

Towards a flatter ontology of institutional logics: how logics relate in situations of institutional complexity.

Abstract

The institutional logics approach is a powerful lens with which to examine and understand contexts in which norms and conceptions are multiple, unclear or in flux. While logics at the societal level have been well elaborated and are, in the most part, widely understood and accepted, at the field level logics are not necessarily so clear. Field frames distort, merge and confuse the societal logic as field actors negotiate, rebalance, bridge and interpret logics in a recursively constitutive process. We review research in two institutionally complex fields – higher education and healthcare that employs an institutional logics lens. We identify and categorise institutional logics arising in these two fields and ask how these field-level logics relate to each other and to societal-level ideal-type logics? We ask what roles ideologies play in mediating relations between the field-level logics and what are the mechanisms by which this happens? We find that, at the field level, societal logics can appear as field-level instantiations or merge to form hybrids. New field level logics can also emerge but often these are confused with ideologies thus limiting the theory-building potential of the institutional logics approach. We identify and begin to resolve confusion between logics and ideologies, highlighting the role of ideologies in mediating the relationships between logics at the field level. We advocate for, and pave the way towards, a new research agenda enabled by a flatter ontology of institutional logics that sees horizontal relationship between logics as well as vertical relationships between logics and actors.

Keywords: institutional theory, institutional complexity, healthcare, higher education, systematic review

INTRODUCTION

The institutional logics approach has been used to excavate and explain institutional complexity in contexts ranging from social enterprise (Vickers et al. 2017) to the public sector (Anderson & Taggart, 2016) to social movements (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2017). Authors have employed the “conceptual and normative frameworks” offered by an institutional logics approach to delve deep into institutional influences on field participants (Scott et al., 2017 p. 8), leveraging its ability to accommodate the idiosyncrasies of specific empirical contexts. Different approaches have been identified to the management of tensions between logics within a field. Some authors have focused on the bridging of such multiple logics through co-leadership arrangements (Gibeau et al., 2019), the enactment of common activities (Hansen & Baroody, 2020), reframing (Nite et al., 2013) or boundary spanning individuals/organizations (Lander, 2016; Narayan & Stittle, 2018; Jefferies et al. 2019). Others have examined the benefits or otherwise of co-existing logics within an organization (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016; Alexander et al., 2018; Essén & Värlander, 2019; Lepori & Montauti, 2020). Finally, others have focused on the micro-level practices of those who cope with multiple logics (Bishop & Waring, 2016; Kern et al., 2018; Cappellaro et al., 2020). Together, these streams of research shed much light on how organisations and individuals navigate and manage institutional complexity.

However, many of these studies focus on the relationships and interactions between actors and organizations employing a logics approach as a theoretical lens with which to manage and understand the role of context. This ‘tall ontology’ approach tends to see the institutional logic as structuring the context in which the actor acts although new institutionalism does, of course recognise that actors’ actions in turn shape institutional logics. As Seidl and Whittington put it (2014: 1414), “(t)aller ontologies tend to situate instances of local praxis in some kind of vertical hierarchy, where higher levels shape, enable or constrain what occurs on the ground, lower down.” While such approaches may offer “analytical efficiency” through clearer signposting towards power and causality, they risk ‘micro-isolationism’ where local activities can only be explained in their own terms (Seidl & Whittington, 2014: 1414).

A flat ontology, on the other hand, does not take structure or context for granted – it takes the volume conveyed by such terms and flattens it out to make the connections and interactions visible (Latour, 2005). In order to avoid endless spiralling between local and global, macro and meso, we require theoretical advancement in how logics themselves inter-relate. Such theoretical advancement requires us to consider a flatter ontology of institutional logics research – where logics themselves hold relationships across and irrespective of micro, meso and macro levels. Such an ontology goes some way towards addressing the embedded agency paradox in that it recognises that “any given interaction seems to overflow with elements which are already in the given situation, coming from some other time, some other place, and generated by some other agency” (Latour, 2005, p166, italics original). At the same time, it allows us to “trace the connections that permit what is going on” (Seidl & Whittington, 2014: 1416).

Our research objective is to suggest and begin to develop such an ontology by mapping, categorizing and ultimately theorizing the impact of, the relationships between institutional logics, regardless of level, across the literature reviewed. We begin with two fields (namely higher education and healthcare) that have proved particularly fertile ground from which to survey institutional complexity. In both, new public management approaches, marketisation, and previously entrenched state and/or profession logics have meant that organizations and

individuals within these fields have much experience of managing and navigating institutional complexity. Both also boast a substantial body of literature that employs an institutional logics approach from which we can draw to abstract relationships between logics. We begin by disentangling the myriad of field level logics emerging across such studies. We then discuss the relationships between field level logics and societal logics; between in-field logics; and between logics and other influences – such as ideologies.

We go on to suggest an agenda for future research that builds on this flatter ontology to better understand how the mechanisms of power relations, practice-focus, and boundary spanning are leveraged by particular types of ideologies to mediate the relationships between institutional logics. We do not claim a complete theory but rather the opening up of a new conversation.

SOCIAL COMPLEXITY, INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND IDEOLOGIES

The institutional logics approach, focusing as it does on cultural heterogeneity and how it varies from field to field, has been proposed as a counteracting force to institutional isomorphism (Thornton et al., 2012). This approach views actors as situated in multiple institutional orders with both conflicting and compatible symbols and practices which those actors then reinterpret, exploit, export, and change. Indeed, some of the most important struggles between institutions have been ascribed to a clash of views as to which institutional logic should regulate a particular course of action (Friedland and Alford, 1991). This has led to a consistent stream of research that examines the clashes between incumbent and invading logics (see for example, Townley, 2002, Thornton, 2002); dominant logics (Reay and Hinings, 2005, Vickers et al., 2017), hybrid logics (Bishop & Waring, 2016, Battilana et al. 2017), constellations of logics (Greenwood et al., 2011, Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016) and more – all with a view to understanding what happens in situations of institutional complexity.

Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) describe logics as “the constellation of beliefs and associated practices (the schemas and scripts) that a field’s participants hold in common” (p. 600). Institutional logics at the societal level link to major societal institutional orders, where logics act as a “set of organizing principles” that are “symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained” (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 248). Thornton and colleagues (2004, 2012) extended Friedland & Alford (1991)’s five logics to seven institutional logics, adding two and dropping ‘democracy’ – the state, the market, the family, religion, the professions, the corporation, and community. We discuss this re-designation of democracy from logic to ideology in a later section. These seven institutional logics embody the classic formulation of logics, each of which is tightly coupled to a small number of clearly identified societal institutions.

Given the role of institutional logics as the “material practices and symbolic constructions” of major societal institutional orders (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 248), they have become an accepted theoretical tool in the arsenal of those who study social complexity. Institutional logics have been used to shed light on the effect of political struggles on cultural meaning systems and socio-economic processes such as de-institutionalization or industry emergence (Lounsbury et al., 2003). Sources of power and institutional logics are inextricably linked as logics define the rules of the game by which executive power is gained, maintained, and lost (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Through the concept of the ‘field frame’, logics are connected to the intentional crafting of strategic frames, politically constructed by producers, trade associations, professions and government actors to order and provide meaning to fields of activity by making some actions more appropriate than others (*Ibid.*).

