

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

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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 categorize 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 a horizontal relationship between logics as well as a vertical relationship between logics and actors.

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., 2020),

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the enactment of common activities (Hansen & Baroody, 2020), reframing (Nite et al., 2013) or boundary-spanning individuals/organizations (Jefferies et al., 2019; Lander, 2016; Narayan & Stittle, 2018). Others have examined the benefits or otherwise of co-existing logics within an organization (Alexander et al., 2018; Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016; 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; Cappellaro et al., 2020; Kern et al., 2018). Together, these streams of research shed much light on how organizations 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, recognize that actors’ actions in turn shape institutional logics. As Seidl and Whittington (2014) put it, ‘(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’ (p. 1414). 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, p. 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 recognizes 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, p. 166). At the same time, it allows us to ‘trace the connections that permit what is going on’ (Seidl & Whittington, 2014, p. 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 edu-

cation and healthcare) that have proved particularly fertile ground from which to survey institutional complexity. In both, new public management approaches, marketization and previously entrenched state and/or professional logics have meant that organizations and individuals within these fields have much experience in managing and navigating institutional complexity. Both also boast a substantial body of literature that employs an institutional logics approach from which we can draw 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 logics should regulate a particular course of action (Friedland & Alford, 1991). This has led to a consistent stream of research that examines the clashes between incumbent and invading logics (see e.g. Thornton, 2002; Townley, 2002), dominant logics (Reay & Hinings, 2005; Vickers et al., 2017), hybrid logics (Battilana et al., 2017; Bishop & Waring, 2016), constellations of logics (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016; Greenwood et al., 2011) 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 organising principles’ that are ‘symbolically grounded, organisationally structured, politically defended and technically and materially constrained’

(Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). Thornton (2004) and Thornton et al. (2012) identify seven ideal-type institutional logics—the state, the market, the family, religion, the professions, the corporation and community—that embody the classic formulation of logics, each 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 & 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 & 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, professionals and government actors to order and provide meaning to fields of activity by making some actions more appropriate than others (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

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 organizations within the field. Beneath these investigations and discussions, however, lies a macro-level truth—that all fields contain multiple institutional logics and that these logics often compete with each other (Reay & Hinings, 2005). This is visible within the higher education sector in an increasing reliance on third-party funding (Badelt, 2020; Wiener et al., 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 & Mountford, 2021). Likewise, within healthcare we see how the market logic that accompanies digital health interventions (based on the belief that markets will more efficiently allocate scarce resources) comes up against a healthcare professional logic that claims a decision-making and gate-keeping role (Mountford, 2019).

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 epitomize 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 categorize 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 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 *à la carte* institutionalism where actors selectively bring together elements from different, possibly competing, logics (Pache & 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 (2004) and Thornton et al. (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 (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 rationalized and regulated) (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Zheng et al., 2018).

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 & Waeger, 2017, p. 1583) act as a 'mobilising 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, 2020, 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 et al., 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 organizations. 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 and Thornton and colleague's 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 twofold. 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 ontol-

ogy might offer a different perspective from which to view institutional complexity. Our hope was that such a perspective might in turn allow us to theorize 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 the process identified in step three; (5) calibrate the content extraction process through inter-coder agreement; (6) extract relevant content using multiple coders.

Goal and scope

We reviewed and analysed empirical studies that employed the institutional logics perspective in the fields of higher education and healthcare organization 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 (2002) 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 organisational actors and responding to different rules and logics' (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' (p. 286), while more recently Gibeau et al. (2020) 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 Gumpert (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 (1) identified institutional logics in the respective research setting and (2) utilized 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.

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 abstracts 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,

TABLE 1 The article retrieval process

	Health	Education
WoS February 2019	51	46
FT50	6	1
(Duplicates)	(2)	(1)
WoS December 2021	41	20
(Duplicates)	(2)	(2)
Total articles retrieved	94	64
Excluded (outside scope)	34	24
Excluded (no year of publication)	4	1
Included articles	56	39

this process was divided between the authors according to their sectoral specialization and multiple rounds of discussion and calibration ensured inter-coder agreement. Once a coding structure had been agreed, the first author coded all 95 articles using NVivo 12.

