

Art in the Age of its Digital Reproduction

Reimagining performing organisations in the context of discontinuous
institutional change

By

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Declaration by candidate

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and it contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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Art in the Age of its Digital Reproduction – Reimagining performing organisations in the context of discontinuous institutional change

My research, which navigates a space between organisational self-interest and institutional conformity, investigates how organisations and their members respond to and influence changes to the institutional environment in which they operate following discontinuous technological change. It draws together themes from the innovation literature and institutional theory to inform new insights on how changes in technology trigger shifts in the logics that define institutional fields and field members. I begin by describing the research setting, which is the classical music industry, and the research problem, which highlights the challenges facing classical music performing organisations as they adapt to the digital space. I then present an outline of each of the three chapters that comprise this thesis and a conclusion.

Research setting

The world is changing and you cannot imagine any function of the world without technology anymore and it's the same with orchestras. If we haven't yet changed then we must change. Technology has to become an integral part of what we do...if orchestras do not change then that's a big problem, we must begin to absorb everything around us.

Artistic planner – Seattle Symphony Orchestra

In 2014, the Hungarian orchestral conductor Iván Fischer stated that 'symphony orchestras in their present form have only a few more decades left, at most.' His prognosis reflects a general view across classical music performing organisations (e.g. symphony orchestras and opera theatre companies) that changes in the institutional field (social, cultural, financial, and technological) are calling into question taken-for-granted ways of working, challenging individuals and organisations to become more intentional and self-conscious by engaging in new practices that change "who they are" as organisations.

The classical music sector comprises for-profit firms (e.g. record companies, publishing firms and broadcasting corporations), government agencies (e.g. arts councils and cultural funding bodies), and nonprofit performing organisation, which include opera theatre companies, symphony orchestras, string quartets, and professional choirs. Despite operating in very different circumstances, these ensembles adhere to similar forms of nonprofit governance and exist to advance complementary mission aims that, broadly speaking, are intended to preserve and promote the classical music canon.

Research problem

Although their *raison d'être* is to perform to live audiences, the focal organisations also engage in a wide range of subsidiary activities that are technology-driven and primarily serve to increase audience reach and enhance organisational status and legitimacy, critical resources for nonprofit arts organisations. For instance, throughout much of the twentieth century, classical music ensembles generated important income and exposure to mass-audiences through audio recordings (e.g. vinyl records and later CDs) and radio and television broadcasts. These activities have played a significant role in defining the identities of classical music ensembles and, more generally, the collective identity of the classical music field. However, advances in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the ubiquitous evolution of digital music, has created shifts in the logics that define patterns of artistic, commercial and social exchange between producers and consumers. Critically, this has led to a breakdown in traditional social and economic arrangements surrounding intellectual property and the destruction of the market for the physical recorded artefact (e.g. Compact Discs).

A direct effect of digital disruption was the loss of recording opportunities for orchestras and opera companies, many of which relied on record labels, such as EMI and Deutsche Gramophone for the production, promotion and distribution of recordings throughout the analogue recording era. In addition, the focal organisations have had to develop new strategies and practices in response to the changing expectations of internal and external constituents. For example, audiences continue to expect to have access to new classical music recordings in a range of formats (e.g. CD, digital downloads and online streaming), and public arts funding bodies have developed policies that oblige organisations they fund to develop digital strategies in support of their mission.

Internal constituents' expectations are also changing in response to shifting institutional logics. For instance, although orchestras no longer receive recording contracts, orchestral musicians and administrators understand that recordings continue to play an important role in advancing the mission of classical music ensembles. This predicament has led to a number of orchestras developing new practices that necessitate organisational restructuring and a realignment of members' expectations.

As they attempt to respond internally and externally to technology-induced logic shifts, classical music performing organisations face significant institutional pressures. As

nonprofits, they do not have the resources to invest in research and development in the same way that many for-profit firms do. Additionally, they operate in a highly institutionalised field that is characterised by beliefs, values, and institutional norms that have not changed significantly since the late nineteenth century. Given this imperative, orchestras and opera companies navigate a “space” between traditional notions of what a classical music ensemble is and what they might become in the new media landscape, in which instant gratification choices for culture and entertainment are prevalent.

Thesis structure

My thesis is organised into three substantial chapters: (1) a theoretical chapter that explores links between discontinuous technological change, institutional transformation and organisational renewal; (2) a multiple case study that investigates how orchestras and opera companies respond to and participate in shifts in institutional logics following technological change; and (3) a single case study of a symphony orchestra that explores the dynamic relationship between organisational identity and the institutional environment. The thesis also includes a general introduction and conclusion. The three main chapters are described below.

Chapter one: Discontinuous technology, shifting institutional logics, and organisational renewal

In the first chapter, I develop theoretical links between discontinuous technological change, institutional transformation and organisational renewal. I draw on themes from the disruptive innovation literature to inform new insights on shifting institutional logics and organisational action, specifically, new practices aimed at influencing institutional change. By bringing together otherwise disparate themes, I aim to develop a theoretical framework within which further research might be carried out in this domain.

Institutional theory has contributed to organisational analysis since the late 1940s, particularly the work of Selznick (1948, 1949, 1957) and Parson (1956), who, in his theoretical contributions, highlighted how institutions function in society by amalgamating universal rules and authority. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, scholars introduced new approaches to institutional analysis that emphasised organisational conformity to institutional environments (e.g. Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977), accentuating the role of modernisation in explaining taken-for-granted rules, which leads to isomorphism in the formal structures of organisations. Building on Meyer and Rowan (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983) extended thinking on institutional isomorphism from a societal level to an organisational field level by

outlining three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphism occurs (*coercive*, *mimetic*, and *normative*). They posited that the effects of cognition are primarily viewed through mimetic isomorphism, which emphasises mindless behaviour in response to cultural rationalisation.

A new approach to institutional analysis emerged in the early 1990s, beginning with a seminal essay by Friedland and Alford (1991) and subsequent empirical work by Thornton and Ocasio (1999, 2012), and Scott et al. (2000). Friedland and Alford (1991) argue that organisational fields are composed of contesting coexisting systems of institutional meaning, which they characterise as institutional logics. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) further refined the concept, describing institutional logics as the ‘socially constructed historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, and provide meaning to their social reality’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). Logics can serve to explain connections within organisational fields and delineate the repertoire of behaviours available to organisations as they respond to institutional pressures.

Early treatments of the institutional logic concept focused on broad organising principles, highlighting how logics function in societies through institutions, such as the bureaucratic state, the nuclear family, and Christian religion (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 232). More recent treatments emphasise how these principles can inform a field-level view, leading to a more detailed understanding of how institutions change over time to disrupt organisational fields and field members (e.g. Lounsbury, 2007). Some of the most interesting contributions emphasise competing logics as a catalyst for institutional transformation. For example, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) explore how the musical repertoire of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra changed in response to the orchestral retrenchment predicated on a musicians’ strike, highlighting conflict between the logics of aesthetics and the logics of the market.

In highlighting the role of organisational actors in institutional change, scholars have advanced the idea that institutions are ‘constituted, reproduced and transformed through organisational action and relationships’ (Lawrence, 1999). Most notably, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) introduced the concept of ‘institutional work’, which they define as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006).

Although scholars have conducted empirical research that demonstrates the practical application of institutional work (e.g. Gawer and Philips, 2013; Raviola and Norbäck, 2013;

Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010), a relatively small amount of research has been undertaken that explicitly links the related concepts of institutional work and shifting institutional logics. In addressing this gap in the institutional literature, Gawer and Philips (2013) explore some of the types of institutional work organisations perform as they respond internally and externally to logic shifts. Specifically, they highlight the purposive action that the Intel Corporation performed following a shift from traditional supply chain logic to platform logic in the computer industry in the late 1980s and 1990s. In emphasising the importance of technology as a field structuring mechanism, Gawer and Philips (2013) highlight the need for institutionalism to develop a more sophisticated understanding of technology.

The linking of institutional work and institutional logics brings into focus the dynamic relationship between certain institutional conditions and organisational agency. Exogenous events, such as competitive discontinuities, regulatory change, and technological change trigger shifts in institutional logics and agency in the form of new practices. For example, Raviola and Norbäck's (2013) study of institutional work at an Italian business newspaper highlights how technological change led to the integration of offline and online news work in a setting in which old and new technologies coexist. Although technological change is a common source of institutional change and new practices, it has received relatively little attention in the institutional literature.

Institutional scholars have demonstrated how technological shifts can trigger institutional change (e.g. Barley, 1986; Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009; Clemens and Cook, 1999), however, institutional theory lacks a comprehensive understanding of how technological change brings about new practices and institutional transformation. I address this shortcoming in the literature by drawing on themes from the innovation literature to frame a discussion on how new technology triggers institutional change and how organisations and organisational actors respond to disruptive technology by developing new practices that constitute internal and external participation in shifting institutional logics.

Christensen's (1997) Disruptive Innovation Theory originally focused on disruptive technology, describing a process through which new technologies, which are initially of poor quality and serve niche markets, emerge through a process of incremental improvements to displace existing technologies. In time, he broadened the theory's application to encompass not only technologies but also products and business models; for example, point-to-point airlines, online bookselling, and discount department stores (Christensen and Raynor, 2003). Disruptive Innovation Theory has had a significant influence on management practices and

has generated considerable debate within academia (e.g. Adner, 2006; Charitou and Markides, 2003; Danneels, 2004; Govindarajan and Kopalle, 2006).

Although the innovation literature has contributed to a deeper understanding of the effects of technological innovation on the fortunes and dynamics of firms or industries, a number of ambiguities remain. For example, in his survey of disruptive innovation, Danneels (2004) highlights a lack of clear criteria to define what a disruptive innovation is, questioning ‘whether a technology is inherently disruptive or if “disruptiveness” is a function of the perspective of the companies subject to it.’ As the scope of disruptive innovation continues to be expanded to include such areas as online banking services and digital imaging, ‘the concepts and mechanisms outlined in earlier work [have] become increasingly stretched’ (Danneels, 2004).

In keeping with the expansion of the theory’s applicability, I develop a view of disruptive innovation that highlights its role in the reciprocal relationship between institutions and organisational action, demonstrating the more nuanced effects of technology that result from the introduction of new practices and shifts in logics. This perspective proposes a potentially more complex reading of disruptive innovation that moves beyond simple binary classifications (e.g. revolutionary versus evolutionary; discontinuous versus continuous; radical versus incremental and sustaining versus disruptive) to explain certain phenomenon associated with new technology, in particular organisational response to it, which I explore in chapter two.

Chapter two: The reimagining of performing organisations following discontinuous technological change and shifting institutional logics

This study was motivated by a desire to unpack how changing technology triggers institutional change and the development of new practices by individuals and organisations. I developed a multi-case qualitative study of classical music performing organisations in order to answer the research question of how discontinuous technological change affects the logics that define institutional fields and how organisations respond to and participate in technology induced logic shifts. Building on the theoretical insights developed in chapter one, I unpack the role of technology in transforming the classical music industry with the aim of developing a more detailed understanding of how technology triggers and influences the actions of organisations and their members.

Theoretical orientation

In this chapter I draw on the theoretical insights derived from Chapter one to investigate how orchestras and classical performing organisations in a broad research sample respond to the shifts in institutional logics triggered by the disruptive innovation which digital technology represents in the field of classical music performance.

The idea that contradictions and change in logics can lead to institutional transformation has evolved to become a prominent theme within institutional theory, highlighting how individuals and organisations mobilise conflicting logics to initiate change and bring into focus the themes of organisational agency and self-interest. The notion of agency is especially relevant to research that focuses on the role of individuals and organisations in shaping institutions because in highly institutionalised environments, ‘endogenous change seems almost to contradict the meaning of institution’ (Scott, 1981: 187).

Scholars have developed theories of organisational self-interest that highlight agentic action in the creation, maintenance and transformation of institutions (e.g. DiMaggio, 1988; Lawrence, 1999; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). For example, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) introduced the concept of ‘institutional work’ to depict ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 215). It represents a useful framework for developing a more detailed understanding of the processes of institutional change and the role that individuals and organisations play in it.

Methodology

The research design was selected to develop links between technology, institutional logics and institutional work, which are not well understood. It also reflects the exploratory nature of this study, which aims to build theory (e.g. Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). I employed a combination of qualitative research conducted through semi-structured depth interviews across the research sample, and a literature review, to derive insights into the nature of organisational responses to logic shifts driven by technological change.

The research sample reflects an industry-wide view of the effects of technology on the focal organisational field. To this end, six orchestras were deliberately selected to encompass ensembles with varying degrees of status, which I categorise as high-status (London

Symphony Orchestra; Berlin Philharmonic), mid-status (Liverpool Philharmonic; Halle Orchestra) and low-status (London Sinfonietta; Britten Sinfonia). The remaining research sites were selected randomly using a small database of thirty-five orchestras and a random generator, which I developed using the computer programming language C++. By including randomly selected research sites I was able to avoid research bias. By engaging with organisations operating in different regions it was possible to account for variation in attitudes and strategies within the focal institutional field. Lastly, because changes to the logics that characterise the classical music sector affect a wide range of organisational actors, I selected research participants to reflect a broad spectrum of positions held within the focal organisations.

I drew on two primary data sources: (1) a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted across a total of twenty-three organisations operating in the classical music sector, and (2) an analysis of historical materials, including an extensive literature review. Field material was analysed through a process of inductive reasoning that involved moving between theory and data to explore links between technological disruption, shifting institutional logics, and organisational action.