Much of this literature focuses on the impact of such logics on either the composition of the field, or the actions and fortunes of individuals and organisations within the field. Beneath these investigations and discussions lies, however, a macro-level truth – that all fields contain multiple institutional logics and that these logics often compete with each other (Reay and Hinings, 2005). This is visible within the higher education sector in an increasing reliance on third party funding (Wiener et al., 2020, Badelt, 2020) or resource competition and market acquisitions that undermine a pre-existing academic logic in higher education driven by professional norms of academic freedom (Cai and Mountford, 2021). Likewise, within healthcare we see how the market logics that accompany digital health interventions (based on the belief that markets will more efficiently allocate scarce resources) come up against a healthcare professional logic that claims a decision-making and gate-keeping role (Mountford, 2019). Similarly, Reay and Hinings (2005) study the Canadian healthcare system where a medical professional model of healthcare where “the dominant institutional logic of the field centred on physicians” is challenged by a business-like healthcare which aimed to improve efficiencies (p. 356).

The literature to-date demonstrates links between institutional logics and power (including politics), practice-based field change; and those organizations and individuals that must span institutional boundaries. Much of this is observed, chronicled and analysed in the context of the changing nature of societally important, once-public sectors such as education and healthcare. Such examples epitomise the social complexity that drives researchers towards an institutional logics approach. They also, however, collectively hint at the fact that institutional logics have their own macro-level relationships – competing and collaborating, supporting and dominating, ignoring and threatening each other. This is where we focus our gaze within this paper.

While other reviews have examined institutional logics in specific contexts (such as social enterprises – see Doherty et al., 2014); or have focused on the implementation of specific public administration measures (such as performance management systems - see Franco-Santos & Otley, 2018) there has, to our knowledge, been no review that steps back from context – be that sectoral or geographic – to categorise and relate logics across idiosyncratic studies and contexts. We use concepts that have been identified within the literature to help us to accomplish this feat. Thornton et al (2012) use the term ‘instantiation’ to mean “an instance of concrete evidence of the theory” (p.54). These instantiations are not new logics but rather are examples of the societal level logic in action at a field level. We use this concept to relate field level and macro level logics. Hybrid logics offer a form of ‘a la carte’ institutionalism where actors selectively bring together elements from different, possibly competing, logics (Pache and Santos, 2013). Bruckmann and Carvalho (2018) describe this area where ideal-type logics intersect as the area of ‘archetype confluence’. We therefore employ this term in our categorization of logics that successfully intersect. New field level logics in our categorization are those that hold no identifiable relationship with any pre-identified societal level logic - either as a direct transfer to the field, an instantiation or a hybrid.

Importantly, in this paper we distinguish an ideology from an institutional logic. Following Thornton et al. (2012), an ideology is a value laden and relatively rigid doctrine – a group of people adhere to it in search of material benefit. An institutional logic, on the other hand, indicates a level of symbolic abstractionism rather than social activism. While Friedland and Alford (1991) defined democracy as a societal-level logic, Thornton et al. (2004, 2012) contested this definition, seeing democracy rather as an ideology alongside other ideologies such as socialism and communism. Because it could be ascribed as a variable to other institutional orders such as the flat hierarchy of a democratically managed corporation, Thornton and colleagues (2004) allocated ‘democracy’ to the Y axis of their institutional order

matrix (in which institutional logics occupy the X axis). Likewise, a state logic can be qualified by reference to democracy (where decisions are converted to voting situations) or bureaucracy (where decisions are rationalised and regulated (Zheng et al. 2017, Friedland and Alford 1991).

Institutional logics are abstract, symbolic and they “condition actors’ choices” (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 2). They therefore imply a relatively passive embeddedness. While agency is of course possible, it often manifests in processes of institutional entrepreneurship where the dominance of a particular logic is challenged. This type of challenge may stem from an ideology. Ideologies are held at the individual level but can be experienced as field-level or societal-level forces. Institutional logics, on the other hand, while experienced at an individual level, exist at field or societal levels. Put simply, institutional logics flow downwards from society, to field, to individual while ideologies flow upwards from individual, to field, to society. Ideologies reflect individuals’ “core beliefs about the proper goals for society and how to achieve them” (Briscoe et al., 2014, p. 1789). Like institutional logics, ideologies are relatively stable and enduring and are historically inscribed but this occurs at the individual level through, for example, family upbringing (Jost, 2006). These “underlying belief system(s)” (Hafenbrädl and Waeger, 2017, p. 1583) act as a ‘mobilizing force’ for individuals connoting an individual drive towards action rather than a societal constraint on action such as that levied by institutional logics (Boone & Ozcan, 2014, p. 990).

Despite (or perhaps because of) the applicability of the institutional logics concept to studies of institutional change and institutional complexity, the concept is beset by “sources of confusion” (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012, p. 4). Indeed, concerns have been expressed that “any change, however slight, is now ‘institutional’” (Suddaby, 2010, p.15). We believe that some of this stems from a dominant tall ontology that focuses on the vertical influence of logics on actors and organisations. The resulting lack of distinction between institutional logics and ideologies, as well as a dearth of investigations that focus on the relationships between logics does little to address Suddaby, Thornton and colleagues’ concerns. We therefore consider a review of institutional logics across sectors where institutional complexity has become the norm to be both timely and necessary to inform future research. Our research question is two-fold: Firstly, we identify field-level logics in contexts of institutional complexity (in this case higher education and healthcare) and ask how these relate to each other and to societal-level ideal-type logics? Secondly, we ask what roles ideologies play in mediating relations between the field-level logics and what are the mechanisms by which this happens? The answers to these research questions pave the way towards a flatter ontology of institutional logics.

APPROACH TO THE REVIEW

The objective of this review was to better understand the relationships between institutional logics in situations of institutional complexity. We believed that a flatter ontology might offer a different perspective from which to view institutional complexity. Our hope was that such a perspective might in turn allow us to theorise across contexts. We chose a systematic literature review as it brought both transparency and rigour (Greenhalgh et al., 2004) to a study that was grounded in the dispersed use of a somewhat ambiguous concept. Our goal was to avoid compounding any potential subjectivity within the reviewed papers with our own inadvertent bias in paper selection and, in doing so, offer increased methodological transparency (Aguinis et al., 2018) and increased inferential reproducibility (Goodman et al., 2016). We followed Aguinis et al. (2018) to: 1. Determine the goal and scope of the review; 2. Determine the procedure to select journals for inclusion; 3. Calibrate source selection process through inter-

coder agreement; 4. Select sources using process identified in step three; 5. Calibrate content extraction process through inter-coder agreement; 6. Extract relevant content using multiple coders.

