FTM's loose, uncoordinated structural arrangement has impeded the reshaping and the improvement of the practises that were enacted within the built-in network.

In particular, FTM's structural arrangement has merely formalised the precedent organisational composition while adding a new central governing tier; as a consequence, very little rationalisation of departments, roles, and resources has been possible, because the new central administrative offices have ended up overlapping, rather than replacing, those operating in the individual venues, becoming "just a structure that survives because of the museums, rather than the opposite" (FTM manager).

This condition has had distinctive effects on practises, which have only partially been implemented or which, in some cases, have been formalised into rigid bureaucratic procedures, to the point of worsening the operative process. Data on FTM's stagnant cultural and economic performance account for the negative effects of this circumstance.

The comparative analysis of practises, then, indicates that **the enactment of activities and processes pursuing the categories set by the hybrid logic has been better fulfilled by the organisation which has implemented a coordinated, centralised, flexible, independent structure.** Conversely, the analysis shows that the mere translation of the precedent organisational configuration into the new governance model has proved ineffective in enforcing the system of beliefs and values connoting the organisation.

Overall, the comparative analysis of MuVE and FTM suggests that **the application of the same governance model in organisations experiencing field-level institutional multiplicity has determined the definition of a similar hybrid logic, which categories have then been enforced differently in terms of organisational structuration and practise enactment.**

CLOSING THE CURTAIN

This is the last section of the dissertation. It closes the analytical discourse by discussing the empirical results through the theoretical lens of my selected framework. It also offers the final answer to my original Research Question. In addition, it draws some general conclusions about the contributions that my research can offer to the existing academic literature, and about the suggestions that it can provide to practitioners. Finally, it includes a short discussion on the limits and on the possible ramifications of my research.

Chapter 6. Discussion

Art is a guaranty of sanity. Louise Bourgeois, Pencil on ink paper (2000), Museum of Modern Art, New York

Chapter 5 thoroughly and extensively reported my empirical data. Now the two organisations seem to have no secrets for me and for the reader. However, as much as they are rich, interesting cases, they are no more than nice, detailed pictures of two attractive museum organisations, located in two beautiful Italian cities, until they are investigated in relation to my Research Question. In this last chapter, then, I finally focus all my investigative effort on a confrontation with the literature that has supported my research.

Extensive literature has reiterated the idea that organisations can operate variously to respond to institutional change (Binder, 2007; Delmas and Toffel, 2008; Kraatz and Block, 2008), when it imposes conformity on a dominant organisational paradigm (Oliver 1991a; Clemens & Douglas 2005), or when it results in the persistence of alternative cognitive systems (Scott, 1994; Hoffman, 1999; Thornton, 2002; Hensmans, 2003; Lounsbury, 2005; Reay and Hinings, 2005; Dunn and Jones, 2010).

Many scholars have used this field-level condition as a background for investigating how organisations may or should respond to it (Alexander, 1998; Purdy and Gray, 2009). I have decided to focus my investigative effort on one specific phenomenon that can be placed within this analytical and academic discourse. In particular, the analysis of the application of a new governance model in organisations experiencing field-level institutional multiplicity has provided various insights into the institutional and organisational

implications that agency can have, especially if undertaken by public service organisations.

Multiple studies have shown that agency can involve the transformation of an organisation's structure and practises (McKinlay and Starkey, 1988; Greening and Gray, 1994; D'Aunno, Succi and Alexander, 2000). My analysis has found multiple connections to existing literature on the topic, while offering integrative evidence of how change can actually be operated and affect different organisational features. In particular, the analysis has suggested that:

- **First**, the application of a new governance model has coincided with the definition of a new hybrid logic within the organisation. The process implies that the recombination of categories from the two logics emerged after the decline of the logic which had previously dominated the field.
- **Second**, the introduction of the same model has not resulted in the definition of a similar organisational structure nor in the consequent implementation of similar managerial practises. In this sense, decoupling between the formal governance model – and the logic resulting from its application – and the structure and practises has occurred in only one of the organisations, despite the application of the same form by both.
- **Third**, the occurrence of decoupling in one of the cases can be ascribed to the specific composition of the Board of Members. In particular, the presence of members holding specific political interests has prevented the definition of a stable governing body, which has impeded the full enforcement of the cognitive categories supported by the newly applied governance model. The persistence of Board instability – in terms of the values propagated by the members, and of their frequent turnover – has emerged as a condition preventing the reform of the structure and practises in accordance with the beliefs and values propagated within the organisation by the application of the new model.

6.1. Logic Hybridity in the Application of a New Governance Model

According to Pache and Santos (2010: 457), conflicting institutional demands refer to “antagonisms in the organizational arrangements required by institutional referents”. Organisations can react to these divergent conditions in different ways, one of which involves the recombination of categories from existing logics with the purpose of reconciling institutional divergence. This process, defined as hybridisation, has been introduced to provide an integration with the existing literature on organisational agency: as empirical analyses have widely reported, in fact, organisations facing divergent institutional multiplicity can actively redefine themselves and change their environment to guarantee themselves survival.

If the definition of a hybrid as an “organization that combines different institutional logics in unprecedented ways” (Battilana & Dorado 2010: 1419) has obtained extensive recognition in the academic literature on organisational studies (Powell, 1987; Haveman and Rao, 2006; Battilana and Dorado, 2010), the specific process by which it occurs has remained disputed and underinvestigated; whereas some scholars have introduced the concept of cognitive selective coupling (Pache and Santos, 2013b), others have concentrated on the multiple variations that the process could experience (Waldorff, Reay and Goodrick, 2013).

The analysis of the MuVE and FTM logics shows that **hybridisation can occur through the application of a new governance model**. The specific legal requirements indicated by the legislation for the application of the new configuration, in fact, have supported the installment of a logic integrating elements from the two systems operating in the field – the social and the global museum logics.

Overall, then, the analysis allows investigating a way in which hybridisation can be ignited – through the application of a new governance model – and permits an in-depth examination of the specific nature of the process. It connects the intuition of hybridity (Powell, 1987; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Pache and Santos, 2013b) with the idea that changes in institutional

arrangements are correlated with transformations in governing forms, as suggested by Haveman and Rao (1997: 1613).

The analysis shows that the application of the new organisational configuration has supported a form of hybridisation: multiple field-level logics have eventually been reconciled through the emergence of a system drawing from the logics existing in the field, to build the more institutionally effective set of cognitive elements to navigate a multi-logic institutional context.

Taking this consideration to a broader level, it could be inferred that the new model could represent the operative outcome of a cognitive resolution of field-level divergence (York, Hargrave and Pacheco, 2016). In this case, the process would have been enacted by the legitimator – that is, by an institutional stakeholder – providing a new template to actors (the museum organisations) operating in the field. Assuming the role of an institutional entrepreneur, the legitimator would have designed a governance model fit to operate in a changed social, cultural, economic environment, and which application would have resulted in the definition of a hybrid logic recomposing the divergent cognitive systems expressed by that same changed environment.

6.2. Shades of Organisational Decoupling: Strong, Weak, Absent

Existing literature investigating organisational agency through an institutional lens has suggested that compliance with a specific policy/logic can determine progressive organisational isomorphism and, with it, field homogeneity (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organisations in the same environment tend to progressively conform to the same configuration for the sake of maintaining legitimacy, which is assessed as crucial to survive (Suchman, 1995).

Organisational isomorphism has been discussed as related to the pursuit of legitimacy rather than to the improvement of organisational performance. To prevent the potentially detrimental effects of formal compliance with the same “myth”, organisations can resort to decoupling (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), that is to the separation of their formal structure from their ongoing

practises. In this sense, decoupling has been discussed as a more or less informed reaction to an institutionally induced transformation, a protective organisational reflex operated by internal members in response to the influencing power of legitimacy-seeking organisational agency.

As elaborated by Meyer & Rowan (1977), in fact, organisations can incorporate formal structures complying with specific myths without changing their practises, for the sake of maintaining institutional legitimacy; formal structural compliance with the dominant rules of their field is considered crucial to guaranteeing legitimacy and, with it, organisational survival.

The analysis of the two investigated cases indicates that the transformation into a stakeholders foundation has actually involved the application of the same basic formal structure as prescribed by the legislation. At the same time, the analysis reports that, whereas MuVE has successfully built upon the formal requirements, implementing its former networked configuration, FTM has merely abided by the legislative requirements necessary to be legally considered a stakeholders foundation, without substantially implementing the structure or the practises. Although a similar logic dominates the two stakeholders foundations, the analysis shows that the enforcement of that logic on structures and practises has unfolded differently.

According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), the application of an institutionalised formal structure should imply its decoupling from daily practises. Decoupling is usually conducted to maintain practises unaffected by a logic-complying transformation of the structure. The purpose is to preserve ongoing practises from the potential inefficiencies inherent in complying with change, thus intending the former as pursuing and/or maintaining effective organisational performance. In this sense, decoupling is assumed as a form of organisational agency designed to support, rather than to undermine, organisational survival or, as defined by Crilly et al. (2012), a form of “calculated deception”.

However, the analysis of the two cases shows distinct divergence from these propositions. At MuVE, previously used practises have actually been modified with the support of a reshaped organisational structure; conversely, at FTM, the lack of implementation of the structure has determined the corresponding absence of intervention in the practises already established within the previous built-in configuration.

The analysis, then, indicates that an organisation applying a new governance model can:

- **enforce the transformation by acting on its structure and, consequently, on its practises** – thereby avoiding decoupling,

or

- it can **limit its transformation at the formal (legal) level, without involving either its actual structural arrangement or its practises** – thereby determining a “strong” form of decoupling (Figure 17). This condition could be interpreted as an example of resistance (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007), while in fact diverging from it, because the legal transformation into a new model occurred as a single act of organisational change.

Differently from what Meyer and Rowan proposed, then, the analysis shows that the same act has had different results at the organisational level.

Evidence from the two cases, in fact, allows building upon existing literature by integrating Meyer and Rowan’s proposition with additional considerations regarding how organisations define their structures and practises. In particular, the analysis has indicated that **decoupling** can be other than a there-is-or-there-isn’t phenomenon; instead, it **can leave both structure and practises unaffected**, suggesting the conceptualisation of a strong form of decoupling. This can occur when organisational agency goes as far as to involve the application of a new organisational model.

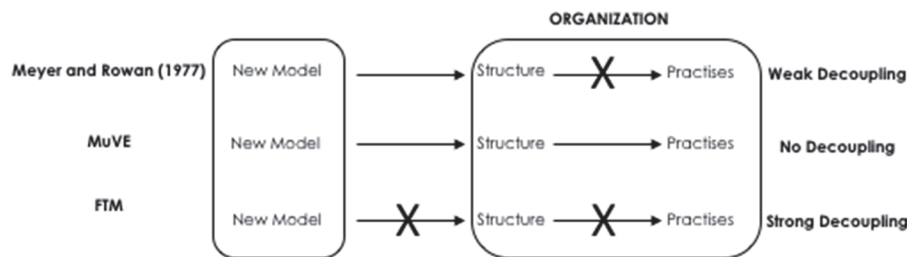
The comparison of the cases, then, highlights that decoupling in organisations can be a “nuanced” undertaking, which varies according to which step of the process of organisational change it involves.

A nuanced interpretation of decoupling is consistent with the idea that it is used when organisations are confronted with constraints or changes in their institutional environment (Westphal and Zajac, 2001; Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; Maclean and Behman, 2010; Tilcsik, 2010; Bromley and Powell, 2012; Bromley, Hwang and Powell, 2012). More significantly, the analysis

supports Bromley et al.'s (2012: 473) proposition that “decoupling may take an array of forms, beyond its common understanding as a policy-practise gap”.

Because Meyer and Rowan's version of decoupling affects the structure-to-practise step, it can be defined as **weak**; conversely, in FTM's case, both the model-to-structure and the structure-to-practise stages were affected by decoupling, suggesting a **strong** version of the process. This can happen when logic multiplicity is tackled with the application of a new organisational configuration: although the initiating step is the same – such as the legal transformation into a stakeholders foundation – the following stages of organisational change can be avoided through the decoupling of both structure and practises.

Figure 17: Structures and Practices Confronted – Decoupling



In this sense, then, the empirical analysis both reinforced and furthered the concept of decoupling. On the one hand, it shows that the phenomenon can be present in organisations operating in a multi-logic institutional field. On the other hand, the analysis has allowed refining the concept, under specific conditions (in this case, when the governance form of the organisation is involved); in particular, it indicates that decoupling is not necessarily a yes-or-no condition in an organisation, but, on the contrary, that it either can be limited to one stage or can involve the entire process of organisational change.

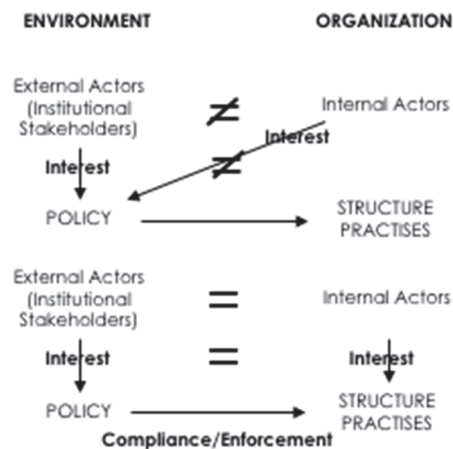
6.3. Translating Change: The Role of Actors' Preferences in Organisational Decoupling

The early literature on decoupling described it as determined by the necessity to comply with external institutional demands to maintain legitimacy from stakeholders. More-recent research has analysed in depth the intra-organisational factors related to decoupling: decoupling has been studied as a process conditioned by the divergent interests of influent internal actors (Westphal & Zajac 2001) more or less knowingly involved in boycotting organisational change.

Crilly et al. (2012), in particular, reported that, when organisations are faced with divergent demands from different stakeholders, inconsistencies between structures/policies and actual practises can occur either because managers interpret alternative external demands differently or because they enact a deliberate choice. This latter condition was further discussed by Westphal and Zajac (2001), who suggested that decoupling can be practised not only because it is part of an organisation's response to external uncertainty but also "because it serves the political interests of powerful corporate leaders". In this sense, then, decoupling can be supported not only by the pressures from the external environment but also by the presence of specific internal actors for the sake of their particular interests, and in light of their precedent experiences in decoupling actions. Others have connected individual-level engagement in decoupling behavior to the level of an individual's identification with either the organisation or the emerging external pressures (Pitsakis, Biniari and Kuin, 2012).

In the preceding section, I discussed decoupling as depending on the stage in which it occurs. Evidence shows that it can be pervasive within the organisation (FTM) or, on the contrary, it can be non-existent, because implementation is promoted all along the process of organisational change (MuVE).

Figure 18: Processes of Decoupling and Compliance



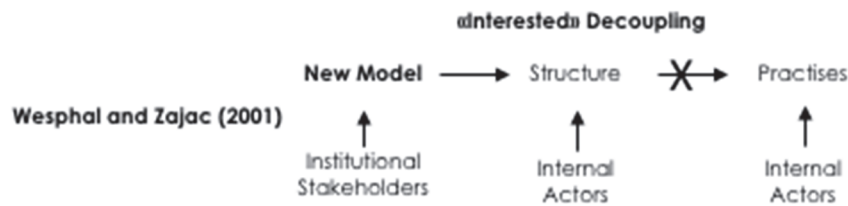
Although most organisations generally have external stakeholders and internal members, the two investigated cases are characterised by the specific feature of presenting actual stakeholders (at FTM), or their representatives (at MuVE) at the governance level, operating as internal actors.

The analysis shows that, in both cases, public policy-makers initiated the transformation of the previous built-in configuration into a stakeholders foundation: both MuVE and FTM, in fact, were transformed into stakeholders foundations by their respective owners (the municipalities) with an act of the City Councils. In this sense, the presence of public policy-makers on the Board, as experienced by FTM, should have foreseen their strong engagement in the enforcement of the cognitive categories supported by the new model, through the implementation of an updated structure, and the consequent definition of opportune managerial practises. According to Westphal and Zajac's proposition, in fact, decoupling can occur when internal actors support its occurrence because it serves their specific interests. At FTM, on the contrary, it could be assumed that, because stakeholders and internal leaders (Members of the Board) are the same subjects, decoupling should not be present, because it would go against their interests – that is, the full enforcement of the new organisational model (Figure 18).

The analysis of the two cases, however, shows significant discrepancies between the cases and with Westphal and Zajac's proposition (Figure 19).

As discussed before, in fact, at FTM, a “strong” form of decoupling has occurred, making the formal act of changing form inconsequential to changes in the organisation’s structure and practises. In particular, stakeholders directly involved in the Board have not been able to prevent decoupling and to enforce their interest – that is, the full application of the stakeholders foundation model. In addition to this, the analysis shows that decoupling has occurred also at the structure-to-practises level, because interested executives have supported it. In this sense, although the second stage mirrors Westphal and Zajac’s proposition, the first stage, at the model-to-structure level, indicates a negation of the proposition: although the actors’ interest in decoupling has led to its occurrence, interest in non-decoupling (that is, in compliance) has not supported its occurrence.

Figure 19: Interested Decoupling



(Source: Our Elaboration from Westphal & Zajac, 2001)

The analysis of FTM’s case suggests that a tentative in this direction was made when the Board composed of external representatives was reconfigured into one with only public and private stakeholders as members. However, the analysis shows that, other than some minor change in the composition of the organisation⁴⁶, little else has been achieved after this action, because the structure and the practises of FTM have remained strongly decoupled from the categories supported by the model. At FTM, then, a

⁴⁶ With one subtraction and one addition of venues, and the appointment of one director for two museums.

form of strong decoupling involving all stages of organisational change has occurred, despite the opposite interest of “powerful leaders”.

Conversely, at MuVE, the composition of the Board of Members indicates the presence of external representatives appointed by the institutional stakeholder. The analysis shows that decoupling has not occurred and that, on the contrary, the cognitive categories supported by the model have been enforced on both the structure and the practises. This occurrence indicates that the lack of institutional stakeholders on the Board has not jeopardised the enforcement of the logic, initiating a decoupling process. On the contrary, compliance with the logic via the transformation of structure and practises has occurred with little resistance from internal members.

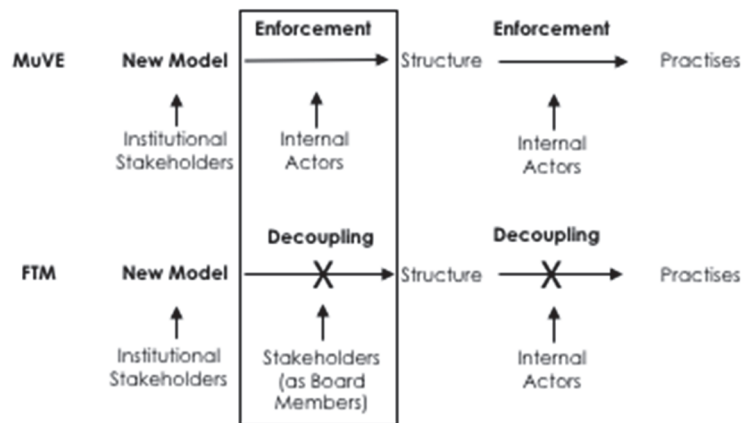
As suggested by Maguire et al. (2004: 658), “institutional change is a political process that reflects the power and interests of organized actors”. Similarly, institutional entrepreneurs have been defined as “actors who have social skills, that is the ability to motivate cooperation of other actors by providing them with common meanings and identities” (Fligstein 1997: 397). However, the analysis shows that the participation of field-level institutional entrepreneurs as members of the organisation’s governing body has not supported organisational change – that is, the full enforcement of the new model and of the cognitive system resulting from its application, through the transformation of structure and practises.

This finding is particularly significant because the “non-enforcing” subjects occupy the main governing body of the organisation. This contradicts the idea of a direct correlation between an actor’s position and his or her contribution to supporting organisational change, as discussed by most of the literature.

According to Maguire et al. (2004), in fact, institutional entrepreneurship is related, among other things, to the occupation of positions that have wide legitimacy and that bridge diverse means. This is not confirmed by the analysis; on the contrary, policy-makers involved in the main governance body have been ineffective in enforcing the values and beliefs supported by the new governance model.

Battilana (2006: 668) detected in an actor's social position his or her ability to "conduct divergent organizational change, (as it) influences their perception of the field that shapes the stands that they take in the field's struggles as well as their access to resources". The proposition was further developed by Battilana and Casciaro (2012), who argued that the level of divergence in organisational change can be correlated with the characteristics of an actor's network and with his or her ability to persuade others to adopt change. According to Battilana and Casciaro, an actor's ability to shape others' behavior and to enforce organisational change is directly related to their social (network) position and skills.

Figure 20: Decoupling Processes at MuVE and FTM



However, the analysis seems to point in a different direction: policy-makers directly involved in the governance body as members should make a good example of highly skilled players, who are expected to support change within the organisation.

On the contrary, evidence suggests that, although apparently counterintuitive, this does not occur. Members who have not directly contributed to the application of the new model and that have entered the Board after the event, have been much more effective in enforcing the full implementation of the categories supported by the model. Full enforcement, then, can be

missing despite the socially skilled, centrally positioned, strongly connected actors present in the governing body.

The analysis integrates and partially contests Westphal and Zajac's proposition (Figure 20). Although their statement that decoupling can occur when internal actors have divergent interests seems to stand, at the same time the investigation shows that **decoupling** can be unrelated to the supposed level of individual commitment to the underlying logic, **and that it can occur when internal decision-making positions are taken by actors that do not have different interests but that, on the contrary, should actively support the full enforcement of the new model and of the logic that emerged with it.**

Furthermore, the analysis indicates that **actual compliance can be enforced at the structure and at the practise levels even without the direct presence of institutional stakeholders as internal organisational actors.**

As suggested by recent literature, the transferring of ideas and values into local structures and practises has been attributed to the process of translation (Carlile, 2004; Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008; Kirkpatrick et al., 2013). According to translation theory, ideas can move from one field or context to another, and they can then be enacted at a local level, transforming practises, models and processes as they become embedded.

The role of internal members, then, has been considered central to the translation process because these members constitute the actual actors responsible for its successful enactment. Recent research on the topic (McPherson and Sauder, 2013; Currie and Spyridonidis, 2015), in fact, has suggested that the process of translation can be conditioned "in relation to the values and preferences propagated and negotiated in the organisations by different professional groups" (Pallas, Fredriksson and Wedlin, 2016b).

In this sense, my research refines these propositions, suggesting that, among other things, the political preferences of a specific group of internal actors are likely to condition the translation of categories and to determine the occurrence of decoupling between the model (and the logic supported by it) and its structure and practises. By looking at the phenomenon through a translation perspective, in fact, the analysis suggests that the application of a new organisational model can determine the translation of field-level beliefs through their cognitive hybridisation at the local (organisational) level, and

that the further translation of the categories on the structure and practises can be prevented by specific values (e.g., political or bureaucratic) propagated by members of the main governing body.