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 were relatively more dispersed (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 (1 journal). The number of articles in both sectors that investigate the institutional logics in those fields has increased since their first appearance in the early 2000s—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 and Wüstemann (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 and 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., 2020 call a logic), which is claimed to draw 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, 2017) 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 articles, 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.

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.

Instantiations of societal logics at field level

We found examples of societal logics appearing at field level in both datasets, 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 & Wüstemann, 2019a; Guarini et al., 2020).

Academic logic

Academic logic is associated with 'autonomy of research, collegiality and lack of central control' drawing its val-

ues 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 et al., 2014, p. 713). Individual academics are seen as 'sovereign units' with tenured academics enjoying complete job security (Conrath-Hargreaves & Wüstemann, 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 specialized 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 decentralized (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 et al., 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 organizational 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' (Guarini et al., 2020, 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, that is, 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 prioritizes '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

TABLE 2 Consolidation of logics (as so termed in the articles reviewed) across the literature

Over-arching term	Conceptual category	Other terms from the literature included within this heading	Source articles
Academic	Field instantiation of societal logic	Academic publishing, academic recruitment, academic research, guild	Aksom (2018), Anderson and Taggart (2016), Barnhardt et al. (2019), Conrath-Hargreaves and Wüstemann (2019a, 2019b), Guarini et al. (2020), Juusola et al. (2015), Narayan and Sittle (2018), Oertel and Soll (2017), Paisey and Paisey (2017)
Medical professionalism	Field instantiation of societal logic	Cure	Andersson and Liff (2018), Cappellaro et al. (2020), Gadolin (2018), Hansen and Baroodly (2020), Heinze and Weber (2016), Reay and Hinings (2005), Styhre et al. (2016)
Market-managerial	Field hybrid of societal logics	Business, business-like healthcare, efficiency & rationality, entrepreneurial, lean management, industry, consequence, service-oriented, commercialization	Conrath Hargreaves and Wüstemann (2019a, 2019b), Currie and Guah (2007), Currie and Spyridonis (2016), Gebreiter and Hidayah (2019), Howells et al. (2014), Kitchener (2002), Lander (2016), Miller and French (2016), Øygarden et al. (2019), Paisey and Paisey (2017), Reay and Hinings (2005), Styhre et al. (2016), Van den Broek et al. (2014), Verleye et al. (2017), Xing et al. (2020)
Market-professional	Field hybrid of societal logics	Efficient collegiality	Bruckman and Carvalho (2018), Gebreiter and Hidayah (2019), Reay et al. (2017), Taylor and Kahlke (2017), Verleye et al. (2017)
Professional bureaucracy	Field hybrid of societal logics		Batista et al. (2016), Bishop and Waring (2016), Bruckmann and Carvalho (2018), Jefferies et al. (2019)
Care	New field logic or field-level instantiation of community logic	Patient-centred care, managed care, care production, integration, care education, relational care, medical care	Andersson and Liff (2018), Currie and Guah (2007), Dunn and Jones (2010), Essén & Varländer (2019), Fincham and Forbes (2015), Frow et al. (2019), Kern et al. (2018), Lander (2016), Lehn-Christiansen and Holen (2019), Llopis and D'Este (2016), Nigam and Ocasio (2010), Sonpar et al., 2009, Styhre et al. (2016), Verleye et al. (2017)
Science	Higher education: a source for academic logic norms. Healthcare: field-level logic.	Evidence-based medicine	Dunn and Jones (2010), Essén and Varländer (2019), Hartman and Coslor (2019), Lander (2016), Llopis and D'Este (2016), Mars et al. (2014), Pruisken (2017), Styhre et al. (2016)
Democracy	Societal-level ideology	Decentralization, inclusion and equality, social inclusion	Blomgren and Waks (2015), Mir et al. (2020), Oertel (2018), Sandeep and Ravishankar (2014)
Public good	Field-level ideology	Public, public sector, protection, society, social institution, civil society, medical altruism	Cappellaro et al. (2020), Hartman and Coslor (2019), Narayan and Sittle (2018), Ryngeblum et al., 2019, Upton and Warshaw (2017), Vickers et al. (2017)
Technical design	Field-level ideology	Digital options, engineering, medical technology, technocratic	Hansen and Baroodly (2020), Hartman and Coslor (2019), Karahanna et al. (2019), Klecun et al. (2019), Sandeep and Ravishankar (2014)