The goal and scope of the review

We reviewed and analysed empirical studies that employed the institutional logics perspective in the fields of higher education and healthcare organisation studies. We chose these two fields as they offer fertile ground for a study requiring institutional complexity. Higher education and healthcare increasingly represent complex institutional systems containing plural and often contesting institutional logics (Bastedo, 2009). As Galvin puts it in the context of healthcare: “The health care industry has experienced tremendous changes in its institutional structure in recent decades, incorporating new and varied organizational actors and responding to different rules and logics” (Galvin, 2002 p. 674). Indeed, Currie and Lockett (2011) describe health and social care as “an exemplar of how contextual influences linked to professional hierarchy and policy impact on attempts to distribute leadership” (Currie & Lockett, 2011, p.286) while more recently Gibeau et al. (2019) still find the context of health care to be “an ideal setting to study the presence of competing institutional logics” (p. 466). In the context of higher education, Zheng et al., (2018) find multiple logics of state, profession, family, market and corporation present in Chinese doctoral education. Oertel and Soll (2017) build upon Gumport (2000) to warn that multiple logics and the challenge of balancing competing institutional demands may now be the rule rather than the exception in higher education.

We focused on studies that a) identified institutional logics in the respective research setting, and b) utilised the unique explanatory power of institutional logics. Our search was not timebound, but we included only empirical studies as our interest was in the existence of logics in particular contexts and scenarios. We did not distinguish between qualitative and quantitative studies at this selection stage although it became evident in later analysis that the sample was largely qualitative in nature.

The article selection procedure

We searched the web of science core collection databases, limiting our search to the subject areas of ‘business’ and ‘management’ and used two search strings – the first combining “institutional logic” and “higher education” and the second “institutional logic” and “health*”. Both searches were initially conducted in February 2019. To ensure that key business and management literatures were thoroughly covered we then searched each of the Financial Times Top 50 (FT50) journals individually for a combination of “institutional logic” AND either “health” or “higher education”. We conducted these FT50 searches in the abstract of all articles within these journals with no time limit. We repeated the Web of Science searches in December 2021 to ensure an up-to-date review covering the years 2019-2021 in our search terms. In total we identified 158 potential articles for inclusion in our study (64 in higher education and 94 in health).

We then used a manual search process to select from amongst these articles those that would be included in the final study. Specifically, the first author, being experienced in the healthcare field, read the title and abstract of every health-related article (and in some instances the introduction or full paper). The second author, being experienced in the higher education field, repeated this process with the higher education articles. We met and discussed the process twice, each followed by a return to the databases to make any adjustments necessary. We further discussed any articles where we had difficulty making a decision and, where we remained uncertain, we erred on the side of including the article at this stage in the process. Articles were excluded where they were not empirical, not set in higher education/healthcare,

did not cite the institutional logics literature, or were not peer-reviewed journal articles. As a result, we have selected 39 higher education articles and 56 health articles that fall within the scope of our literature review (See Table 1). The articles spanned a wide geographic area between them but with a concentration on European and North American contexts.

Content extraction

The full text of each article was then read by the authors who made notes on the institutional logics identified within each article and how these were described. Again, this process was divided between the authors according to their sectoral specialisation and multiple rounds of discussion and calibration ensured inter-coder agreement. Once a coding structure had been agreed the first author coded all 95 papers using NVivo 12.

<Insert Table 1 about here>

General characteristics of the selected studies

While the health-related articles covered a relatively focused set of journals, (56 articles in 30 publication titles), the articles relating to education spanned a broader domain (39 articles over 30 publication titles in total). The 59 journals in total indicate the wide dispersion of scholarship in this area with minimal overlap between health and higher education publication outlets. The number of articles in both sectors that investigate the institutional logics in those fields has increased since their first appearance in the early 2000's – in particular, over the latter half of the last decade.

In total we identified 71 'logics' as so termed by the authors in our reviewed studies. Our initial efforts to map the connections between these logics revealed a plethora of inter-related terms and complex relationships. These connections were based on the use of one term (or a very close synonym) in the description of another. So, for example, "Academic" is linked to both "Profession" and "Community" by Conrath-Hargreaves & Wustemann (2019b) who describe the academic logic as "an instantiation of the societal-level logic of the profession... where individual academics create a 'community of scholars'" and "Authority is primarily based on professional seniority and collegial principles" (p.788). The academic logic is also linked to the state logic by Oertel & Soll (2017) who describe it as "sponsored by the state, which ensures that it is not corrupted by powerful actors and the economy in general" (p.5). It is also linked to the science ideology (which Guarini et al. call a logic) by Guarini et al. (2020) who claim that it draws its values and norms primarily from "the model of science that emphasises research freedom, the openness of research results, and rewards in the form of peer recognition" (p.116). The same logic is more obviously linked to variations such as logics of "academic publishing" (Aksom, 2018), "academic recruitment" (Paisey & Paisey, 2019); and "academic research" (Narayan et al. 2017). While it is not possible within this paper to detail the links between all logics in the reviewed papers, we use this "academic" logic as an illustration of how such links were identified.

It was clear that we needed to consolidate logics that shared the same meaning to facilitate meaningful theorization. With this in mind, we reviewed the descriptors or empirical evidence of each logic and ultimately grouped logics as per table 2 below.

<Insert Table 2 about here>

FINDINGS

All seven of the classic institutional logics (state, market, family, religion, profession, corporation, and community) appear across the two datasets with market and profession

ranking first and second respectively. At the field level, these differed in either small or large ways from the societal logic ideal-types. Some of these were field instantiations of the societal logics, some hybrids of the societal logics, and others appeared to constitute new field-level logics. We also found what we considered to be ideologies that were presented by authors as field-level logics. We therefore used these concepts (instantiations, hybrids, and new field logics) to create clear categories under which we mapped existing research. We leveraged this structure to analyse and interpret our findings. Because religion and family make limited appearances in the literature and always as a direct transfer of the societal logic to the field, we do not include them in our analysis below.

<Insert Table 3 about here>

Instantiations of societal logics at field level

We found examples of societal logics appearing at field level in both data sets, largely focused on state, market, corporation, profession and community logics. We found, however, that each field had its own instantiation of the professional logic and that these manifested differently in each field – an academic logic in the higher education field; and a medical professional logic in the healthcare field (Conrath-Hargreaves & Wustemann, 2019; Guarini et al., 2020).

Academic logic:

Academic logic is associated with “autonomy of research, collegiality, and lack of central control” drawing its values and norms primarily from “the model of science that emphasises research freedom, the openness of research results, and rewards in the form of peer recognition” (Guarini et al. 2020, p. 116). Like its parent professional logic, the academic logic rests on “institutional autonomy, individual academic freedom, and collective professionalism” and has held its own in universities despite a shift towards business-like leadership and management styles (Blaschke, 2014, p. 713). Individual academics are seen as “sovereign units” with tenured academics enjoying complete job security (Conrath-Hargreaves & Wustemann, 2019b, p. 788). Decisions are made by consensus and hierarchy is based on professional authority (Lepori & Montauti, 2020). Professional autonomy and social authority stem from specialised knowledge: “faculty determine their own agenda for teaching, research, and service” (Andersson & Taggart, 2016, p. 783). Doctoral students are socialized into an understanding of the norms, values, and practices of their disciplinary and professional fields (Mars et al., 2014, p. 361). This results in a ‘professional bureaucracy’ that is highly decentralised (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018, p. 633). An academic logic is associated with “a value-free search for truth” that “forms a buffer that will likely generate resistance to foreign influences on national university traditions” (Juusola, 2015, p. 365). For example, when a performance management system was introduced in an Italian public university it was designed to bridge academic (professional) and business (market-managerial) logics at both organisational and individual levels (Guarini et al., 2020). Individual academic responses to the introduction of this system varied from detachment, to business-as-usual, to reorientation. Reactions depended upon “how they view the academic work and what their particular internal drivers are” (Ibid. p. 134) as well as discipline-specific research traditions as to the types of research outputs that are most valued. We contend that what is happening here is more than individual academics responding to research traditions. The traditions themselves, and the institutional logics upon which they are based (professional, community, market and others) are challenged, activated, and in contention with each other. Internal drivers and values, i.e. ideologies, mediate these relationships in practice.