By taking advantage of the concurrent analytical support of the logics and the translation perspectives, then, the research enters the ongoing academic discussion on how change is supported or resisted in organisations. In particular, it suggests that the effective translation of new ideas into structures and practises can depend on the preferences of the members of the main governing body, indicating that the composition of the Board as crucial in determining the effective fulfillment of organisational change in organisations operating in a multiple institutional field.

6.4. Answering the Research Question

It is finally time to put together all empirical considerations and theoretical insights to answer the original question that triggered my research: **“What happens when a new governance model is applied in conditions of institutional multiplicity?”**

By answering the narrower version of the question, which has focused on the specific case of the stakeholders foundation form applied by Italian museums, I have managed to identify some cognitive and operational outcomes of the process.

First, I have verified that the application of the new governance model can imply the definition of an organisational-level logic resulting from a process of hybridisation: institutional multiplicity present at the field level has been resolved by the application of the new form, because it has supported the definition of a logic combining categories from the systems present in the field.

Furthermore, I have established that the application of the same new governance model can have different effects on the structure and practises operated by the organisation, determining their complete decoupling from the formal model under certain conditions.

Finally, I have verified that one of these conditions concerns the composition of the main governing body: when policy-makers from the public owner are present as members, they can be conditioned by their own political

interests and preferences, preventing the definition of a governing body that can support the enforcement of the new model.

Going back to the core of the phenomenon that I have researched, my answer to the Research Question is that **the application of a new governance model can support the resolution of institutional multiplicity through logic hybridity, while being operationally conditioned in its full implementation on the organisational structure and practises by the composition of the main governing body.**

If my initial intention has been to verify the cognitive and organisational outcomes of the application of a new governance model in organisations operating in a multi-logic field, then my research has exhaustively answered my scholarly curiosity: despite the traditional rigidity of their institutional profile and the institutional instability of their environmental circumstances, the analysis shows that European museums can operate some form of organisational agency, even one involving innovation. In particular, the application of a new governance model has worked effectively under specific circumstances, one of which has implied the definition of a governing board composed of members without direct political positions (and interests) that could possibly interfere with the full implementation of the new model.

Before ending the dissertation, then, a closing note.

I must admit that the results of my research initially left me disoriented: according to my analysis, it was the organisation without policy-makers in their governing body that was doing the best job of pursuing effective public policies, a condition that could apparently seem counterintuitive to the casual observer. However, the in-depth investigation of the two cases – in this sense, re-asserting the important necessity of engaging in qualitative research to get to the bottom of complex phenomena – eventually provided me with an understanding of the underlying determinants of such a paradoxical condition.

According to my analysis, one organisation was left with the governance and managerial independence to enforce structural and practise reform. In particular, its board composition allowed the public stakeholder (and owner) to maintain overall control over the organisation's mission through the appointment of trusted representatives as members; at the same time, it secured

the definition of a stable governance body able to direct managerial activities in pursuit of the mission, while guaranteeing their operational independence.

Conversely, the same model proved to be a restrictive cage for the organisation that remained directly governed by policy-makers: the conjunct presence of multiple interests annihilated the positive potentialities offered by the new configuration, proving tragically ineffective in achieving the organisation's mission. Board instability – with the constant turnover of policy-makers and with the consequent presence of alternating political interests – impeded the full transformation of the organisation, limiting the level of managerial autonomy and the possibility of structural and practise reform and implementation.

This telling evidence has suggested me an analytical reflection beyond my narrow research setting. I have realised that when a subject with formal authority over someone (or something) may decide to offer formal independence, he or she should be ready to give it up with no strings attached. However, during my research, I have also understood that policy-makers may tend to think about public service providers much like parents inevitably think about their children, or, as Dorothy Corkille Briggs said, to believe that “the toddler craves independence, but it fears desertion”⁴⁷.

The perception that full autonomy would be beneficial to someone's or something's growth has eventually made its way into most 21st-century policy-makers' minds and attitudes. In some cases, this awareness has gone as far as providing new legislative tools to support such a striving for independence. However, much like most aware but worrying parents, many public administrators have struggled to completely cut all forms of dependence, as benevolent as they might be: letting go of something one has always taken care of can prove particularly difficult, because it could undermine the importance and the necessity of a role kept for a long time.

In this sense, the phenomenon that I have discussed in my dissertation represents a perfect example of how overcoming the fear of losing direct control over someone – or something – can actually be beneficial for all the involved parties. Just like a child with the right education and skills, an organisation provided with an aptly designed model has all it may need to take

⁴⁷ Corkille Briggs, D., *Your Child's Self-Esteem: The Key to Life*, 1975

full advantage from its new condition, while leaving its former carer free to focus on something else.

Caring for someone or something, in fact, should never get in the way of letting it strive and grow. Paraphrasing Italian education pioneer Maria Montessori, one should “never help a child – or an organization – with a task she feels she can succeed”⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Montessori, M., *Words of Wisdom*, edited by Safire, W. And Swainson, B., 1990

Chapter 7. Implications

This chapter includes a discussion of the contributions that I believe my research can have on the existing academic debate, as well as of the suggestions that it can provide to professionals and practitioners. It is completed by a declaration of the limitations that I recognise in my investigation and of the possible empirical and theoretical ramifications that I can foresee.

7.1. Theoretical Contributions

The research has different theoretical implications that can contribute to the existing academic literature.

At the field level, the research offers an overview of how a field can emerge and transform. This allows the identification of the different social, cultural, political, economic, and institutional circumstances that can characterise a specific field, and the determination of how and why they change over time. From that, the analysis investigates the nature of the relationship between the formation of a field and the system of beliefs, rules, and values (logic) permeating each step. This provides a longitudinal analysis of a field from its creation through its transformation, and it allows relating each step to the set of cognitive categories that characterise it.

Extensive literature has discussed the emergence of a new field as an event marked by institutional conflict and negotiation (Brint & Karabel 1991; Hoffman 1999; Hargrave & Van de Ven 2006). What results from the research, conversely, is that the formation of a new field can be a relatively uncontested occurrence, and, more crucially, that it can be characterised by the presence of one dominant logic.

Although the research reinforces findings from Maguire and others (2004) about the possibility of a rapid institutionalisation of a field, at the same time it adds to the debate by stressing the concurrent condition of field-level logic non-conflict and homogeneity (Quirke, 2013). In particular, the analysis shows that the presence of one logic in a field can contribute to and support the establishment of the field itself; the lack of logic conflict, in fact, can help avoid cognitive uncertainty among actors, to the advantage of the field's structuration.

The analysis, then, proposes an interpretation of a field's formation in which the event can occur with little institutional conflict, and in which logic stability and homogeneity are pivotal to the establishment of the field itself, a finding which challenges the more credited interpretation of the emergence of a field as a vague, cognitively uncertain, conflictual process.

In addition, the analysis of the field in its initial stage shows that the formation of a field can have explicitly institutional causes, because the main organisation which operates in it – the museum – is explicitly created to support a specific institutional paradigm. According to the analysis, in fact, a field can emerge in relation to the definition of an organisation set up with a specific institutional mandate. The creation of a new organisation, then, can be determined to support the permanence of the institution itself. The research, in this sense, sheds some light on how and why a field forms, showing that the institutional entrepreneur (in this case, European national governments) can operate not only to instigate the emergence of a new field separate from an existing one (Ojha, 2014), or, more generally, to promote institutional change in an existing system, but also to define an entirely novel field.

Overall, the dissertation offers a longitudinal analysis (Pettigrew, 1990) of the structuration of a field (Warren, 1967; Hinings et al., 2004; Wooten and Hoffman, 2008) which takes into consideration the dynamic relationship between its environmental circumstances and the logics connoting them.

Starting from this analytical investigation of the field, the research then focuses on the different organising models that are present in the field over time. This part of the analysis is crucial to narrow the scope of the research

from the field to the organisational level, while taking into account the influencing effects of a specific field-level institutional configuration on the involved organisations.

In particular, the research investigates the governance models of organisations by contrasting them to the specific institutional conditions of a field, thus supporting an analytical investigation that connects field-level dynamics with organisational-level configurations and, in turn, with their structures and practises (Oliver, 1991b; Clemens and Douglas, 2005; Delmas and Toffel, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2011; Bjerregaard and Jonasson, 2014) or, as Lounsbury (2001:53) put it, “how the content of organizational practises is shaped by broader institutional forces”.

The identification of different governance models in relation to the logics operating in the field is used to bridge the gap between the institutional logic concept (criticised for its cognitive vagueness and conceptual abstraction) and the structure and practises actually connoting a specific organisation. The analysis, then, contributes to clarify how “organizations enact their environment and are simultaneously enacted upon by the same environment” (Wooten & Hoffman 2008:136, from Scott 1994): more specifically, it shows the way this occurs over time, providing a longitudinal investigation of the field-to-organisation effects of institutional change.

In addition, the analysis offers insights into how a **new governance configuration** can merge (Aldrich and Ruef, 2006): in particular, it suggests that a new governance model constitutes an operational response to the institutional inputs present in a field. As reported in the research, in fact, whereas one model can support the diffusion of a logic when it dominates the field, the decline of the same logic and the emergence of multiple logics in its place can lead to the concurrent decline of the model that had contributed to enforce the original system of categories.

As a result, the change in the institutional circumstances, with multiple sets of beliefs, values, and rules coexisting in the field, can determine the definition of new governance models that are more fit to navigate a changed field. In some cases, these models can be taken from other sectors, thus implying the application of existing forms into a new context. In other cases, institutional actors in the field can introduce new models. The analysis shows

that they can be designed to provide a cognitive resolution to the institutional multiplicity persisting in the field, supporting the definition of a hybrid logic.

The research adds to existing literature on the coevolution of forms and logics in a field (Haveman and Rao, 2006), including organisational innovation in the context of institutional multiplicity within the range of determinants to the creation of new governance forms. At the same time, it starts from where Tracey and others (2011) left off, investigating the aftermath of bridging institutional entrepreneurship to verify its effectiveness in maintaining legitimacy and guaranteeing survival. By investigating the application of the new configuration in conditions of institutional multiplicity, in fact, the investigation further explores the intra-organisational effects of such action at the logic, structure, and practise levels.

As for the **logic**, the investigation departs from Pache and Santos (2013), suggesting that organisations presenting multiple logics in their field can experience logic hybridity (Battilana & Dorado 2010; Jay 2012) through the application of a new governance model.

In this sense, the analysis supports existing propositions on hybridity (Boxenbaum, 2011; Christiansen and Lounsbury, 2013) with new evidence from a relatively underinvestigated field. It shows that categories from the multiple field-level logics can be operated at the organisational level; in particular, it suggests that the application of a new governance model in existing organisations can support the establishment of a new logic resulting from a process of categorical hybridisation. At the same time, it integrates existing literature on the topic by offering an analytical perspective that accounts for organisational innovation (in the form of the application of a new governance model) as a process resulting in institutional hybridity.

Overall, this adds to the existing literature on how logics can emerge and change (Dunn and Jones, 2010; Lok, 2010; van Gestel and Hillebrand, 2011; Durand et al., 2013; Besharov and Smith, 2014), suggesting the occurrence of organisational innovation as a condition supporting the emergence of new logics: in this sense, it allows foreseeing the possibility that the diffusion of a new organisational configuration in a field could support the concurrent establishment in the field of a new logic that originally emerged at the organisational level. This would follow the direction already taken by recent

research investigating the occurrence and the determinants of field-level hybridity (York, Hargrave and Pacheco, 2016), offering a point of connection between the organisational and the field levels of analysis of the process.

As for the **structure and practises**, the analysis suggests that although formal compliance with the cognitive categories is inherently correlated to the application of the new model, the actual effects on the structural composition and on the practises operated in the organisation can differ.

It shows that organisational isomorphism (the same governance model) can determine heterogeneity in terms of structure and practises. The analysis, then, adds to existing literature investigating the translation of field-level categories into organisational-level features (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Greening and Gray, 1994; Greenwood and Hinings, 1996; George, 2006; Smets, Morris and Greenwood, 2012) by putting the accent on the mediating use of the organisational configuration as a tool to translate the cognitive nature of a logic into its operational version through structure and practises.

In particular, the analysis discusses a form of **weak/strong decoupling**, adding to existing literature on the topic (Coburn, 2004; Tilcsik, 2010; Bromley and Powell, 2012; Bromley, Hwang and Powell, 2012; Crilly, Zollo and Hansen, 2012; Pitsakis, Biniari and Kuin, 2012): it proposes an interpretation in which the separation between the cognitive categories set by the hybrid logic and the actual composition of the organisation can occur at different steps of the enforcement process.

Furthermore, the investigation indicates that **internal members** can have a role in decoupling. From the analysis, in fact, it emerges that the act of applying a new governance model has not necessarily corresponded to the active enforcement of the categories supported by that same model on structures and practises. Institutional actors who have played a direct role in the formal transformation of the organisation can end up not pursuing the full translation of the categories to the structural composition of the organisation and to the managerial practises enacted in it.

On the contrary, the investigation shows that the presence of institutional actors in the main governance body actually corresponds to the decoupling of the formal configuration implied in the new model from both structure and practises. This finding contrasts with the idea of the institutional entrepreneur as the willing instigator of change for self-advantage

(Beckert, 1999; Dorado, 2005; Battilana, 2007; Mutch, 2007; Leca, Battilana and Boxenbaum, 2008; Tracey, Phillips and Jarvis, 2011) either in emerging (Maguire, Hardy and Lawrence, 2004) or mature fields (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006), because it suggests the possible presence of conflicting interests by the entrepreneur itself. In particular, the analysis shows that, although formal compliance can occur, at the same time the consequent enforcement of structure and practises may lack a correspondingly strong institutional drive.

More interestingly, the analysis indicates that the presence, in the main governance body, of institutional actors (policy-makers who enacted the application of the new form) can be to the detriment of the full translation of the categories set by the new logic to the structural configuration and to the managerial practises.

The analysis suggests a scenario in which the main initiator or facilitator of organisational change can show non-enforcing behaviour in the aftermath of a change initially promoted by the entrepreneur itself. Therefore, although confirming that decoupling between a new organisational model and its structure/practises can occur because of interested actors (Westphal and Zajac, 2001; Crilly, Zollo and Hansen, 2012), it also shows that these actors can be those which had originally determined the application of the new configuration. In this sense, the analysis adds to the existing literature and partially reforms it by introducing a more nuanced perspective of the role of the institutional entrepreneur and its actual interests in promoting change.

The analysis, then, enters the debate on the effects of **board composition** through an institutionalist perspective: recent research on board composition (Boesso et al., 2015), in fact, has investigated the characteristics of board members (competencies and networks) and of the board's internal processes, suggesting that high levels of board capital and stability in the composition of the main governance body could support the achievement of positive results for nonprofit organisations.

While confirming these considerations, the research adds to the debate by targeting a more identifiable feature of an effective board (Cornforth, 2001, 2003) – that is, the lack of subjects directly connected to the main

stakeholders (public policy-makers at all tiers of government). This suggestion goes beyond the specific peculiarities of a member's personal and professional capital, indicating the possibility, for nonprofit public (cultural) organisations, of supporting the achievement of positive performance results by building a governance board with a specific composition.

The research, in fact, relates the managerial performance of public nonprofit organisations to a basic *characteristic* of board members – their possible dual role as members and policy-makers. This allows detecting a main source of board conflict (Tomo et al., 2016) in the presence of members with a direct political mandate (and interest), and with an approach to governance that can be highly influenced by public bureaucratic procedures and rules (Burns, 1962; Narayanan and Fahey, 1982; Daft and Weick, 1984; Jehn, 1997).

In this sense, a board composed of members with no direct involvement in policy-making does not automatically imply the improvement of managerial performance for the organisation, but it can represent a prerequisite to avoid the potential added conflict inherent in the presence of subjects with direct and explicit political interests.

The analysis, then, suggests that, in conditions of organisational agency involving the change of the governance model, it is possible – and recommended – to build a governance structure that can better support the pursuit of the organisation's mission, by limiting the potential sources of board conflict. The analysis suggests that a major source of conflict is represented by the presence of public policy-makers as members.

Crucially, the analysis also indicates the presence of strong inconsistency in interest-related actions enacted by these individuals: while pursuing the application of a specific organisational model, policy-makers result to subsequently contrast the full implementation of that same configuration within its main governing body. In this sense, the perceived necessity of keeping representatives of the public owner on the governance board is not justified by their possible contribution to the enforcement of the logic supported by the new model they had opted to apply. Eventually, the need for a stronger direct presence on the part of the public owner may work to the detriment of the very mission that the new organisational model had been set up to pursue.

The analysis, then, connects research on board composition of public organisations (Hinna, Mangia and De Nito, 2010; Hinna et al., 2014; Tomo et al., 2014) with that on organisational agency in contexts of institutional multiplicity; by taking advantage of the logics perspective, the research targets the members of the board with respect to their role as institutional entrepreneurs. In particular, it shows that, although the formal act of organisational change has been used by the main public stakeholder/owner in response to institutional multiplicity, at the same time, the implementation of such formal change of the structure and of the practises may be prevented by a governing body composed of members with divergent political interests.

Finally, the investigation discusses the effects of decoupling on **organisational performance**. Early institutionalists (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) justified decoupling as a practise which can secure both institutional legitimacy – through formal compliance – and organisational efficiency – through the maintenance of existing organisational configurations and operations. This interpretation of compliance-driven change assumes that legitimacy-seeking change is inevitably detrimental to organisational effectiveness: organisations preserve their efficient structures and practises by decoupling them from the absorbed field-level logic.

However, by partially departing from existing literature, the analysis shows that compliance extended to the operational features of the organisation can be to its advantage. Conversely, decoupling in organisations that have formally changed their model can result, at worst, in the deterioration of managerial performance.

As for performance itself, the research also adds to existing literature investigating the meaning of such concepts applied to nonprofit organisations (Sowa, Coleman Selden and Sandfort, 2004; Anheier, 2005; Jobome, 2006; Ostrower, 2006; Herman and Renz, 2008). By identifying the specific strategic objectives set up by the hybrid logic, the analysis isolates the different aspects in which a public, nonprofit, cultural organisation can perform (increasing the common good – as defined by the respective institutional owner, increasing visitor attendance, and maintaining/achieving financial sustainability).

Overall, the analysis provides some addition and some rectifications to propositions discussing organisational change, new governance models, hybrids, institutional compliance, decoupling, institutional entrepreneurship, board composition, and translation.

First, the analysis bridges two different fields of research by analysing of the application of a new governance model through the perspective provided by institutional logics. This allows connecting institutionally driven organisational change with organisational innovation, highlighting the occurrence of innovative organisational change (in the form of a new governance model) in conditions of institutional multiplicity.

Second, it integrates existing literature on organisational hybrids, introducing the transformation of the governance model as a possible determinant of organisational-level hybridity. At the same time, it connects research on translation, suggesting that the local transfer of field-level categories (in this case, recombined through hybridisation) can be achieved through the governance model taken by the organisation: translation processes can be involved in the enactment of organisational innovation in conditions of institutional multiplicity.

Third, in terms of the nature of compliance itself and of its counteraction – decoupling – the analysis refines existing research on the topic, suggesting a more layered nature of the mechanisms preserving the organisation from logic-complying change. On the one hand, it reports on the nuanced process of decoupling, breaking down the different steps involving the form, the structure, and the practises. On the other hand, it challenges the idea of decoupling as efficiency-driven, at the same time assessing compliant behaviour as a condition supporting organisational performance.

Fourth, the analysis suggests that the composition of the main governing body can be used to better support the successful achievement of the organisation's mission (and the enforcement of the categories characterising its logic). In particular, the research draws from the literature on board composition and conflict to enrich the discussion on organisational change in contexts of institutional multiplicity: by highlighting the presence of governance inefficiency in a board characterised by the prevalent presence of institutional members (policy-makers), the analysis suggests that full governance inde-

pendence (with only appointed representatives as board members) can represent a requisite not in conflict with the pursuit of the mission set by the institutional stakeholders.

Fifth, the analysis contributes to research on translation processes, suggesting that the missed translation of the categories expressed by the hybrid logic on the structure and practises can be determined by the political preferences propagated by members of the governing body. In this sense, it connects the analysis of translation with that of board composition, introducing the possibility, for organisations willing to successfully translate specific ideas, to change the composition of their board to support the successful enactment of the process.

The multi-disciplinary nature of the investigation, then, allows touching on different research topics; more narrowly, it contributes to the specific topic of Nonprofit and Art Management, taking advantage of the analytical perspective offered by Organisational Theory to investigate a relatively under-researched sector. In particular, it offers a substantial contribution to the understanding of the external and internal mechanisms of field-level change and organisational innovation in the cultural sector.

The existing literature shows a distinct interest in the managerial side of innovation in and around cultural organisations (Kovach, 1989; Zan, 2000; Lynch, 2011; Zorloni, 2011) but a relative lack of academic attention to the potentialities inherent in organisational and governance innovation, with a few exceptions (Griffin, 1991; Abraham, Griffin and Crawford, 1999; Camarero, Garrido and Vicente, 2011). This research, then, aims to bring the crucial role of organisational change and governance innovation back into the scholarly discussion of the organisation and the management of Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs).

Expectedly, all these contributions are incremental, built on the extensive academic literature produced over time. therefore, to close this section, I want to suggest one single insight for the reader to draw from my research that, in my opinion, constitutes a novel contribution to the existing research on organisational theory. At the end of my investigation, I infer that **organisational innovation in the context of field-level multiplicity can occur in the form of the application of a new governance model, and that it**

can be effective under specific circumstances, one of which involves the composition of its main governing body.

This is of crucial importance for the advancement of organisational theory and institutional analysis, because it tightens the connections between the cognitive features of a field and the organisational characteristics of a firm: it shows the explanatory possibilities of the logics perspective, which takes into account the cognitive, institutional features of the field-level phenomenon, while investigating the structural and managerial outcomes occurring at the organisational level.

7.2. Practical Implications

The analytical conclusions drawn from the data not only can be of use to academic scholars, but it can also support the definition of more practical suggestions to be extended to professionals.

In terms of the analytical review of the field, the investigation allows defining a taxonomy of the logics (and the main governance models) which have been, and still are, operating in the European museum field.

On the one hand, this provides a clear picture of the historical evolution of European museums, from which single organisations can potentially trace their mission and vision. In fact, although some publications have already discussed specific moments in the field's evolution – the emergence of the museum as an organisation (e.g., Wittlin, 1949; Ripley, 1969; Bennett, 1995; Duncan, 1995; Tufts and Milne, 1999; Smith, 2001; Schaer, 2007; Salmi, 2008; Paul, 2012; Diaz-Andreu and Champion, 2014), and transformation (e.g., McLean 1995; Weil 1999; Caldwell 2000; Stephen 2001; Van Aalst & Boogaarts 2002; Ciorra & Suma 2002; Fleming 2006; McPherson 2006; Parry 2009; Tobelem 2010; Tali & Pierantoni 2011; Simpson 2012) – no longitudinal work providing a full analytical view of the field's formation and change has been produced before this dissertation.