judgement considered ‘the highest form of clinical experience’ (Batista et al., 2016, p. 408). Since the mid-1950s, 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 institutionalized 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 institutionalized, 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 & Hinings, 2005, p. 360). Reay and 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 (e.g. 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 summarize this analysis in Table 3, 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 & Wüstemann, 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’ (Gebreiter & Hidayah, 2019; Paisey & Paisey, 2017, p. 57). Boundary-spanning organizations may, however, develop and disseminate a shared ideology to bridge and ultimately hybridize 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 specializing 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 logic

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

TABLE 3 Analysis of the field-level logics using elements of Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework

	Professional field logics (against ideal type in grey)			Hybrid logics at the field level			New field logics		
Analysis framework (Thornton et al., 2012)	Profession (Thornton et al., 2012)	Academic	Medical professionalism	Market-managerial (market & corporation)	Market-professional (market & professional)	Professional-bureaucratic (profession & state)	Science	Care	
Root metaphor	Relational network	Community of scholars	Defenders of individual and system health	Education/healthcare as big business	The knowledge market	Professionals within a system	Search for an 'objective truth'	Patient centred care	
Source of legitimacy	Personal expertise	Specialized (disciplinary) knowledge	Expert judgement	Efficiency & effectiveness	Expertise as recognized by the market	Procedural	Scientific knowledge	Holistic expertise and approach	
Source of authority	Professional association	Moral work	Glass half-empty—pre-empting serious disease	New public management principles	Knowledge valued by the market	Professional	Disinterested research	Patient outcomes	
Source of identity	Quality of craft, personal reputation	Disciplinary peer review	Physician–patient relationship	Service provision and review	Peer review	Physician–patient relationship	Academic tribes	Community	
Norms from...	Membership in guild/association	Model of science and doctoral training	Identity-based associations and medical training	Payors (government) and users (consumers)	Professional training modified by market expectations	Identity-based associations and medical training	Scientific training	Patient engagement	

logics in higher education (Gebreiter & Hidayah, 2019, p. 733). Academics may, therefore, embrace a hybrid market-professional logic that recognizes personal expertise and professional status of academics as having a value within a knowledge market (Taylor & Kahlke, 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 and 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 and colleague'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 institutionalize a hybrid logic. Hybridity, however, may not always be assured. Currie and 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-bureaucratic logic¹

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 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 characterize 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' (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 organization, thereby facilitating a hybridization of logics. The dominant logic of healthcare is 'professional-bureaucratic' (Bishop & Waring, 2016, p. 1942). Hospitals are highly bureaucratic contexts that rely 'on professional standardised skills... , clinical guidelines, and bureaucratic control and the elimination of process variation through standardisation, routinisation 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 summarize this analysis in Table 3, 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 (1973) 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' (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 operationalized 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-emphasises 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’ (Andersson & Liff, 2018; Dunn & Jones, 2010, p. 116). 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 prioritizes 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 United States, United Kingdom, 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., 2020, 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 hybridize 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 and 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 hybridized, but simply to recognize 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 (Lander, 2016).

We summarize this analysis in Table 3, 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 visualization of these ideologies in Table 4, akin to Thornton et al.’s (2012) Interinstitutional Ideal Types table (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).