Medical Professionalism Logic

Medicine is a “prototypical profession” (Hughes, 1956) where high status physicians strenuously resist attempts to disrupt professional norms (Cappellaro et al., 2020). The professional logic prioritises ‘the best possible care, to the best of their professional ability’, regardless of the cost of such care (Arman et al., 2014, p. 284) with expert judgement considered ‘the highest form of clinical experience’ (Batista et al., 2016, p. 408). Since the mid 1950’s identity-based associations for physicians, nurses, hospital administrators, and other allied health services professionals have dominated institutionally (Galvin, 2002). In a healthcare setting, therefore, manifestations of a professional logic are likely to be nuanced and multiple (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016) with physicians and nurses each turning to logics that reflect institutionalised variations in their professional work (Gadolin, 2018). A logic of “medical professionalism” centres on the physician–patient relationship where physicians act as gatekeepers to the system (Reay & Hinings, 2005, p. 356). This relationship is highly institutionalised, as professional doctor treats ‘passive’ patient despite the increasing presence of ‘bureaucrats’ who bring with them “values and practices from the private sector.” (Currie & Guah, 2007, p. 242). The power relations between a dominant medical professional logic and a government-inserted ‘business-like healthcare’ logic may result in an “uneasy truce” (Reay & Hinings, 2005). While governments may seek to empower “a more knowledgeable and demanding public” (Reay & Hinings, 2005, p.360), such actions “directly challenged the logic of medical professionalism” (Reay and Hinings, 2005, p. 360). Reay & Hinings (2005) set out to “examine how key actors use their power to implement or resist change” (p. 360), we contend that, in doing so, they were also investigating the relative powers of the battling logics. Ultimately, the Alberta healthcare field experienced no real bridging of logics. One reason for this appears to be the lack of a shared ideology. While both government and physician groups spoke of the importance of patient care, government communications focused on cost reduction while physician communications centred on the physician-patient relationship. No shared ideology was in evidence, and so no mediation mechanisms were triggered (such as power rebalances; the creation of boundary-spanning entities or individuals, or the introduction of new practices). This ultimately led to continued conflict rather than the institution of a hybrid logic (p. 375).

We summarise this analysis in table 3 above where we consider the two field instantiations of the profession logic against the original societal level logic along key elements of Thornton et al.’s (2012) framework.

Hybrid logics

We discuss three hybrid logics found most frequently in our review at the field level: a market-managerial logic, a market-professional logic, and a professional-bureaucratic logic.

Market Managerial Logic

The market managerial logic combines field-level elements of the societal level logics of market and corporation and is found in both the education and healthcare literature. Also described as a business logic (e.g. Conrath-Hargreaves & Wustemann, 2019b) or a commercial logic (Gebreiter & Hidayah, 2019), this sees university education as “‘big business’ characterised by increased commercialisation, privatisation and corporatisation” (Paisey & Paisey, 2017, p. 57). It positions the student as customer and academics become “commodified inputs in the academic production process with performance” (Gebreiter & Hidayah, 2019; Paisey & Paisey, 2017, p. 57). Boundary spanning organizations may, however, develop and disseminate a shared ideology to bridge and ultimately hybridise seemingly opposing logics of academic research and commercial research. Higher education research institutes, for example,

develop common ideologies expressed as a shared mission to reject the ‘ivory-towered’ view of research (Narayan et al., 2017, p. 345). Healthcare faces similar calls to adopt ‘business-like’ structures and managerial practices” in place of “a prevailing professional logic” (Kitchener, 2002, p.402). In doing so government seeks “more cost-efficient and patient-centred ways of organising health services” (Øygarden et al., 2019, p. 133) “based on efficiency and effectiveness, customer service and business-like processes.” (Reay & Hinings, 2005, p. 360). Driven by New Public Management (NPM) principles and a public good ideology, it stresses “rational economic motives” and introduces “practices traditionally found in the corporate sector into public sector organisations” (Van den Broek et al., 2014, p. 11). Like students, patients and third-party payers become “consumers” as physicians lose control of health policy formulation and advice to those specialising in “societal coordination matters, business activities, and legal issues” (Galvin, 2002, p. 681). Such business-like health care thus conceives of medical professionalism as “one important component in the health care sector that nevertheless needs to be integrated into a series of activities and processes.” (Styhre et al., 2016, p. 326). In doing so a public good ideology transforms power relations between clinician and patient/payer to mediate a hybrid logic.

Market-Professional

The market-professional logic combines field-level elements of the societal level logics of market and profession and appears across both healthcare and education literature. Persistent commitment to the professional logic leads to “high hybridity” of professional and commercial logics in higher education (Gebreiter & Hidayah, 2019, p. 733). Academics may, therefore, embrace a hybrid market–professional logic that recognises personal expertise and professional status of academics as having a value within a knowledge market (Taylor & Kahle, 2017). In healthcare this is also evident although sometimes the market element remains ‘hidden’ as discussion of money is seen as taboo and in conflict with professionalism (Reay et al., 2017). It therefore also includes “achieving status and success” alongside a focus on financial, organizational, governance issues” (Verleye et al., 2017, p. 41). Nevertheless, once discussed, physicians began to see their professional knowledge as a valuable resource and thus “reinterpret the relationship between the professional and market logics as more complementary instead of conflicting” (Reay et al., 2017, p. 1058). In Reay et al.’s (2017) case, a democratic ideology that saw multiple healthcare professionals as equally valuable to primary care, reframed power relations between family physicians and other professionals to institutionalise a hybrid logic. Hybridity, however, may not always be assured. Currie & Guah (2007) find resistance to new technology based on professional logics, reflecting a perception of business-like changes as an intrusion on the professional organization (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016). Here, a technical-design ideology fails to activate the practice-based mechanisms that might facilitate a hybrid logic.

Professional-Bureaucratic¹

The professional-bureaucratic logic combines field-level elements of the societal level logics of profession, corporation, and state. In higher education we see this in Bruckmann and Carvalho’s (2018) hybrid logic of ‘efficient-collegiality’ that is “...closer to managerial governance models... [but with] a collegial board that was traditionally part of the university’s

¹ The term bureaucratic is used by many of the authors within our reviewed studies to refer to a logic. We prefer to use the term as a source of authority or legitimacy within multiple logics such as State and Corporation. We therefore use it here to signify a hybrid of the two but in the discussion that follows may sometimes quote from authors who use it otherwise.

governance model.” (p. 638). State evaluation criteria include “rules, inputs, responsibilities, duties and rights” (Howells et al., 2014, p. 255). Indeed, the bureaucracy often associated with a state logic is also associated with the ‘guild’ logic in traditional higher education, a reference to the collegiality and apprenticeships that characterise an academic professional logic (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018). Power in this professional bureaucracy is based on expertise and favours autonomy, meaning that such bureaucracies “are highly decentralised, and with regard to decision-making, they are based on collegial values and these values are apparent in highly participated and represented decision-making structures” (Ibid, p. 633). This democratic ideology leverages a presentation of power relations that maintains professional expertise and autonomy within particular boundaries set by the state or the organisation, thereby facilitating a hybridisation of logics. The dominant logic of healthcare is “professional-bureaucratic” (Bishop & Waring (2016) p. 1942). Hospitals are highly bureaucratic contexts that rely “on professional standardized skills..., clinical guidelines, and bureaucratic control and the elimination of process variation through standardization, routinization and training” (Batista et al., 2016, p. 407). These bureaucratic structures have two roles - they preserve performance adaptation and protect against external scrutiny (Batista et al., 2016).