My research, then, is a first attempt to fill this gap, maintaining a less historical-sociological and a more institutional-organisational approach: by proposing an interpretation of the field's formation which focuses on the systems of rules and beliefs that have characterised each step, the research

provides a structured cognitive framework, in which museum organisations have the possibility to retrace their institutional referents, for the sake of a more focused organisational identity.

On the other hand, the identification of the most recent institutional configuration of the field can provide a better understanding of its internal dynamics, thus supporting museums in the definition of a more culturally and socially aware growth strategy. Although detailed studies on specific kinds of museum organisations have been reported in specialised literature (Dana, 1917; Low, 1942; Stowell, 1956; MacDonald and Fyfe, 1998; Sandell, 1998; Bradburne, 2001; Cameron, 2005; O'Neill, 2006; Ferraro, 2011), a full overview of how existing museum organisations operate in the field will be to the advantage of all involved actors.

In addition, by better understanding the cognitive and organisational outcomes of the application of a new governance model, museums interested in operating a similar process have a comparable precedent to take into consideration. In particular, the identification of specific *ex ante* organisational features and the detection of the different transitory steps of organisational change can help museums interested in taking a similar response to tackle the critical phase of logic enforcement operating on the structure and on practises. If possible, the analysis can reinforce the need to enact organisational change in museums with a more systematic, strategic, controlled, and planned approach, and the importance of doing so with full awareness of the potential critical issues.

The empirical analysis was based on the qualitative comparison of two cases of networked museums located in Italy; in particular, the investigation focused on museum organisations which have moved from a public to a private organisational configuration after an explicit decision taken by the main public institutional stakeholder. If viewed through the public-policy lens, then, the investigated phenomenon can be considered as a form of privatisation involving not only the ownership of the organisation but also, and crucially, its governance form: privatisation, then, seems to have paired with organisational innovation to pursue specific cultural policies.

The need to find solutions to pressing organisational problems for cultural organisations has been widely expressed by professionals and researchers (Duffy, 1992; Hughes and Luksetich, 1999; Skinner, Ekelund, Jr. and

Jackson, 2009; Stanziola, 2011; Woodward, 2012). Overall, although the relevance of museums for the cultural and economic enrichment of communities is taken for granted (Rodriguez, Martinez and Guenaga, 2001; Judd, 2003; Montgomery, 2003; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Pratt, 2009; Hutton, 2010; Gonzalez, 2011; Marti-Costa and Pradel i Miquel, 2011; Tyler et al., 2013), at the same time, consensus about the best governance form to be applied has yet to be reached (López, 1993; Weil, 1999; Kotler and Kotler, 2000; Bagdadli, 2001; Dubinsky, 2007; Bryan, Munday and Bevins, 2011; Lynch, 2011; Tamborrino, 2012; Dallaire and Colbert, 2013). In particular, doubts about the effectiveness of specific initiatives, and the lack of public consensus over the possible privatisation of organisations of public interest, have kept policy-making inertia very high, limiting the application of organisational innovation to the good-will and to the determination of single actors.

My research, then, can support and encourage the diffusion of a more aware and informed planning of cultural policies involving the transformation of governance models; by offering a longitudinal investigation of the process and of its outcomes, my dissertation can support policy-makers in better understanding the difficulties, risks, and opportunities inherent in the process. In particular, the clarification of the contextual circumstances of organisational change, and the identification of the involved cognitive, structural, and managerial issues could contribute to inform policy-makers and to sustain them in the decision-making process.

At the same time, the investigation of the effects of organisational innovation in museums shows that the application of a new model has not resulted, *per se*, in the achievement of the expected cultural and economic outcomes. The analysis, in fact, points out the crucial role of logic enforcement in the transformation of structures and practises to pursue the organisation's mission. Therefore the research seems to go beyond the provision of a mere universal "how-to" guide for struggling museums; more significantly, the analysis provides specific indications on the fundamental approach to be taken in case of strategic organisational change for cultural organisations. This could be crucial in supporting the diffusion of models that have started to be applied and that are expected to progressively diffuse, as suggested by a MuVE manager:

Having an ideal model and then transferring it into reality is a completely different issue, so you have to manage many variables, as long as the model is a flexible one. That was the expectation. [...] Something has been done, but I'm strongly convinced that we must go forward, also at the national level, using some best-practises as starting point for implementations. It is an evolutionary process. (Head Museum Area 2)

At the least, then, my research represents an empirical analysis of the effects of organisational change in museums, providing an interpretative report for organisations interested in a similar solution. More broadly, it contributes to promoting an informed, planned approach to the identification and enactment of strategic responses involving the organisation's configuration, making it available to public policy-makers and private professionals in the field.

7.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

My research comes with a series of limitations.

The first is related to the methodology used to collect data. By its own nature, in fact, qualitative research is limited by the specific characteristics of the investigated cases. In this sense, the analysis of two cases constitutes, per se, a form of limitation, in that the volume of available data can be biased both in quantity and in quality.

At the same time, however, data limitation inherent in the qualitative approach has been counterbalanced by the multi-level distribution of the analysis. By starting with a field-level investigation, the research has provided an in-depth and, concurrently, broad overview of the phenomenon, which has then been further studied at the organisational level. The two studied cases were selected to provide both comparability and variety: this has allowed covering different features, so that the qualitative analysis reflects a wider range of organisational conditions, to the advantage of subsequent generalisation.

In this sense, the possibility of expanding this exploratory, qualitative research into a more quantitative analysis, testing my propositions, represents

a particularly fruitful opportunity to further the investigation of organisational change in conditions of institutional multiplicity.

The second limitation is related to the research setting. The choice to investigate organisations operating in the European museum field was made with full awareness of the specificity of the sector, and of the correlated limitations that such a peculiarly formed system could imply in terms of generalisation. The research setting, in fact, is characterised by the tightness of the relationships between actors, by the relative closeness and rigidity of its cognitive and institutional borders, and by the knowledge-intense disposition of the offered service.

The research setting may then seem to be a unique, rather than a peculiar one, a condition that could apparently impede the identification of propositions to be applied beyond my empirical boundaries. However, the institutionally driven, community-embedded, socially constituted nature of the field can reverberate with other sectors, making it possible to extend the analysis of organisations applying innovative models in conditions of institutional complexity to sectors with similar characteristics. In particular, environmental transformations occurring in the European museum field – with the establishment of more-stringent demands in terms of accountability, the reduction of public funds, the emergence of increasing competition, and the progressive loss of taken-for-grantedness – can be reported in sectors such as education and in healthcare. Similarly to museums, in fact, schools and hospitals, especially in Europe, seem to have been put under scrutiny regarding their effectiveness in pursuing their public mission and their efficiency in using resources. In this sense, the limitation inherent in the choice of a relatively peculiar research setting could potentially be overcome and transformed into a possible proliferation by extending the analysis to fields with similar characteristics, so that a broader investigation of organisations delivering public services could verify the soundness of the contributions drawn from this exploratory study.

At the same time, this initial exploratory research suggesting the negative influencing role of policy-makers representing the owner of collections in the Board of Members could benefit from future investigations verifying the occurrence of similar or divergent outcomes in the case of policy-makers being

present on the board but without any direct claim on invested material or immaterial capital.

Although my investigation suggests that political interest operates as an influencing factor when it is enforced by actors retaining a position of force as representatives of the owner, the same might not apply in situations in which policy-makers are members of the main governing body but do not have any formal claim over the involved resources. This could be of interest in cases in which policy-makers are appointed as members to secure political support in fields in which organisations act as public service providers; verifying the persistence of negative effects on organisational performance despite the lack of direct ownership over involved resources could be a significant addition to the existing literature on public governance and policy studies.

Definition of Terms

Case Study

“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (Fleetwood, 2005)

Change

“an empirical observation of difference in form, quality or state over time in an organizational entity” (Poole *et al.*, 2000).

Innovation

Derived from the combination of the latin words in (into) and novus (new), it represents the set of acts igniting a process of change that will produce new value within the organization and among the stakeholders. It involves a certain amount of risk and uncertainty, it is often aimed at improving the performance of the organizations by introducing new procedures or mindsets and it can be verified using different sets of indicators.

Institution

“Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers — culture, structures, and routines — and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction” (Birkinshaw, Hamel and Mol, 2008)

Institutionalization

It represents the process “by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take the rulelike status of social thought and action” (Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2006); it may be also defined as “the diffusion of standard rules and structures rather than the adaptive custom-fitting of particular organizations to specific settings” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991: 27)

Museum

“A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment” (ICOM, 2007).

Museum Management

“the process of performing the activities of planning, organizing, staffing, leadership, and control so as to achieve goals effectively and efficiently” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977)

Organization

“An attempt to order the intrinsic flux of human action, to channel it toward certain ends, to give it a particular shape, through generalizing and institutionalizing particular meanings and rules” Tsoukas and Chia (2002).

Organizational Agency

“An actor's ability to have some effect on the social world” (Scott 2013: 77)

Organizational Field

A “set of organizations that, in the aggregate, constitutes a recognized area of institutional life; key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) The concept of field is broader of that of industry, which is defined as “a set of equivalent firms that produce a similar product or service” (Van de Ven, 2007)

Process

“The progression (that is the order and sequence) of events in an organizational entity's existence over time” (Shore, 1987)

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Definition of Museum in ICOM Statutes (1946-2007)

ICOM Constitution, 1946

Article 2, Section 2

The word "museum" includes all collections open to the public, of artistic, technical, scientific, historical or archaeological material, including zoos and botanical gardens, but excluding libraries, except in so far as they maintain permanent exhibition rooms.

ICOM Statute, 1951

Article 2, Section 2

The word museum here denotes any permanent establishment, administered in the general interest, for the purpose of preserving, studying, enhancing by various means and, in particular, of exhibiting to the public for its delectation and instruction groups of objects and specimens of cultural value: artistic, historical, scientific and technological collections, botanical and zoological gardens and aquariums. Public libraries and public archival institutions maintaining permanent exhibition rooms shall be considered to be museums.

ICOM Statute, 1961

Article 3, Section 2 Definition of Museum

ICOM shall recognize as a museum any permanent institution which conserves and displays, for purposes of a study, education and enjoyment, collections of objects of cultural or scientific significance.

Article 4

Within this definition fall: a. exhibition galleries permanently maintained by public libraries and collections of archives; b. historical monuments and parts of historical monuments or their dependencies, such as cathedral treasuries, historical, archaeological and natural sites, which are officially open to the public; c. botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria, vivaria, and other institutions which display living specimens; d. natural reserves.

ICOM Statutes 1974**Article 3, Section 2 Definitions**

A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment.

Article 4

In addition to museums designated as such, ICOM recognizes that the following comply with the above definition: a. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres; b. natural, archaeological, and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature, for their acquisition, conservation and communication activities; c. institutions displaying live specimens, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria, vivaria, etc; d. natural reserves; e. science centres and planetariums.

ICOM Statutes, 1989**Article 2, Section 2 Definitions**

A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.

a. The above definition of a museum should be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character,

the functional structure or the orientation of the collection of the institution concerned.

b. In addition to the institutions designated as “museums” the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition: i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment; ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; iii. science centres and planetaria; iv. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres; v. nature reserves; vi. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum workers through museological research, education or training.

ICOM Statutes, 1995

Article 2, Section 2 Definitions

A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.

a. The above definition of a museum should be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure or the orientation of the collection of the institution concerned.

b. In addition to the institutions designated as “museums” the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition: i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment; ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens and plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; science centres and planetaria; iii. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres; iv. nature reserves; v. international or national

or regional or local museum organisations, ministries or departments or public agencies responsible for museums as per the definition given under this article; vi. non-profit institutions or organisations undertaking research, education, training, documentation and other activities relating to museums and museology; vii. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum workers through museological research, education or training.

ICOM Statutes, 2001

Article 2, Section 2 Definitions

A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.

a. The above definition of a museum should be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure or the orientation of the collection of the institution concerned.

b. In addition to the institutions designated as “museums” the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition: i. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; ii. science centres and planetaria; iii. non-profit art exhibition galleries; iv. nature reserves; v. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archives centres; natural parks; vi. international or national or regional or local museum organisations, ministries or departments or public agencies responsible for museums as per the definition given under this article; vii. non-profit institutions or organisations undertaking conservation research, education, training, documentation and other activities relating to museums and museology; viii. cultural centres and other entities that facilitate the preservation, continuation and management of tangible or intangible heritage resources (living heritage and digital creative activity); ix. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum, or

as supporting museums and professional museum personnel through museological research, education or training.

ICOM Statutes, 2007

Article 3 Definition of Terms

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

Appendix 2. Question Lists Interview

“Thank you for accepting to answer my questions and to participate to my investigation. If you don't mind, I'll start with some questions on your academic background and then we'll go more in depth on your activity within the organization.

- Could you please provide a short outline of your professional and academic background?
- Could you discuss your experience within the organization?
- In case you already were an employee of the previous structure, could you please state differences and similarities?
- What comments would you make on the present structure of the organization? Do you find it functional to the fulfilment of the objectives reported in the mission statement?
- What are, in your opinion, the greatest strengths and weaknesses of having a new private organizational form compared to the previous condition of informal of being an inter-organizational system within the municipal governance?
- What are the coordinating actions to align all members? Do you attend meetings? In case, do you consider them sufficient? Should they be more frequent/different/supported by other activities/documents?
- How do you perceive the governance of internal relationships among members (individual and single museums)?

- Do you find one or more than one specific individuals as the central focus of the whole organization? Is there someone that you contact preferably if you need updates or alignment with the directions provided during plenary meetings?

- What would you consider the full achievement of the new foundation in terms of its performance, both cultural and financial? What would be its complete maturity?

Thank you for your time and for helping me with my research. You've been very kind.

I ask you whether you'd be available to take some time for another meeting in the next future? Thank you”

Appendix 3. Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani (MuVE) Case Description

This part reports the qualitative and quantitative data collected on the first case under investigation – the *Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani* (from here on MuVE).

The section collects the main empirical information gathered during the investigation, dividing it into different parts: first, a short historical excursus of the antecedents and of the definition of the foundation is given; then, the governance structure is described so to clarify the organization's decision making system; to follow, the case's cultural assets and programs are discussed, in order to report about the nature of its service: this section is then sub-divided into additional parts according to the range of cultural activities that are operated; subsequently, data on attendance levels and distribution is given; and, finally, the financial performance of the foundation is reported.

History

MuVE has been created as a stakeholders foundation on March, 3rd 2008, with a municipal deliberation of the Venice City Council; after being officially constituted with the definition of the Statute on April, 22nd 2008 and with the legal recognition as a private entity on July 11th, 2008, it has become operational on September, 1st 2008:

“The Foundation is a network of civic museums – that is belonging to the Municipality of Venice – that has formerly been managed internally by the municipal administration, with a central office, as it usually happens in most Italian local administrations. In 2008, the Municipality decides to take advantage of a new regulatory scheme called stakeholders foundation as it is reported by a Municipal Resolution dated March 2008; after a long negotiation with unions concerning the personnel moving from the Municipality to the Foundation, the organization becomes operative in September 2008” (Administrative Secretary)

The only founding partner was – and still is – the Municipality of Venice, which is also the owner of all physical buildings and collections: “there is a 30-year contractual agreement between the foundation and the municipality for the assignment of the physical heritage to the foundation's disposal” (Administrative Secretary).

Before the present form, all museums were internally governed by the Municipal Department in charge of heritage conservation and cultural production. In 2008, with the definition of the stakeholders foundation as a new legislative tool, the Municipality of Venice has decided to transfer all governance powers to a separate organization, with the explicit purpose of providing it with increased administrative and financial autonomy and of allowing the participation of private partners.

Before that, in fact, these museums were reunited by an internal public network called *Rete Musei Civici Veneziani* (Network of Venetian Civic Museums), but that administrative system had progressively resulted too rigid and bureaucratized to be able to keep up with new environmental conditions and stakeholders expectations.

The present venues have different dimensions and typology of collections and they are divided into 3 Thematic Areas: Historical Heritage and Modern Art (Museum Area 1), Natural and Technological Heritage (Museum Area 2), and Contemporary Art (Museum Area 3). Every sector is presided by a Head of Area.

Table 14: MuVE Venues

Museum Area 1 (Modern)	Museum Area 2 (Ethno-Scientific)	Museum Area 3 (Contemporary)
Doge's Palace	Glass Museum	Ca' Pesaro
Museo Correr	Lace Museum	Palazzo Fortuny
Ca' Rezzonico	Palazzo Mocenigo	
Clock Tower	Natural History Museum	
	Carlo Goldoni's House	

As for 2016, the foundation manages a total of 11 museums and sites (Table 14) and it has also become responsible for the management of another – the Naval Museum (as an external outsourcer to the Ministry of Defence, which is the owner of the museum, therefore without its entrance as part of the foundation's assets).

Since its creation new buildings have been put at the foundation's disposal: in particular, Palazzo Mocenigo has been added in 2012 and, after a long refurbishment project, it has been re-opened in 2013, as a fully preserved example of a patrician venetian family's urban residence as well as the hosting venue of a specific permanent exhibition of the history of perfume.

Governance

The Foundation (Figure 21) is governed by a Board of Members, chaired by the President of the foundation: according to Article 11 of the Statute, the Mayor keeps the position as Vice-President, while the remaining seats (3 to 5) are assigned to personalities selected by the founding partner (the Municipality).

The cultural government is in the hands of a Scientific Committee (which is constituted by internationally-renowned personalities of the cultural field).

The foundation's budgets are reviewed and certified by a College of the Auditors.

The Director is responsible of the overall cultural program and activities as well as of the Modern Area; the present one has been appointed in December 2011.

The Administrative Secretary coordinates central services and offices (he or she could then correspond to a Director General); the present one has been employed since October 2009.

A Directive Committee reunites all top management (heads of thematic areas and of offices) for regular updates, its purpose being a coordinating one⁴⁹:

“We have a Coordinating Committee, where all top managers meet and discuss matters with the director. We all keep in touch with each other, but we have centralized offices coordinating all venues. The Committee doesn't have precise dates for meetings: we get together four-five times a year, or more if there are specific matters that need further discussion” (Head Business Development)

“We have a Directive Committee that meets every three months: programs are completely shared, as well as the projecting; of course each museum responsible has to deal with the daily management of his or her venue, notwithstanding the existence of a shared program and planning. I've always done it involving my curators. Of course, each of them advocates for the corresponding museum's interests and necessities. At the same time, the general direction of the whole program stays in the hands of the director, who, in my opinion, is the only capable of manage all these inputs” (General Director)

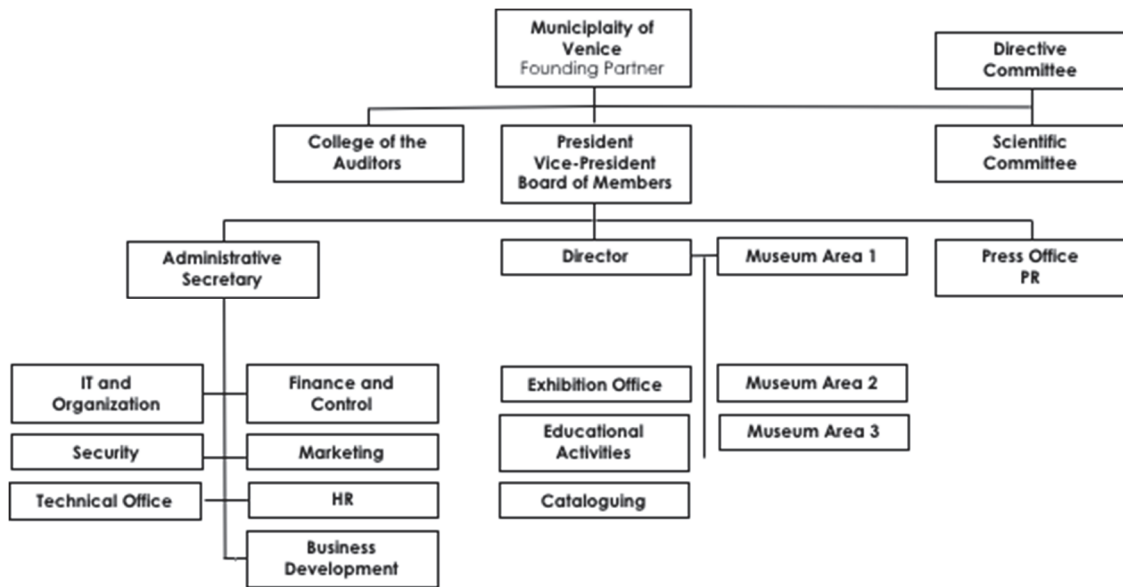
“We do have an organizational tool, the Directors' Committee, which puts together all top managers, where everyone contributes with ideas and suggestions. These meetings are still too few, it depends from ad hoc necessities. If the administration has decided to create this tool which, on paper, looks just perfect, then it is important to make it systematic and, most importantly, it is an active participatory instrument: in it everyone contributes – making these meeting also quite fatiguing, actually” (Head Museum Area2)

The Directive Committee is used not only to plan a long-term program of activities but, also, to check on the actual successful fulfilment of the program itself and, in case, on the contingent revision of activities:

⁴⁹ Note that the different definitions of the Committee – Directive, Coordinating, Directors' – are all exact translations of the subjects' words, thus indicating a certain conceptual vagueness

“We have a Directive Committee, that is in charge of programs and all consequent activities aimed at pursuing the defined results. It can definitely be implemented but in any case it is quite useful not only in programming activities and in defining strategic objectives but also in checking and monitoring their fulfillment and, in case, readjusting the course” (Head Technical Office)

Figure 21: MuVE Organizational Chart



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

It is important to point out that, with the creation of the foundation, the personnel working for the museums, previously employed as part of the municipal administrative working force, has been asked to join the new organization under a different contractual agreement – a private one – i.e. the National Collective Contract specifically designed for museum professionals by *Federculture*⁵⁰ (it is worth noting that the definition of this new contractual typology has occurred in 1999, just in the same period when the stakeholders foundation has been designed, further potential evidence of the progressive

⁵⁰ *Federculture* is the national Federation reuniting cultural, sport, touristic organizations.

emergence of a new institutional logic focusing on the definition of clear, transparent routines and standards in the field. Before then, no specific contractual frames were at disposal of cultural organizations, that were forced to apply traditional public contracts, thus preventing cultural workers from being acknowledged as specifically trained, skilled professionals).

“The first operating year was a setting in one, as the foundation needed to create all the necessary positions and offices, to move all personnel from the previous public contract agreement to the new private one, to create the scientific board and the board of directors, to re-negotiate all external contracts (that is custody, security, bookshop and catering activities) – considering the impossibility for the foundation to manage them all internally [...] after a very long confrontation and negotiation guaranteeing their rights as well as offering them increased salaries and professional growth, in the beginning of 2008, 60% of the middle management but, most importantly, all top management personnel accepted the transfer, without whom the new organization would have had few chances to work well” (Administrative Secretary)

The remaining 40% of middle-level personnel has stayed in the municipal administrative structure and it has been replaced by external professionals. This has inaugurated the practice of direct HR selection, which was inhibited before, as a consequence of the built-in configuration. The majority of contractual agreements are full-time and permanent.