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 democratization 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,

TABLE 4 Analysis of field-level ideologies

Field-level ideologies	Democracy	Public good	Technical design
Values	Participation and transparency	Public values (change over time and culture)	Belief in the virtues of technology
Structure	Representative and voting systems and structures	Political accountability	Functionality, infrastructure, platforms
Action	Public debate (e.g. patient rights)	Standards, rights, guarantees, supports	Quality and functionality of technical solutions

a democratic ideology is vocalized 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 the healthcare field with the 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 United States, 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 towards organisations, interests, and claims that included emerging voices and players in the field (like consumers and alternative health care providers)’ (Galvin, 2002, 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’ (Gumport, 2000, Paisey & Paisey, 2017; Upton & Warshaw, 2017, p. 99). 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 & Sarewitz, 2005, p. 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 NPM is one instantiation of a public-good ideology that emphasizes commoditization 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 & 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., 2020). 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, decentralised 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' (Hansen & Baroody, 2020, p. 66). All three logics (profession, corporation and state) can be 'invoked around an organising principle of continuous improvement' and a 'core focus on improving results based on analysis of data is commonly held across the three logics' (p. 67). This consistency of 'organising 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' (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 & 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 over-written 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 hybridization. Understanding that logics themselves can hold relationships allows us to recognize 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. (2012) 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, 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

TABLE 5 Distinguishing between logics and ideologies

	Logic	Ideology
Relationship to individual action	Passive embeddedness	Active pursuit
Historical inscription	At the field or societal level	At the individual level
Form and substance	Abstract and symbolic	Recipes for action
Linked to	Established institutions (e.g. corporation, state)	(Contested) belief systems (as epitomized e.g. by social movements)

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 summarize our attempt to sketch some key distinctions in Table 5.

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 logic within higher education, since it is contested as a recipe for action.

A focus on levels

Figure 1 illustrates how logics and ideologies can be found at both societal and field levels. 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 aca-

demical 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, epitomized by the ideology of collegiality in the field of higher education. Our reviewed articles 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.

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 harmonizing 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 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 institutionalised 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