We summarise this analysis in table 3 above where we consider the three hybrid logics found along key elements of Thornton et al.’s (2012) framework.

New field-level logics

We found two examples of what may amount to new field-level logics in that these do not clearly map onto pre-identified societal level logics either as instantiations or hybrid logics.

Science Logic

Science presents one example where healthcare and higher education differ. Each of the two fields manifests and explains the influence of ‘science’ differently. We suggest that while in healthcare ‘science’ is potentially a new field level logic, in higher education ‘science’ comes closer to being an ideology acting as a source of norms and authority for the professional logic. Merton’s norms of science refer to four sets of institutional imperatives, namely ‘universalism, communism, disinterestedness, and organised scepticism that ‘are taken to comprise the ethos of modern science’ (Merton, 1973, p. 270). In this view, scientific (or Meronian) norms are a source for the academic instantiation of the professional logic discussed above. Such a sourcing of the academic logic privileges disinterestedness and communism of intellectual property and underpins the principal norms and values of scientific research, creating “academic tribes” that operate according to discipline-specific norms (Mars et al. 2014, p. 357). The scientific logic’s mission is a quest for “truth”, but scientific truth is a value and therefore must be operationalised in practice (Pruisken, 2017).

In healthcare, on the other hand, science may be antithetical to the medical professional logic. Evidence Based Medicine (EBM) is a positivist conception of ‘scientific knowledge’ that “de-emphasizes intuition, unsystematic clinical experience, and pathophysiologic rationale as sufficient ground for clinical decision making’ (EBMWG, 1992, p. 2420) thus challenging the professional logic of “independent, indeterminate and tacit judgement.” (Batista et al., 2016, p. 408). Other authors argue the opposite – that evidence-based results form a key element of the logic of professionalism (Blomgren & Waks, 2015) and that its historical roots are in its scientific knowledge involving innovative diagnostic and therapeutic procedures based on a scientific biological model and Western medical practices (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Heinze & Weber, 2016).

Care Logic

A ‘care’ logic, on the other hand, is compassionate and preventive, treating patients “as whole people rather than simply diseases” (Dunn & Jones, 2010, p.116; Andersson & Liff, 2018). Legitimacy under a care logic is linked to inclusion and community engagement and authority is gladly shared thus increasing the status of non-physician healthcare professionals (Fincham & Forbes, 2015). It prioritises applying existing knowledge for the benefit of current patients over deep medical research (Llopis & D’Este, 2016). We consider care to be a logic rather than an ideology in that it is clearly rooted in the institution of the physician–patient dyad. The overarching care logic is captured best in a “patient-centered care” (PCC) worldview that considers the patient’s physical and emotional needs and is beginning to permeate Western healthcare including the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada and Sweden (Frow et al., 2019, p. 2659). The PCC model “features institutional structures, rules, norms that shape interactions and those collaborative care solutions that are created.” (Frow et al., 2019, p. 2676). In fact, a patient-centre ‘mission’ might allow a ‘discursive bridging’ of the logics of professionalism and managerialism in healthcare (Gibeau et al., 2019, p. 474). Or it might be used as a barrier between the two, where, in a process of decoupling, professionals insist that patient interests should trump managerial efficiency despite little other evidence that patient interest was a key concern (Kern et al., 2018). While the same two logics are at play in both instances, it is shared ideology that makes the difference between a discursively-bridged hybrid logic; or a failure to hybridise resulting in an entrenched singular dominant logic.

Because of this care/science split that pulls field actors in two directions - towards lab, or towards patient (each of which we argue is a field-level institution), we follow Dunn & Jones (2010) to argue that science should be considered a field logic in the field of healthcare. Where a science institutional logic equips physicians for continued medical research, a care institutional logic recognizes that they must treat patients “like humans.” (Styhre et al., 2016, p. 326). This is not to say that these logics cannot be reconciled or hybridised, but simply to recognise that they exist. Intellectually and organizationally, however, science and care logics may be difficult to bring together and may form ‘competitive constellations’ (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Essén & Värlander, 2019 p.1166). Merging science and care logics is, however, the very heart of the academic health centre mission offering an institutional home to clinician–scientists who operate “at the nexus” of both logics (Lander, 2016, p. 1525). This boundary spanning may be superficial in the absence of a shared ideology, where individuals simply use the boundary spanning position to deliver on their home logic – for example, offering access to patient data for those following a science logic rather than truly bridging science and care logics (Ibid).

We summarise this analysis in Table 3 above where we consider these two new field level logics along key elements of Thornton et al.’s (2012) framework.

Ideologies

We found that the concept of ideology rarely featured overtly in our reviewed studies. Indeed, some authors appeared to interpret ideology-related issues as institutional logics. We discuss three illustrative examples of terms (democracy, public good and technical design) which are presented in our reviewed literature as institutional logics, but which we believe are more accurately described as ideologies. These three ideologies represent an instantiation of a societal ideology, a hybrid of different societal ideologies at the field level, and a new field level ideology respectively, as discussed below. We offer a tabular visualisation of these ideologies in Table 4, akin to Thornton and colleagues’ Interinstitutional Ideal Types table

(Thornton et al., 2012, p.8). There may, of course, be further examples of ideologies that have been mis-identified across the institutional logics literature. We seek to begin a process of identifying and ideal-typing ideologies alongside institutional logics (see Table 4).

<Insert Tables 4 about here>

Democracy

Unlike the top-down decision-making style of a managerialist approach, higher education culture “considers consultation to be an important element of academic leadership” (Mir et al., 2020, p. 128). Academic leaders are, therefore, “*primus inter pares*” as democratic participation underpins decisions on academic matters that are taken by academics (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018, p. 642). Indeed, higher education itself can be seen as a guarantee for societal democratisation when right of access is assured (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018). We see this collegiality as a field-level instantiation of the societal-level ideology of democracy in higher education. In healthcare, a democratic ideology is vocalised using words such as ‘transparency’, ‘patient rights’, and ‘public debate’ underpinned by citizens, patient, media, and interest group entitlements to healthcare service quality and efficiency data (Blomgren & Waks, 2015, p. 95). It seeks to “give patients ‘more choice’ in the drugs they can access (Currie & Guah, 2007, p. 238), in effect seeking to merge healthcare field with healthcare market (Mountford & Geiger, 2021). Such public choice comes up against professionalism which public choice theorists claim “distorts the operation of markets, promotes rising costs, and encourages ‘producer capture’ of services.” (Kitchener, 2002, p. 401). In the US, patient democracy has grown alongside consumption of health care services with “the emergence of a ‘consumer health movement’” (Galvin, 2002, p. 681). This has moved US health care “away from specific profession-based interests and toward organizations, interests, and claims that included emerging voices and players in the field (like consumers and alternative health care providers).” (Ibid, p. 682). This reflects the previously mentioned community logic that focuses on democratic participation (Moses & Sharma, 2020) and a state logic that relies on democratic participation for its legitimacy (Waldorff, 2013). A civil society logic “emphasising social value and democratic engagement” can challenge an incumbent state or public sector logic through a “much greater degree of democratic participation by staff and users” (Vickers et al., 2017, p. 1755).