Collections and Cultural Program

According to the 2013 Annual Report, “MuVE is constituted by a combination of venues and collections, of incalculable cultural and historical relevance. It exists to offer new cultural experiences, in addition to fulfil its institutional role as conservator, researcher, promoter of its vast heritage and as an identity builder for the local venetian community”.

The main purpose of the foundation, then, is to provide access to its collections and venues and, at the same time, to promote the cultural and artistic education of citizens and visitors: “the whole conceptual, substantial foundations of the organization are cultural production, research, exhibition projects, cataloguing projects, editorial projects, which constitute the scientific arrangement. The scientific objective should be the guiding aim of the foundation” (General Director).

This idea mirrors the words of the President, according to which any decision-making process has to start from the acknowledgement and consideration of the “foundation's mission, to both conserve and promote museums, to make them competitive at a national and international level. This is our mission, considering that we are a not-for-profit organization”.

Permanent Collections and Research

The first and foremost focus of the foundation, as expressed in its mission, is related with the conservation, the expansion, and the promotion of its heritage: in addition to the 11 buildings located in the city of Venice, that constitute, per se, a unique historical, artistic, architectural heritage, the foundation counts on a variety of collections, spanning from naturalistic and archeological finds to modern and contemporary art pieces, through a multifaceted collections of craft works (glass, lace, perfume) (Table 15).

According to the President, the main purpose of the foundation, then, is “to work on museums, to make them accessible to a visitor who is used to go to international-level museums”. To do so, the foundation operates on its permanent venues and heritage in order to preserve it – according to its Annual Reports, between 2011 and 2013, the foundation has restored more than 2150 works, to enlarge it – with more than 1.300 acquired works in the same period –, and to allow its enjoyment and consumption by the public.

The mission reported in the Statute includes the foundation's objective of promoting internal and external research activities on its collections (Figure 22). The Annual Report 2013, in fact, indicates that the central focus of the foundation is “the quality of the offer, the attention and care to the social demand for culture, the high educational and ethical relevance”. To guarantee these standards, the foundation coordinates all museum activities as well as it offers a variety of scientific services, that constitute

“a stimulating source of exchanges with the national and international scientific community; in relation to this aspect, a crucial contribution is given by the know-how of the scientific personnel, who is in constant contact and relation with scholars of different disciplines and who, on the other side, stay at citizens and visitors' disposal for any query and curiosity they might have” (Annual Report 2013)

The importance of research on collections is acknowledged by the foundation, as part of its role as preserver and promoter of the heritage: by encouraging connections and collaborations with scholars and researchers and by allowing access to its collections, archives, libraries, deposits, the foundation guarantees the creation and transmission of knowledge to the benefit of its community and of the wider public: “particular emphasis is given to the specialized libraries of the museums, where precious archival groups, manuscripts, prints, monographs, publications (*for a total of more than 200.000 objects, ed.*) are stored and made available. In addition to this, the on-line catalogue allows easy access to the database of all collections” (Annual Report 2013).

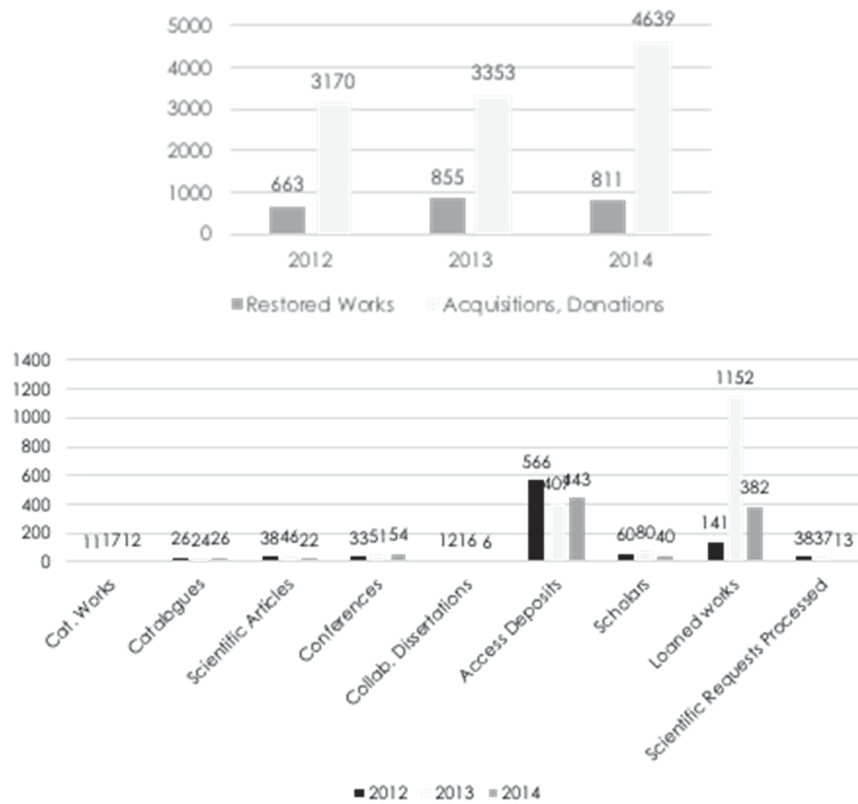
Table 15: MuVE Venues and Permanent Collections

Doge's Palace Historical Building (14 th cent.) with various internal and external extensions	Palazzo Fortuny Historical building (17 th cent.), collection of Mariano Fortuny (paintings, photos, fabrics)
Museo Correr Historical building (18 th cent.), collections of up to 16 th cent. art	Lace Museum Historical building (17 th cent.), collection of lace products from the 11 th to the 20 th cent.
Carlo Goldoni's House Historical building (15 th cent.), birth house of Carlo Goldoni	Palazzo Mocenigo Historical building (17 th cent.), collections of 17 th cent. Venetian costume and perfume
Glass Museum Historical building (17 th cent.), collection of glass products (4 th cent. BC to 20 th cent.	Ca' Pesaro – Modern Art Museum, Oriental Art Museum Historical building (17 th cent.), collection of 19 th and 20 th cent. art
Ca' Rezzonico Historical building (17 th cent.), collection of various works from 18 th cent. Venice	Natural History Museum Historical building (13 th cent.), collection of scientific, anthropological, and ethnological finds
Clock Tower Historical building (15 th cent.)	

(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

The Head of the Technical Office confirms the attention to the development of relationships with professionals interested in studying and working with the collections, when she says that “we (*the foundation, ed.*) collaborate with research centres on specialized researches on conservation. [...] We work with schools and universities, in particular on restoration courses: we call them 'school yards'”.

Figure 22: Conservation, Expansion, Research Practices – MuVE



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

According to Annual Reports, in the triennium 2011-2013, the foundation has issued more than 1.300 passes to access its deposits, with 520 scholars consulting its archives, a total of 28.021 subscriptions to its system of libraries, and almost 900 requests of photographic reproductions of documents; the foundation has also helped with the completion of more than 35 thesis and academic dissertations variously involving its collection.

Beside its openness to external scholars, the foundation is also focused to the development of intense research by its internal staff and to its consequent communication and diffusion: in the same time period, almost 33.000 works have been catalogued, more than 60 catalogues have been issued, and around 105 scientific articles have been published.

From the very accuracy of the reports included in the official documentation destined to the public and the space given to this practices, it is possible to detect the specific attention given by the organization to the matter of accessibility and research on its collections.

Temporary Exhibitions

In parallel with its activities on permanent collections, to fully pursue its mission, the foundation has started a multi-year campaign of temporary exhibitions held in some of its venues, with the explicit purpose of enriching its cultural offer and – in parallel – of increasing both the number of visitors and the revenue from ticketing.

The foundation has planned a combination of “blockbuster” and “niche”⁵¹ exhibitions (Table 16), with different scope and length, in order to cover a wider variety of audiences.

As reported in the Annual Report 2011, in fact: “the program of exhibitions is articulated in a series of events of very different size and level of attractiveness, but all focused on the same objective of promoting collections and of making masterpieces from international museums available to the public's view.”

⁵¹ With “blockbuster” exhibitions, I intend those proposing well-known and widely appreciated artists or periods (such as Francesco Guardi, Eduard Manet, the Vienna Secession), while with “niche” I refer to exhibitions with a more critical, analytical tone, which artists or movements are not mainstream (examples can be Anthony Caro, Agathe Ruiz de la Prada, or Seguso glass makers).

Table 16: MuVE Programs of Temporary Exhibitions (2008-2015)

	2015	2014	2013	2012*	2011	2010	2009	2008	TOTAL
Doge's Palace	1	2	3	3	0				9
Museo Correr	2	4	4	3	3	5	2	4	27
Ca' Rezzonico	1	1	4	4	1		2		13
Palazzo Mocenigo	2	3	0**	6	2	2	2	1	18
Carlo Goldoni's House***	0	1	2	0	1				4
Ca' Pesaro	5	6	3**	6	5	2	2	5	34
Palazzo Fortuny****	1	7	3	6	4	9	1	2	33
Glass Museum	2	1	6	3	1	3	1	1	18
Lace Museum	1	2	2	0	0*****				5
Natural History Museum	1	2	3	2					8
TOTAL	16	29	30	33	17	21	10	13	169

(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports and Archives) The blank spaces indicate non-recorded information; the Clock Tower is not included as it is not fit to host exhibitions of any sort. *From 2012 the new General Director has taken charge of the exhibition program. **In 2013, Ca' Pesaro has been closed for 1 month and Palazzo Mocenigo has remained closed for 10 months. ***This venue, considering its peculiar nature, is not structurally fit to host exhibitions, thus the limited number of them. ****Palazzo Fortuny is open to the public only for temporary exhibitions *****The Lace Museum has reopened in mid-2011

Educational Activities

The young public is usually the less prone to visit museums (preferring other forms of entertainment) but, at the same time, it constitutes the pivotal reference for an organization – such a public museum is – that focuses on the enrichment of present and future generations and on the transmission of knowledge to more and more learnt, informed individuals.

In this sense, the possibility to collect aggregated data from each venue and to process information per age, per venue, per nationality is allowed by the unitary governance and the unified offices that operate in the foundation.

Thanks to this, direct and immediate response can be put into action to confront, for example, the relative small percentage of young public: in particular, significant effort has been put in the definition of special ticketing solutions to incentivize youngsters to visit the museums, either privately, with family tickets, or as students, with cumulative entrance fees for organized school groups.

At the same time, the autonomous nature of the foundation implies the possibility to build a tailored program of educational activities to attract all publics.

Every weekend, individuals can join pre-organized guided tours to multiple venues and, more interestingly, to the deposits and archives, “to re-discover our museums in a more informal, colloquial cultural dimension, for those who never stop growing, learning, and developing competences and skills” (Annual Report 2013).

Table 17: MuVE Educational Activities for Schools

Pre-school (3-6 years old)	2 active itineraries 13 laboratories	Doge's Palace, Museo Correr, Ca' Pesaro, Ca' Rezzonico, Natural History Museum
Primary School (6-11 years old)	14 active itineraries 31 laboratories	Doge's Palace, Museo Correr, Ca' Pesaro, Ca' Rezzonico, Natural History Museum, Carlo Goldoni's House, Palazzo Mocenigo, Glass Museum, Lace Museum
Middle School (11-14 years old)	22 active itineraries 23 laboratories	
High School (14-18 years old)	14 active itineraries 12 laboratories	

(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

Family groups (with children over 6) are addressed specifically with an ad hoc program of activities on Sundays, with the purpose of “getting families in contact with museums during their spare time, to share cultural activities combined with more interactive, playful games”.

Also, younger visitors are engaged through an extremely articulated series of activities destined to schools (Table 17), with the clear intent of making museums a familiar place where fun and knowledge are intertwined and where youngsters can grow to become learnt, skilled adults.

In addition to the activities in single venues, the Educational Office has projected combined programs, where multiple sites are involved in a single itinerary, with the purpose of incentivizing the visit of less known museums and to provide a more integrated, rich educational experience. Moreover, to contribute actively to youngsters' artistic and cultural education, MuVE has designed a year-long program of lectures dedicated to high school seniors, as an integration to their art classes and as tutoring for their final exam⁵². Finally, in order to build a stronger connection with school professionals, the foundation offers a series of courses, meetings, and activities dedicated to teachers and professors, the purpose being both their professional growth and the foundation's development of strong, long-term ties with the educational world, with the perspective of making visits and activities in MuVE museums more and more a taken-for-granted part of schools' educational programs.

In addition to all this offer related to the permanent collections, the foundation has also designed a series of initiatives dedicated to temporary exhibitions, destined to both adults and youngsters.

Ticketing, Promotions and Events

All MuVE museums have an entrance fee, which varies accordingly to the venue and the visitor typology (Table 18).

Joint tickets of different kind are proposed to incentivize the visit to multiple museums: the “St. Mark's square” ticket lasts 3 months and it allows the entrance to the Doge's Palace, to the Museo Correr, to the Clock Tower as

⁵² In Italy, at the end of high school, in order to take their diploma, students must pass a final exam, which is usually composed by three written and one oral tests on all the programs from all the subjects of the last year, Art history included

well as two other venues not belonging to the foundation, but located in the square, that is the National Library of St. Mark and the National Archeological Museum.

Table 18: MuVE Entrance Fees

Museum Pass (6 months – one entrance to all venues except from Clock Tower and Palazzo Fortuny)				Full	24	€	
				Reduced	18	€	
				Family	18	€	
				School	10	€	
St. Mark's Square Ticket (3 months – one entrance to Museo Correr, Doge's Palace, National Archeological Museum, National Library of St. Mark)				Full	18	€	
				Reduced	11	€	
				Family (2 adults and at least 1 between 6 and 14)	11	€	
				School	5,50	€	
				Residents of the Municipality, Children 0-5, disabled, guides for adult and children groups, ICOM members, MuVE Friend Card holders, Civil Service volunteers, The Cultivist Card)	Free*		
Clock Tower	Full	12	€	Carlo Goldoni's House and Lace Museum	Full	5	€
	Reduced	7	€		Reduced	3,50	€
Palazzo Mocenigo and National History Museum	Full	8	€	Joint Ticket: Lace + Glass Museum (Arts and Crafts museums)	Full	12	€
	Reduced	5,50	€				
	Family	5,50	€				
	School	4	€				
Ca' Rezzonico, Ca' Pesaro and Glass Museum	Full	10	€				
	Reduced	7,50	€				
	Family	7,50	€				
	School	4	€				

(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

The Museum Pass (lasting 6 months) allows one entrance to all venues except from the Clock Tower and Palazzo Fortuny. In addition, MuVE promoted a membership card, *MuVE Friends Card*, which is mainly directed to local residents:

“until a few time ago, we didn't know how many of these people actually visited our venues. Membership cards had been created but they didn't work very well. So, wen I became responsible I took charge of this aspect: there were a lot of offers – very similar to those proposed by most museums – but, in my opinion, they didn't work because what we really wanted was to communicate with local residents. In fact, 70% of our visitors of permanent collections are foreigners, so they are very hard to reach; but, when we work on temporary exhibitions, we can have a different relationship with locals, who are more likely to come visiting temporary exhibitions. So, we wanted to change the way we communicated with those visitors. It was quite difficult, so we eliminated all cards and we created a new one, differentiating between residents and not-residents. We tried to propose a stimulating program: every member is allowed to take one person with him/her and, at the same time, we committed to propose something new every month: special tours (for example, with the director as guide, or including rooms that are not open on a regular basis). For us this is very important – we have reached 1000 members in less than 2 years – and we can now have a costumer with whom we can have a constant dialogue” (Head Business Development)

Overall, this card allows free entrance to all venues, reduced fee for temporary exhibitions, participation to special events, and promotions on other activities and institutions. It expires after 12 months from its activation; the Blue (full member) costs 45 €, while the Red one (reduced for under 26 and residents of the Municipality) costs 25 €.

In addition, the foundation organizes special events related to their collections: conferences, special visits, presentations, etc. Some of these are specifically realized as part of the collaboration with private partners, or as hosts of activities from the public administration.

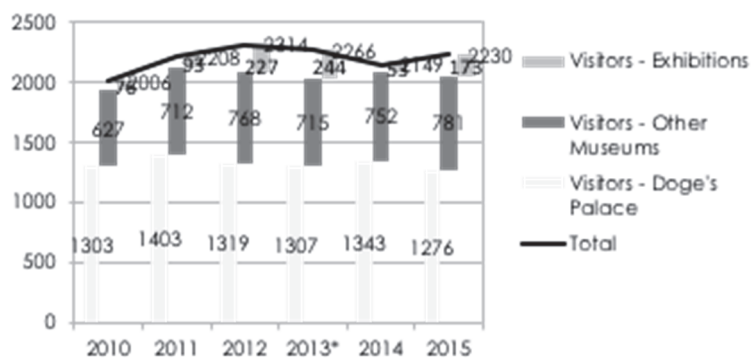
Visitor Attendance

Visitor attendance (Figure 23) has grown steadily since the creation of the foundation, thanks to the re-opening of some venues and the definition of an integrated program of temporary exhibitions, hosted in multiple sites. As

reported by the President, “there has been a clear strategy aimed at increasing the number of visitors by building up a complex exhibition program, which has succeeded in keeping our numbers up”.

On the other hand, the same subject has acknowledged the structural limitations inherent in the physical location in Venice: “We should try to give a better service, make smaller museums in our group more appealing [...] At the same time we cannot expect to increase the number of visitors indefinitely: the city we operate in does not allow it” (President).

Figure 23: Visitors to MuVE venues/exhibitions (2010-2015) x 1 000



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports) *As for 2013, one venue has remained closed for 10 months (attendance in the previous year during the same period to that venue has been calculated in 42.283 visitors – putting the total in line with 2012 results)

In 2013, 90% of all attendances was constituted by visitors to permanent sites, while the remaining 10% came from entrances to temporary events.

Among all venues, the Doge's Palace stands out as the main attraction: in 2013, 64% of all tickets to permanent venues were sold for the Doge's Palace, an amount that corresponded to 58% of all visitors. Still, the relative contribution of the Doge's Palace has decreased, indicating an increasing relevance of alternative sites and/or temporary exhibitions in contributing to total attendances (and to corresponding revenues from ticketing).

The extent of the diversification and redistribution of visitors among venues (Figure 24) has been partially achieved thanks to the opening of new sites,

and the change in use and the extension of opening days/hours of some of the existing ones.

Overall, the definition of a unitary governance for all venues has allowed to promote cross-visits to complementary thematic museums (such as the glass and the lace ones, together showcasing the city's history of manufactured goods) or to closely-located ones (such as in the case of the museums of Saint Mark Square – the Doge's Palace, the Clock Tower, and the Museo Correr). By doing this, the access to relatively peripheral or less known venues has been incentivized as testified, for example, by the progressive increase of entrances to the Clock Tower, a usually ignored venue that has seen a progressive growth in accesses; or, again, by the two “arts and crafts” museums that, despite being located in two peripheral islands and covering extremely peculiar subjects, have significantly increased the number of visitors.

Figure 24: Visitors per Venue (Doge's Palace excluded) and per Month (x 1000) MuVE (2010-2015)



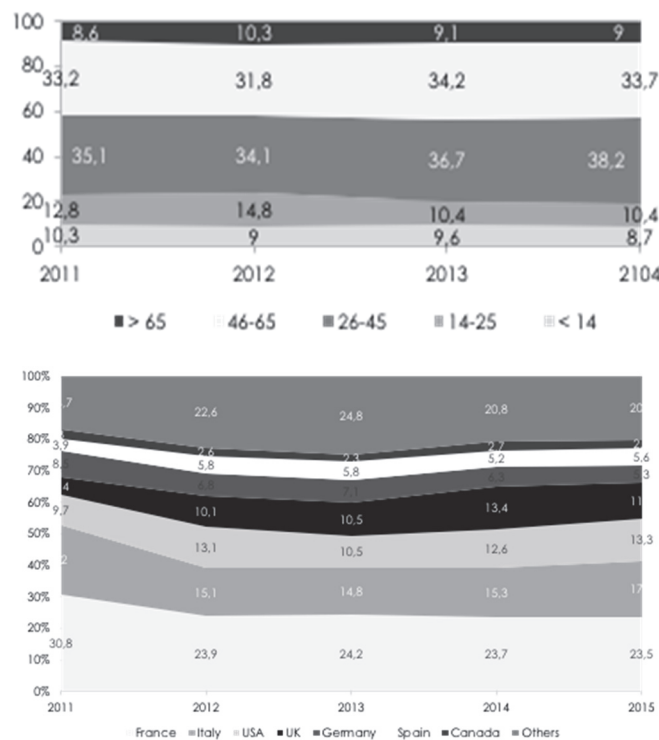
(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports) *The Glass Museum has been closed for renovation between December 15th /February 8th 2015 **As for 2013 results, Ca' Pesaro has been closed between May 2nd /30th 2013 ***As for 2013, Palazzo Mocenigo has been closed between January 4th and October, 31st 2013 ****The Lace Museum has reopened on June 15th 2011

The possibility to offer a varied choice of venues to visit has also limited the dimension of the overall decrease in visitors determined by the closure of some sites for refurbishing reasons (notably Palazzo Mocenigo and, for a fewer time, Ca' Pesaro), thanks to the opening of a new venue – the Lace

Museum (whose visitors have compensated the loss caused by the two closures), the extension in opening days (from 3 to 6) of the Natural History Museum, and, in general, the possible redirection of visitors to other alternative, available museums.

Overall, the transformation of the built-in network into an autonomous organization has allowed to take advantage in a more systematic, strategic manner, of the multi-venue nature of the organization: the unitary governance of all sites, in fact, has implied the possibility to dispose of each venue's attractive features to the advantage of and in combination with other sites' characteristics; similarly, the possibility to propose a unitary, coordinated offer has promoted and incentivized cross-access to multiple sites, enriching visitors' experience and increasing ticketing revenues.

Figure 25: MuVE Visitors per Nation and per Age in percentage (2011-2015)



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

This condition has also helped to partially mitigate the marked seasonal trend in visits, as shown in figure 24, mainly determined by the international, rather than local, origin of visitors (with April and October standing out as the main peaks, and spring and summer as the most popular seasons to visit the city – and the museums).

The composition of visitor profiles, in fact, is varied in both nation of origin and age (Figure 25), but it shows some trends in both categories.

French visitors represent the most significant percentage, followed by Italians and Americans all along the years of analysis. French natives, in particular, traditionally visit Venice (having also the longest permanence rate – 2,8 days) and, thus, are more inclined to spend the time at their disposal for cultural visits to the MuVE venues. At the same time, it is evident a decreasing trend indicating the progressive fragmentation of the composition of visitors per nationality: the first 7 countries for visitor attendance have slowly suffered a decrease in their relative weight: from representing 83,3% of all visitors in 2011, in fact, they have decreased to 77,4% in 2012 and down to 73,2% in 2013, with a slight upswing in 2014 (77,2%).