Research findings

Research findings highlight the efforts made by classical music organisations to use technology to make sense of new practices in order to engage in, and change, their institutional context. I identified two broad areas of action – *external practice work* and *internal identity work*. External practice work involves organisations using technology to influence shifting institutional logics; for example, the introduction of new practices in online video broadcasting and innovations in music aesthetics (e.g. the use of technology to enhance or create new types of performances). Internal identity work denotes actions aimed at redefining organisational identity; for example, orchestras and opera companies realign musician's expectations by negotiating media contracts that reflect the circumstances in which they now operate (e.g. in response to the loss of recording contracts, orchestras have to develop production and distribution capabilities. This requires changes in the logics that define organisational structure).

By exploring themes at the intersection of technology, institutional logics and organisational action, this study contributes to the relative small body of work that considers technology as a field-level structuring mechanism and a trigger for institutional and organisational-level change. It highlights a number of important issues that warrant further investigation. Of

particular interest are questions on the role of identity (insider/outsider and collective perceptions) in shaping organisational responses to identity-challenging technology. I further explore the dynamic relationship between organisational identity and institutional environments in chapter three.

Chapter three: Discord in the ‘museum of music’: Identity struggle at the Seattle Symphony following declines in the classical music field

In this chapter, I investigate how the dynamics of organisational identity relate to institutional fields. Specifically, I address the question of how an organisation manages internal tensions that arise in periods of institutional and organisational change, and what kind of identity work they perform to make sense of these tensions and to align identity claims with new practices. This study takes the form of a single case study of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra, which has engaged in a process of identity renewal beginning in 2011 in response to internal crises (financial and cultural) and external pressures (a decline in audiences for classical music and digital innovation).

The Seattle Symphony is a professional orchestra that has been in continuous existence since 1903. Like other nonprofit performing arts organisations, it is mission-driven with a commitment to the promotion and preservation of the musical repertoire it performs. The value the ensemble provides to audiences produces a distinct identity, the preservation of which is integral to the existence of the organisation. Paradoxically, the orchestra also reconstructs its identity over time, for instance, following endogenous change and exogenous shocks. A significant internal event was the appointment of a new artistic director and a new President & CEO in 2011 at a time when the organisation was in financial and cultural turmoil and the institutional environment was changing. Under new directorship, the orchestra embarked on an organisational transformation, manifestations of which are observed in a shift in the musical repertoire the ensemble performs and also in how it presents that repertoire to audiences.

Theoretical orientation

I bring together the concepts of identity and institutional logics in circumstances where there are pressures for both to change because of the dynamic environment within which the focal organisation operates. Its response is to innovate by developing new practices, which changes both internal and external identity, and the relationship between them. The introduction of

new practices can also result in tensions between organisational identity and the collective identity of institutional fields.

The identity construct has been an important theme within institutional theory since Selznick (1957) postulated that institutionalisation, the infusion of value in organisations, ‘produces a distinct identity for the organisation’ (Selznick, 1957: 40). Early treatments of the construct, beginning with Albert and Whetten’s (1985) contribution, characterise identity as ‘enduring’. However, by the mid 1990s, organisational change had become a central theme within institutional theory, accommodating a more detailed understanding of how organisations are transformed by changes in institutional environments (e.g. regulatory, political, and technological environments).

The scope of the identity construct has evolved beyond a focus on the central, distinctive, and enduring features of single organisations to ‘locate identity in broader frames of meaning that arise from industry, cultural and societal institutions’ (Glynn, 2008: 414). For example, by advancing a macro-level perspective, scholars have defined collective identities as groups of actors that can be strategically constructed and fluid and organised around a shared purpose and similar outputs (e.g. Cornelissen et al. 2007). In this context, identities are interdependent with and can function like institutional logics (Friedland and Alford, 1991), which characterise organisational fields and define the repertoire of behaviours and choices available to organisations. However, although logics constrain the actions of organisations, they also enable action because ‘identities are performed’ and ‘in the performance of identities, institutions themselves can be transformed’ (Glynn, 2008: 425).

Despite the reciprocal and dynamic relationship between identity and institutional logics, this promising research domain remains relatively unexplored (Greenwood et al., 2011). I address this gap in the literature by considering the dynamics of logics and identities within the setting of a professional classical music ensemble, the Seattle Symphony Orchestra. The research setting is interesting because in addition to challenges to its identity following exogenous shocks (e.g. reduced funding for the arts and radical technological change), the organisation is reimagining “who they are” in response to shifts in the logics that define the internal political dynamics of the organisation, following a period of organisational turmoil and the appointment of a new artistic director and a new President & CEO in 2011 who ushered in a new era for the organisation.

Methodology

I used qualitative research methods to develop links between the concepts of organisational identity and shifting institutional logics with the aim of theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). The research design involved drawing on three primary data sources: (1) semi-structured interviews with a broad range of personnel at the Seattle Symphony, including the artistic director, President & CEO, technology, marketing and communication experts, artistic planners, and orchestral musicians; (2) an analysis of organisational change as revealed through archival materials and published accounts; (3) a series of observations, including attendance at web and brand-related meetings, orchestral recording sessions, and a number of innovative concert events that were introduced by the organisation to attract new and more diverse audience.

Research findings

Research findings demonstrate that the Seattle Symphony performed internal and external identity work in an effort to transform its identity. Internal identity work initially involved organisational members (artistic director, President & CEO, musicians, management, and the board of directors) developing a new narrative and language to reflect a cultural shift from an inward-looking to an outward-looking organisation. It also entailed the renegotiation of musicians' contracts, which was critical to the introduction of new practices (e.g. new concert formats, digital media activities).

External identity work served to transform external constituents' perceptions of the organisation and involved the organisation messaging relentlessly by telling new "stories" that projected an image of the organisation as an orchestra for all of the community rather than an elitist organisation that exists to serve a narrow demographic, which has been the traditional perception of symphony orchestras and classical music more generally. This form of identity work connects organisational culture and image because it simultaneously begins to change the mind-set and behaviour of organisational members and address reputational issues and 'image damage'.

Research findings also highlight potential tensions between organisational identity and the collective identity of orchestras and classical music more generally. As the Seattle Symphony introduced new practices to reflect its new identity, it questioned institutionally framed notions of what a symphony orchestra is. This involved simultaneously filtering out practices

from the environment that they deemed to be threatening to the collective identity of classical music and introducing new practices that challenge core beliefs and institutional norms associated with the institutional field.

This study makes a number of contributions to institutional theory. First, it contributes to the relatively small body of scholarly work that explores links between the concepts of identity and institutional logics. Secondly, it serves to highlight and explain tensions that develop between identity and new practices in periods of institutional and organisational uncertainty and lastly, it promotes a discussion on and develops links between otherwise disparate scholarly disciplines (identity and institutional logics). In so doing, it establishes a framework within which further work may be carried out in this domain.

Conclusion

My research was conducted at the intersection of technology, institutional transformation and organisational change. It allowed me to investigate how technological change triggers shifts in the logics that define the classical music sector and classical music ensembles. It highlights a number of anomalies in institutional theory, the most significant of which is the lack of attention that institutionalism affords technology as a source of institutional change and agency, in the form of new practices. By viewing institutional change and organisational renewal through the lens of disruptive innovation, my research focuses attention on organisational identity (insider and outsider perceptions), the complexities of which were evidenced in how orchestras and opera companies attempt to manage tensions that arise following logic shifts and the introduction of new practices.

Classical music performing organisations represents an extreme and somewhat specific case of how organisations are affected by, and influence institutional change. Like universities and other mission-driven organisations, orchestras and opera companies generally receive the ongoing support of stakeholders and constituents, many of whom share in their mission aims. Their nonprofit status means that the focal organisations are partially protected from changing market conditions; they would not survive without subsidies. Unlike many established for-profit firms, which have to respond immediately to disruptive innovation or risk failure, the focal organisations have time to adapt to technological change. So, a possible limitation of this research is that it may not reflect the circumstances in which most firms operate; yet it has application in areas where nonprofits compete, such as health care, research and development, and education.

Further research needs to be carried out at the intersection of discontinuous technological change, shifting institutional logics, and organisational change in order to build a theory of how actors are affected by and influence logic shifts.

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Discontinuous Technology, Shifting Institutional Logics, and Organisational Renewal

Abstract

I explore theoretical links between discontinuous technological change, institutional transformation and organisational renewal. More specifically, I consider how disruptive innovation causes shifts in the logics that define organisational fields and brings about new strategies and practices in organisations that respond to and participate in technology-induced institutional change. I address a gap in the institutional literature, which acknowledges technology as a trigger for institutional change but lacks a comprehensive understanding of the processes through which it disrupts institutional fields and field members. By drawing together otherwise disparate themes from the innovation and institutional literatures, I aim to develop a more nuanced understanding of the dynamic relationship between technology, institutional logics, and organisational renewal. In so doing, I present a series of propositions that help to establish a research agenda to further guide theoretical and empirical work in this domain.

Introduction

Institutional theory recognises technology as a source of institutional change (e.g. Barley, 1986; Battilana and D'Aunno, 2009; Clemens and Cook, 1999), however, it does not provide a comprehensive understanding of how it effects institutional fields and field members. In addressing this gap in the literature, I develop links between innovation theory and institutional theory, specifically the themes of disruptive innovation, shifting institutional logics, and organisational change.

Institutional logics are the 'socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumption, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality' (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804). They are the taken-for-granted practices and beliefs that are often encoded in laws defining the boundaries of an organisational field, its rules of membership, and how its communities are formed (e.g. Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Thornton, 2004). Logics serve to guide organisational actors when they face ambiguities, uncertainties and cognitive constraints by highlighting specific issues, helping to determine which issues need to be prioritised, and presenting potential solutions (Thornton, 2002). Since its inception, the institutional logics concept has in various guises contributed to institutional analysis through application to a wide range of disparate contexts including the computer industry (Gawer and Philips, 2013), classical music (Glynn

and Lounsbury, 2005), finance (Lounsbury, 2002), health care (Reay and Hinings, 2005), French cuisine (Rao, Monin, and Durand, 2003), and publishing (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999).

Early treatments of institutional logics describe how logics function in modern societies through institutions, such as the bureaucratic state, the nuclear family, and Christian religion (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 232). More recent analysis focuses on how logics change and evolve over time to affect institutional fields and field members. Of particular interest are those treatments that highlight how competing logics can provide the impetus for institutional transformation by creating the conditions under which organisational actors can mobilise certain institutional logics to initiate change (e.g. Gawer & Philips, 2013; Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005; Thornton, 2004; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

In highlighting the role of actors in institutional change, Thornton and Ocasio, (2008) suggest that, although institutional logics constrain the behaviour of organisations and organisational actors, they are ‘constitutive of individuals, organisations, and society’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 101). The idea that institutions are ‘constituted, reproduced and transformed through organisational action and relationships’ (Lawrence, 1999) represents an alternative view to traditional institutional approaches to organisational studies, which emphasise organisational similarities and conformity (e.g. DiMaggio and Powel, 1986). For example, institutional entrepreneurship (Eisenstadt, 1980; DiMaggio, 1988) exemplifies how ‘new institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realise interests that have high value’ (DiMaggio, 1988: 14).

In keeping with the theme of organisational agency and self-interest, Lawrence (1999) introduced the concept of ‘institutional strategy’ to define ‘patterns of organisational action concerned with the formation and transformation of institutions, fields and the rules and standards that control those structures’. Building on this work, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) developed the concept of ‘institutional work’, which they define as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). Institutional work has emerged to become an important area of research in new institution theory, accommodating a potentially deeper understanding of agency, which is particularly relevant to research that explores the role of actors in institutional change (Gawer and Philips, 2013).

A number of studies have been carried out that emphasise the reciprocal relationship between field-level conditions and organisational agency and self-interest. For example, exogenous

shocks, in the form of regulatory change, technological disruption, or competitive discontinuities, cause shifts in institutional logics and agency in the form of new practices. For instance, Raviola and Norbäck (2013) show how new technology, specifically the Internet, made it possible for an Italian newspaper to perform institutional work that involved the discovery of new ways of publishing business news using the organisation's website. This example serves to highlight a shortcoming in institutional theory, which lacks a thorough analysis of technology as a source of institutional change and organisational action. This is somewhat surprising, considering the role of technology (new and old) in defining institutional fields and field members. I address this gap in institutionalism by drawing on themes from the innovation literature to develop new insights into institutional change and to unpack how individuals and organisations use technology to develop new practices in response to disruptive innovation, so as to participate internally and externally in shifting institutional logics.

Christensen's (1997) popular Disruptive Innovation Theory originally focused on disruptive technology, but over time, scholars have adapted the concept to explain all kinds of phenomena associated with disruptive innovation. Christensen himself broadened the application of his original theory to encompass not only technologies but also products and business models (Christensen and Raynor, 2003). As the concept continues to expand, it has become increasingly necessary to define clear criteria for what actually constitutes a disruptive innovation (Danneels, 2004). For example, Markides (2006) developed finer categorisations for disruptive innovation, distinguishing between technology innovation, business-model innovation and new-to-the-world product innovation. Innovation scholars have also called for research that moves beyond firm-level analysis to focus on the interorganisational links that constitute the collective effects of disruptive innovation (e.g. Denning, 2005). Lastly, by integrating the disruptive innovation literature with related research domains, it should be possible to create new areas of research (Yu and Chieh Hang, 2010).