Public Good

A ‘social institution’ logic in higher education stems “from an ‘academic’ value set in the research mission to the social justice outcomes of engagement” (Upton and Warshaw, 2017, p.99, Gumpert, 2000, Paisey & Paisey, 2017). We suggest that this describes an ideology, perhaps offering legitimacy to the academic professional logic, that draws on social goals and academic ideals in the pursuit of an educational mission. It thus creates a hybrid ideology drawing on societal ideologies of equity/inclusion and political accountability. In healthcare, a professional logic (seeking high-quality healthcare provision) draws legitimacy from an ideology of political accountability (optimizing the overall health system) (Cappellaro et al., 2020). Public values are “the prerogatives, normative standards, social supports, rights and procedural guarantees that a given society aspires to provide to all citizens” (Bozeman and Sarewitz 2005, 22). A public good ideology may change over time and from culture to culture (Andersson & Taggart, 2016). Social enterprises reference public good ideologies when seeking public investment “in assorted domains of social, economic, and scientific enterprise” (Andersson & Taggart, 2016, p. 780). In healthcare and beyond, social enterprises have long combined a social mission with market-led competitive human resource practices to acquire and retain talent (Moses & Sharma, 2020). Public good ideologies may offer legitimacy or

authority to multiple institutional logics, but they may also be in conflict with one or more logics. In higher education, a public good ideology of inclusion and equality increases pressure on universities to adopt diversity management and exhibit appropriate behaviour (Oertel, 2018).

We suggest that New Public Management is one instantiation of a public good ideology that emphasises commoditisation and market efficiency, throwing logics of professionalism, state bureaucracy, the market and social welfare into conflict (Bishop & Waring, 2016; Oertel, 2018). NPM occasions “a shift in professional power with the cultural-cognitive framework being highly influenced by managerial values and norms.” (Bruckmann and Carvalho, 2018, p. 633). A public good ideology of “autonomy with accountability” (p. 644) brings with it shared values underpinned by supporting structures and actions. This mediates a productive truce between logics and the development of a hybrid archetype of “efficient collegiality” that lasts beyond any supposed transitional phase. (p. 637). Boundary spanning co-leadership roles may also activate ideological mediation of professional and managerial logics in healthcare (Gibeau et al., 2019). A shared mission – “a concern for the patient (individually) or for patients (collectively)” (p. 474) allows a “discursive bridging of the two logics, given the overarching legitimacy of patient concerns in both professional and managerial views” (p. 474). We suggest that this ‘mission’ gave discursive body to an ideology of public good and leveraged boundary-spanning roles to allow two potentially opposing logics to co-exist in relative harmony.

Technical Design

A Technical Design ideology emerges from the recent healthcare literature that emphasizes the quality of technical solutions and information system design; and values state of the art IT, specific IT functionality, communications infrastructure, and quality vendor platforms (Hansen & Baroody, 2020). It underpins a logic of digital options, which seeks a “set of strategic IT-enabled capabilities in the form of process capital and knowledge capital” (Karahanna et al., 2019, p. 115). It is also reflected in an engineering logic exhibited by many technology providers who focus on “getting stuff working, delivering it” (Klecun et al., 2019, p. 306). When coupled with a logic of science, a technical design ideology can complement a market logic (Hartman & Coslor, 2019). For example, advanced technology adoption may influence a hospital's ability to attract and retain potential employees who hold a similar technical design ideology (Moses & Sharma, 2020). Specific technologies, such as telehealth, may be subject to technological, bureaucratic (managerial) and professional institutions, each influencing the value sought during service exchange and requiring users “to grapple with conflicting ways of ascribing meaning to interactions” (Jefferies et al., 2019, p. 423). Unlike their private sector peers, public sector ICT deployments often use technology to “address issues of social inclusion, transparency, decentralized delivery of public services, public accountability and governance” (Sandeep & Ravishankar, 2014, p. 705). A technical design ideology mediates the logics of medical professionalism, private sector managerialism, and regulatory oversight in a practice-based approach (Hansen & Baroody, 2020). For example, Electronic Health Record (EHR) features and functionality influence “the nature of logics themselves and the ways in which they interact.” (Ibid, 2020, p.66). All three logics (profession, corporation, and state) can be “invoked around an organizing principle of continuous improvement” with a “core focus on improving results based on analysis of data is commonly held across the three logics.” (Ibid p. 67). This consistency of “organizing principles” enables complementarity between distinct logics finding “points of alignment between distinct logics ... around the benefits that EHR technology can bring to such critical facets as data analysis and support of clinical decision making.” (Ibid p. 66).

A NEW RESEARCH AGENDA ENABLED BY A FLATTER ONTOLOGY OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

The point of employing an institutional logics approach to the analysis of situations of institutional complexity is to somehow cut through that complexity to find the multi-level patterns of principles by locating their associated symbols, structures, politics, and constraints (Friedland and Alford, 1991). In doing so we hope to discover how reasoning takes place in a given context (Thornton et al. 2012). Institutional logics are certainly complicated. They were never intended, however, to be complex in and of themselves. In fact, they are meant to act as a map, an aid to navigating culturally complicated or complex empirical contexts. Our review of just two such contexts – healthcare and higher education – shows that a focus on the context-specific, vertical impacts (both top down and bottom up) of institutional logics has led to the map becoming so overwritten and ragged that it is becoming almost useless to those who wish to leave a path that others can follow. We suggest that a flatter, more horizontal perspective on institutional logics may help. Such a perspective offers a clearer articulation of the differences between logics at field and societal levels; between logics and ideologies; and the relationships and mechanisms that facilitate or block hybridisation. Understanding that logics themselves can hold relationships allows us to recognise the multi-level, networked nature of culture without simplifying it to the black box of ‘context’ (Latour, 2005). To fully embrace this potential we recommend a number of changes in how we approach institutional logics research.

A clear distinction between logics and ideologies

Although Thornton et al. (2001) distinguish two concepts: institutional logic and ideology, we found that, in our reviewed studies, authors have paid little attention to the ideology concept with some even interpreting ideology-related issues as institutional logics. We correct existing institutional logics analysis by identifying Democracy, Public Good and Technical design as ideologies instead of institutional logics as understood in our reviewed studies. We offer these as examples and a cautionary tale. We suggest, however, that such concepts should be examined and evidenced in each field. In other words, that researchers should not assume that an ideology found in one field will directly translate to another. This means that ideologies, unlike logics, may not be susceptible to being mapped and related at the macro level. This difference is likely to stem from the fact that logics should be clearly associated with an established institution, should demonstrate a presumption of embeddedness and constraint on action, should exist at the field or societal level, and should be seen to drive isomorphism of some sort at these levels. Ideologies, on the other hand, are associated with belief systems rather than institutions. These may be established or contested within the field or wider society. Ideologies are held at the individual level and so isomorphism at the field level is not necessary. Rather we expect to see ideologies translate into recipes for action within the field – social movements, demonstrations, public debate etc. While it is impossible to draw a clean line between institutional logics and ideologies that will neatly cut through all their possible overlaps, we summarise our attempt to sketch some key distinctions in Table 5.