Similarly, the presence of European visitors has progressively decreased in percentage, from a full 72,2% in 2011, to 68,6% in 2012, reaching its lowest record of 63,7% in 2014; progressively increasing their presence in Venice and visiting MuVE venues are non-EU tourists, mostly coming from Russia, China, Brazil, Indonesia, Canada, the Middle-East, and the Arab Peninsula. The main trend as for visitors composition, then, is constituted by the more and more global, international nature of potential and actual costumers, and the consequent necessity, clearly perceived by the governance – as the President stated “we have more than 70% of foreign visitors: these costumers are used to very high standards, so I think that we have to work on services” –, to keep up with standards and expectations of a more and more exigent, diversified public.

On the other side, as for age, the absolute majority of visitors in constituted by costumers aged 26-45, closely followed by those ranging between 46 and 65 years of age, a trend that is consistent all along the analysed years: together they represent respectively the 68,3% of all public in 2011, the 66,9% in 2012, and an impressive 70,9% in 2013. Young public (< 25 years

old), on the other hand, has remained steady between 2011 (23,1%) and 2012 (23,8%) but it has slightly decreased in 2013 (20%) and 2014 (19,1%).

Under the financial point of view, it is important to point out that visitors under 5 years of age have free entrance, while minors between 6 and 14 and seniors over 65 both pay a reduced entrance fee. If, strictly under the financial point of view, a high percentage of entrance from older public means higher revenues (from full tickets) and, most likely, a greater willingness to spend in collateral activities (compared to usually more money-constrained youngsters), under the social point of view, a low percentage of young public indicates a worrying lack of interest on the part of the most important segment of potential visitors.

Financial Performance

Since its creation in 2008, the MuVE Foundation is completely financially self-sufficient: it doesn't receive any form of public financial support, as its revenues come entirely from ticketing, commercial activities and funds raised from private sponsors. The original fund provided by the Municipality of Venice is composed by the physical venues and collections that, while being still owned by the public administration, are in the use of the foundation for the fulfilment of its mission – through a 30-years, renewable agreement, and by a monetary fund of 500k € that cannot be reduced.

The importance of the fund is fully reported by the Administrative Secretary as “[...] it constitutes the most important element whenever you want to create a stakeholders foundation. The fund must be sufficiently significant to guarantee not only the daily operativeness of the organization but also some amount of revenues necessary to support the foundation's existence. This is fundamental”. Since the creation of the foundation, some changes to the original fund have been made:

“I think they have been able to forward-looking: of course, having a fund is mandatory if you want to be acknowledged as a new foundation, but in our case we had a 500k € fund plus the possibility to benefit from the usufruct of Ca' Corner della Regina palace until 2010. The purpose of this latter allocation was to give the foundation the possibility to take financial advantage from this added source of income, and this has been fulfilled by the foundation with the defini-

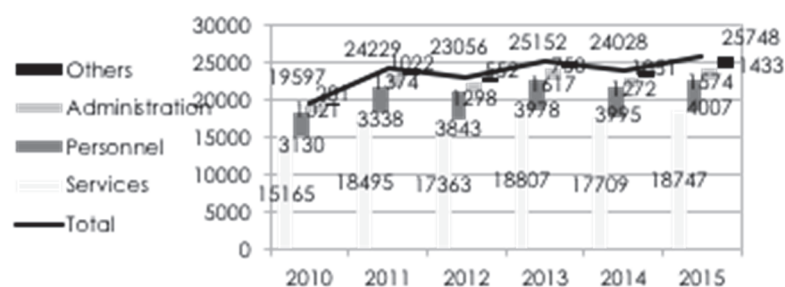
tion of a 12-years rental agreement. However, after 2010, the municipality, because of difficult financial situations, have started to sell out the public heritage: the then tenant – the Prada Foundation – being very interested in staying in that building, has offered to buy it. Therefore, the foundation has been deprived of that source, but this has been compensated by another assignment: starting from the evaluation of the income coming from that agreement, the municipality has decided to compensate with another source, in our case the usufruct of another building, plus the full propriety of another building as well. This last occurrence has been very positive because it has increased the foundation's assets. So, overall we can say that it ended well” (Administrative Secretary)

As for the monetary fund, it has been increased: “we have managed to raise our fund from 500.000 € to 1.1m €, this means that we have not only improved our cultural offer but we have also succeeded to save some resources for potential future events” (President) At the present state, then, the foundation's assets are composed by 11 museum venues and 1 non-museum venue (plus the usufruct of another building) and a monetary fund of more than 1m €.

Costs

In terms of costs, the main entry is represented by services (comprehensive of utilities for all sites, cleaning and surveillance, exhibition design and outfitting, insurance policies, conservation, cataloguing, research, educational activities, technical consultancies) (Figure 26).

Figure 26: MuVE Costs (201-2014) x 1000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

Personnel costs (represented by salaries and bonuses, but not by attendance fees for the members of the board, as they are not contemplated in the case of foundations) have increased over the first 4 years (+21%), in parallel with the increase in the number of employees (from 68 in 2010 to 77 in 2013). The appointment of a new director – who has determined the planning of a new program of activities and the re-organization of the administrative structure – with the reinforcement of the business development and fundraising offices, both occurred in 2011, justifies the substantial increase in those two entries for that date. Since 2011, in fact, costs have remained stable.

Revenues

Ticketing. As shown in figure 27, the foundation's financial self-sufficiency is mainly based on its revenues from ticketing. Since its transformation into a stakeholders foundation the amount of revenues from ticketing has constantly increased (Figure 28) (it is important to point out that the decrease occurred in 2009 has been determined by the closing of some venues for refurbishments: full practicality has been guaranteed starting 2010, that is also the first year of issue of the Annual Report).

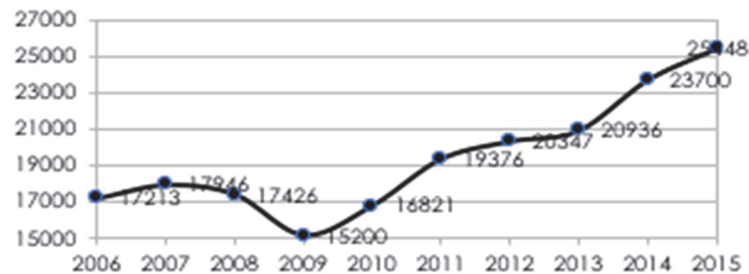
Figure 27: Revenues MuVE (2010-2014) x 1000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports) * Since 2014, data on ticket revenues are aggregated (temporary exhibitions + permanent venues)

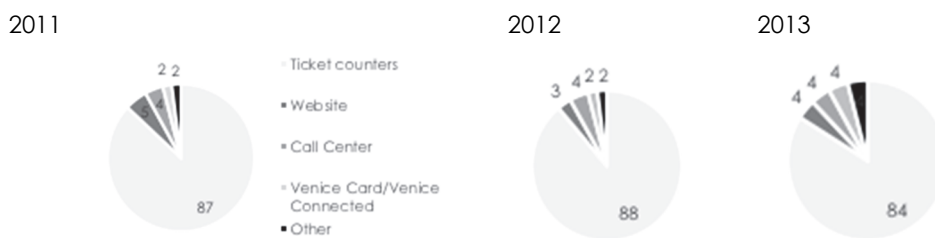
Although entrance fees to permanent collections are still the main source of revenues from ticketing (with the Doge's Palace being the absolute champion), the contribution of exhibitions to this entry results progressive higher year by year, both in absolute numbers and in percentage: in fact, if, in 2010, it represented 2,6% of revenues coming from ticketing, in 2011 it doubled to 5%, moving to a full 10,5% in 2012, and further increasing to 12,5% in the last reported year (2013).

Figure 28: MuVE Revenues from Tickets (2006-2013) x 1 000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports)

Figure 29: Ticket Sales per Channel (2011-2013) in Percentage



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports) *Each venue has its own ticket counter.
**These are tourist information points.

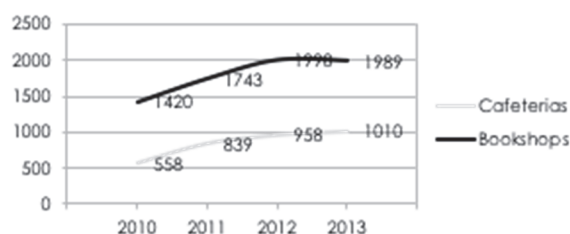
The progressive increase of ticketing revenues from temporary exhibitions positively testifies for the implemented cultural program, and the progressive

reduction in the relative prevalence of the Doge's Palace as source of ticketing revenues reverberates with the foundation's objective of rebalancing revenues among the different venues, by operating on the smaller, more peripheral sites.

Another important aspect of ticketing is related with the different distribution channels and with their relative percentage to the overall sales (Figure 29): in particular, it is possible to note that, although most single channels have increased in absolute numbers (except from the call-centre, which has progressively become obsolete), the one with the highest relative increase has been the official website (doubling from 2% to 4%), while on-site ticket counters have represented the channel with the greatest decrease (from 87% to 84%).

Collateral Activities. The other entry of self-revenues together with entrance fees to permanent and temporary exhibitions is represented by the fruition of collateral services by visitors – in MuVE's case, bookshops and cafeterias.

Figure 30: MuVE Cafeterias (Airest*) and Bookshops (Skira*) Revenues (2010-2013) x 1000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from MuVE Annual Reports) *Airest and Skira are private outsourcers.

They have both progressively increased their revenues (Figure 30): their increasing contribution to overall revenues has then proved the foundation right in focusing on these alternative sources of income, as reported by the President: “I strongly believe in a marketing-oriented vision of the foundation, where the museum should be an entertainment organization to live

fully, where you can find cafeterias, bookshops – let me cite examples such as the British or the Met Museums. These are our benchmarks”.

As for bookshops, in particular, a central practice, implemented by the foundation, that has concurred to the increase in their revenues is constituted by the development of a varied merchandising to be sold in bookshops: with the definition of a single brand identity reuniting all venues and the development of a much more dense and integrated program of temporary exhibitions (implying a richer offer of ad-hoc catalogues and products), the foundation has been able to enrich and to variate the offer, thus increasing income from bookshops to the advantage of higher self-revenues.

The possibility to operate on merchandising is interpreted as a way to reinforce the image of the foundation and to promote it (and its heritage, most crucially) to new publics, thus making it more competitive at a global level and more attractive to a wider audience, as discussed by the Head Business Development, in relation with the creation of an e-commerce portal:

“Our merchandising has different channels, that, are very important for us to have a good positioning in the market, in the perspective of becoming stronger and stronger as international actors: first, we have a space in our bookshops, we have a space in the Venice airport, we have our e-commerce website – were we can also sell our image reproductions: [...] we decided to put it up not for selling, which is not our core business as a not-for-profit organization, but, rather for promotion: for example, we sent a few works to Canada for an exhibition and we ended up having a big order from the museum hosting the exhibition that wanted to put our merchandising in their bookshop. So, we are always trying to develop new ways. We'd like to sell more things – for example, we have developed specialized lines with Moleskine – but we have a commercial agreement with our outsourcer, Skira, so we are prevented from doing it” (Head Business Development)

In order to preserve its not-for-profit nature, in fact, the foundation has outsourced collateral services to external companies (instead of internally managing them, due to a lack of specific experience and trained personnel to take care of these particular activities):

“We have to contractual agreements with two outsourcers until 2017. We did two open calls: Airst has won the cafeteria one, and Skira has won the

bookshop one. Relationships with these two companies are managed by the Business Development office. We are also in charge of potential projects: for example, for Ca' Rezzonico we are thinking about doing a book fair on weekend to animate the venue. So promotional and commercial activities are incentivized for two reasons: on one side, this allows to offer a better service to visitors, on the other side, we create a better relationships with our contractors which is important” (Head Business Development)

This choice has implied a financial agreement according to which the foundation gets a fixed share, a royalty (called MAG – *Minimo Annuo Garantito*, i.e. Guaranteed Annual Minimum) that is independent from the total revenues. Moreover, once reached a specific target (this target has been edited as the foundation has verified the increasing financial success of these two activities), an additional 21% royalty on the revenues in excess is paid to the foundation.

The purpose, then, is to maintain a certain level of quality in the collateral services and to profit from them, while avoiding direct involvement in activities that are not inherently central to the foundation's mission but that, by increasing its self-revenues, can support its core cultural business.

Donations and Partnerships. The last source of revenue for the foundation is constituted by the varied system of partnerships that with private actors:

“we have an approach to fundraising according to which corporations would be interested in participating in partnerships with us only as long as they could see a clear positive outcome for them. It must relate with their way of approaching the market, they have to see the costs/profit relationship. [...] this is the new approach toward corporate partners, according to which they have a clear idea of the benefit they can have in return of the incurred costs” (President)

The decrease in the amount of donations and sponsorships has been determined, in fact, by the definition of agreements with private actors not involving the mere allocation of financial resources, but rather the transfer of specific expertise and the direct take on responsibility of some projects on the part of private partners: notably, since 2012 the ordinary and extra-ordinary maintenance of the clock tower in Piazza San Marco has been entrusted to french jewellery brand Piaget, under the foundation's general supervision.

Similarly, the Head of Business Development recalled another agreement with a technical partner:

“These can be co-funded projects or be technical partnerships: with Philips, for example, we have agreed to have them provide us with new lighting, in this sense we have developed a shared project with a clear slogan: “New light for art”. This has occurred because they were investing a lot on new high-performance lighting solutions in cities, so we realized a shared plan” (Head Business Development)

Appendix 4. Fondazione Torino Musei (FTM) Case Description

In this section I report the qualitative and quantitative data collected on the second case under investigation – the *Fondazione Torino Musei*.

The description has been divided into different categories: as in MuVE's case, the objective has been to conduct an investigation on the nature of organizational change as a strategic response to institutional complexity in the case of a highly embedded firm – in this case a public museum, the *Fondazione Torino Musei* (from now on, FTM).

In the following sections, then, empirical data from the second investigated case are reported: first, the historical background of the foundation is provided, so to provide a clear timeline of the different steps that have finally brought to the creation of the new organization; then, the specific features of FTM's governance are reported to clarify the nature of the organization's internal structure; subsequently, the description of the collections and of the cultural activities offered by the foundation is given, with specific sub-sections dedicated to permanent collections and research, temporary exhibitions, the educational program, and, finally, the ticketing offer relative to each cultural service; also, a section is dedicated to data on visitor attendance and characteristics; finally, FTM's financial performance is reported, divided between costs and revenues (the latter additionally distinguished for origin).

History

Fondazione Torino Musei (FTM) was officially created on July, 26th 2002 on the initiative of the Municipality of Turin, that wanted to take advantage from

the new dispositions in Article 35 of 2002 Italian Budget Law, setting forth municipalities' right to create specific foundations to manage civic heritage. Until then, all involved museums and sites were internally governed by the municipal office in charge of heritage and cultural activities.

In 2002, then, the Municipality of Turin decided to transfer the governance of its civic museums and sites (previously part of a built-in network called *Torino Musei*) to an external, autonomous organization, “coherently and in continuity with the traditional functions of single museums, and with the purpose of guaranteeing its autonomy and the main objectives of conserving and promoting the physical heritage at its disposal, as well as the management and valorization of venues and of cultural and museum activities” (article 2.1): “at the beginning the foundation has been created as a functional body to transfer the management of museums outside the municipal administration. So, the Municipality of Turin is not only the founding partner but, also, if you can let me use this improper term, a majority shareholder” (municipal councilman for culture).

Table 19: FTM Venues

Museums	Temporary Event	In the process of being included
Palazzo Madama (Civic Museum of Ancient Art)	Artissima Fair	Castello di Rivoli (2016)
Galleria di Arte Moderna (GAM) (Museum of Modern Art)		
Museo di Arte Orientale (MAO) (Museum of Oriental Art)		
Borgo Medievale (Medieval Village and Castle)		

(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

The municipal administration, as main Founder, conferred the physical buildings and the collections of the Civic Museums to the foundation, 4 museums and heritage sites (Table 19).

In addition, the foundation is also in charge of the management of the international contemporary art fair *Artissima* which is held in the city of Turin every year.

Finally, it must be reported that, at the time of this writing, the *Borgo Medievale* is in the process of being separated and taken away from the foundation's control, while another venue – the *Castello di Rivoli* (a Museum of Contemporary Art, situated in a small town on the outskirts of Turin – thus, not directly part of the municipality of Turin's jurisdiction) is being added to the foundation's venues. In this sense, the forthcoming composition of the organization will still comprise 4 venues, but with an exclusive focus on art, may it be oriental, ancient, modern or contemporary.

Governance

As established by Article 4 of the Statute, FTM is governed by a Board of Members, composed by a maximum of 5 subjects: the President is appointed by the Mayor of Turin (the present one has been appointed in July 2013), the Vice-President by the President of the Region Piedmont, one member is jointly selected by both the Mayor and the President of the Region, and the two remaining are chosen by the two private foundations (*Compagnia di San Paolo* and *Fondazione CRT*) involved as co-founders.

A Scientific Committee, composed of distinguished museum professionals, is responsible to the provision of the general technical and cultural guidelines to manage the collections (Figure 31).

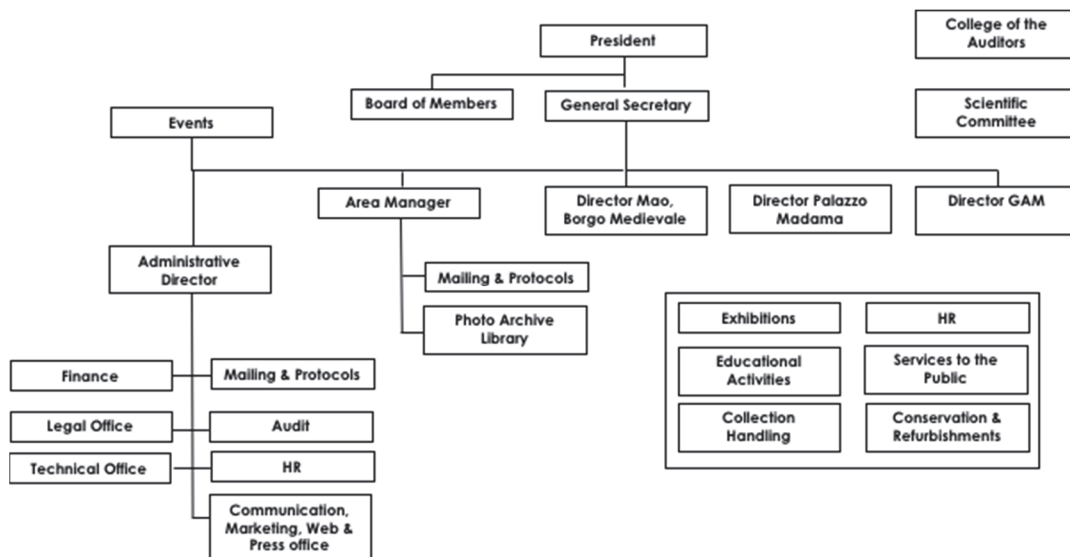
The College of the Auditors (with 3 members) is in charge of budget approval and audit.

The General Secretary operates as the chief executive manager entrusted with the coordination of all offices and activities in the pursuit of the objectives set by the Board; the new secretary has been appointed in July 2014.

A Director is responsible for each of the four venues (except from Borgo Medievale, which is directed by the same manager in charge of MAO, who has been designated as a director in February 2015): a new director for GAM has been selected and she is expected to take office in January 2016. The manager responsible for Palazzo Madama has been nominated in August 2008 and, after her resignation in 2015, the position is vacant at the time of writing.

Each director defines their museum's strategy, the artistic program, the priorities of conservation, and the actions for the promotion of the museum's collections; moreover, the director governs the museum team under his or her responsibility and he or she guarantees efficiency as for maintenance, reception services, security; also, the director proposes the acquisition of new works, compiling a report indicating their artistic as well as their economic values; finally, he or she promotes studies and researches related to the museum's collections.

Figure 31: FTM Organizational Chart



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Executives and managers that are part of the foundation's managerial team are responsible for multiple organizational units and they have high autonomy, since they hold positions that are “strategic to the achievement of the foundation's mission”, according to the FTM Annual Report 2013.

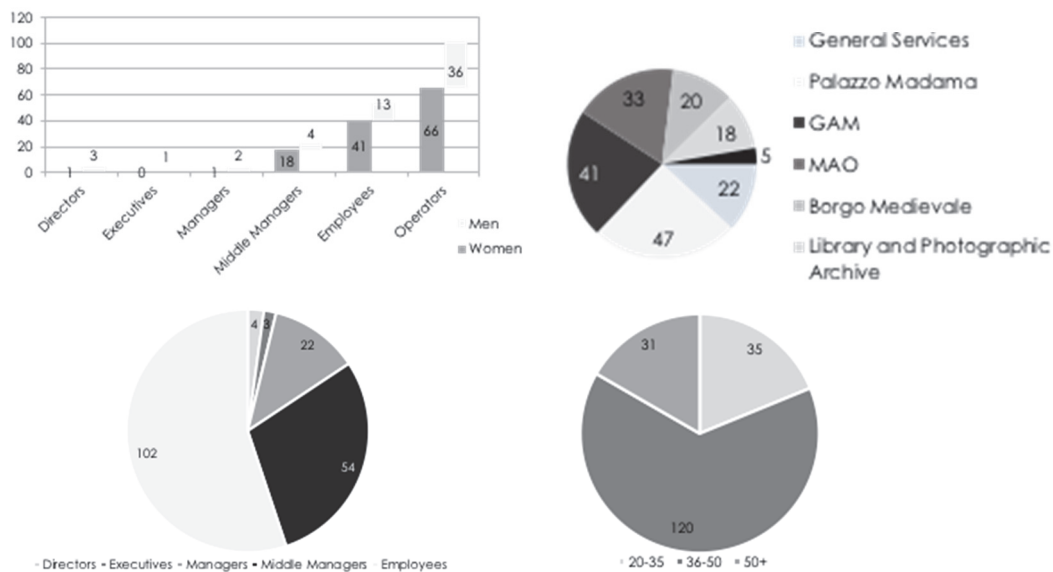
Middle Managers are responsible of single offices or positions and they usually have a specific academic background to fulfil their offices' objectives.

Employees don't have the responsibility of others; they perform specific technical, administrative or other professional roles.

The two latter positions can also be distinguished between professionals working in artistic, in administrative or in communication positions, whether the nature of their functions is related, respectively, to the conservation and the cataloguing of the collections, the organization and administration of the foundation's daily activities, or the promotion of the foundation's permanent and temporary initiatives.

Finally, operators are in charge of standardized activities; examples are educational operators, ticket cashiers, custodians, and other equivalent positions.