By viewing organisational change and institutional transformation through the lens of disruptive technology, I propose potentially more complex outcomes of disruption that move beyond binary classifications, such as sustaining versus disruptive, to explain organisational response to changing technology. I begin by locating the concept of institutional logics in its historical context by considering the evolution of institutional approaches to organisational studies before reviewing the literature on the role of actors in creating, transforming and maintaining institutions and fields.

Institutions, institutional logics, and organisational renewal

In order to understand the concept of institutional logics, it is first necessary to locate it within the context of institutional theory and institutional analysis.

Defining institution

There is ‘no single and universally agreed definition of an “institution” within the institutional school of thought’ (Scott, 1995:33) or throughout industry sectors; definitions vary depending on the context in which the term is being used. North (1990) advanced a broad and commonly cited definition, describing institutions as ‘the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction.’ He posits that institutions provide structure to everyday life by reducing uncertainty (North, 1990: 3) and include both formal rules (e.g. laws and constitutions) and informal constraints (e.g. conventions and norms and beliefs). North explicitly distinguished organisations from institutions, suggesting, for example, that banks are organisations, not institutions, even though banking systems are shaped by institutional structures and systems (i.e. financial laws and government regulations).

Scott (1995: 33) offers a more nuanced definition, describing institutions as ‘social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life.’ Institutions are embedded in and transmitted by carriers (Jepperson 1991:150) that include symbolic systems (e.g. rules, laws, values, expectations), relational systems (e.g. governance systems, structural isomorphism, identities), routines (e.g. protocols, jobs, roles), and artefacts (e.g. objects complying with mandated specifications, standards), (Scott, 2001: 77 – 83). They ‘operate at different levels of jurisdiction’, encompassing the world system and localised interpersonal relationships’ (Scott, 1995: 33).

Institutions have been an important focus of research since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, through the work of Max Weber and Karl Marx (*figure 1*). For example, Weber (1952) highlighted the role of organisational structure (i.e. bureaucracy) in the creation of institutions, introducing the phrase “the iron cage” to delineate what he perceived to be the increased rationalisation inherent in social life. He suggested that such rationalisation traps individuals in systems based purely on teleological efficiency, especially in Western capitalist

societies. In Weber's assessment, goal-oriented rationality emerged to replace traditional values and this shift from an old form of mobility that was characterised by kinship to one defined by strict rules, was a direct consequent of a growth in bureaucracy and capitalism, as well as an increasing need for institutional legitimacy as a source of organisational structure. In the process, bureaucratisation replaced feudal systems, which had encouraged promotion through favouritism and corruption. However, it also resulted in a small number of people controlling large amounts of power, leading Weber to suggest that those who govern organisations are largely self-appointed leaders who ultimately control the quality of peoples' lives (Weber, 1952). The study of political institutions dominated political science in Britain and the United States until the post-World War Two period, at which time institutionalism became a concern for organisational sociologists (e.g. Selznick, 1948, 1949, 1957; Parsons, 1956).

Institutionalism and organisational analysis

Institutionalism has informed organisational analysis since the late 1940s, early treatments of which include Selznick's empirical analysis of organisations and institutional environments (Selznick, 1948, 1949, 1957) and Parson's (1956) theoretical contribution, which demonstrated the functional role of institutions to 'integrate organisations in society through universalistic rules, contracts, and authority' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 100). These early treatments of institutional theory, which are framed within sociology, emphasise the taken-for-granted character of institutional rules, myths, and beliefs and primarily serve to explain the processes by which organisations that are embedded in networks of interdependencies and social relationships become instilled with value and social meaning.

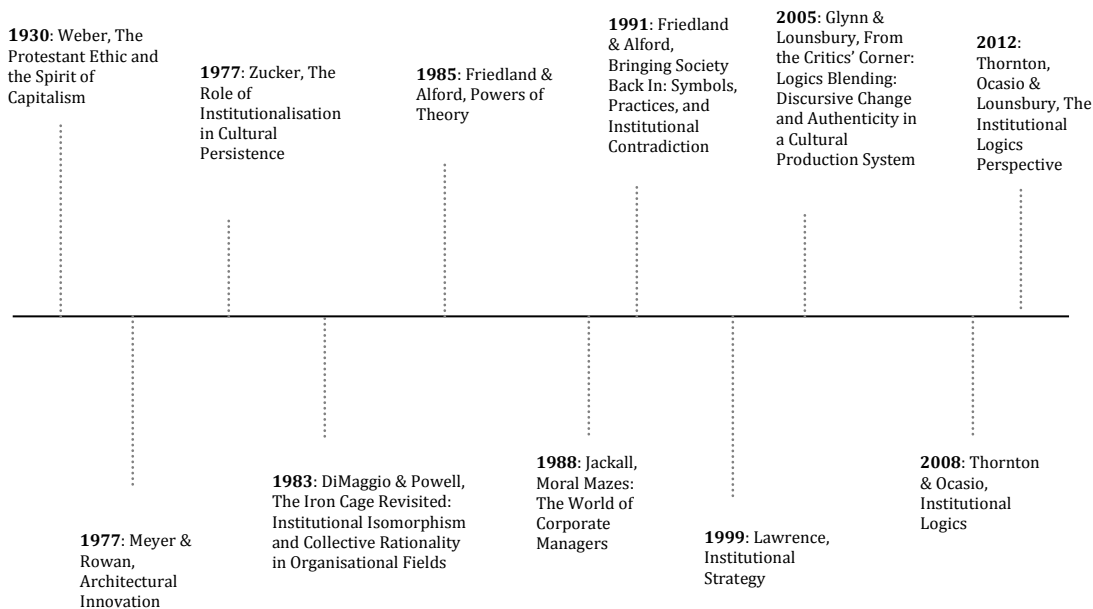
A new approach to institutional analysis that highlights the role of culture and cognition emerged in the late 1970s (Myer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977). Meyer and Rowan's (1977) influential paper in the *American Journal of Sociology*, which emphasises institutional rules, legitimacy, and isomorphism, demonstrates how formal structures can become invested with socially shared meanings that can communicate information about the organisation to both internal and external constituents. As Meyer and Rowan (1977) explain: 'the formal structures of many organisations in post-industrial society dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments rather than the demands of their work activities' (Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 341). Similarities in structure across organisations reflect a striving to conform to cultural symbols, myths and taken-for-granted rules in the institutional environment, leading to isomorphism in the formal structures of organisations. It also explains why these

organisational forms may become decoupled from practice. As Meyer and Rowan further suggest:

To maintain ceremonial conformity, organisations that reflect institutional rules tend to buffer formal structures from the uncertainties of technical activities by becoming loosely coupled, building gaps between their formal structures and actual work activities (Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 341).

This process of rationalisation results in organisations developing strategies and goals, and engaging in activities that do not necessarily align with their core technical mission, exposing potential tensions that emanate from the need to simultaneously adhere to pressures from the institutional environment while fulfilling their internal technical mission. Organisations overcome these tensions and achieve success through a process of decoupling, which involves separating external and internal activities. This enables organisations to gain legitimacy among external institutional constituents while simultaneously maintaining their internal capacity to address practical considerations. Zucker (1977), in presenting a micro perspective, also accentuates the taken-for-granted characteristics of institutions, highlighting the role of cultural as a measure of institutionalisation.

Figure 1 Timeline of key theoretical developments in institutionalism¹



Building on Meyer and Rowan's (1977) revised formation of institutionalism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991) extended thinking on isomorphism from the societal level to that of

¹ This figure represents a summary of the key texts that inform this study and is by no means an exhaustive topography of the institutional literature.

organisational fields. In so doing, they defined an emerging perspective in organisation theory and sociology, which they termed 'new institutionalism.' This approach to institutionalism rejects rationality as an explanation for organisational structure and instead emphasises legitimacy over efficiency to account for the success and survival of organisations (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) revisit Weber's notion of the iron cage to develop an interpretation of isomorphism that highlights the structural dynamics of organisational fields, which they define as 'those organisations that, in aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resources, product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 148).

In the early stages of their life cycle, organisational fields reflect a level of diversity in organisational approach, form and practices. However, once a field becomes established there is an ineluctable move towards homogenisation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 64) as institutionalisation takes hold. According to DiMaggio (1982, in DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), this process of institutionalisation or structuration consists of four parts: (1) an increase in the extent of interaction among organisations in the field, (2) the emergence of sharply defined interorganisational structures of domination and patterns of coalition, (3) an increase in the information load with which organisations in a field must contend, and finally (4) the development of a mutual awareness among participants in a set of organisations that they are involved in a common enterprise.

The concept that illustrates processes of institutional homogenisation is isomorphism, which is defined as 'a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions' (Hawley, 1968). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) further define the concept of isomorphism as *competitive isomorphism* and *institutional isomorphism*, which encompass both economic and social fitness (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 150). Competitive isomorphism refers to the competition for resources and customers within a given organisational field while institutional isomorphism refers to the pursuit of political power and institutional legitimacy. In addressing the question of why there is homogeneity of organisational forms and practices, DiMaggio and Powell (1983:150) highlight three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphism occurs – *coercive*, *mimetic*, and *normative*.

Coercive isomorphism emerges in situations in which organisations experience pressures (formal and informal) from other institutional organisations or stakeholders on which they depend. For example, firms sometimes experience pressure to adhere to new government

regulations, such as those aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions or employment equality laws. Nonprofit arts organisations may experience pressure from arts-funding bodies to make digital innovation a central feature of their mission (e.g. the development of online educational resources and online audience-reaching initiatives). Oliver (1991) defines compliance with coercive pressures as the ‘conscious obedience to or incorporation of values, norms, or institutional requirements’. Organisations that have a high level of resource dependency are especially vulnerable to coercive isomorphism, for example, nonprofit arts organisations that rely on public funding, plus art trusts and foundations.

Mimetic isomorphism results from uncertainty, for instance, when organisational technologies are poorly understood (March and Olsen, 1976) or when the institutional environment creates symbolic uncertainty. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) use the term “modelling” to denote organisational response to uncertainty, positing that organisations model themselves on other organisations within their environment that they deem to be legitimate and auspicious. For example, in the case of Internet retailing, the success of Amazon helped legitimise the move by other book retailers (e.g. Barnes and Noble in the U.S. and Waterstones in the UK) to establish online services. A critical advantage for organisations in mimicking other organisations is that it is likely to result in reduced costs while resolving organisational tensions in periods of organisational and institutional uncertainty.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) view the effects of cognition primarily through the lens of mimetic isomorphism, highlighting the mindless behaviour of organisations and their members in response to cultural rationalisation and legitimacy rather than efficiency as an explanation of firm survival. Scholars have applied the concept of mimetic isomorphism in a range of settings, including Haveman’s (1993) assessment of the parallel diversification patterns of California savings and loan associations, and Greve’s (1996) investigation into format changes at radio stations.

Normative isomorphism results from pressures brought about by professionalisation within organisational fields. Professionalism is defined as the striving of occupational constituents to delineate the conditions, methods and processes associated with the work they perform, and is based on the idea that professional communities collectively determine a set of practices and cognitive frameworks in which organisational routines are constructed (Norus, 1997). For example, employees with similar academic credentials tend to approach problems in a similar manner and inter-firm networks import norms that push organisations to adopt particular processes and routines. Norms and beliefs that develop within educational environments

migrate to private and public sector organisations and this, coupled with inter-hiring between existing organisational field members, encourages isomorphism.

The qualifications and characteristics of individuals within an organisation can influence a move towards conformity with other organisations operating within the same institutional field. This form of incestuous recycling of like-minded individuals between organisations reduces the possibility that someone from outside a particular profession will enter, which may impede the growth and evolution of organisations.

In this typology, the three processes of isomorphism (coercive, mimetic and normative) derive from different institutional conditions and are not always empirically distinct; they intermingle in specific settings and often result in very different outcomes. For example, within the nonprofit arts sector (art galleries, opera etc.), the process of institutionalisation may evolve more expeditiously than in certain for-profit sectors because legal barriers to collusion are generally less common in the nonprofit sector. As DiMaggio and Powell (1983: 153) point out:

Executive producers or artistic directors of leading theatres head trade or professional association committees, sit on government and foundation grant-award panels, or consult as government or foundation-financed management advisors to smaller theatres, or sit on smaller organisations' boards, even as their stature is reinforced and enlarged by the grants their theatres receive from government, corporate, and foundation funding sources.

To summarise, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) reject the rational-actor model of classical economics, emphasising instead how institutions emerge in a given context to shape the behaviour of agents (i.e. people, organisations, and governments). They highlight how organisational structures that used to emanate from the rules of efficiency in the marketplace, now arise from institutional constraints in the form of pressures imposed by the state and the professions. The efforts by organisations to achieve rationality leads to accelerated isomorphism in organisational forms and practices; in other words, organisational forms homogenise within organisational fields as rationalisation evolves.

Although the theoretical perspectives offered by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) both serve to highlight the role of professions and the state in creating institutional isomorphism, they differ fundamentally; whereas Meyer and Rowan (1977) emphasise the effects of societal-level culture, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) focus on organisational uncertainty and field-level resource dependencies.