<Insert Table 5 about here>

We illustrate this with the example of science. Science takes the form of a logic in the healthcare field linked to material (e.g. laboratory testing, clinical trials) and symbolic (e.g. Nobel prize) practices and carrying with it legitimacy and authority. Science in higher education, as presented in our reviewed studies, is not a logic but rather an ideology. That is not to say that it could not be (or is not) a logic in higher education. Rather researchers have

not yet shown it to be so by linking it to an institution or clearly demonstrating constraints on action and embeddedness. In fact, what we see are disciplinary differences within higher education where some disciplines may follow a science ‘logic’ and others not. As discussed in our reviewed literature it is more ideology than logics within higher education as it is contested as a performance measurement recipe for action.

A focus on levels

Figure 1 illustrates how logics and ideologies can be found at both societal and field level. Of course, in some instances societal logics will be clearly seen at field level in their unalloyed form – fields are, after all, embedded in society. Other times they will be seen as field instantiations of that logic with a clear line between the societal logic and its appearance at field level. This is illustrated by our academic and medical instantiations of the professional logic in the fields of higher education and healthcare respectively. Logics may also blend and merge at the field level into hybrid logics such as market-managerial, or market-professional. Of course, there is also room for new logics at the field level. While these translations of institutional logics from society to field are not overly revelatory, more interesting perhaps are the parallel processes that translate ideology from societal to field level. Once again there are direct translations such as democracy – a societal ideology that is clearly held in different forms at the field level epitomised by the ideology of collegiality in the field of higher education. Our reviewed papers often conflate societal and field level logics and ideologies. When studying institutional complexity, this makes it difficult to understand where the complexity truly lies and thus how institutional change might come about. If, for example, a societal logic is entrenched at field level then perhaps institutional change within the field depends upon societal level change.

<Insert Figure 1 about here>

Linking logics and ideologies

We go beyond Thornton et al.’s discussions on the relations between institutional logics and ideologies by elaborating on the role of ideologies in harmonising mingling institutional logics that co-exist and the formation of hybrid logics. Once we clearly separate out logics and ideologies, our review suggests that ideologies are key to the peaceful co-existence or the active contestation of multiple logics on the ground. Put simply, ideologies mediate the relationships between logics at the field level. We ask the reader to see this as one slice through the empirical research that showcases a number of connections and encourages us to reflect on the mechanisms by which logics become, or fail to become, hybrid. Ideology, according to Hensmans (2003), “functions either to reproduce or change institutionalized power relations in a field” (p. 356) where ideological bias amounts to “a set of beliefs describing, projecting and indicating the relevant social reality” (p. 358).

We go on to discuss three mechanisms identified within our study of institutional change and complexity. Power relations, boundary spanning, and practice-based mechanisms have all emerged as mechanisms by which ideology mediates the relationship between logics:

Power relations have been cited by researchers as one factor affecting institutional change/inertia (see for example Reay & Hinings, 2005). Hensmans (2003) speaks of power relations as strategic actors legitimise and make sense of “‘unorganised interests’ lying ‘in between’ different participants” (p. 357). We suggest that such interests also lie ‘in between’ logics and that logics themselves can be more, or less, powerful. Indeed, the concept of a

‘dominant’ logic is much used throughout the literature (Andersson & Taggart, 2016; Mars et al., 2014; Nations, 2018; Andersson & Liff, 2018; Cappellaro et al., 2020 and others). A smaller number of papers in the *Scandinavian Journal of Management* speak of the hierarchisation of logics in the healthcare field – again connoting a power-stratified relationship of multiple logics within a field (Arman et al., 2014; Andersson & Gadolin, 2020). Throughout these papers we get a sense of a dynamic between the logics themselves – each battling for champions in the form of field actors and organisations (Mountford & Geiger, 2020). Ideologies can enhance or reduce power bases to mediate the relationships between warring logics. Thus Bruckmann and Carvalho (2018)’s professional bureaucracy/managerial logic war was mediated by public good ideology to rebalance power between the professional expert and the efficient manager delivering a hybrid logic of efficient collegiality (p. 637).

Ideologies are held at both micro (individual) and meso (network or field) level as in Reay and Hinings’ (2005) study of Albertan healthcare discussed earlier. Power is also held at both levels. Our theory suggests that power may also be held at the macro level by the institutional logic itself. Our proposed flatter ontology allows us to link all three levels and see the possible connections between individual, organizational, network, field logic, and societal logic power bases. It further allows us to cross levels (in Latour’s world there would be little recognition of such levels) to link ideologies at one level with power at another or multiple levels. Thus ideologies, power bases, and institutional logics form a level-agnostic network with multi-level interactions and relationships. Because ideologies flow upwards from the individual they may better facilitate the power redistributions for institutional change. Individuals may voluntarily cede or redistribute power when this is a required element of a recipe for action in pursuit of a particular ideology. This offers a bypass of the field level resistance to power dilution that, for example, a professional logic might invoke.

We suggest that future research could profitably investigate the power relations between institutional logics and the role of ideologies in leveraging such relations to mediate warring logics. Questions that might be asked include whether particular logics inherently convey more power or whether context affects the power of a particular logic. In a nod to the children’s game of rock, paper, scissors, are there particular combinations of logics that trump or concede to each other. So, for example, might a professional logic beat a state logic, but a market logic beat a professional logic in particular scenarios. And how do ideologies impact on these relationships? Does it depend upon who ‘wields’ them and the power that they hold within the field? These questions and more open up a strong seam of research on the multi-level relationships between power, ideologies, and logics.

A second, practice-focused approach to institutional change, introduces new systems or activities in order to change institutional orders (Hansen & Baroody, 2020, Guarini et al., 2020). We suggest that a common ideology of technical design held by key individuals throughout the field or organisation facilitates such consistency of principles. The ideology mediates the relationships between multiple logics allowing them to fruitfully co-exist and this cascades down to the actors within the field. It is this ideology, in our view, that facilitates the ‘reticulation’ between logics that Hansen and Baroody describe. This reticulation, or intertwining, of logics is based on points of interaction created by common practices as well as the interweaving of such practices through shared activities. Without a common ideology, however, such common practices could not, on their own, achieve the relatively peaceful inter-logic relationships described in this case. This alternative is demonstrated to great effect in the higher education context by Guarini et al.’s study (2020) of the introduction of a performance management system in an Italian public university discussed earlier. While these authors refer

to individuals' reliance on "their academic logic" to decide which side to take in this battle of logics, we argue that internal drivers and a value-based view of their work is closer to an ideology than an institutional logic. We therefore suggest that, for example, those academics who hold a more capitalist ideology will find the transition to a performance management system easier. In this instance a market logic might find more traction amongst such a population. Individuals may decide to engage in, or refuse to engage in, a practice because it aligns or fails to align with their individual ideologies. This bubbles up to a critical mass either for or against the change as a tipping point in adoption or failure is reached that either challenges or reinforces incumbent institutional logics.