Figure 32: FTM Staff, composition per position, venue, age, gender (2012)



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Contractual agreements are all based on the legislative framework designed by Federculture (just like in MuVE's case), except from directors and top managers, whose contracts are based on the Confservizi framework.

Despite the progressive reduction in the number of workers (from 193 in 2010 to 179 in 2014), the total amount is still quite significant, with almost 180 people composing the entire staff (Figure 32).

Palazzo Madama is the venue that occupies the highest number of people, followed by GAM and by MAO. General services, that govern all central activities and that coordinate all venues, are constituted by a staff of only 22 people.

Overall, the age composition of the personnel indicates a relatively old workforce, with more than half of all staff in the segment 36-50, an amount that, is added to the 50+ section, takes the overall over 36 staff to be 81% of the entire personnel.

Finally, although the total amount of female workers (127) doubles that of male employees (59), the analysis of the gender distribution per position shows a clear under-representation of women at top positions, in favour of their more significant presence in low-level roles.

Just like MuVE, all personnel working in the 4 museums as public employees have been asked to change contract after the transformation into the new private foundation: for directors and executives the *Confservizi*⁵³ contractual framework has been applied, while all other staff members have been hired under the *Federculture's* National Collective Contract.

Then all employees have been given the choice to stay within the public administration with the same contract but taking a different job position or to move to the new organization with a different contractual agreement but keeping the same (or a similar) professional role. Many workers have preferred not to migrate, a decision which made necessary the replacement of these professionals with new workforce:

“employees have had the choice to stay in the public administration or to move to a private contractual agreement: many have decided to go back to the municipal offices. At Palazzo Madama, except from one curator, all other employees have decided to go back to the Municipality. So the present staff is quite young, myself included. My first job as an archivist was via a sub-contractor. So, in this

⁵³ *Confservizi* is the national labour union reuniting workers employed in general services such as water, gas and energy authorities, local transports, waste management companies

sense, this is one thing that is significantly different from the previous structure: now it is possible to hire new people more quickly and flexibly. I think it is normal that in front of such a radical change some people struggle to accept the transformation” (Head Communication)

As suggested by the manager, the autonomous status of the new foundation has both determined the necessity to hire new personnel (since the transformation has not been embraced by all former workers) and, at the same time, it has implied the possibility to hire new, younger personnel.

Collections and Cultural Program

According to Article 2.1 of the Statute,

“the purpose of the foundation is to pursue the best possible public consumption of the heritage and of cultural activities; the projecting of exhibitions, as well as of studies, researches, scientific projects, educational activities, also in collaboration with the national and international educational and academic system; to organize events and cultural activities, also in relations with specific aspects of the heritage, e.g. refurbishments and restorations; to plan cultural programs, defined with the specific purpose of connecting different cultural and environmental heritage, also in collaboration with the administrative bodies in charge of tourism”

The foundation is then responsible for the conservation, the management and the promotion of the heritage that has been conferred by the Municipality of Turin and that is constituted by the physical buildings and by the collections of the 4 museums and sites. In particular, FTM operates on its permanent collections and, at the same time, it engages in the multi-year programming of temporary exhibitions and in the definition and implementation of a varied offer of educational activities to different publics.

Permanent Collection and Research

The first purpose of the foundation, as reported in the Statute, is the preservation of its material heritage and its optimal maintenance for the sake of its full accessibility by the public. The 4 museums and sites managed by FTM are varied in dimension and type (Table 20), making the coordinated pursuing of this objective particularly challenging:

“Palazzo Madama is an incredible museum with magnificent collections of antique art; MAO is a very precious museum with a super-specialized and beautiful collection of oriental art; GAM is the most ancient museum of modern art in Italy. On the contrary, Borgo Medievale is just a replica of a medieval town, built during the 1884 universal exhibition, with a fake castle. So, it is not a museum. The foundation also manages Artissima, which is a commercial art fair” (Manager)

Activities on permanent collections include the conservation and the restoration of works and of buildings, the cataloguing of the collections, the acquisition of new pieces, the loan of works to other organizations, the investigative study of the collections.

Table 20: FTM Venues and Permanent Collections

Palazzo Madama – Civic Museum of Ancient Art Historical building (1860), with a varied collection of works spanning from Ancient Rome to the Baroque period	Museo di Arte Orientale (MAO) – Museum of Oriental Art Collections of oriental art from the IV century BC to the XX century
Galleria d'Arte Moderna (GAM) – Museum of Modern Art Collections of 19 th and 20 th century art	Borgo Medievale – Medieval Village and Castle Recreation (dated 1884) of a medieval burg and castle

(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

The preservation of the optimal physical status of buildings and works has been pursued by the foundation in all its sites. According to the Annual Report 2013,

“activities aimed at guaranteeing the conservation of the heritage include: the arrangement of works in appropriate exhibition spaces, the maintenance of optimal environmental conditions and their monitoring, the appointment of qualified personnel, the constant update of conservative catalogues and registers, the definition of ad-hoc scientific forms with all necessary informations on conservation”.

Palazzo Madama's collections include more than 60.000 pieces of different types (paintings, sculptures, furniture and other ornaments) dated between the Byzantine period to the XIX Century; the Museum of Modern Art (GAM) exhibits and conserves 45.000 works (paintings, sculptures, drawings, installations, videos, photographs) spanning from the late XIX Century to the current day; more than 2.000 pieces coming from different asian regions (Japan, South-East Asia, China, the Arabic Peninsula) constitutes the collection of the Museum of Oriental Art (MAO); finally, the Medieval Village, sited in the Valentine Park, together with the Castle, reproduce the environment of a typical XIV century Italian burg.

The cataloguing of works includes the introduction of a centralized digital system collecting physical, photographic, and technical data on all the pieces that are part of the collections, in conformity with the form designed by the ICCD (the Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation).

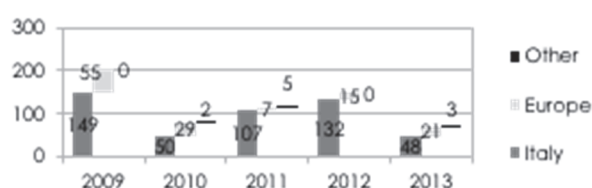
The foundation also operates to increase the heritage with the acquisition of new pieces: since the opening of MAO in 2008, the foundation's efforts have been focused on the implementation of its very specialized collections. In parallel, additional acquisitions have increased Palazzo Madama and GAM's permanent collections via indirect purchasing on the part of private foundations (Fondazione De Fornaris and Fondazione per l'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea CRT). The principles guiding the acquisition process are

“the development of the existing heritage in qualitative and quantitative terms; the coherency with the existing collections, with acquisitions integrating them as for the date or the typology of the pieces; the efficacy of the acquisition, by promoting the new works in temporary exhibitions; the adequacy of the new acquisition as for dimension, compared the capacity of the physical buildings and their internal layouts; rarity of pieces for the sake of the collections' innovative development” (Annual Report 2013)

Complementary to the long-term acquisition of new pieces, the foundation is also involved in the short-term loan of specific works for temporary exhibitions and special events: “the foundation is engaged in developing a system of loan agreements primarily with museums provided with permanent collections, as part of an effort to build long-term relationships based on reciprocity” (Annual Report 2013).

In this sense, then, a constant exchange of works with national and international museum organizations – mainly European (Figure 33) updates the cultural offer without the burden of a long-term acquisition, while, at the same time, reinforcing scientific and institutional bonds with other similar organizations and, at the same time, promoting FTM's permanent collections beyond its sites.

Figure 33: Loan of Works FTM (2009-2012)



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Finally, the foundation is engaged in the investigative study of its collections and buildings not only for conservative necessities but also for the advancement of knowledge on its heritage. As reported by the Annual Report 2013: “the research on permanent collections is considered a priority activity. The constant update of knowledge represents an irrevocable condition to communicate and to transfer the intrinsic value of the civic heritage”.

The diffusion to the public of research and cataloguing activities, then, has translated into the publication of scientific papers and updated catalogues *raisonnés* of the collections – for specialists and enthusiasts –, and in the design of guides (both in paper and in audio formats) – for the general public.

At the same time, accessibility to its photographic archives and specialized library has been guaranteed by the digitalization of the related catalogues and by the scanning and the digital transfer of the foundation's photographic collections (as for 2013, around 16.400 photos are available in digital form): overall, the direct access to the library and to the archives has progressively

increased over the triennium 2010-2012, more than 17.800 users have registered to the library services and more than 68.000 requests have been processed, with an average of 20 visitors per day and 3,9 requests per user.

Temporary Exhibitions and Events

In addition to the activities directly directed to the permanent collections, FTM is also involved in practices destined to the production of temporary events at each of its venues:

“The Exhibition Offices of each museum are in charge of the definition of the cultural offer, designing and coordinating temporary exhibitions all along their production. Exhibitions are proposed and projected by directors from each museum with the optional help of external consultants. Temporary exhibitions are defined accordingly to a specific artistic program, by loaning works from external organizations, both public and private. [...] The Exhibition Offices are also in charge of all collateral events, such as concerts, video showings, conferences” (Annual Report 2013)

Table 21: FTM Programs of Temporary Exhibitions (2008-2015)

	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	TOTAL
Palazzo Madama	10	10	5	5	3	2	36
GAM	6	10	7	11	7	9	50
MAO	3	1	1	2		2	9
Borgo Medievale		1	2		3	5	11
TOTAL	18	22	15	18	13	18	106

(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Overall, the foundation is involved in the programming of a wide variety of events and exhibitions (Table 21): temporary exhibitions – around 20 are hosted each year -, in particular, are offered in all venues, covering different subjects and having different duration (from 1 week pop-up exhibitions, to

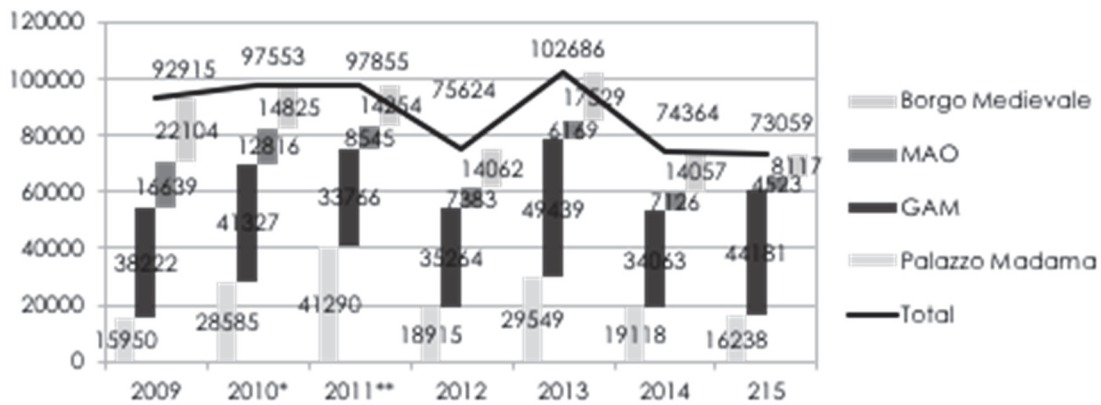
5-months long exhibit set-ups), with Palazzo Madama (thanks to its size and location) leading as the most important hosting site, followed by GAM.

While the majority of the exhibitions are internally designed and produced, a small part is loaned from external museum organizations and hosted at the venues. Since 2012, in particular, an agreement with the Musée d'Orsay has brought to GAM a cycle of monographic exhibitions (Renoir, Degas, Monet), curated by the french museum, and displaying a selection of pieces from its collection.

Educational Activities

In parallel with the activities involving the permanent collections and the temporary events and exhibitions that are cyclically hosted in FTM's venues, the foundation operates to provide a varied educational offer for different publics, as “the permanent cultural growth of citizens has always been a primary objective of the museum” (FTM Annual Report) (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Users of Educational Services per Museum – FTM



(Source: Our Elaboration from Annual Reports) * The relative high numbers in 2010 are related to the initiatives specifically designed in conjunction with the appointment, for that year, of Turin as European Youth Capital. **The high number from Palazzo Madama is justified by the celebrations of the 150^o Anniversary of the Italian Independence, which has involved the venue with a particularly intense program of initiatives.

FTM's educational program, then, is constituted by all the activities that are related to the collections (and the temporary exhibitions) and that involve guided tours and laboratories, destined both to adults and to children (as individuals or groups).

Table 22: FTM Educational Activities for Schools

Pre-school (3-6 years old)	8 active itineraries and laboratories	Palazzo Madama, GAM, Borgo Medievale
Primary School (6-11 years old)	27 Active itineraries and laboratories	Palazzo Madama, GAM, MAO, Borgo Medievale
Middle and High School (11-18 years old)	11 Active itineraries and laboratories	
All ages (schools)	3 active itineraries and laboratories Summer camps	MAO, Borgo Medievale

(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Primary focus is given to activities involving school-age youngsters (Table 22), as the participation of younger generations to cultural activities represents a priority action for the development of a more engaged perspective public; also, activities designed to engage both children and adults have been designed to attract family groups, particularly during week-end days; in addition, special programs of guided tours and special activities has been designed to address the public of adults visiting both the permanent collections and the temporary exhibitions displayed at FTM's venues; finally, a specific set of initiatives has been developed for disabled visitors: for visually impaired costumers, the Educational Office has developed tactile reproductions of works and specific audio-guides with descriptions of the single pieces on display, for hearing impaired attendants the offer includes an ad-hoc sign language guided tour, finally, for mentally disabled visitors, MAO and GAM propose different activities destined to take advantage from the cognitive medium offered by the artistic and historical works on display in their rooms.

So far, each of the educational activities proposed by single venues has engaged only the respective museum, with no projects involving multiple sites: this has occurred as each venue is responsible for the design and the operationalisation of its own educational program, which is not directly managed by the foundation.

Ticketing, Promotion and Events

FTM's ticketing offer is relatively homogeneous, with the only exception of Borgo Medievale (Table 23): Palazzo Madama, GAM, and MAO apply the same entrance fees and reductions, while the visit to Borgo Medievale is free to all visitors, as for the permanence to the burg, and it implies a paid admission to access the Castle.

Table 23: FTM Entrance Fees

Multi-Museum Ticket (1 month – one entrance to all venues)		Full	18	€
		Reduced	15	€
Palazzo Madama, GAM, MAO		Full	10	€
		Reduced	8	€
		Under 18, disabled, guides for adult, school and university groups, administrators of the co-founders foundations, national and international museum directors and conservators, personnel of the Ministry of Culture, personnel of FTM and of the Municipal Department of Culture, journalists, tourist guides, Friends of FTM, ICOM Members, Torino Piemonte Museums Card and Torino + Piemonte Card holders	Free*	
Borgo Medievale	Burg	All visitors	Free	
	Castle	Full	6	€
		Reduced	5	€
		Other categories	Free*	

(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports) *Free entrance applies to the same categories in every venue.

In addition, the foundation has designed a particularly convenient combined ticket (18 € for a value of 36 €), which comprises one entrance to each venue over a span of one month from the first visit to one of the sites.

To incentivize the participation of local residents but also non-regional tourists, the foundation has joined the *Torino Piemonte Museums Card* as well as the *Torino + Piemonte Tourist Card* systems, a condition which implies free, unlimited access to all its venues by holders of any of the two cards.

Finally, the foundation has not activated any internally managed membership program but it can count on the support of a not-for-profit association, called *FTM Friends*, that independently operates to

“contribute to the promotion of the cultural and historical heritage guarded by the 4 museums which are part of the foundation. To achieve this goal, the association organizes guided tours to FTM's permanent collections and temporary exhibitions, it promotes meetings and conferences on related topics, it organizes study trips in Italy and abroad. In addition, the association is engaged in fund raising activities to support specific FTM's conservative and refurbishing projects” (Annual Report 2013).

Visitor Attendance

Visitors attendance has remained constant until 2013, with a slight decrease in 2012. It must be reported that the significant increase in 2011 has been determined by the celebration of the 150^o anniversary of the Italian Unification and the concurrent celebration of Turin as the first Capital of Italy: this has determined a relevant increase in the tourist presence (most likely of Italian origin, extra regional), to the benefit of all local museums and cultural institutions.

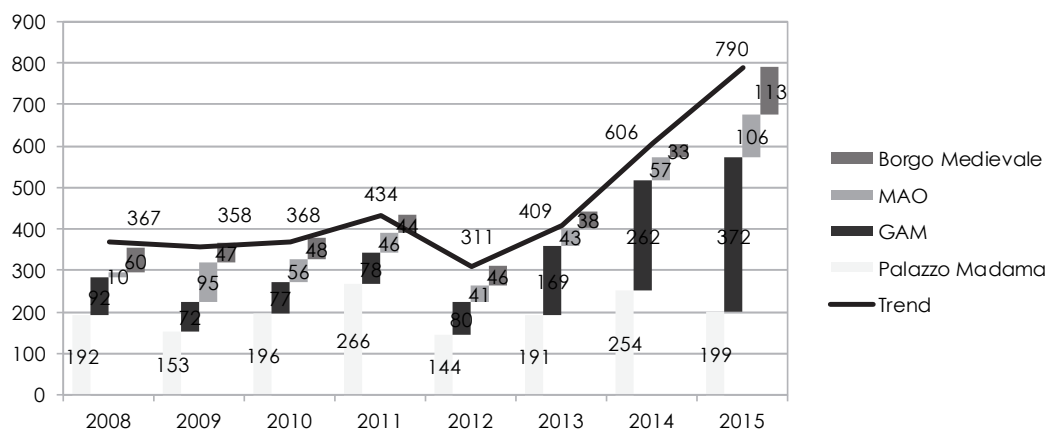
After that single event, the overall number of visitors has slightly decreased, mainly due to the decrement of entrances to Palazzo Madama; all other sites have kept their numbers, with relatively small changes. The significant difference in entrance to MAO in 2009 has been determined by its official opening that year.

Despite MAO's exploit in 2009 and Palazzo Madama's positive result in 2011, the foundation has struggled to retain visitors to these venues, primarily engaging with the percentage of first comers attracted by the single special

events (a new opening and the celebration of a national anniversary). In neither cases, in fact, the foundation has been able to engage with those visitors, as it can be inferred from the progressive deescalation of MAO's and Palazzo Madama's percentages into their ante-event figures.

Also, Borgo Medievale's results indicate a progressive decrease in percentage which corresponds to a significant loss in visitors in absolute numbers (from around 60.000 in 2008 to a little over 33.000 in 2014).

Figure 35: Visitors to FTM Venues in percentage and in absolute numbers (2008-2015) x 1000



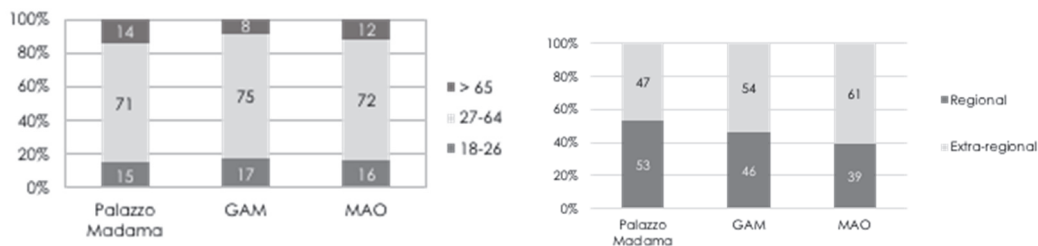
(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Finally, the significant increase in the three-years period 2013-2015 can be explained by the inauguration of a cycle of temporary exhibitions on Impressionist Masters, curated by the Musée d'Orsay, which has attracted an unprecedented amount of visitors to GAM: as reported in figure 35, in fact, in 2015, GAM's visitors have represented more than 47% of overall attendants to FTM's venues – a percentage that, in absolute terms corresponds to more than 372.000 entrances. More significantly, in the period 2013-2015, GAM has scored as many visitors as those who entered the museum in the initial 5 years (2008-2012).

As for the composition of the public, information is available on the 3 main venues (Figure 36). From it, it can be inferred that Palazzo Madama (although recently reopened) results particularly attractive to a local, older public. On the other side, GAM has the highest percentage of adult visitors under 26 (possibly in light of the nature of the collections, modern art being usually more appealing to a younger public).

Finally, MAO (probably as a consequence of the specialized nature of its collections) results the venues with the highest percentage of visitors from outside the region, most likely attracted by the specificity of the collection and, therefore, less likely to include the other venues to their occasional visit.

Figure 36: Visitors FTM per age and origin in percentage (2012)



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

Financial Performance

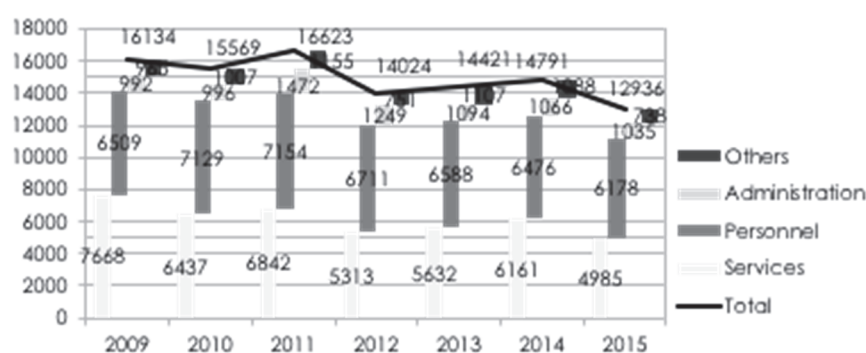
Official transcripts of annual reports have started to be issued by the foundation only since 2009, but even from the analysis of such a short time frame, it is possible to detect a few trends in the financial structure of the foundation.

Costs

The two main sources of costs at FTM are those for the personnel and those for museum services. Along time, both have been progressively reduced in the pursuit of a rationalization of expenses (Figure 37).

However, data show that priority for reduction has been given to costs for services instead of those for personnel. While in 2009, services constituted the first entry of cost (making up for 47,5% of the total, followed by costs for personnel, 40%), after a 5-year period, the situation has been inverted (in 2015, services make up for 38,5% of the total costs, while costs for personnel have taken the lead, with 47,7%).

Figure 37: Costs FTM (2009-2012) x 1 000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports)

This has meant that the reduction of expenses has targeted the core practice of the organization, instead of operating on the costs sustained to maintain the staff or to govern the foundation itself (administrative costs). A reduction of the service entry, with other ones left almost untouched, can be directly correlated with potential negative effects on the quality and the quantity of services offered by the foundation, instead of with positive effects on resource rationalization.