Institutional logics

DiMaggio and Powell's reference to Weber's iron cage represented a convergence of ideas in institutional analysis that resulted in a new body of institutional work. Of particular significance are the contributions of Friedland and Alford (1985, 1991) who first introduced the concept of institutional logics to describe the conflicting practices and beliefs that characterise the institutions of modern western societies. For example, political leaders mediate the tension between consensus and participation that exists within the democratic aspect of the state (Friedland and Alford, 1985: 111). They cite capitalism, state bureaucracy, and the establishment of political democracy as three contending institutional orders representing different practices and beliefs that determine how individuals engage with political struggles. In further evolving the concept, Friedland and Alford (1991) considered institutional logics in the context of interdependencies between individuals, organisations, and society, facilitating new levels of institutional analysis. They describe institutions as:

Supraorganisational patterns of activity by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material subsistence and organize time and space. They are also symbolic systems, ways of ordering reality, thereby rendering experience of time and space meaningful. Friedland and Alford (1991: 243)

They highlight how key institutions – the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, families, democracy, and religion – shape individual preferences and organisational interests, including the repertoire of behaviours available to organisations in pursuit of their mission. Dismissing both individualistic, rational choice theories and macro structural perspectives, Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested that each of these institutions is defined by a logic that informs its organising principles and bestows social actors with 'vocabularies of motive and a sense of self' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 101).

In their institutional analysis, Friedland and Alford (1991) emphasise both the material and the symbolic. Material elements bring attention to institutional structures and practices while symbolic elements emphasise ideation and meaning. Structures and practices express and affect the meaning of symbols (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012: 10), which, in turn are embodied in organisational structures and practices (Zilber, 2008). In highlighting the importance of considering both the symbolic and material in institutional analysis, Friedland and Alford (1991) point out that although the institutions of family and religion are not commonly understood to be part of the economic domain, they contribute directly to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services (Becker 1976). Conversely, markets, while not ordinarily considered to be part of the cultural domain, are directly shaped

by culture and social structures, including networks of social relationships as well as structures of power, status, and domination (Granovetter 1985). In keeping with previous treatments of institutional theory, Friedland and Alford (1991) highlight how broader belief systems or logics characterise society and inform organisational actors' choices and behaviour, emphasising organisational conformity and isomorphism rather than conflict or institutional change.

Consistent with Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983), Friedland and Alford (1991) 'share a concern with how cultural rules and cognitive structures shape organisational structures' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). However, Friedland and Alford's (1991) seminal essay represents a new approach to institutional analysis by focusing on the effects of differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organisations rather than on the processes and mechanisms associated with isomorphism. Because logics inform rational behaviour, actors and organisations are seen to have contributed to the construction and reconstruction of institutional logics (Thornton, 2004); 'the contradictions inherent in the differentiated set of institutional logics provide individuals, groups, and organisations with cultural resources for transforming individual identities, organisations, and society' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p. 101).

Jackall (1988: 112) presents an alternative definition of institutional logics as:

The complicated, experimentally constructed and thereby contingent set of rules, premiums and sanctions that men and women in particular contexts create and recreate in such a way that their behaviour and accompanying perspective are to some extent regularised and predictable. Put succinctly, an institutional logic is the way a particular social world works.

Consistent with Friedland and Alford (1985, 1991), this perspective views logics as embodied in practices that are maintained and reconstructed by cultural assumptions and political struggle. However, whereas Jackall (1988) emphasises the normative dimensions of institutions and the inter-institutional organisational tensions, Friedland and Alford (1991) focus on symbolic resources and structure.

Drawing on these theoretical observations, scholars have conducted a diverse range of empirical analyses that serves to further advance the logic concept, including publishing (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), finance (Lounsbury, 2002), French cuisine (Rao, Monin, and Durand, 2003), health care (Reay and Hinings, 2005), and classical music (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). For example, expanding on Jackall (1988) and in particular Friedland and Alford (1985, 1991), Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804) consider the contingency of executive

power and succession in the higher education publishing industry in which they describe institutional logics as the:

Socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.

In this interpretation, which incorporates the structural, normative, and symbolic, institutional logics are seen to link actors' agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and rule structures (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 101).

Regardless of the definition, institutional logics 'presuppose a core meta-theory: to understand individual and organisational behaviour' (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 102) and are applicable across a wide range of institutional phenomena. They provide a metatheoretical framework for analysing the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organisations in social systems (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012: 2), informing actors' behaviour within a given organisational field and rendering these behaviours 'comprehensible and predictable' to other institutional constituents (Lounsbury, 2002: 255). Through the provision of context-specific material practices and symbolic systems, institutional logics guide the actions of individuals and organisations faced with ambiguities and cognitive limitations by highlighting critical issues and framing possible solutions (Thornton, 2004).

Much of the extant literature on institutional logics focuses on the role of logics in framing organisational behaviour and on the effects of shifts from one "dominant logic" to another. It provides a broad understanding of how logics function and change over time. However, some of the more interesting contributions to the literature recognise that all organisational fields 'can be characterised by competing institutional logics, to some degree' (Reay and Hinings, 2005).

Competing institutional logics

The notion of competing logics as a catalyst for institutional change has become a prominent perspective in institutional theory. For example, drawing on critics' reviews of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra prior to and following a musician's strike in 1996, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) demonstrate how shifts in institutional logics influenced the discourse of music critics and their judgement of performances by the Atlanta Symphony 'under conditions of logic conflict' (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). By focusing on cultural industry logics, they show how aesthetic logics, which traditionally inform the practices of orchestras,

succumbed to more commercially oriented market logics following changes rendered by ‘declines in the industry – a “graying” audience base, decreased recording contract opportunities, and diminished government funding for the arts’ (Glynn, 2002). They demonstrate how the tensions and conflicts associated with the broader blending of aesthetic and market logics within the orchestral field inform the stories told by classical music critics in their concert reviews (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Other notable examples of empirical research that emphasises the role of competing institutional logics include an investigation into a large scale, government-led health reform initiative in Alberta, Canada that highlights tensions between the logic of medical professionalism and the logic of business (Reay & Hinings, 2005); Marquis and Lounsbury’s (2007) investigation into conflicting logics (‘community’ logic of governance and ‘national’ logic of governance) in the US banking industry, which demonstrates how competing logics facilitated resistance to institutional change (Marquis & Lounsbury, 2007); Lounsbury’s (2002) study on the transformation of institutional logics in the field of finance in the United States, which explores tensions between regulatory logics that were established in the 1930s and market logics that emphasise retail-oriented financial service competition and a blending of previously segregated organisational forms; and finally, Thornton and Ocasio’s (1999) investigation into how an historical shift in the dominant institutional logic in the higher education publishing industry, from a logic of professions (editorial logic) to a logic of markets, led to a transformation in the political dynamics in organisations and the determinants of executive succession. Combined, this literature serves to demonstrate that although institutions by definition signify stability, they are subject to both incremental and discontinuous change processes and, even in highly evolved organisational fields, stability is transitory (Hoffman, 1999) and institutional logics or structures are ‘never frozen’ (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006).

The institutional perspective, and institutional theory more generally, is sometimes criticised for ignoring the role of self-interest and active agency in organisational responses to institutional pressures and expectations (e.g. Covalleski and Dirsmith, 1988; DiMaggio, 1988, Lawrence, 1999; Oliver, 1991). Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 28) suggest that in the absence of an explicit theory of interest and agency, institutional theory cannot explain the origins, management, and decline of institutions. However, as Oliver (1991) suggests, institutionalism can and does facilitate interest-seeking when ‘organisational responses to institutional pressures and expectations are not assumed to be invariably passive and conforming across all institutional conditions’.

By imbuing agency into passive views of institutions, scholars have attempted to unpack the enduring paradox of embedded agency; how actors ‘envision and enact changes in institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institutions they wish to change’ (Holm, 1995: 398). The notion of agency is especially relevant to research whose aim is to understand the response of actors and organisations to shifting institutional logics, considering that ‘in highly institutionalised systems, endogenous change seems almost to contradict the meaning of institution’ (Scott: 1981: 187).

In highlighting organisational action and self-interest, some scholars have focused on the role of institutional entrepreneurship, which integrates the role of actors and interests into institutional theory (e.g., Beckert, 1999; DiMaggio, 1988; Fligstein, 1990; Holm, 1995; Rao, 1998). Institutional entrepreneurs are defined as actors who have an interest in modifying institutional structures or in creating new ones, and who have sufficient resources to do so (DiMaggio, 1988). In building on the notion of self-interest and active agency in organisations, Lawrence (1999) introduced the concept of ‘institutional strategy’ to denote the actions taken by organisations aimed at managing the ‘institutional structures within which firms compete for resources, either through the reproduction or transformation of those structures’. Institutional strategy is differentiated from other forms of organisational strategy in that it is primarily concerned with how organisation manage institutional structures by ‘preserving or transforming institutional standards and rules in order to establish a strategically favourable set of conditions’, rather than competitive advantage.

Building on the idea of institutional strategy and other themes associated with organisational self-interest and active agency, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) introduced the concept of ‘institutional work’, which can be viewed as an umbrella construct for a range of themes within institutionalism, including institutional entrepreneurship, strategic management, and deinstitutionalisation.

Institutional work

Institutional work, which has emerged to become an important research domain within new institutional theory, is defined as ‘the practices of individuals and collective actors aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca, 2011: 52). It emanates from the view that institutions result from some form of human action (Jepperson, 1991) and that people can become active agents in ‘reconstructing their own social relations and ultimately themselves’ (Benson, 1977: 6).

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) specify nine forms of institutional work aimed at creating institutions – *vesting, defining, advocacy, constructing identities, changing norms, constructing normative networks, mimicry, theorising, and finally educating*. Vesting, defining and advocacy represent political forms of institutional work that allow organisational actors to reimagine the rules, property rights and boundaries that regulate access to material resources. Constructing identities, changing norms, and constructing networks characterise forms of institutional work through which actors' belief systems are reconstructed. Lastly, mimicry, theorising, and educating are associated with actions directed at the transformation of the abstract categorisations upon which meaning systems depend. Collectively, this typology represents a well-developed schema within which to investigate how agents (individuals and organisations) participate in institutional change.

Building on these theoretical considerations, scholars have conducted empirical research that demonstrates the practical application of innovation work (e.g. Gawer and Philips, 2013; Marti and Fernandez, 2013; Raviola and Norbäck, 2013; Rojas, 2010; Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010). However, a relatively small amount of research has been undertaken that explicitly links institutional work and shifting institutional logics. This is surprising considering that human action drives changes in logics (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006) and 'change in institutional logics depends on institutional work carried out by actors in the field' (Gawer and Philips, 2013). In addressing this gap in the institutional literature, Gawer and Philips (2013) explore some of the types of institutional work organisations perform as they respond internally and externally to logic shifts. Specifically, they highlight four types of institutional work that the Intel Corporation performed following a shift from traditional supply chain logic to platform logic in the computer industry in the late 1980s and 1990s, namely, external practice work, legitimacy work, internal practice work, and identity work. In emphasising the importance of technology as a field structuring mechanism, Gawer and Philips (2013) lend support to the call by some scholars that institutionalism needs to develop a more sophisticated understanding of technology.

The linking of institutional work and institutional logics brings attention to the dynamic relationship between certain institutional conditions and organisational self-interest and agency. Exogenous events, such as competitive discontinuities, regulatory change, and discontinuous technological change lead to shifts in institutional logics and agency in the form of new practices. For example, in the case of Intel's transformation to platform leader (Gawer and Philips, 2013), shifts in the logics that define the computer industry, beginning with the introduction of the personal computer in the early 1980s, provided the conditions under which the corporation could perform institutional work. Similarly, Raviola and

Norbäck's (2013) investigation of institutional work at an Italian business newspaper demonstrates how technological change brought about the integration of offline and online news work in a setting in which old and new technologies coexist.

Although institutional theorists acknowledge technology as a trigger for shifting logics that call into question traditional taken-for-granted ways of working (e.g. Barley, 1986; Clemens and Cook, 1999; Raviola and Norbäck, 2013), the institutional literature does not provide a comprehensive account of how the introduction of new technology into established arrangements causes logic shifts and challenges the identity of organisations and the collective identity of institutional fields as individuals and the organisations they work for try to make sense of new practices. I address this gap in the literature by drawing on themes from the innovation literature to frame a discussion on how new technology triggers institutional change and how organisations and organisational actors respond to disruptive technology by developing new practices that constitute internal and external participation in shifting institutional logics.