We therefore suggest a second set of research questions that explore how practices at the organisational or field level impact the relationships between logics at the macro level and how these are activated or rejected by ideology. Researchers could profitably question the direction of causation in such studies – do practices affect the relationships between logics; or does the pre-existing relationship between the prevailing logics predetermine the success or otherwise of the practice introduction? Likewise, do ideologies show themselves in the design of a particular practice or does the practice unknowingly float atop the swirl of ideological content until it becomes evident that such foundations are unsound? Do logics or ideologies ultimately determine the likelihood of success of a particular practice? Or is it some combination of the two? While much research coverage exists of practices in the context of institutional logics, we borrow from Hansen and Baroody to argue for more 'reticulation' in our own research approaches. Nothing is simple and efforts to disentangle causal relationships between logics, practices and ideologies are always likely to fall short of a definitive answer. In the attempt, however, we are likely to learn substantially more about the cultural, normative and cognitive battlegrounds between logics.

A third vein has examined boundary spanning individuals or organisations that bring together and integrate institutional logics within one entity (Lander, 2016; Narayan et al. 2017, Gibeau et al., 2019). We suggest that it is a common ideology that facilitates this compatibility in one boundary spanning organisation (for example, Narayan et al.'s case) rather than another (for example, Lander's case). Similarly a hybrid logic of 'efficient-collegiality' brings together market and academic professional logics in a single boundary spanning individual – the academic manager (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018). Such academic-managers combine efficiency and democratic decision-making into a single "interpretative scheme" that facilitates both managerial and collegial features. We suggest that this 'interpretative scheme' is, in fact, a hybrid ideology that allows such academic managers to successfully share a democratic (or collegiality) ideology with their academic peers and an efficiency ideology with their management peers. Because ideology is held at the individual level, individuals are essential to the dissemination of ideology. Boundary spanning individuals may therefore be more effective than boundary spanning organisations in activating ideologies to mediate logics. While organisations are, of course, composed of individuals, there is no guarantee that all of these individuals will hold and canvass for the same ideology.

We suggest a flattening of micro, meso and macro levels in the future investigation of logics and boundary spanning. Studies have tended to focus on the relationship between the individual/organisation and the logics they must span. We suggest the inclusion of the relationships between the logics themselves as well as the consideration of ideology and how it mediates these relationships and activates or inhibits boundary spanning. Such an approach raises a series of possible research questions: Are there particular combinations of logics that make boundary spanning more possible or more comfortable than others? Does the ideology

of the boundary spanner have an impact on the likely success of the boundary spanning effort? Are ideologies pushed upwards by individuals or do organisations and fields absorb ideologies from individuals in osmosis-like processes? Does ideology affect the relationships between the logics that are being bridged? These and similar questions would move us beyond examinations of particular boundary spanning individuals and organisations in particular logic-al contexts. It would raise our thinking to the level of the logics themselves, potentially allowing us a first step towards a theory of logics.

Our review and analysis suggest that three mechanisms are key to how ideologies mediate the relationships between logics – power relations, boundary spanning, and practice-based mechanisms. It is, we suggest, these mechanisms that ‘flatten’ the theoretical landscape between logics and transform ideologies into either conductors or insulators between logics. We suggest that particular ideologies tend to leverage particular mechanisms over others. In particular, we see public good ideologies relying on and foregrounding boundary spanning organisations and individual roles. Perhaps because public good ideologies rely on political accountability, they leverage most heavily those mechanisms that ensure dual accountability. A foot in both camps also allows boundary spanners to sense and respond to the changes in value systems that are inherent in a public good ideology. A technical design ideology, on the other hand, tends to leverage practice-based mechanisms. An emphasis on function means that any ideological claims must be shown to translate into practice for them to successfully bridge logics. An inherent belief in the value of technical systems means that a technical design ideology will always privilege systems and, therefore, the practice-based changes that are necessary to adopt such systems. Finally, a democracy ideology is likely to leverage power relations mechanisms when mediating the relationship between institutional logics. Participation and debate act to either shore up or redistribute power amongst field actors while powerful actors in turn either support or undermine a democratic ideal. The ideologies, and the preferred mechanism through which they mediate the relationships between institutional logics, are shown in Figure 2.

<Insert Figure 2 about here>

Implications for other institutional approaches

In this paper we focus on institutional logics. In doing so we have paid little attention to other approaches of institutional theory such as institutional layering (which may explain some of our instantiations or hybrids as new rules are added to old – see, for example Mahoney & Thelen, 2009; and for an overview, van der Heijden, 2011). We are conscious that there are other institutional approaches that may offer additional detail and insights. Exploring these other institutional approaches would be a fruitful future addition to understandings of complex institutional contexts. Our research also clearly focuses on two sectors – healthcare and higher education. While we consider these to be particularly fertile soil for the investigation of institutional logics and institutional complexity, there are other sectors that may offer nuanced insight into such field dynamics including transport, communications, energy and others. Other logics may arise in such sectors (such as sustainability within the energy sector).

CONCLUSION

New institutionalism began the process of problematising the institutionalist ontology, questioning a one way vertical macro to micro flow. With this paper we build on this to encourage the addition of a horizontal perspective that examines the relationships between institutional logics, and between institutional logics and ideologies. In doing so we do not

seek to completely flatten out the benefits of institutional logics that offer structure and focus to researchers in this space – rather we seek the best of both tall and flat ontologies across the institutional logics literature. We advocate a focus on ideology as a mediator of the relationships between logics and an activator of key mechanisms such as power relations, boundary spanning, and practice-based change.

We examined two contexts characterised by institutional complexity (healthcare and higher education) and reviewed literature that examined such contexts using an institutional logics approach. This analysis supported Suddaby's concern demonstrating a lack of conceptual clarity around the use of the institutional logic in organizational studies of healthcare and higher education. For example, the disparate use of the terms 'corporate', 'business', and 'managerial' with reference to institutional logics is likely to be hiding similar drivers and challenges. While proliferating (new) field-level institutional logics are observed in the literature, actually very few new logics emerge in organisational fields. Rather, most field-level logics (identified in the literature) are field instantiations of societal logics, hybrid logics (a mix of two or more societal-level logics) or ideologies (not logics). In particular, such confusions limit our ability to understand the relationships between logics themselves at a macro level. In a similar vein, confusing ideologies with institutional logics will make it more difficult for us to use institutional theory to understand institutional change at societal, field, or organizational/individual levels. While we highlight the key role of ideologies, this arose from our search for logics and we have not searched the literature for ideologies in their own right. Future research should focus on the ideology as a potential determinant of institutional change. We hope that our attempt to disentangle institutional logics from ideologies might aid this effort.

We hope that clarifying how societal level logics appear at a field level; offering a clear vocabulary to distinguish hybrids, instantiations, new logics, and ideologies; and flattening our institutional logic ontology to focus on the relationships between logics, will offer organisational theorists a much stronger position from which to inform the development of institutional logics theory on a wider scale.

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