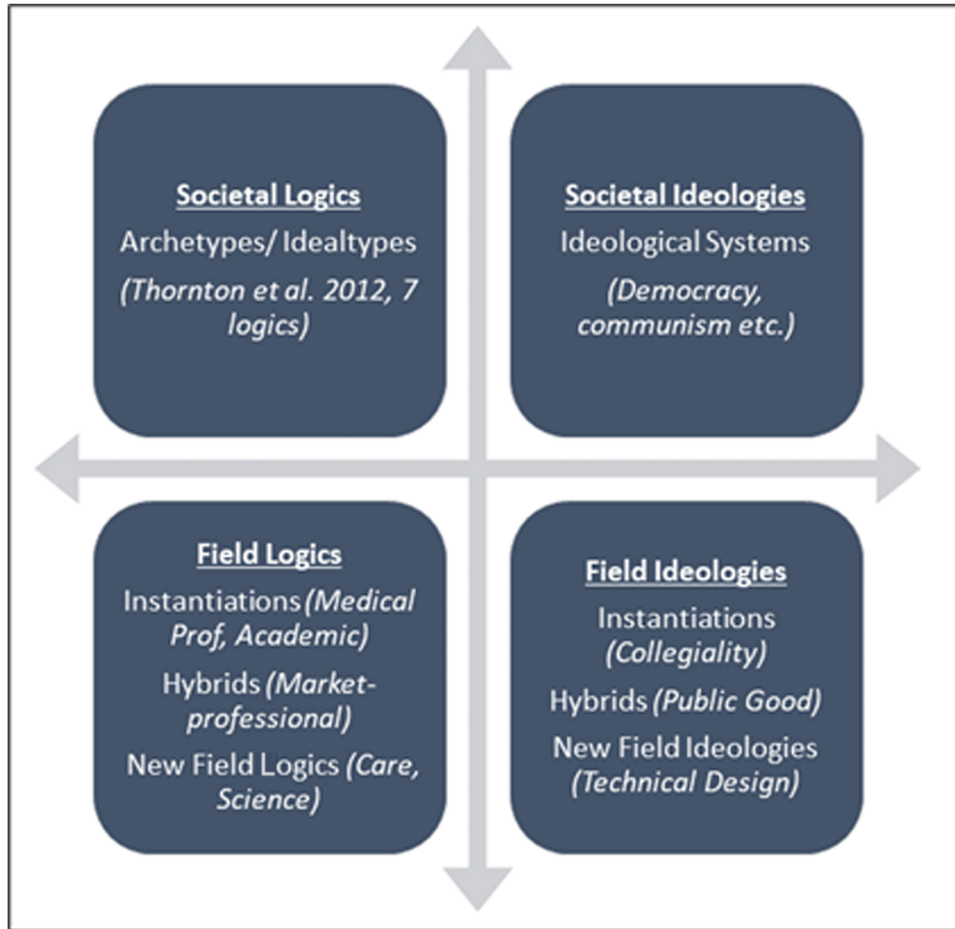


FIGURE 1 Logics and ideologies at societal and field levels [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

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 (e.g. Reay & Hinings, 2005). Hensmans (2003) speaks of power relations as strategic actors legitimizing and making 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 (e.g. Andersson & Liff, 2018; Andersson & Taggart, 2016; Cappellaro et al., 2020; Mars et al., 2014). A smaller number of articles in the *Scandinavian Journal of Management* speak of the hierarchization of logics in the healthcare field—again connoting a power-stratified relationship of multiple logics within a field (Andersson & Gadolin, 2020; Arman et al., 2014). 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 organizations (Mountford & Geiger, 2020). Ideologies can enhance or

reduce power bases to mediate the relationships between warring logics. Thus, Bruckmann and Carvalho’s (2018) 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 (Guarini et al., 2020; Hansen & Baroody, 2020). We suggest that a common ideology of technical design held by key individuals throughout the field or organization 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 (2020) 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 (2020) study 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 criti-

cal 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 organizational 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 (2020) 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 organizations that bring together and integrate institutional logics within one entity (Gibeau et al., 2020; Lander, 2016; Narayan et al., 2017). We suggest that it is a common ideology that facilitates this compatibility in one boundary-spanning organization (e.g. Narayan et al.'s case) rather than another (e.g. 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 organizations in activating ideologies to mediate logics. While organizations 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/organization 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 organizations 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 organizations in particular logical 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 organizations 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 mechanisms through which they mediate the relationships between institutional logics, are shown in Figure 2.

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 e.g. 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 and energy. Other logics may arise in such sectors (such as sustainability within the energy sector).

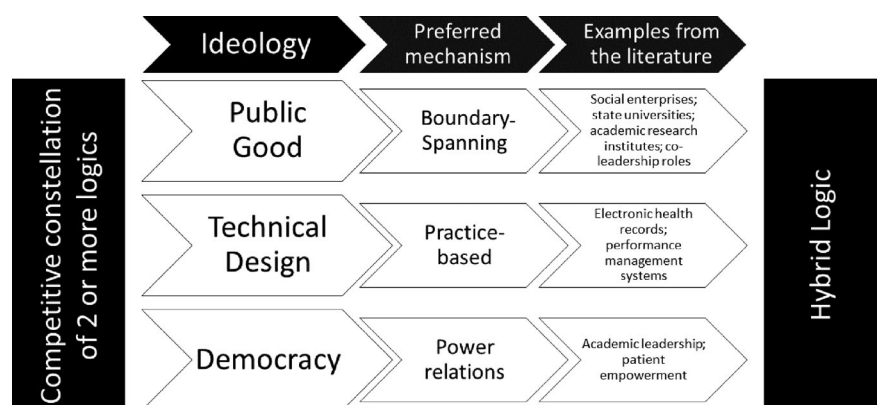


FIGURE 2 Ideologies and the mechanisms through which they mediate the relationships between logics

CONCLUSION

New institutionalism began the process of problematizing 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 characterized by institutional complexity (healthcare and higher education) and reviewed the 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 organizational 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 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 organizational theorists a much stronger position from which to inform the development of institutional logics theory on a wider scale.

*Articles in this review are marked with an asterisk.

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ENDNOTE

¹The 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.

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