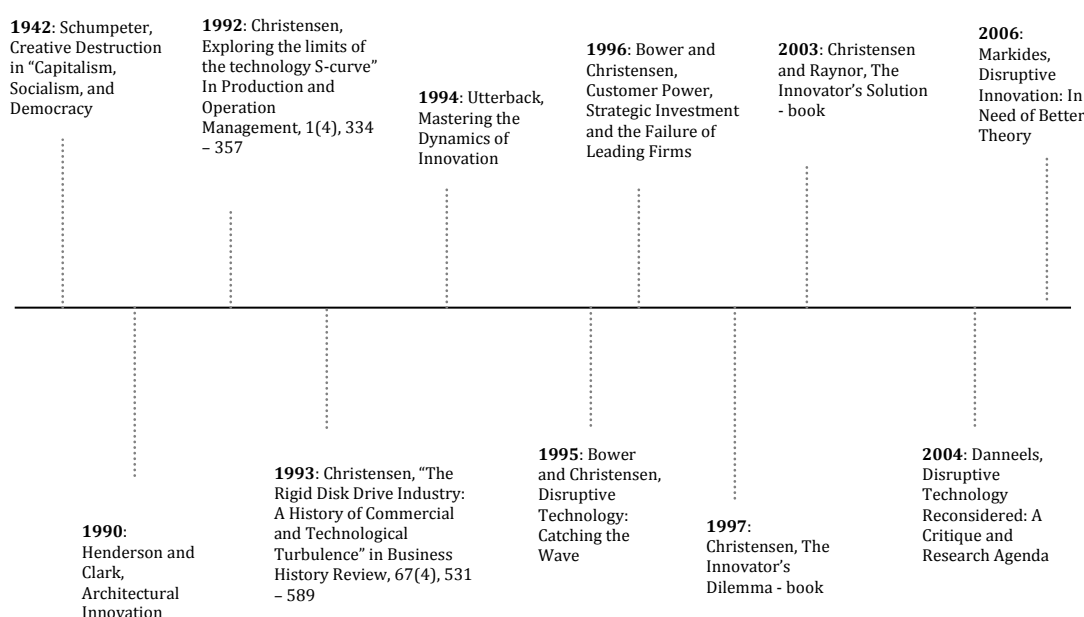
Technology as an organisational and field structuring mechanism

Discontinuous technological change causes paradigm shifts in science or technology and/or the market structure of industries, challenging incumbent firms by disrupting the established value networks in which they operate. One form of technological discontinuity that has emerged to become strategically important in practice is Disruptive Innovation Theory. Originally developed by Christensen (1997) to address an anomaly in the hard disk drive industry, Disruptive Innovation Theory provides a means of expanding existing markets and developing new ones through the introduction of new functionary practices that may disrupt existing markets and institutional arrangements (Adner, 2006; Charitou and Markides, 2003; Christensen, 1997; Christensen and Bower, 1996; Christensen and Raynor, 2003; Danneels, 2004; Govindarajan and Kopalle, 2006; Lucas and Goh, 2009).

Disruptive Innovation Theory, which classifies innovations as sustaining and disruptive, builds on previous innovation studies (*figure 1*) and has evolved to have a significant effect on management practice and to generate interesting debate within academia (e.g. Danneels, 2004; Govindarajan and Kopalle, 2006, Markides, 2006). Prior to the publication of Christensen's seminal book *The Innovator's Dilemma* (Christensen, 1997), and the alternative perspective it presented at the time of its publication, scholars investigating the management of technology largely cited organisational competency as the main source of difficulties facing incumbent firms responding to discontinuous technological change. A significant

proportion of this work was supply-side focused, in which incumbents were seen to struggle to introduce the next generation of technology because they fell victim to competence-destroying innovations (e.g. Henderson and Clark, 1990; Tushman and Anderson, 1986). However, research from this period also highlighted challenges facing incumbent firms in responding to shifts in markets (e.g., Abernathy and Clark, 1985) and larger institutional and social regimes (e.g., Chesbrough, 2001), hence looking beyond organisational competency as an explanation for firm failure following discontinuous innovation.

Figure 2 Timeline of the development of Disruptive Innovation Theory²



In categorically rejecting a lack of technological competence as an explanation for firm failure, Christensen (1997), through a series of case studies (e.g. disk drive industry, mechanical excavator industry, service industry), highlighted problems in decision-making at a senior management level as the source of firm failure. In describing how well-managed firms fail, despite having their 'competitive antennae up', Christensen suggests that successful firms focus on their largest and most profitable customers and in so doing make it extremely difficult to delegate resources to initiatives targeted at new customers that represent lower profit margins. By listening to their best customers to identify new products and services that promise greater profitability, established firms are rarely in a position to build a case for investing in disruptive technologies until it is too late and the new technology has

² This figure represents a summary of the key texts that inform this study and is by no means an exhaustive topography of the innovation literature.

advanced, through a process of incremental improvements, to invade the mainstream market (Christensen, 1997). In other words Christensen's (1997) initial theory of disruptive innovation only focused on a particular form of disruptive technology.

Disruptive technology defined

In contrast to *sustaining technologies*, which serve the needs of most mainstream customers, disruptive technologies take on new and often radical trajectories as they diffuse in the marketplace. Christensen (1997) posits that disruptive technologies initially provide different values from established technologies and underperform them in mainstream markets along the dimensions of performance that are most important to existing consumers. Products based on disruptive technologies initially serve niche markets that value dimensions of performance in which disruptive technology excels (e.g. convenience, price etc.) However, following investment in research and development (R&D), the new technology is incrementally refined and improved to such an extent that it begins to satisfy the needs of customers in the mainstream market and begins to challenge and displace established technologies. In the process, new entrant firms that invested in the disruptive technology displace incumbent firms that ignored the disruptive technology and continued to support and invest in the established technology.

From this summary, it is seen that Christensen's notion of disruptive technology depicts a particular type of technological change that unfolds through a specific mechanism with specific outcomes for institutional fields and the organisations that operate within them. As Danneels (2004) point out: 'this process is understood best by the joint consideration of the trajectories of performance offered by technological alternatives and the trajectories of performance demanded in various market segments.' Incumbent firms that invest resources into existing technologies often struggle to make the transition to a new technology and to compete with new entrants that enter the market based on the disruptive technology. Thus, disruptive technology is commonly associated with the replacement of incumbents by new entrants. A recent example of this type of 'attack from below' technological innovation is the development of 'open-source' software, which first emerged in research domains (e.g. universities), then entry-level computing, but is now playing an increasing role in the mainstream software industry. Open-source examples include Linux (computer operating system), Apache (web server), Mozilla Firefox (web client), and Android (operating system for touchscreen mobile devices).

Researchers across a broad range of disciplines, including technology management, marketing, and strategy have cited *The Innovator's Dilemma*, elevating the author to the status of “guru” (Scherreik, 2000). However, despite the fact that Christensen's (1997) contribution has served to enhance our understanding of the effects of technological innovation on the dynamics of industries and incumbent firms, there remains a high level of ambiguity about what a disruptive technology is. Christensen himself, in addressing the innovator's dilemma about how well-managed and established firms can survive disruptive technology, replaced the term with disruptive innovation. In so doing, he (and his co-author) broadened the theory's application beyond technological products to include services and business-model innovation: for example, discount department stores, point-to-point airlines and online education models (Christensen and Raynor, 2003).

Scholars have attempted to refine the concept of disruptive innovation further (e.g. Adner, 2002; Benner and Tushman, 2003; Danneels, 2004; Govindarajan and Kopalle, 2004; Markides, 2006; Tellis, 2006) and while some of these contributions have lent support to and built on Christensen's (1997) original theoretical contribution (e.g. Adner, 2002), others have criticised the vagueness of Disruptive Innovation Theory (e.g. Danneels, 2004; Markides, 2006; Tellis, 2006; Yu and Hang, 2010). For example, Tellis (2006) posited that it might be difficult to differentiate between inferior underperforming technologies and technologies that, while offering inferior performance, may become disruptive following a process of incremental change. Markides (2006) suggests a more nuanced topology of disruptive innovation, distinguishing between technological innovation, business-model innovation and new-to-the-world product and service innovation.

Govindarajan and Kopalle (2006) present an alternative interpretation of disruptive innovation that looks beyond the narrow description of the concept in terms of low price/low performance to describe a form of technological innovation that offers inferior performance but at a higher price than established technologies. They cite the example of the cellular phone, which was first adopted by corporate executives for its convenience and portability, despite its relatively high price. When it was first introduced, the mainstream market still preferred landline phones because they were more reliable, cheaper, and offered better network coverage. However, following incremental improvements to the new technology, improved network coverage, and lower prices, the cellular phone disrupted the market for landline telephony.

Another example of a technology that was introduced to the market at a relatively high price and that initially offered new levels of convenience over performance was the Apple iPod.

When it was launched in 2001, the iPod cost \$399.00, which was expensive compared to existing portable music devices (portable cassette players and CD players) and offered inferior sound quality to existing portable audio devices (e.g. CD Walkman). However, the iPod provided a level of convenience that appealed to a small niche market; the first iPods combined a small hard drive (5 gigabytes) and a unique 'scroll wheel' controller, and a simple and easy to use operating system designed for mobile devices (based on Pixo OS 2.1) and could store up to 1000 songs. Following a series of incremental improvements (e.g. smaller, lighter, higher data storage capacity, and improved sound quality) and a significant reduction in cost, the Apple iPod entered the mainstream market to supersede existing portable audio players, which then became obsolete.

The diverse and conflicting nature of the disruptive innovation literature reflects a lack of commonly agreed criteria to define the concept. For example, in his survey of the disruptive technology literature, Danneels (2004) highlights a series of ambiguities, most fundamentally, the lack of clear criteria to define disruptive innovation. As Markides (2006) points out: 'despite the widespread use of the term by both managers and academics, there is still a rather unclear understanding of what constitutes disruptive innovation.' For instance, is a new technology inherently disruptive or is "disruptiveness" a function of an organisation's perspective of it and at what point in time is a technology deemed to be disruptive; is an innovation perceived to be disruptive once it invades an existing market and displaces another technology, or when it results in the displacement of incumbent firms that built their success on existing technologies? For example, at what point in time did digital imaging and digital music become disruptive to the photography and music industries respectively?

Disruptive innovation – unpacking the anomalies

An initial observation on disruptive innovation posits that "disruption" is a relative phenomenon; a particular technology that is perceived to be disruptive by one organisation may be seen to be sustaining to another operating in the same institutional field. For example, the ability to sell computers over the Internet was sustaining to the Dell Corporation, despite the fact that the company built its business on selling computers over the phone and through mail order. Selling computers online proved a sustaining innovation compared to its previous business model. However, for IBM, the ability to market directly to customers online was disruptive because it was threatening to interorganisational relations, in particular IBM's relationship with its retail partners (Christensen and Raynor, 2003). In a similar vein, online stock brokerage was a sustaining innovation relative to the business models of discount brokers such as Ameritrade and Schwab, because it allowed these firms to discount even

further. However, the emergence of online stock brokerage proved disruptive relative to the business model of Merrill Lynch (Christensen, 2006). Put succinctly, the Internet is sustaining to some firms and industry sectors while disruptive to others (Christensen and Raynor, 2003).

A second observation suggests that the emergence of disruptive technology does not invariably lead to the complete superseding of existing products by new products or the displacement of incumbent firms by new entrants. Furthermore, disruptive technology does not necessarily imply that disruptors are new entrants; established firms with extant high-end technologies commonly survive a disruptive innovation by focusing on its most demanding and least price sensitive customers. For example, despite the fact that digital imaging has radically transformed the logics that define the market for analogue stills cameras, it has not resulted in the complete destruction of the market for high-end analogue camera. The German optics company Leica, which manufactures these cameras and lenses has maintained a profitable niche at the high-end of the market. Similarly, although the introduction of the Compact Disc (CD) in the early 1980s destroyed the mainstream market for vinyl records, sales have increased in recent years, leading some major record labels (e.g. Deutsche Gramophone) to begin producing and distributing vinyl records again.

A third lens through which to scrutinise the concept of disruptive technology, distinguishes between disruptive innovation and destructive innovation. Christensen's low-cost/low-performance innovation that emergences through a series of incremental changes to invade mainstream markets represents a different type of disruption than innovations that offer superior performance in key dimensions and a relatively low-cost structure and enters the mainstream market directly. The latter form of innovation is likely to be more destructive, forcing incumbents to adapt the new technology or fail. Examples of destructive innovation are in evidence in the fast-paced communication chip market. Here, IBM's introduction of silicon-germanium (SiGe) communication chips in 1995 significantly increased the speed with which data could flow through networks, such as WI-FI, LTE Cellular, and high-speed optical communications networks. Subsequent generations of SiGe increased switching speeds by up to four times, reduced power requirements, and could be manufactured using existing semiconductor fabrication plants (reducing manufacturing costs). SiGe semiconductor technology had a destructive impact on IBM's competitors (e.g. Lucent, Motorola) who were left with no choice but to adopt the new technology.

Finally, another important consideration in attempting to refine the scope and meaning of disruptive innovation is the point at which a technology becomes disruptive; for example, at what point in time did digital imaging become a disruptive technology? Was it perceived to

be disruptive when photographers began to relinquish analogue stills cameras for their digital equivalents or was it when Kodak and other industry leaders discontinued analogue roll film and photographic paper stock? Similarly, at what point was online music distribution perceived to be disruptive to the traditional recorded music industry; was it when Napster launched the first free-to-use online peer-to-peer file sharing service in 1999, or was it when the major record labels began to reduce their investment in new artists, or when high-street record stores chains, such as Virgin Records, Tower Records, and HMV began downsizing or ceased trading altogether?

Disruptive innovation as distinct phenomenon

Following Danneel's (2004) call for more constructive criticism of the core concept of disruptive innovation, Markides (2006) outlined important distinctions between disruptive *technological innovation*, disruptive *business-model innovation* and disruptive *new-to-the-world product innovation*. He suggests that because these different types of innovation emerge in different context and result in different outcomes, they require different responses from incumbent firms. By aggregating all forms of disruptive innovation into a single category, scholars risk mixing apples and oranges, which has serious implications for future research on disruptive innovation (Henderson and Clark, 1990).

Markides (2006) defines a business-model innovation as 'the discovery of a fundamentally different business model in an existing business.' He cites the example of Amazon and Barnes and Noble, both of which are in the book retail business but function in different ways. Amazon did not create a new product but rather introduced a new method through which consumers purchase books, thus disrupting the traditional business models of high street bricks-and-mortar bookstores. Similarly, the Apple Corporation did not invent audio-specific file formats or online music distribution; they simply took advantage of a series of technological innovations to develop a new business model that advances the monetisation of online music content.