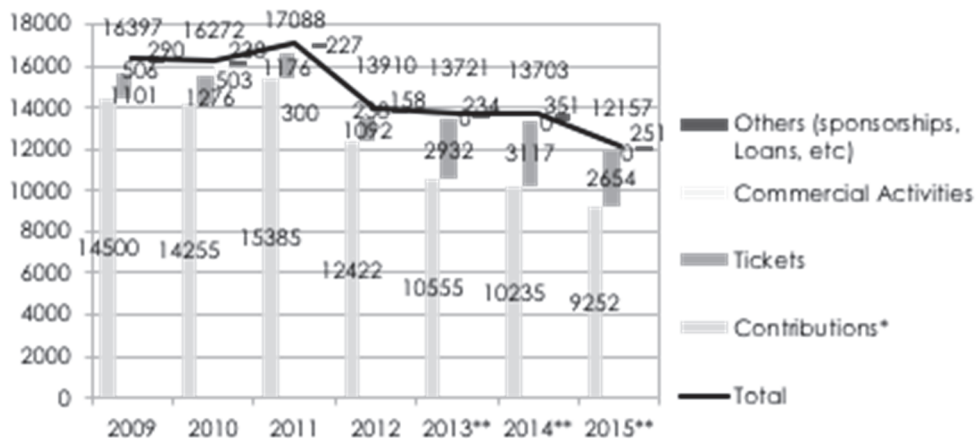
Revenues

Since its creation, the foundation have been financially supported by its main public founders, i.e. the Municipality of Turin, the Province of Turin, the Region Piedmont, and by its private co-founders – two bank foundations (Fondazione CRT and Compagnia di San Paolo).

The main public funder in absolute numbers is the Municipality; after it, the main contributors are the two private bank foundations, followed by the Region. Other contributors have been private and public ad hoc sponsors (e.g. the local Lions club, the University of Turin, single banks, etc).

The analysis of revenues (Figure 38) testifies for a relative stability of the overall total, with a significant decrease occurred in 2012, due to the sensible reduction in public funding.

Figure 38: Revenues FTM (2009-2012) x 1 000 €

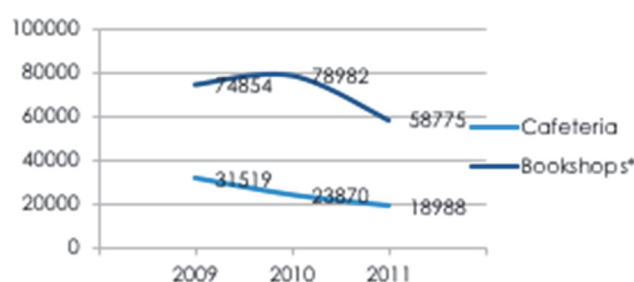


(Source: Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports) *The difference between the total of contributions from figure ... and the entries reported in this figure is determined by the fact that the actual transfer of deliberated funds has occurred with a different timing. **For 2013 no differentiation between revenues from ticketing and those from commercial activities has been made, they are consolidated.

The other sources of revenues – alternative to contributions – have increased: commercial activities (comprising guided tours, audio-guides, special openings, copyrights) have dropped by more than half (56%) in the last reported year (2012), while entrance fees, after an initially positive trend, have decreased in 2012 and then subsequently increased during the two-year period 2013-2014.

Ticketing. The contribution of ticketing revenues to total entrances has been very limited up until 2012: on average, revenues from this source have contributed for around 7,32% of the total.

Figure 39: Revenues Cafeterias (Cestan) and Bookshops (Electa) FTM (2009-2011) x 1 000 €



(Source: Our Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports) *Until 2009 included, the management of bookshops was given to a different company, *Compagnia del Libro*

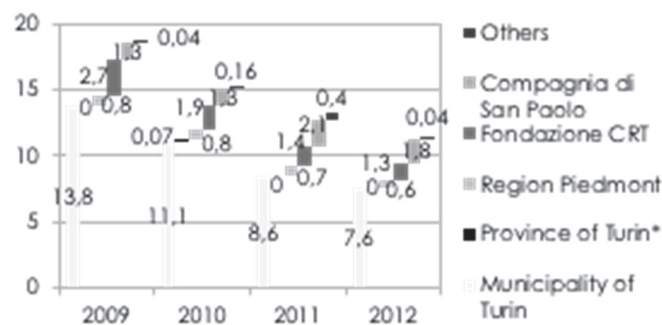
The change occurred since 2013, with the increase of ticketing revenues (making up for 21,3% of the total in 2013) occurred thanks to the program of blockbuster exhibitions hosted by GAM. This has allowed to counter-balance the progressive reduction of contributions and to keep the overall revenues to the same level.

Collateral Activities. As for the main collateral activities – bookshop and cafeteria – FTM has outsourced its management to external service companies that confer a commission representing a fixed percentage of the overall revenues (Figure 39). In the recorded years, revenues from the three bookshop sited in MAO, GAM and Palazzo Madama and from the cafeteria in Palazzo Madama have seen a steady decrease since the first recorded year. The composition of costs has remained similar since the first reported year of 2009, although its overall amount has seen a distinctive contraction in 2012, mainly determined by cuts to service costs. Since the first available annual report, the main entry has remained personnel costs (salaries and other

administrative charges) which, in 2012, has represented almost 48% of all costs.

Public and Private Funding. FTM is financially supported by all the public governments that operate at different local levels (city, province, region), with the Municipality standing out as the main public funder.

Figure 40: Contributions FTM (2009-2012) x 1 000 000 €



(Source: Elaboration from FTM Annual Reports) *The contribution from the Province in 2010 has been devoted to one specific project; in this sense, this institution must not be accounted as a stable public funder but rather as an *ad hoc* sponsor.

In relative terms, the contribution of the public partners has moved from representing 78% of all funds, to less than 73%, making the support of the two private foundations (and, in general, of private sponsors) more crucial to the foundation's financial stability (Figure 40). Nevertheless, this condition has not prevented the progressive reduction of private support as well, which has been cut by 23% over a 4-years period.

With the exception of *Compagnia di San Paolo*, all other funders have progressively reduced their support, moving the overall public contribution to the foundation from 18,6 million € in 2009 to a little more than 11 million € in 2012. The worst decrease has involved the Municipality, which has virtually cut by half its support in just 4 years.

Appendix 5. Comparative Analysis MuVE and FTM Structure and Practices

MUVE

Increasing the Common Good

The analysis indicates that the specific features of MuVE's structure concur to the enforcement of practices that pursue the increase of the common good. The foundation's private status, in fact, implies complete organizational independence from the public administration that is guaranteed representativeness in the Board. In turn, this conditions allows operational control over cultural, human, and financial resources and, in parallel, their independent management. Finally, the organization, as a centralized network, can take advantage from multiple resources to be controlled by a unitary structure with no multiple, overlapping layers of bureaucratic structures.

A. Permanent Collections

Autonomy from the public administration implies control over resources and the possibility to plan their investment over time: long-term programs of interventions fulfil daily conservative necessities, while extraordinary actions tackle sudden, unexpected conservative obligations: “the foundation can guarantee the preservation of cultural heritage in light of the intense relationship with the main public stakeholder. In other words, the Municipality allows the foundation to manage financial resources and to self-finance while they still keep control of the collection preservation” (Head Museum Area 3).

The possibility to operate as an autonomous organization eases up the fulfilment of contractual obligations with the Municipality:

“according to the contractual agreement regulating the relation, we are also responsible of promotion, conservation, and ordinary maintenance as well as the redaction of reports indicating all the necessary interventions with different priorities, an estimate of costs and a consequent three-year planning of the same interventions. This represents a way to recommend specific conservative and maintenance activities that are then up to the municipality as for their part of

responsibility. In relation to ordinary maintenance of buildings and technical infrastructures, we collaborate with the public administration. At the end of the year, we reimburse the municipality that has paid contractors in advance” (Head Technical Office)

This testimony suggests that MuVE's organizational structure contributes to the enactment of conservation and refurbishment practices that, in turn, concur to increase the common good.

Also, the expansion of the collections and the promotion of their accessibility for research purposes are ensured by the independent organizational status of MuVE's foundation model: “this structure can help expanding our own heritage: subjects willing to make donations are more keen to do it to a foundation rather than to a public administration” (Head College of the Auditors). The private legal status of the foundation and its independent nature concur to ease up the process of expansion via donations, acquisitions and, purchases.

Finally, archival and cataloguing work on the collections, their digitalization and centralization into one single system, and their accessibility by scholars and enthusiasts is allowed thanks to the foundation's first-hand management of collections, a condition that prevents the reiteration of long, rigid, public bureaucratic procedures incompatible with MuVE's pursuit of increasing common good via research accessibility.

B. Memberships and Education

Practices aimed at engaging the public with collections are enacted in light of the managerial autonomy allowed by the organizational structure of the foundation. The unitary and autonomous structure of the organization allows the definition of a single membership program and the definition of a coordinated program of ad-hoc events:

“the office covers all events, cultural, social and business ones altogether: all the activities that are not comprised within conservation and education. Beyond commercial events (corporate), we also have special visits (not during regular visiting hours), which are a lot as well. We also have a close relationship with all local authorities and governments, therefore we often host public events. [...] My 3 collaborators are responsible of events, which are many and not so simple to plan, as the venues they are held in are of historical relevance, therefore they

require specific procedures (specific permits from the Superintendence, rooms capability, being sure our events don't influence regular visits, etc)" (Head Business Development)

Internal and external coordination is essential for the successful completion of these activities: the possibility to relate with external actors (such as the norm-setting Superintendence) on a clear, regular basis, and the ability to respond to specific requirements are direct consequences of the independent status of the organization. The development of intense programs of events destined to engage both private and institutional subjects is guaranteed by the possibility to coordinate all venues from the same office and by the managerial autonomy of the same office.

Similarly, the rationalization and the implementation of the membership program is operated as part of the effort to engage different publics, especially local citizens.

The possibility to level all membership programs into a single one has been ensured by MuVE's unitary organizational structure, as suggested by the same manager: "11 museums to manage are a lot: the real greatness of the foundation is the ability to work together as a team. We have a lot of freedom and we maintain a free relationship with the direction".

In parallel, coordination among all different educational activities occurs thanks to the definition of a centralized office in charge of all these practices, as reported by the Head of the Educational Office: "the Office has grown: before it was just me [...], now we have 3 people (and me) plus a turn-over of interns and also people from the Civil Service, which specifically asked my office to receive voluntaries".

On one side, this implies a direct and easy way to get information on any educational activity, making the information and reservation processes faster and clearer to the benefit of costumers. On the other side, it determines a turn over of junior professionals that supports both the building up of a new generation of skilled museum managers and the constant update of office staff with a young, resourceful workforce.

Also, the direct management of all collections, consequent upon the definition of a single, independent organization, implies the possibility to provide a more integrated educational offer, to the indirect benefit of the

common good: at MuVE, educational activities can be focused on one museum or they can involve multiple venues, offering visitors both an in-depth and a pluralistic experience.

In addition, managerial autonomy allows the assignment of a specific financial budget to the Educational Office, which has the possibility to design a multi-year program of activities in advance. This autonomous condition is entirely different from the full dependence implied in the precedent built-in structure:

“before the organization was much more rigid, intricate and bureaucratic. Of course, the public administration allowed some benefits: administrative autonomy can also be a burden to some extent and you can feel it; in particular, activities that were before a responsibility of the Municipality are now completely in the foundation's hands. Moreover, there is a strict control over expenses and of the entire budget, so it is somehow the responsibility of autonomy” (Head Educational Office)

Finally, organizational autonomy contributes to build a clearer relationship between the stakeholders foundation and its costumers (in this case, mostly school representatives), that acknowledge it as a distinct counterpart: “before it was quite common that schools reserved many activities but didn't attend all of them, which I've always found quite inappropriate. Now, the relationship is much clearer and transparent and you can see it” (Head Educational Office). In this sense, the independence of the organization concurs to shape a stronger image of the foundation, to the advantage of organizational efficiency.

Overall, organizational practices destined to public engagement are executed by a coordinated, centralized managerial team, which relative decisional autonomy and clearly assigned budget are a consequence of the independent nature of MuVE's organizational structure: the pursuing of the increase of the common good via public engagement, then, has occurred thanks to these specific features of the stakeholders foundation model.

C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events

The definition of the combined program of temporary exhibitions is achieved thanks to the organizational and managerial autonomy inherent in

the stakeholders foundation form. The possibility to build a complex and integrated program of temporary exhibitions can be traced back to the organizational features of independence and flexibility that characterize the new governance model:

“thanks to this new structure, now we have longer-term programming, which hugely help our management. I already have all my cultural activities planned until 2017. We have a clear direction now, taken flexibility for granted of course, but not certainly constant crisis! So we always have to have a plan B but, at the same time, have a pre-approved program” (Head Museum Area 2, also Head Exhibitions)

In return, designing and implementing a long-term program of cultural activities is perceived as a source of organizational effectiveness: “having an objective-based programming and planning is one of the things that makes the organization more coordinated and efficient [...] One of the elements that interests me the most is the possibility to create models, best practices – notably in exhibitions – that can be useful for all museums”. In this sense, the possibility to program exhibitions in full autonomy constitutes not only as a short-term increase in cultural effectiveness but also as a long-term practice, developing internal skills and exchangeable models to the benefit of all venues.

At the same time, a private legal status (and the consequent possibility to skip public bureaucratic procedures) implies the possibility to temporarily hire external professionals to project and to curate exhibitions, thus securing the highest level of scientific quality and keeping permanent staff to a manageable size: “this situation leads to the externalization of many scientific projects, while in other international museums (such as the Metropolitan or the Louvre), the definition of the cultural projects is always assigned to internal curators. It is of course obvious that, if you don't have the specific require competences, you have to find them elsewhere” (General Director).

Finally, as for temporary exhibitions, the multi-venue structure is particularly important to build up a program of exhibitions able to fulfil the cultural demand of the public: dedicating a complete venue to temporary exhibitions (Palazzo Fortuny), redesigning specific spaces destined to this activity in other sites, and having the possibility to touch different topics while relying

on a vast and varied system of collections (instead of loaning from other museums), are all activities made possible by the availability of and the direct control over multiple buildings.

Overall, the “increase of the common good” through exhibition practices is defined and operated thanks to the possibility of independently designing the agenda, of having multiple venues – with specific cultural features, of managing human and cultural resources according to necessities. The autonomous nature of the organizational model guarantees all these conditions to occur.

Increasing Visitors

The increase of visitors is intended not simply as its overall increase in absolute numbers but, rather, as the relative increase of visitors to more peripheral venues: “it is crucial for the foundation to acknowledge the need to disperse tourists from the central attractions” (Municipal Councilwoman of Culture).

The purpose is the promotion of the specialized, niche museums of the foundation, mostly located outside the St. Mark Square epicentre, and the “touristization” of these area to the benefit of local economic growth⁵⁴. Therefore, to promote the visit to less known venues by local and international costumers, the foundation engages in a strategy which implements specific communication and ticketing practices.

Communication activities, in particular, are implemented with the purpose of promoting access to permanent collections and to temporary exhibitions by local citizens and by international tourists: by building up a strong, coherent brand identity and communication strategy, MuVE can develop both an international profile, and a closer relationship with locals, to the advantage of higher attendance rates and of a better distribution of monthly entrances. At the same time, communication practices focus on cross-promotion between bigger and smaller venues: this is pursued to encourage publics already attracted by the blockbusters⁵⁵ to visit less known venues.

⁵⁴ Notably, the Glass and the Lace Museums are each located in two islands outside central Venice.

⁵⁵ Primarily, the Doge's Palace and Museo Correr

The possibility to build up a unified, coherent, diversified communication campaign is ensured by the centralized nature of the foundation, where all venues can be governed by the same organizational structure, with no dependence from the public administration. MuVE's managerial autonomy in designing cultural programs, in assigning resources, and in monitoring results contributes to the definition and the implementation of communication practices introduced to pursue a “diversified” increase in visitors.

Also, the independent nature of the organization allows the definition of new positions and roles that can operate in the pursuit of the strategic goals: the autonomy of the foundation represents the possibility to independently manage human resources, given MuVE's greater administrative flexibility and simpler bureaucratic framework.

The comparative analysis of MuVE's organizational structure and of its communication practices indicates that the latter are implemented thanks to the organizational independence that the foundation has from the public administration. It allows the development of long-term, financially sustainable campaigns, the possibility to create new positions and to acquire new professional figures, and the centralization of structures reuniting and coordinating all venues like a single organizational body.

As part of marketing practices introduced to promote access and to increase visitors (especially to less known sites), the foundation has also introduced a ticketing system with combined offers to multiple sites, thematically or physically close to one another, and with combined ticketing packages dedicated to families and to under-represented segments of the public (youngsters). Overall, the purpose of this ticketing strategy is double-fold: on one side, it aims at increasing visitors to less known sites, on the other side, it targets publics that are less likely to engage in cultural consumption.

The possibility to design and to implement such a ticketing offer is determined by both the autonomous nature of the organization from the public stakeholder, as MuVE is provided managerial independence to build a suitable offer with few bureaucratic restrictions⁵⁶, and by the networked nature of

⁵⁶ Italian laws impose the definition of specific reduction rates for protected categories of citizens (under-18, over-65); however, the amount in absolute terms is decided independently by the organization, under the direction of the Board

the organization. By having managerial control over all venues, the foundation can define a unified, coherent ticket offer that keeps single fees relatively homogeneous⁵⁷ and that benefits from the “driving effect” of popular venues.

Overall, the stakeholders foundation model allows the introduction of marketing practices (communication and ticketing ones, preeminently) aimed at increasing the attendance of visitors in absolute terms but, more importantly, the amount of costumers to more peripheral venues, and the percentage of attendants from under-represented age segments. The separation of public control from managerial decision-making, the possibility to define new roles and positions, and the centralization of the administration allow the introduction and implementation of practices directed at increasing visitors in absolute and relative terms, thus contributing to the pursuit of one strategic objective.

Securing Self-Sufficiency

A. Fund

The allocation of a specific fund constituted a mandatory aspect of MuVE's creation as a stakeholders foundation and, therefore, it must be considered directly related to its autonomous status as an independent, private organization. More precisely, as indicated in Articles 5 and 6 of the Statute, the main asset disposed by the public administration is constituted by the totality of physical buildings and collections that were put under the foundation's governance at the moment of its creation.

However, in parallel, the Municipality also assigned a fixed amount of liquidity as the operative fund at the foundation's disposal: this specific resource represents MuVE's financial basis after its creation. The analysis of collected data from the foundation has showed that the organization has been able to increase the fund to 1,1m Euros, thus reinforcing the fund to the advantage of increased financial stability.

⁵⁷ Specific venues such as the Clock Tower or Carlo Goldoni's house have lower fees, considering the length and the specificity of the visit compared to that of other sites, such as the Natural History Museum, for example

On one side, the very nature of the foundation form implied the creation of an operative fund to the availability of the organization – thus creating the condition for the potential securing of self-sufficiency by MuVE. On the other side, the autonomous structure of the organization allows the operationalisation of managerial practices that permit the foundation to save resources to be put in the fund – thus implementing the original financial condition for self-sufficiency. In this sense, both at the founding moment and afterwards, the independent organizational structure of the foundation has concurred to support the maintenance and the implementation, of a financial fund that has contributed to the perdurance of its self-sufficient status.

B. Administration

In parallel with the implementation of the fund, the governance autonomy guaranteed by the newly applied governance model allows the use of control mechanisms and the development and diffusion of managerial and financial practices aimed at improving transparency and accountability, at implementing resource efficiency and, ultimately, at supporting the maintenance of self-sufficiency.

In particular, organizational independence from the Municipality implies freedom from bureaucratic restrictions typical of the public administration and, at the same time, the possibility to design multi-year programs of investments and to implement internal audit procedures. MuVE, then, can develop controlled operational processes aimed at controlling costs and revenues to the advantage of a better use of resources and, ultimately, of the maintenance of self-sufficiency.

The implementation of these internal procedures is even more significant as the stakeholders foundation controls a system of multiple sites: in particular, the introduction of univocal practices in accountability and audit allows a stricter control over all venues, with the possibility to coordinate them, prioritizing resources according to each one's needs.

Overall, then, the independent nature of the organization, its operational autonomy in managing financial resources, and its networked structure positively concur in maintaining financial self-sufficiency.

On one side, the possibility to avoid the application of externally imposed, rigid bureaucratic procedures and the concurrent development of an internal efficient accountancy system promote a more rational management of resources and their effective investment according to the foundation's necessity (through the design of multi-year financial plans). On the other side, the unitary control over all venues allows the centralization of costs and revenues to the benefit of all sites and the redistribution of resources among museums:

“our is a unique case: when they created the foundation they knew it could count on the high number of visitors from the Doge's Palace and other museums in St. Mark's Square, so they counted on that. In this sense, we build up from this financial autonomy, which allows a lot of general freedom, we do not depend on public administration for resources. [...] every museum has its own cultural plan, but then each of these is collected and aligned by the foundation as for the financial program, services, communication and marketing activities, the maintenance. This helps to operate pursuing economies of scale, to provide high level, integrated services. This also contribute to the self-sufficiency of smaller museums that, otherwise, wouldn't be able to support themselves only from ticketing and fund raising” (Administrative Secretary)

C. Partnerships

In order to maintain financial self-sufficiency from public funding MuVE has been engaged in developing a system of relationships with private actors.

In general, the stakeholders foundation form was designed and developed with the precise purpose of incentivizing the participation of private partners to the organization's governance and of promoting their contribution to the foundation's financial self-sufficiency. According to the legislator, in fact, private partners can become co-founders – as long as they contribute to the fund – or, if some actors seek a less engaging relationship, they can still be tied to the foundation co-designing and managing projects without bureaucratic limitations.

At MuVE, the definition and the maintenance of partnerships with private actors is pursued with the clear strategic purpose of providing not only additional financial resources but also technical competences: the private le-

gal status of the foundation and its organizational independence, in fact, allow the definition of agreements with private partners where a certain level of managerial autonomy is kept in others' hands.

The system of relationships with corporate partners, then, has been built not only and not simply to implement revenues with private funds but, rather, to build high-quality connections with private subjects bringing expertise benefiting the collections' physical conservation and promotion. The possibility to outsource specific projects, in fact, represents a way to reduce conservative costs and to introduce innovative technology with no direct investment.

Private partnerships that can concur both to the maintenance of self-sufficiency and, indirectly, to the increase of the common good are built by the foundation thanks to its private nature and to the managerial independence of its offices, which are directly in charge of maintaining and developing such partnerships.

In general, data shows that the organization enacts different practices aimed at securing and increasing its fund, at rationalizing costs and investments, at increasing self-revenues, and at developing long-term partnerships with private subjects: all these practices are developed to pursue the strategic objective of maintaining financial self-sufficiency.

Then, the extent to which the stakeholders foundation model contributes to achieve this purpose can be stated as follows.

The application of the new governance model has implied the provision, on the part of the founder, of an ad hoc fund on which the organization has autonomously capitalized for the achievement of its mission.

Also, organizational independence from the public administration has incentivized and promoted the application of managerial practices aimed at increasing the foundation's accountability and transparency toward the general public and the stakeholders, while it has also pushed forward the use of management tools targeting the implementation of financial efficiency – in a network of multiple museums.

In addition, the definition of a legally private, autonomous organization has allowed the development of practices seeking the increase of self-revenues from permanent collections, temporary exhibitions, events, educational activities and, most crucially, collateral services.