The business-model innovation perspective challenges the view that disruptive innovations 'tend to be associated with the replacement of incumbents' (Danneels, 2004) because this type of innovation often emerges to capture a segment of a market without necessarily superseding the traditional way of competing. In other words, it often co-exists with established ways of doing business. For example, according to Investec, combined, the no-frills airline carriers Ryanair and Easy Jet only account for 20% of the overall European short-haul market. Similarly, although Amazon have captured a significant proportion of the

book market, their business-model has not resulted in the total obliteration of high street bookstores and bookstore chains, such as Barnes and Noble in the U.S., and Foyles Books and Waterstones in the UK.

Firms can and do ignore business-model innovation, for instance, when it does not make economic sense or because a new business model is inferior to existing models. As Markides (2006) states: 'new business models are not necessarily superior to the ones established companies employ...' and given their limited resources, 'the decision to invest in disruption may rank low on [a firm's] priority list.' A firm may also decide to intensify its investment in its existing business to make it more competitive relative to the new business-model innovation or in an attempt to disrupt the disruptor. Alternatively, established firms may develop a strategy that involves combining the new way of doing business with traditional business models. For example, traditional booksellers, such as Barnes and Noble in the U.S. and Foyles in the UK have adapted a mixed model approach that involves developing online distribution services while maintaining their presence on the high street. Similarly, banks continue to offer high street banking while simultaneously developing, and encouraging customers to adapt to, online banking services.

Markides (2006) identifies a second type of innovation that results from radical innovation and is manifest in new-to-the-world products, examples of which include the gramophone, radio, television, personal computer, Compact Disc, mobile phone, and tablet computing. This type of innovation is disruptive to consumers because it involves the introduction of 'products and value propositions that disturb prevailing consumer habits and behaviours in many ways.' It is also disruptive to producers because 'the markets they create undermine the competencies and complementary assets on which existing competitors have built their success' (Markides, 2006). For example, the advent of the digital optical storage format DVD in 1995 signalled the end of the market for customer-level analogue recording videotape cassettes (VHS) and video player technology. In turn, the market for DVD has been threatened by online video streaming service such as Netflix and Amazon Prime.

By differentiating between technological, business-model, and product innovation, Markides (2006) clearly demonstrates that not all disruptive innovations are the same. Different types of innovation result in distinct markets and have different implications for consumers, producers, and managers. This points to potentially more complex outcomes for organisational fields and field members following discontinuous innovation than earlier interpretations of disruptive innovation suggest. For instance, incumbent firms are likely to respond to radical new-to-the-world product innovation in a fundamentally different way than

they might respond to technological innovation or business-model innovation, and technology-intensive firms are more likely to be disrupted by technological innovation than firms that use technology for peripheral activities.

In summary, much of the empirical work conducted under the rubric of discontinuous technological change has involved well-documented case studies of specific industries. The extent to which findings from these case studies can be generalised across diverse industry sectors is somewhat unclear; some of the features of disruptive innovation may be generally applicable across industry sectors while others may be industry-specific (Danneels, 2014). Furthermore, the extant literature on disruptive innovation primarily focuses on issues of internal validity, to the relative neglect of external validity (Chesbrough, 2001).

Disruptive innovation – context and environment

Some scholars have looked beyond a firm-level analysis to consider disruptive innovation in the context of the institutional environments in which organisations operate because organisations often manage complex interorganisational relationships. For example, firms are commonly locked into commitments that reflect existing stakeholder or shareholder expectations, relationships with suppliers, investors and public funders, public promises and mission aims (Denning, 2005). Single technologies become commercialised in conjunction with the development of related technologies that have been introduced prior to or at the same time as its introduction; thus, relationships with technology suppliers and partners are critical to the commercialisation of products based on disruptive technology (Myers, 2002). Considering the complexities surrounding institutional fields, the effects of new technology are also potentially complex because they can cause shifts in the logics that define these institutional orders.

New technology has implications beyond the technology itself (Tripsas, 2009); for instance, it can result in new markets and consumer segments with different preferences and expectations (Abernathy and Clark, 1985; Christensen and Bower, 1996); the need for new business model innovation (Chesbrough and Rosenbloom, 2002; Lucas and Goh, 2009; Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000) and alliance networks (Rosenkopf and Nerkar, 2001); and shifts in the logics that define complementary assets (Tripsas, 1997) and vertical integration (Baldwin, 2008). Even seemingly trivial innovations can be disruptive to the inertial forces associated with organisational communication channels and strategies and information filters (Henderson and Clark, 1990), necessitating the need for significant changes in organisations at all levels. The

effects of disruptive innovation can be framed within institutional logics, leading to the following proposition:

Proposition one:

Disruptive innovation causes shifts in the logics that define institutional fields, fragmenting interorganisational relationships and changing the expectations of internal and external constituents.

The transformation of the music industry following digital innovation provides an example of how technological change affects the logics that define an institutional field and field members and their constituents (internal and external). The music industry has experienced shocks that have transformed its structure, sparked by new technologies, in particular the distribution of music as a digital good on the Internet.

‘Changes in culture are intricately connected to changes in technology (Carey, 1988).’ As Tepper and Hargittai (2009) note:

New technologies have dramatically changed the market for art and culture, typically leading to expanded audiences having access to more diverse options. In short, technological change has often accompanied both the expansion and diffusion of culture, facilitating more choices available to more people.

For instance, Edison’s phonograph (1877) liberated sound from time and space, signalling the birth of the recorded music industry. Prior to its invention, the logics that characterised the music industry were organised around live music performance and the sale of printed sheet music (music scores). However, as recording evolved in the early part of the twentieth century, musicians and composers adapted new practices and listeners developed new relationships with music.

The institutional logics that characterised the recorded music industry for most of the twentieth century involved major record labels funding the production, promotion (e.g. through radio and television) distribution, and sale of recordings in the form of a physical artefact (vinyl records and later CDs) through high street record stores. In return, the record companies generally retained ownership of the copyright of these recordings, which generated often-significant profit for the labels and earned income for musicians. This institutional arrangement represented a dominant logic within the recording industry until digital technology triggered a shift in the inventory of music from physical shelf space in high street stores to the virtual space of the Internet in the late 1990s. In so doing, it transformed the

primary processes and mechanisms associated with the production, distribution and consumption of recorded music.

Critical to this transformation was the invention of file formats that allow for the storage of digital audio data on a computer (technological innovation), in particular, the publishing of the MP3 format in 1993, which, in combination with advances in Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) triggered a fundamental shift in the logics that define patterns of artistic, commercial, and social exchange between producers and consumers of music.

MP3 is an encoding format for digital audio that is commonly used for audio streaming or storage and is the *de facto* standard of digital audio compression for the transfer and playback of music on most digital audio players and other devices. Its rapid development and subsequent diffusion throughout the 1990s led to the development of peer-to-peer file sharing software and services, which revolutionised how consumers discover and access music content. The most pioneering of these services was Napster (1999), a type of free-to-use online software that allowed users to share the MP3 audio files stored on their computers with other Napster members. The ability to freely share music content encoded in the MP3 format over the Internet resulted in the widespread piracy of music content and infringement of existing copyright law, which ultimately led to Napster being shut down by court order in July 2001.

Despite its short existence, Napster signalled a radical shift in the logics that define how music content is distributed and consumed. At the centre of this shift was the escalation of music piracy among Internet users,³ which ‘changed traditional social and economic arrangements surrounding intellectual property...’ (Tepper and Hargittai, 2009). As a result of this change in consumer behaviour, sales of music in physical formats (primarily CDs) gradually declined, leading to the closure of large high street music store chains, such as Tower Records and Virgin Megastore, and a greatly reduced presence for those high street music chains that survived the disruption (e.g. HMV).

The logics that characterised relationships between recording companies (record labels) and musicians also shifted as the incumbent record labels (e.g. EMI, Sony Music, and Universal Music Group etc.) failed to make the transition to digital. In keeping with Christensen’s (1997) notion that well-managed firms fail when faced with disruptive technology, they

³ Music piracy is here defined as the copying and distributing of music content without the consent of the composer, recording artist, or copyright-holding record company.

ignored MP3 technology because it was initially of poor quality and did not serve the mainstream market for recorded music in which they were dominant players. By the time they realised that online music distribution represented a new dominant logic for the discovery and consumption of music content, new entrants had captured the market for music content by creating new value networks (e.g. the Apple Corporation, Spotify and Amazon). For example, by developing business-model innovation, the Apple Corporation introduced its online iTunes Store in 2013, which represented a new logic that allowed for the monetisation of online music content.

In summary, digital technology has resulted in shifts in the logics that define how music is created and distributed and how people discover and consume it. As a consequence, to incumbent firms that relied on the sale of physical music products (e.g. record labels, high street record stores, and manufacturers of CDs and CD players), digital has been disruptive and in some cases destructive to their business model. For their part, musicians perceive digital technology to be both disruptive and sustaining; a disruptive effect was the loss of recording opportunities for artists and music ensembles that depended on relationships with record labels in the pre-digital era. At the same time, the Internet provides new opportunities for musicians and music organisations (e.g. solo artists, bands, opera companies and orchestras) to develop more direct relationships with audiences and consumers online. Lastly, digital technology has reduced the cost of searching for and discovering music by enabling consumers to “sample” it through services such as Spotify or YouTube.

This example illustrates how new technology impacts the logics that characterise an institutional field. However, individuals and organisations also participate in shifting institutional logics by using technology to perform purposive actions aimed at influencing the environments in which they operate.

Disruptive innovation and organisational action

Established firms can and do survive exogenous technological shocks. For example, incumbent firms with existing high-end technology may survive disruption by focusing on specialist niche markets that serve the most demanding but least price sensitive customers (e.g. Leica’s continued success in producing high-end analogue cameras). Established firms also survive technological change by adapting the role of disruptor; for instance, IBM’s success in personal computers, HP’s success in inkjet printers and Nikon’s successful transition from analogue to digital imaging. In each of these cases, the incumbent firm was able to use technology to develop new value networks (Christensen, 1997), which, from an

institutional perspective, can be viewed as institutional logics that individuals and organisations mobilise to serve their self-interest in periods of technological and institutional change (Westenholz, 2006).

New technology can provide opportunities for organisational renewal by presenting organisational actors with ‘raw materials’ from the environment (Glynn, 2008) with which to develop new strategies and practices. By using technology to perform purposive action, individuals and organisations can influence shifts in the institutional logics that characterise organisational fields, thus highlighting important links between institutional work and institutional logics (e.g. Gawer and Philips, 2013; Raviola and Norbäck, 2013). In so doing, they draw on and manage different logics, inherent in which exist uncertainties and contradictions that present increased opportunities for change, as conflicting logics create instability (organisational and institutional) and make alternative strategies and practices more readily available (Brown, Ainsworth and Grant, 2012: 299).

Technology-induced patterns of organisational action represent a particular form of institutional work that involves actors making sense of new practices amid a sociotechnical arrangement, within which old and new technologies may coexist. For example, Raviola and Norbäck (2013) highlight how an Italian business newspaper firm introduced new practices to integrate online and offline news content. Similarly, bookstores that have survived digital disruption (e.g. Foyles, Barns and Noble) have developed online stores that involve adapting new technology (web-based applications) to integrate the sale of both physical books and e-books through their websites. These observations on how new technology make actions possible leads to the following proposition:

Proposition two:

Organisations appropriate new technology from their institutional environments to perform purposive action aimed at influencing shifting institutional logics.

In order to use technology to participate externally in logic shifts, established organisations might have to overcome inertial forces. For example, an organisation’s capacity to react to technological change, and the opportunities it can provide for organisational growth and renewal, is often constrained by behavioural routines and core capabilities and rigidities, resource constraints, and cognitive frames (e.g. Christensen, 1997; Gilbert, 2005; Henderson and Clark, 1990; Leonard-Barton, 1992; Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000; Tushman and Anderson, 1986; Utterback, 1994).

Even when organisations recognise the need to change in response to new technological and invest resources in it, cognitive elements can prove to be a barrier to technological adaption when their efforts to develop new practices are tempered by organisational rigidities that preserve existing routines (e.g. Gilbert, 2005; Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000; Christensen and Bower, 1996). For instance, in the case of digital imaging, Polaroid invested significant resources in developing new innovations in response to the perceived threat of digital technology. However, the business model they established was cognitively framed, augmenting existing beliefs and “dominant logics” by drawing on historical experience rather than current knowledge of the environment. Consequently, despite leading the field in developing advanced sensor technology, inertial forces in the form of managerial cognition affected the ‘adaptive intelligence’ of Polaroid, which led to delays in getting a digital camera to market and ultimately to the firm’s failure to make the transition to digital imaging (Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000).

In this example, a central feature of the focal organisation’s identity, specifically its reliance on the so-called “razor/blade” model, proved a critical barrier to digital adoption. In keeping with this model, Polaroid sold its traditional analogue cameras cheaply to promote the sale of its film, which retailed at a high price and so was extremely profitable for the company. The notion that you don’t make money on the actual camera worked well in the context of Polaroid’s analogue business, however, this model did not transfer well to the digital domain, thus highlighting the role that features of organisational identity often play in institutional work.

Technology-induced logic shifts and organisational identity

In order to survive exogenous technological shocks and develop new practices in response to, and to participate in shifting institutional logics, organisations may ultimately have to reimagine “who they are” by reconstructing their identity. In so doing, organisational members and external constituents may have to alter firmly held beliefs and assumptions about what an organisation represents.

As Glynn (2008) suggests, ‘although organisations can construct identities that reflect their central and distinctive attributes, they typically do so with components available in their institutional environment’ (Glynn, 2008: 423), such as new technology and the social uses of it. Even the introduction of minor technological changes into an institutional setting can be identity challenging if, by pursuing the new technology an organisation violates central features of its identity (Tripsas, 2009). For example, some symphony orchestras have begun

to explore the use of mobile devices to inform listeners' experience during live performances, which some constituents perceive to be threatening to the "purity" of the live classical music experience and the code of audience silence that is a central feature of its identity. The recursive relationship between organisational identity and technology is encapsulated in the following proposition:

Proposition three:

Organisations reconstruct their identity in order to develop new practices in response to, and to participate in shifting institutional logics following technological change.

The transformation of the Apple Corporation, beginning in the 1990s, which led to the company's entry into the digital content market (music and film), represents an exemplary case of identity change in which identity functions as a kind of institutional logic (Friedland and Alfred, 1991).

In the mid-1990s, the Apple product line was somewhat convoluted, with disparate models across four ambiguous categories (home, school, work and portable). In addition to the confusion surrounding its hardware offering, the corporation was struggling to create a modern Mac operating system. Following his return to the company in 1997, Steve Jobs initiated a series of strategies aimed at distilling Apple's products matrix into a four-box grid of computers: pro desktop, pro notebook, consumer desktop and consumer notebook. In so doing, he streamlined Apple's hardware development teams, focusing the brainpower of the company's engineers to achieve the best from these four systems. This made the company more agile than other large corporations, enabling Apple to change course quickly in response to new technology, new markets, and changes in users' behaviour.

In addition to clarifying Apple's hardware strategy, Jobs made a number of significant announcements shortly after his return to the company, unveiling the original iMac and outlining a road map for the development of Apple's operating system that ultimately led to Mac OS X (a series of Unix-based graphical interface operating systems). Combining this with Apple's new hardware line laid the foundations for the development of mobile devices (e.g. iPod, iPhone and iPad) and Apple's move into new markets. For example, in 2001 the company became new entrants to the as yet untapped MP3 player market with the introduction of its iPod and complementary iTunes software. As these became available for Windows users, the iTunes Store was launched and the iPod's capacities and price points were diversified. Apple's entry into the music content market revolutionised the music industry and led to the company becoming the largest retailer of music content in the world.

In 2005, Apple expanded its iTunes store to include the sale of digital video content and mobile apps. Two years later, the company entered the mobile phone market with the release of its iPhone, which revolutionised the concept of browsing the Web on a mobile device and solidified the concept of iTunes as a multimedia store. Finally, Apple introduced its iPad device in 2010, which took the concept of a tablet computer – a technology that Microsoft and other companies had been trying to market for over a decade with limited success – and transformed it.

In summary, the propositions presented here highlight potentially complex outcomes for organisations and organisational fields following technological change. As the innovation literature demonstrates, disruptive innovation affects firms directly; however, it also has indirect effects because it causes shifts in institutional logics. Established organisations and their members are not passive observers or “cultural dopes” trapped by institutional arrangements (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca, 2009: 113) but rather active agents that participate in and influence shifts in institutional logics. They do so by activating certain logics to develop new practices in order to engage externally in the process of institutional change and internally to manage the consequences of shifting institutional logics. Put another way, they use technology to make certain actions possible.

Conclusion and future research

By developing links between the previously disparate themes of disruptive innovation, institutional logics and the actions of organisations, I have highlighted a number of issues that have implications for institutional theory and that may also begin a conversation that might be of interest to innovation scholars.

A key observation is that institutional theory can benefit from a more sophisticated understanding of technology. In particular, themes from the innovation literature can inform new insights on institutional change and the role of institutional members in it, specifically, organisations’ perceptions of the disruptive and sustaining effects of discontinuous technological change on institutional logics. More research needs to be conducted that develops links between themes from the innovation literature and institutionalism to build a theory of how new technology is used by individuals and organisations to make sense of new practices and to participate internally and externally in changes in their institutional context in different ways and with different objectives. It is somewhat surprising that institutional scholars have not afforded more attention to this promising and yet largely neglected area of research.

By viewing institutional change through the lens of disruptive innovation, it should be possible to gain a more detailed and sophisticated understanding of the role of actors in the processes of change. This may advance a more expeditious development of theory on the role of human action in producing institutions, thus contributing to our understanding of links between the purposeful action of individuals and organisations (institutional work) and changes in institutional logics

A second area of inquiry that warrants further theoretical attention is the dynamic relationship between organisational identity and technology; specifically, questions around the role that organisational identity (internal and external perceptions) plays in helping organisations and organisational actors make sense of new practices within sociotechnical arrangements.

Future research should strive to unpack the potential complexities inherent in organisational identity and its relationship with technological change. By developing theoretical links between identity and technology, research can advance a more comprehensive understanding of how actors mobilise certain features of organisational identity in different circumstances; for example, to overcome inertial forces in periods of radical technological change and the social uses of it. Lastly, future theoretical work should explore how (and perhaps why) new technology creates potential tension between organisational identity and the collective identities of institutional fields. This represents a relatively unexplored theoretical domain but one that may help to advance a more detailed understanding of the enduring paradox of embedded agency – ‘how can actors envision and enact changes in institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institutions they wish to change?’ (Holm, 1995: 398).

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The Reimagining of Performing Organisations Following Discontinuous Technological Change and Shifting Institutional Logics

Abstract

In this study, I consider how changes in technology trigger institutional transformation and organisational change. Specifically, I address the question of how organisations respond to and participate in shifts in institutional logics following discontinuous technological change. The research setting is the classical music sector, which is dominated by nonprofit performing organisations currently adapting to digital technology, which has altered patterns of artistic, commercial, and social exchange between producers and consumers. This study addresses a gap in the institutional literature, which acknowledges the role of technology as a source of institutional change but lacks a comprehensive understanding of how changes in technology trigger and influence the actions of organisations and their members. It contributes to the literature on organisational response to institutional change and, by linking otherwise disparate scholarly disciplines, encourages a dialogue that should be of interest to both innovation and institutional scholars. Research findings demonstrate that organisations use technology to make sense of new practices so as to engage externally in the processes that drive institutional change, and to manage the consequences of shifting institutional logics internally.

Introduction

I draw on themes from the innovation literature to inform new insights on how technological changes trigger shifts in the logics that define institutional fields, and how organisations and their members use technology to respond to and participate in institutional change.

Since Schumpeter's seminal work on the effects of innovation on the economy, specifically his description of the process by which old ways of doing things are endogenously destroyed and replaced by new ways (Schumpeter, 1942), scholars have attempted, and often struggled, to establish clear criteria for what constitutes a discontinuous technological innovation. For example, the mechanisms outlined in Christensen's popular and influential Disruptive Innovation Theory (Christensen, 1997) have become progressively stretched, pushing the limits of theory to include such innovations as online banking (Danneels, 2004) and online music distribution. Subsequently, it has become increasingly necessary for scholars to develop clear conceptual depictions of the effects of disruptive innovation and in particular the mechanisms and processes by which it exerts its effects (Danneels, 2004).

One approach to better understanding the potentially complex effects of technological change on organisations is to consider their sustaining and disruptive effects on the logics that define

organisational fields. This approach posits that organisations, at least in some cases, perceive discontinuous innovation to be disruptive or sustaining based not only on their direct effects on organisations but also based on how they affect institutional logics, which serve to locate and link organisations within fields but are not necessarily stable or constant (Reay and Hinings, 2005).

Institutional scholars have used different theoretical approaches to account for the processes inherent in institutional change. Of particular interest are those approaches that highlight how organisational fields are constituted by contesting coexisting systems of institutional meaning, which Friedland and Alford define as ‘institutional logics’ (Friedland and Alford, 1991). The concept of institutional logic can serve to deepen our understanding of connections within organisational fields and can also help to define the repertoire of behaviours available to individuals and organisations as they respond to discontinuous technological change.

Institutional logic is both a theory and a method of analysis for understanding the influences of societal-level culture on the cognition and behaviour of individual and organisational actors (DiMaggio, 1997). They are the taken-for-granted practices and beliefs, often encoded in laws that specify the boundaries of a field, its rules of membership, and forms of its communities (e.g. Friedland and Alford, 1991; Lawrence, 1999; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Thornton, 2004). Thornton and Ocasio (1999) provide a concise definition, describing institutional logics as the ‘socially constructed historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, and provide meaning to their social reality’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999: 804).

Early treatments of the institutional logic concept primarily focused on broad organising principles, emphasising how logics function in modern societies through institutions, such as the bureaucratic state, democracy, the nuclear family, and Christian religion (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 232). More recent treatments emphasise how the abstract principles outlined in earlier work can inform a field-level view, leading to a more sophisticated understanding of how institutions change over time and the impact such changes have at both a field and organisational level (Lounsbury, 2007).

Scholars have demonstrated how individuals and organisations can ‘mobilise different institutional logics to initiate change’ (Gawer and Philips, 2013). One way they do this is by developing new practices to engage externally in the processes of institutional change and internally to manage the consequences of shifting institutional logics. The themes of agency

and self-interest have become increasingly prominent in institutional theory and are especially relevant to research that focuses on the role that actors play in shaping institutional fields (Gawer and Philips, 2013). A useful lens through which to view the role of organisational agency and self-interest is ‘institutional work’, which is defined as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 215),

Institutional work encompasses a wide range of themes associated with notions of agency within organisations, most notably institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988) and deinstitutionalisation (Jepperson, 1991). It facilitates a potentially more comprehensive understanding of how the actions of individuals and organisations impact on institutions and conversely how institutions influence organisations. Although scholars have begun to develop links between institutional logics and institutional work (e.g. Philips and Gawer, 2013), a relatively small amount of research has been conducted that explicitly connects these two related concepts, and yet work in this domain can shed light on the enduring paradox of embedded agency: ‘how actors envision and enact changes in institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institutions they wish to change’ (Holm, 1995: 398).

By linking themes from the innovation and institutional literatures, this research attempts to unpack the dynamic relationship between organisational action (institutional work) and the transformation of institutional fields (shifting institutional logics) in a period of technological change. Although institutional studies have shown how new technology can trigger institutional change (e.g. Barley, 1986; Clemens and Cook, 1999), it lacks a ‘more detailed understanding of *how* changes in technology trigger and influence institutional work...’ (Raviola and Norbäck, 2013). I address this gap in the literature by considering technology as a source of logics shifts and new practices in the classical music sector, within which old and new technologies coexist.

Classical music is an interesting setting in which to consider the research question. It is a highly institutionalised field, which is dominated by nonprofit performing organisations (e.g. opera theatre companies and symphony orchestras) that rely on a combination of earned income (e.g. concert ticket sales and recordings) and contributed income (e.g. public funding, corporate sponsorship, and donations). Their *raison d’être* is to perform to audiences in a dedicated space – a concert hall with appropriate architectural acoustics. However, they also engage in a wide range of subsidiary activities that are technology-driven and serve to increase audience reach and enhance organisational status and legitimacy. For example,

throughout the twentieth century professional orchestras derived revenue and exposure to mass-audiences through audio recordings (e.g. vinyl records and later CDs) and broadcasting activities (radio and television). These organisations are currently adapting to digital technology, which has triggered shifts in the institutional logics that define artistic, commercial, and social exchange between producers and consumers of recorded music content.

Research findings demonstrate the efforts made by orchestras and opera companies to use technology to make sense of new practices in the digital space in order to influence changes in their institutional environment. I identified two broad areas of actions within the focal organisational field – *external practice work* and *internal identity work*. External practice work includes business-model innovation and the introduction of new practices and services into the field. Internal identity work involves the redefining of the logics that characterise organisational structures and processes, for example, through the realignment of musicians' expectations in an era in which consumers can discover and access much of the classical music canon for free online.

This study makes three contributions. Firstly, it addresses a gap in the institutional literature, which acknowledges technology as a source of institutional change but lacks a more comprehensive understanding of how changes in technology cause shifts in institutional logics and influence organisational action. Secondly, it contributes to our understanding of organisational response to, and participation in, institutional logic shifts. Lastly, by drawing on themes from the innovation literature to inform new insights on institutional change and organisational action, this study establishes a framework within which further research in this domain may proceed.

Theoretical Orientation

I review themes from both the innovation and institutional literatures, drawing them together to develop my research question. In so doing I position the paper theoretically and address a gap in the institutional literature.

Discontinuous technological change

Scholars have adopted various terminologies to describe two types of technological innovation at different stages in history, which fall into two general classes: (1)

discontinuous, radical, revolutionary, and disruptive (2) continuous, incremental, evolutionary, and sustaining. Each categorisation helps to explain particular phenomena but also presents anomalies. For instance, although it is clear that technological innovations can be sustaining or disruptive to products, services, organisations, and institutional fields, the trajectory of innovation is relative; a single discontinuous innovation might be perceived to be disruptive to one organisation but sustaining to another operating in a same field.

One theory of emerging technological innovation that has become strategically important is Disruptive Innovation Theory (Christensen, 1997, 2006; Christensen and Bower, 1996; Christensen and Raynor, 2003). Built upon previous innovation work (e.g. Schumpeter, 1942; Henderson and Clark, 1990; Utterback, 1994; Christensen and Bower, 1995), disruptive innovation happens in a process. According to Christensen (1997), products based on disruptive technologies are initially cheaper, simpler and smaller, and underperform established technologies according to the criteria of mainstream markets, and initially serve niche or emergent markets with different criteria. However, through a process of incremental improvements, disruptive technologies become fully performance-competitive within the mainstream market and displace established technologies.