Finally, the possibility to operate independently as a private actor and to provide single offices with a certain level of managerial autonomy has boosted the building of long-term, tailored partnerships with private subjects, to the advantage of a more engaged and coherent network of relationships with other-than-public funders.

D. Collateral Activities

Revenues coming from the operative fund and savings derived from the efficient management of resources can only residually contribute, in relative and absolute terms, to the maintenance of MuVE's self-sufficiency: the main source of entrances on which the foundation can count are revenues from services (entrance, events, education fees and revenues from collateral activities).

In order to promote the increase of this entry and, as a consequence, to increase the percentage of self-revenue to the advantage of maintained self-sufficiency, MuVE operates on different practices: from the development of a varied ticketing offer (for permanent collections and temporary exhibitions) to the definition of an integrated program of events, from the design of an integrated educational proposal to the development and the expansion of collateral activities, all these practices (that concur to the other strategic objectives) can be enforced thanks to the autonomy inherent in the organizational model.

The last one, in particular, results crucial in contributing to self-revenues: the definition and the implementation of collateral activities (cafeterias and bookshops) go in the direction of increasing that entry without drawing upon a raise in attendance rates (that could go to the detriment of the common good) but, rather, keeping costumers engaged beyond the visit itself. In parallel with the implementation of these activities within physical sites (with the renovation and the expansion of dedicated spaces), the foundation engages in the development of consumer goods that can provide a high-quality merchandising proposal for their bookshops – thus reinforcing brand identity, at the same time.

Overall, then, MuVE operates different practices aimed at increasing self-revenues to maintain its financial self-sufficiency: beside those destined to increase revenues from ticketing and from traditional museum services,

MuVE has implemented its collateral activities, thus integrating the regular museum offer with new services, in order to keep its visitors engaged and to increase the quality of the visit.

This is allowed thanks to MuVE's private legal status: the outsourcing of cafeteria and bookshop services, in fact, is eased by its contractual autonomy and, at the same time, it is made efficient thanks to the stronger contractual power of the foundation as a private entity. In particular, the possibility to renegotiate terms and to check the qualitative and quantitative results of these activities derives from MuVE's independence and, at the same time, from its organizational autonomy to implement internal procedures which keep track and analyse cultural and financial performance.

The stakeholders foundation model, by implying a private legal status and by providing organizational independence, contributes to the implementation of organizational practices involving the development and the enforcement of collateral activities for the sake of increasing self-revenues and, as a consequence, secured self-sufficiency.

FTM

The analysis of practices has indicated that the achievement of an increased common good, of more visitors, and of financial self-sufficiency is limited by FTM's organizational structure and, concurrently, by the prevalence of a more public-driven profile within the governance body. In this section, I put into relations the operated organizational practices (divided according to the pursued strategic objective) with the specific characteristics of the organizational structure as they emerged through data analysis.

Increasing the Common Good

The analysis indicates that the achievement of the first strategic objective – the increase of the common good – is pursued ineffectively because of the specific characteristics of its organizational configuration.

Some activities operated on permanent collections (such as security) benefit from the partial centralization of offices provided by the foundation, while others (such as expansion and conservation), although potentially governable by one central body – the Scientific Committee) – are not controlled

due to the missed appointment of its Members. At the same time, the analysis has shown that conservative, acquisition, research, and cataloguing practices suffer from the lack of tight coordination among museums, as each venue is responsible for its own necessities.

Also, practices destined to engage the public (communication, educational activities, membership programs) cannot contribute to the full extent to the achievement of the strategic objective because of the lack of coordination and centralization inherent in the loose organizational structure featured by FTM.

Finally, initiatives destined to integrate the museum offer with programs of temporary events are conditioned by the lack of coordination among different venues: temporary exhibitions and other ad hoc activities are autonomously designed and managed by each museum, and little contribution is provided by other venues to these activities in terms of human and cultural resources.

As for the practices operated to fulfil the first strategic objective, then, the analysis indicates that the organizational structure implemented at FTM has not supported the implementation of those activities, making the achievement of the objective managerially arduous: the private status of the foundation has not been put into full operational use. Partial results have been achieved but they have kept the qualitative and quantitative level of the offer low, especially if compared to the expectations from institutional stakeholders.

A. Permanent Collections

Security procedures reult in place to provide similar standards to all venues: this has been achieved through the issuing and the enforcement of a series of guidelines destined to secure the physical optimal status of permanent collections in all venues.

The possibility to maintain similar security standards to all museums is determined by the central coordination of this practice, which has assigned on-site security to the same external contractor in all venues. The private legal status of the foundation has allowed the adoption of new legislative requirements on time, and the signing of contracts with “constant control over the quality of the provided service” (Annual Report 2012).

Conservation and refurbishment practices are carried out by single museums governed by FTM, since no central office exists to coordinate these activities⁵⁸. This has implied the necessity, for each venue, to sign ad hoc contractual agreements with single external firms or professionals, relying on an assigned budget that, although controlled and over-sought by the central administration, this procedure is under the responsibility of each director, with limited understanding of the overall conservative necessities of collections.

At the same time, research and divulgation activities have been variously operated by single venues and they are not centrally coordinated by FTM. This determines a high variability of qualitative and quantitative results from one museum to the other.

Similarly, cataloguing activities have been carried out at the museum-level, by personnel working in each venue. Archives and catalogues are available for each museum but they are not coordinated nor joined into a single archive of the foundation's heritage. An Open Data project, started in 2014, has made available data on permanent collections.

In addition, the foundation results responsible of an Arts Library and of a Photographic Archive that are managed separately with an appointed person in charge and with ad hoc personnel. Requests to consult visual material collected in the Archive must be sent to different offices depending on the museum provenance of works, as no centralized coordination is present.

Overall, research activities by personnel and by external scholars seem to depend on the administrative offices of each museum, with little coordination from FTM's central administration.

This has been determined by the lack of centralization that characterizes the foundation and by the high level of managerial independence of each museum, to the detriment of the increase of the common good.

Finally, expansion activities involve the acquisition of donations from private actors and the inclusion of works purchased by external partners for

⁵⁸ The Technical Office is in charge of specific aspects of exhibitions and maintenance

the museums. No direct purchase has been made by FTM, mainly as a consequence of the limited financial resources available for this activity⁵⁹. The expansion of permanent collections, then, is pursued by single venues thanks to the relationships built with private partners⁶⁰.

The lack of an appointed Scientific Committee, formally in charge of expressing a learnt opinion over propositions submitted by directors, reduces the oversight that the foundation could impose on the process. In this case, then, the structure would provide support to the coordinated or, at least, the controlled execution of the expansion practice; however, the discontinuous appointment of Members to the Committee prevents this from happening, while the overall autonomy provided to the single venues leaves this activity un-coordinated.

B. Memberships and Education

Practices aimed at engaging with different publics are limited in their effectiveness by the insufficient centralization of offices and by the relative lack of coordination among venues.

Communication activities have partially benefited from the centralization of this practice occurred in 2012:

“the foundation has tried to experiment a different approach based on a stronger integration between the different forms of audience engagement (advertisement, media relations, web, etc), the cultural offer (museum services, participation, etc), and the sources of self-revenues (ticketing, collateral services, etc). This has been allowed by the general coordination and by a more structured vision of single actions, all intended as part of the wider marketing strategy” (Annual Report 2012)

⁵⁹ Some works have been purchased in 2010 to integrate the collection of the newly opened MAO; one piece has been purchased for GAM by the Dutch Art Works Foundation.

⁶⁰ Notably, *Fondazione De Fornaris* and *Fondazione CRT* have a long-term relationship with GAM, while private collectors have loaned groups of theme-specific works to MAO and to Palazzo Madama. Other donations of modest artistic and monetary value are constantly made to FTM museums by private collectors.

The centralization of communication activities has implied the definition of a web campaign to increase the number of digital users involved with the foundation and with single venues. Positive results have been achieved in terms of digital engagement, despite some differences among museums.

Overall, the actual coordination of communication and marketing practices thanks to the centralization of that office has proved successful in giving significant results as for audience engagement and participation, thus testifying for the positive effects, in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, that a centralized service would have on practices.

Conversely, the lack of a single educational office implies the definition of educational programs that are different for each venue and that are not integrated to provide a unitary offer. The program of activities, although varied and multiple, is not governed by FTM as part of a unitary offer; on the contrary, the administrative responsibilities to manage these activities are in charge of each museum autonomously. This condition limits the possibility to provide cross-programs involving more than one venue, thus affecting the cultural impact of educational programs on a long-term perspective:

“educational services are essential, as they concur to form new visitors: it is during school age that a citizen's behavioural habits are shaped, with particular reference to the sense of belonging to a specific cultural, environmental, artistic heritage. Educational services in each museum manage all projects and are in charge of educational dispositions. These activities are operated by specialized personnel who plan and design the programs” (Annual Report 2010)

Data indicate a significant decline in the overall number of users of educational services. While this can be partially justified by the progressively scarce financial resources at the foundation's disposal, at the same time, the lack of coordination and the difficulty in providing a coordinated line of communication with professionals in the formal educational system must be considered co-responsible of this condition.

FTM does not provide its museums of a centralized office coordinating a homogeneous educational offer; this condition affects the effectiveness of the practice as for its potential contribution in increasing the common good.

Also, at the present moment the foundation is not responsible for a unitary memberships program that could provide additional audience engagement with its potential and actual public. On the contrary, FTM has joined membership circuits promoted by external actors: these initiatives, although destined to both local residents and tourists, and therefore complying with the practices concurring to increase of the common good, are not directly governed by the foundation. In this way, control over one important engagement tool is not in the hand of FTM, which cannot take full advantage from the marketing and communication potentialities of a membership program. The outsourcing of this practice is determined by the lack of appropriate administrative offices to be put in charge of this initiative. At the same time, the public origin of programs joined by FTM has gotten in the way of the autonomous development of the initiative: the public-dominated Board of Members, with representatives of the same administrations that have created the two card programs, might have pushed the agenda of keeping those programs as substitutes of an autonomous FTM membership program. In any case, the result in terms of the increase of the common good are disappointing compared to the potential results expected from the application of the stakeholders foundation form.

C. Temporary Exhibitions and Events

The analysis indicates that temporary exhibitions are not centrally coordinated by the foundation: on the contrary, they are autonomously designed and managed by single venues.

This condition prevents the definition of an integrated offer of temporary events, with a clear cultural and strategic vision. The responsibility of defining the program is in the hands of directors and, by not having a Scientific Committee at the governance level, little curatorial control is exerted to guarantee the homogeneity of the offer.

In addition, the lack of centralized, coordinated governance of exhibition practices is testified by the difficulties, experienced by single museums, in taking advantage from the resources available to other venues:

“There are many advantages in being a foundation, however I think they are not as developed and as enhanced as they could be: there is a possibility to exchange

competences and skills among museum staffs that is not exploited as it could. For example, if GAM is doing something and a specific professional figure existing in another museum is necessary, how comes that a professional from MAO cannot temporarily help? Only rare cases have occurred so far, and every time they happened was thanks to good personal relationships” (Manager)

This condition is determined by the almost non-existent coordination provided by the central administration: to give an example, in reports collecting the list of loans and exchanges for temporary events and exhibitions, works taken from other museums that are governed by FTM are listed just like those coming from external organizations.

Loose coordination affects the possibility to provide an integrated program of temporary exhibitions, and, at the same time, it determines an incomplete reciprocal use of available human and cultural resources. The managerial independence of single venues, the lack of coordination among the museums, and the incomplete control over the staff negatively affect the practices that are operated in the pursuit of an increased common good.

Increasing Visitors

The analysis of practices operated to increase the amount of visitors to its venues indicates that FTM is involved in the achievement of this second strategic objective with moderate positive results.

In particular, collected data have shown that the overall public has slightly increased over the years. This has been achieved, however, thanks to ad hoc, temporary events (one-year celebrations of anniversaries) and to the definition of a cycle of temporary exhibitions organized by single venues. At the same time, the less positive results concerning visitors using educational services and the stagnant or decreasing numbers reported from other venues, together indicate an overall incomplete achievement of the strategic objective, when intended not simply as the raise in the absolute amount of entrances but, instead, when analysed in relation to the concurrent purpose of increasing the common good.

In this latter case, the blockbuster nature of the cycle and the negative results as for educational activities testify for a less than optimal performance. This occurs as practices intended to increase visitors are not supported by

the organizational structure: although the unitary communication office promote the visit to permanent collections, temporary exhibitions, and events efficiently, ticketing practices to incentivize visits to multiple sites or by specific groups are not operated as effectively.

Overall, FTM's organizational structure contributes only marginally to promote the increase of visitors to its museums, both in total and to each venue. This occurs because of the insufficient centralization characterizing the structure, which prevents the development of communication and ticketing practices able to support the achievement of this strategic objective.

Securing Self-Sufficiency

In order to pursue increasing financial self-sufficiency (especially from public funders), FTM's managerial team operates different organizational practices.

A. Fund

The creation of FTM depended on the assignment of a specific, un-disposable fund at the availability of the new organization.

At the moment of its creation, FTM was assigned the whole of Turin's civic artistic heritage as its founding fund. In addition to this, a monetary sum of 1,1m € was transferred to the organization as part of its financial capital. Finally, the Municipality and other public and private founders committed themselves to contribute to the foundation's financial necessities with a yearly contribution that constitutes the operative fund, and the main source of revenues. The significant financial dependence of the organization on public support, in fact, reverberates in the prevalence of public representatives in the Board.

The analysis shows that the specific nature of the funds (the founding and the operative) and its mainly public origin, then, cause significant operational problems for the foundation: “having a long-term financial program is very hard, especially since public funding has progressively decreased over the years. New openings – the re-opening of Palazzo Madama in 2007, and of MAO in 2009 – have not meant additional funding” (Head of Accounting and Audit).

Overall, then, the private legal status that characterizes FTM has allowed the separation from the public administration and, with it, the definition of

an autonomous governance and of an independently managed operative fund. However, the mostly public provenance of financial resources gets in the way of defining practices that can enable a fully efficient use of the fund. Financial dependence from the public founder, then, determines significant instability of the composition of both funds: while the founding one is subject to addition or substitution of conferred venues, the operative one has been experiencing a constant reduction in the amount of the transfer, to the detriment of a long-term planning of resource investment.

B. Administration

The analysis of administrative practices indicates an increased level of transparency and control over resource management which determines, at the same time, a certain level of procedural rigidity in the bureaucratic governance of the foundation.

On one side, in fact, the organizational autonomy guaranteed by the foundation form has implied the introduction of a clearer system controlling costs and assigning budgets:

“the problem is the financial crisis that we are living, with funds cut down to the bone. In this sense, the possibility to be responsible of a separate budget for every museum is useful for the single director to understand the museum's financial availabilities but, at the present moment, is not operational. Now we just have one single, scarce budget and this is not helpful and having offices in different buildings contributes to make it difficult to exchange information. It is just like a regular family: whenever there is fewer money, problems arise” (Head Communication)

On the other side, however, the definition of administrative practices destined to control resources has not been sided by a structural distribution of governance power to directors, that have been given large managerial autonomy as for cultural services:

“each museum is considered as a single cost entry; within this entry, there are a series of sub-entries, such as those for events, personnel, etc. We have worked a lot, thanks to the competences and to the good will of single people working in different offices, on defining the single quota to be assigned to each museum as for the costs of centralized services [...] So, we have the possibility to understand

the expenses of each venue, but, there is no clear definition and assignment of an economic-financial plan for each director [...] On the contrary, directors are provided a virtual amount of resources, that can be confirmed only later, since it depends on the public administration's timing (as the Municipality represents the main funder). So, each museum is assigned an amount, but there is no clear indication of a full financial plan. This means that whenever the foundation decides to reduce resources to a museum, there is no way for the director to counter-act this by operating on fixed costs or rationalization: he or she does not even understand how money is spent” (Manager)

Administrative procedures developed by the centralized accounting office, then, confine the managerial autonomy of single venues while not delivering coordination and resource efficiency and transparency. The origin of this problem can be detected in the incomplete merger of extremely different museums into the foundation and in the lack of a sufficiently clear and rationalized organizational structure: “as for the managerial side, I'm not so convinced that putting everybody together no matter what would actually provide a better management and a better service to visitors. I believe, on the contrary, that this may just mean create new bureaucratic structures that stiffen management procedures” (Director).

While it lacks in providing simplification and coordination, at the same time FMT's structure results redundant in covering some administrative roles, thus nulling the efforts pursuing efficiency:

“on the institutional level, we must not build structures where offices can overlap or interfere the one with the other. The main issue is not to create superfluous super-structures. For example, if I have to create a HR office for every museum and then an overarching HR office from the foundation, then I create multiple offices with no positive effects. Either the foundation becomes so flexible, agile, precise to substitute offices from single museums with a unique one, or having the foundation with offices doing the same things as those already existing in museums doesn't make any sense. In some cases, I believe the foundation has overstaffed offices: for example, we have our own legal office and I think it is not necessary, considering the amount of activities we have, we can just use external legal offices” (Manager)

Overall, the organizational structure has pushed for the introduction of administrative practices pursuing resource rationalization via transparency and

audit. However, the result has not been a better acknowledgement of financial availabilities at each manager's disposal, and the consequent efficient management of resources but, on the contrary, it has been the development of bureaucratized, rigid accounting and audit systems, built on an organizational structure where decision-making processes are not shared and coordinated.

Administrative practices are limited in their effectiveness in pursuing increasing financial self-sufficiency in light of the lack of centralization and of the concurrent presence of over-scaled offices characterizing FTM's structure. The achievement of this strategic objective with specific administrative practices, then, is supported by the specific configuration of the organization's structure.

C. Sponsorships

One of the main determinants of the creation of FTM was the possibility to attract private partners, in order to integrate decreasing public support with alternative funding and, by doing this, to increase the level of self-revenues.

The autonomous, private status of the stakeholders foundation model, in fact, has implied the possibility to include private actors as co-founders: FTM has taken advantage from this opportunity by adding two private foundations and including their representatives in the Board.

The analysis of practices related to this activity, however, shows that FTM has not engaged in a wide program of initiatives destined to increment this source, partially because of the bureaucratized and late assignment of the operative fund. The financial dependence on the public administration limits the quality and the efficiency of practices operated to define a strong system of sponsorships.

At the same time, the relative un-coordination characterizing the structure prevents FTM from approaching potential private partners with a sufficient degree of confidence and reliability:

“I am convinced that this system – which is very “Italian”, as it doesn't have similar examples in other countries and it is very specific to our conditions – and the idea to connect many museums too randomly is a symptom of the collapse of the local departments of culture in all regions. With the radical decrease in resources to fund cultural activities by most public administrations, a solution

has been found in the foundation [...] I advocate for a better, more adult relationships with private partners: in fact, so far private partners in foundations are not “real” privates, but bank foundations and public companies. The future is in engaging private partners, and recent decrees and laws from the central governments seem to go in that direction. Private partners elsewhere support museums not out of mere generosity but because they have fiscal incentives and we have to take that path, otherwise private partners won't come!” (Director)

Difficulties in designing appropriate practices to develop sponsorships has been acknowledged by the Board and by its Members, public ones included. In particular, a solution to this problem has been identified in the transformation of the structure, through the inclusion of new venues:

“These new additions, and the expansion of the foundation's responsibilities should support a better and more efficient use of resources and it should be more effective as for fundraising activities: having the chance to offer an integrated, complete product should be more attractive in the eyes of private companies. So, on one side we want to offer a better, more integrated service to the public and, on the other side, to improve the potentialities for self-sufficiency and financial autonomy” (municipal councilman for culture)

The importance of transforming the panel of museums, however, has not implied the full centralization of governance, as the analysis shows the prevalence of single museums for what concerns the development of sponsorships with private partners:

“The museum product is definitely the one that you can sell better to a private partner. The problem is that to do that the single museum needs skills and offices that are not to its availability. These are then offered by the foundation. So, the idea is to try to keep these two things together. At Palazzo Madama, for example, we have tried to do it: in any meeting with potential partners, the presence of the director was crucial, because the vision, the identity of the museum could be sold only as long as you really had high familiarity with the collections and with the museum” (Head Communication)

Conversely, the inclusion of additional venues, only for the sake of exhausting the foundation's administrative capabilities, is foreseen to result in negative outcomes:

“the foundation has become a tool that has progressively been extended to include highly diverse members: the result is that co-existence of such different realities can be more problematic than beneficial. In particular, in the case of those foundations that move from being just an instrument to an actual new organization [...] in some cases, it risk to become just a structure that survive because of the museums, rather than the opposite” (Director)

Overall, practices destined to develop a system of long-term financial and technical partnerships are supported by a centralized governance able to coordinate all of them and to relate with private actors as a single subject. On the contrary, the present and the perspective organizational structure results to incentivize the role of single museums as main interlocutors, despite the projected transformations to put to a more efficient use the existing structure. In this sense, the pursuit of increasing self-sufficiency through the definition of a varied system of professional relationships with private actors does not find support in the organizational structure. The role of the single venues is considered crucial in developing sponsorships, and the potentialities of centralization are not developed because of the inherent characteristics of the structure: the lack of coordination among venues and the managerial independence of single museums, then, imply the development of less than optimal practices destined to engage with new private partners.

D. Collateral Activities

The organization operates a combination of practices that are directed to achieve increasing self-revenues in order to pursue progressive financial self-sufficiency.

In addition to revenues coming from entrances to temporary exhibitions and to regular permanent collections, and from fees paid for the use of images in archives and for the rent of spaces, self-revenues also come from collateral activities (bookshops, cafeterias).

Analysed data, however, has shown that revenues from these activities has not grown along the years. At the same time, data have indicated that the management of these activities is outsourced to different firms with different contractual agreements, thus limiting the possibility of bargaining an advantageous fee with the outsourcing companies. This is determined by the lack of centralization and by the managerial autonomy assigned to each museum:

leaving this practice in the hand of each venue, in fact, determines the multiplying of contracts and of contractors, which, in turn, implies an increase of red tape at the central level, in an already bureaucratized administrative system.

Overall, FTM's organizational structure does not promote the definition of practices that can take the outmost financial benefit from the management of collateral activities. The achievement of the three strategic objectives implied in FTM's logic is pursued by the managerial team with the application of practices that are only partially supported and promoted by the foundation's organizational structure. In particular, the private legal status of the foundation is not put into full use, since the composition of the governance, with the prevalence of public representatives as Members, impedes the full enforcement of the glocal museum logic to the structure. Offices and roles, in fact, are only partially centralized in a unitary structure, a condition that determines a lack of coordination among venues which, in turn, are given extensive managerial autonomy over crucial practices. The effects of this condition include the incomplete achievement of the strategic objectives set by FTM logic, the definition of an organizational structure with a clear public-derived profile (bureaucratized, over-scaled, un-coordinated), and the operationalisation of practices that are not characterized by private-driven principles of efficiency and effectiveness.