This process is best understood by the 'joint consideration of the trajectories of performance offered by technological alternatives and the trajectories of performance demanded in various market segments' (Danneels, 2004). In other words, disruption occurs when the trajectory of performance provided by the disruptive technology intersects with the trajectory of performance demanded in the mainstream market. One outcome of this process is that new entrants, by supporting the disruptive technology, displace incumbent firms that continue to support the established technology. Many leading firms that fail in the face of disruptive technology are well managed but cannot make the transition to a new technological regime because they implement the wrong strategies. As Christensen (1997) notes, one reason why well-managed firms fail is because they initially ignore products that are based on a disruptive technology because these products offer lower profit margins, exist in emergent or insignificant markets, and do not serve leading firms' most profitable customers. By the time a product based on a disruptive technology enters the mainstream market it is already too late for these leading firms to respond.

Through a series of in-depth case studies, including the disk drive industry and discount retailing, Christensen (1997) demonstrates how established firms might resolve this dilemma. He provides strong evidence to suggest that large established firms succeed in new markets that have been enabled by disruptive technologies when they establish autonomous firms

whose size matches that of the targeted market, to commercialise the disruptive technology. In further addressing the ‘innovator’s dilemma’ Christensen and Raynor (2003) published *The Innovator’s Solution*, in which they replaced the term ‘disruptive technology’ with ‘disruptive innovation’, thus broadening the theory’s applicability to include service and business model innovation, such as low fares airlines and online business education.

The mechanisms outlined in earlier treatments of disruptive innovation theory continue to be stretched to include such areas as online banking, digital music and digital imaging, and online education, necessitating the need for clear definitions and clarifications of types of technological change, their effects on products and services, organisations and organisational fields, and the mechanisms through which discontinuous innovations exert these effects (Danneels, 2004). A number of fundamental questions remain. For example, is a discontinuous innovation inherently disruptive or sustaining or is “disruptiveness” or “sustainability” a function of the perspective of the organisations subject to the innovation? For instance, the Internet is sustaining to some products, services, firms and industries and disruptive to others. The Internet has been disruptive to large bricks and mortar bookstore chains but sustaining to many smaller bookstores that serve niche markets because they can now become third-party sellers on services such as Amazon. Also, digital imaging is largely sustaining to manufacturers of single-lens reflex cameras (e.g. Canon, Nikon etc.) but disruptive to manufacturers of analogue roll film (e.g. Kodak, Fuji) and film processing labs.

Another fundamental question concerning disruptive innovation is at what point in time is an innovation deemed to be disruptive? For example, at what point in time did online digital music models become disruptive to traditional distribution models for recorded music? Did it become disruptive with the emergence of online peer-to-peer file sharing services such as Napster (2001) or when the Apple Corporation entered the music content market in 2003; or did online music distribution become disruptive when consumers began downloading music instead of purchasing it in a physical format, or when high-street record stores began going out of business? In other words, is a technological innovation considered disruptive only when it displaces incumbent firms that established their business on prior technologies? Lastly, is “disruptiveness” a function of the market in which products are sold? For instance, a number of markets were disrupted by the emergence of online music distribution services, including manufacturers of compact discs, high-street record stores, printing firms, graphic design companies and record labels.

Considering the potentially complex effects of discontinuous innovation on organisational fields and field members, it is somewhat surprising that institutional theory has not developed

a more comprehensive understanding of how technology can trigger logic shifts and how technology is 'used by workers who are engaged in making sense of new practices in an arrangement where old and new technologies coexist' (Raviola and Norbäck, 2013). I address this shortcoming in the literature by first considering the effects of technology on the logics that define organisational fields before unpacking how organisations and organisational members respond to and participate in institutional change.

An organisational field is defined as 'sets of organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life; key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). The conceptualisation of a field goes beyond the material relationships implicit in industry to include common cultural social and cognitive schema. Scott et al. (2000) suggest that units within a field share more than just business interactions: 'the notion of field connotes the existence of a community of organisations that partake of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field' (Scott, Rueff, Mendel and Caronna, 2000).

While organisational fields locate and connect organisations, they do not necessarily represent a stable or persistent environment (Reay and Hinings, 2005). Institutionalists have adapted a range of theoretical mechanisms to account for institutional change processes. For example, Oliver (1991) combines resource dependency theory and institutional theory to demonstrate how organisational actors have strategic options when faced with pressures from the institutional environment. Scholars have also highlighted how institutional fields are fractured and constituted by multiple contesting yet coexisting institutional meaning systems, delineated by Friedland and Alford as 'institutional logics' (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Logics define the central characteristics that govern different institutional orders and provide organising principles, motives, and personal identity to organisational actors in a field (Battilana, 2006; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006).

Institutional Logics

The institutional logic concept is best understood when considered in the context of institutional theory and institutional analysis. Institutions have been an important focus of organisational analysis since Selznick's empirical analysis of organisations and the institutional environment (Selznick, 1948, 1949, 1957). Parson (1956), in offering a theoretical perspective, further advanced thinking on institutions by emphasising the function of institutions that integrate organisations with other organisations in society. A new approach

to institutional analysis that highlights the role of culture and cognition emerged in the 1970s (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977). For example, Meyer and Rowan (1977) posited that organisations conform to requirements and expectations from the external environment in order to gain legitimacy, leading to isomorphism in the formal structures of organisations.

In building on the theme of isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) highlight coercive, normative, and mimetic sources of isomorphism. What they termed ‘new institutionalism’ (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991: 11) frames a sociological view of institutions by exploring why and how institutions emerge in a given context and how institutions shape the behaviour of agents (i.e. people, organisations, and governments). They view the effects of cognition primarily through the lens of mimetic isomorphism, emphasising mindless behaviour in response to cultural rationalisation and legitimacy rather than efficiency as an explanation for the survival of organisations. DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) revisiting of Weber’s Iron Cage resulted in a profusion of empirical analysis out of which emerged the concept of institutional logic, which denotes the ‘contradictory practices and beliefs inherent in the institutions of modern western societies’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 101).

Friedland and Alford’s (1991) seminal essay, in combination with a series of important empirical contributions from, among others, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) and Scott et al. (2000), advanced institutional analysis by framing the content and meaning of institutions within the institutional logic concept. Friedland and Alford (1985) cite capitalism, state bureaucracy, and political democracy as contending institutional orders that frame different practices and beliefs, which in turn inform how individuals engage in political struggles (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 101). Focusing on macro-societal phenomena, Friedland and Alford (1991) describe institutions as ‘supraorganisational patterns of activity by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material subsistence and organize time and space. They are also symbolic systems, ways of ordering reality, thereby rendering experience of time and space meaningful’ (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 243). Material elements refer to institutional structures and practices while symbolic elements refer to ideation and meaning.

In highlighting the importance of considering both the symbolic and material in institutional analysis, Friedland and Alford (1991) point out that both the family and religion, while not commonly considered part of the economic sphere, are directly involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services (Becker 1976). Conversely, ‘market processes are amenable to sociological analysis’, which plays a central, not peripheral role in these processes (Granovetter 1985). They further highlight how key institutions – the

capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, families, democracy, and religion – inform individual preferences and organisational interests and aims, including the repertoire of behaviours by which organisations pursue and attain them. Each of these institutions is defined by logics that constrain the behaviour of individual actors and organisations ‘but are also constitutive of individuals, organisations, and society’ (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008:101). The contradictions and tensions inherent in differentiated logics present actors and organisations with resources for transforming individual identities, organisations, and society.

Thornton (2004), in revising Friedland and Alford’s inter-institutional scheme, cite the market, the corporation, the professions, the state, the family, and religions, as core institutions that are guided by distinct institutional logic. More recently, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012: 68), expanded on the institutional logic perspective by adding ‘community’ to this list of institutional orders. Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804) further define institutional logics as the ‘socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organisations provide meaning to their daily activities, organise time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences.’

The institutional logics perspective, which is applicable to a wide range of institutional phenomenon, provides a metatheoretical framework for analysing the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organisations in social systems (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012: 2). A core premise of the logics perspective is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organisations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Logics inform actors’ behaviour within a given organisational field and render these behaviours ‘comprehensible and predictable’ to other institutional constituents (Lounsbury, 2002). Through the provision of context-specific material practices and symbolic systems, logics inform the actions of individuals and organisations faced with ambiguities and cognitive limitations by highlighting critical issues and framing potential solutions (Thornton, 2004).

In further expanding on the logic concept, scholars have focused on how logics change over time and the impact changing logics have on the evolution of fields (e.g. Lounsbury and Pollock, 2001; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Lounsbury, 2002; Thornton, 2004; Thornton and Casio, 1999). Of particular interest are those treatments that highlight the role of competing logics as a catalyst for institutional change. For example, Glynn and Lounsbury (2005), in drawing on critics’ reviews of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra prior to and following a musician’s strike in 1996, investigate how shifts in institutional logics influenced the

discourse of music critics and their judgement of performances. They demonstrate how aesthetic logics, which traditionally inform the practices of orchestras, succumbed to a more commercially oriented market logic in the face of declining orchestral resources (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005).

Other notable examples that highlight competing institutional logics as a catalyst for institutional change include an investigation into a large-scale, government-led health reform initiative in Alberta, Canada, which highlights tensions between the logic of medical professionalism and the logic of business (Reay and Hinings, 2005); Marquis and Lounsbury's (2007) investigation into conflicting logics ('community' logic of governance and 'national' logics of governance) in the US banking industry, which demonstrates how competing logics facilitate resistance to institutional change (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007); and Thornton and Ocasio's (1999) exploration of the historical shift in logics in the higher education publishing industry, which highlights how a move from a logic of professions (editorial logic) to a logic of markets led to a transformation in the political dynamics in organisations and the determinants of executive succession.

Collectively, the institutional logic literature serves to highlight the non-static nature of institutions, demonstrating that even in highly mature organisational fields institutional and organisational stability is transitory (Hoffman, 1999). It also highlights the varying conditions under which logics shift and the diverse array of sources of institutional change. An ongoing challenge for institutional scholars is to extend thinking on institutional change by further exploring links between institutional logics and institutional and organisational transformation, in particular in complex and highly institutionalised settings involving multiple constituents and conflicting institutional logics.

Although institutional theory is often criticised for ignoring the role of self-interest and active agency in organisational responses to institutional pressures and expectations (e.g. Covalleski and Dirsmith, 1988; DiMaggio, 1988, Oliver, 1991), institutionalism does acknowledge the role that individuals and organisations play in influencing and shaping their environments. For example, the concept of institutional entrepreneurship defines actors who have an interest in modifying institutional structures or in creating new ones, and who have sufficient resources to do so (DiMaggio, 1988). Lawrence (1999) introduced the concept of 'institutional strategy' to describe organisational actions aimed at managing 'institutional structures within which firms compete for resources, either through the reproduction or transformation of those structures' (Lawrence, 1999).

Building on these themes of organisational self-interest, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) introduced the concept of ‘institutional work’, which can be viewed as a kind of umbrella construct for a range of themes within institutionalism, including institutional entrepreneurship, strategic management, institutional strategy, and deinstitutionalisation. Institutional work has become an important research domain within new institutional theory.

Institutional work

In addition to enhancing our understanding of the processes through which institutions affect organisational action, research is increasingly highlighting the effects of individual and organisational actions on institutions (e.g. Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). The concept of ‘institutional work’, which encompasses a number of themes within institutional theory, including institutional entrepreneurship and deinstitutionalisation, emphasises the role of human action in the production of institutions (Jepperson, 1991). By connecting a set of previously disparate ideas, it opens up the institutional research space to new questions and new conversations.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define institutional work as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006: 215). In contrast to institutionalism, which highlights the processes through which institutions govern the actions of individuals and organisations, institutional work focuses on how the actions of individuals and organisations impact on institutions. The purposive actions of individuals and organisations encompass highly visible and dramatic actions, as illustrated in research on institutional entrepreneurship, and the more banal day-to-day adaptations, adjustments, and compromises of actors concerned to maintain institutional arrangements.

An important contribution of the institutional work construct is that it offers a ‘broader vision of agency in relationship to institutions’ (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca, 2009: 101) and in so doing avoids the depiction of organisational actors ‘either as “cultural dopes” trapped by institutional arrangements, or as hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs’ (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca, 2009: 113). It can potentially help to unpack the paradox of embedded agency – ‘how can actors envision and enact changes in institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institutions they wish to change?’ (Holm, 1995: 398). The notion of agency is especially relevant to research that is concerned with the role of actors and organisations in the processes associated with institutional change,

given that 'in highly institutionalised systems, endogenous change seems almost to contradict the meaning of institution' (Scott, 1981: 187).

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) present a useful typology of nine types of institutional work aimed at creating institutions, including vesting, defining, advocacy, constructing identities, changing norms, constructing normative networks, mimicry, theorising and educating. Vesting, defining and advocacy represent political work that allows organisational actors to reconstruct the rules, property rights and boundaries that impel access to material resources. Constructing identities, changing norms and constructing networks are viewed as forms of institutional work in which actors' belief systems are reconfigured. Mimicry, theorising and educating denote actions that are designed to change the abstract categorisations upon which meaning systems depend.

A number of important empirical studies of institutional work have emerged out of these initial theoretical insights that serve to demonstrate how the concept can help to unpack the processes of institutional change. Notable examples include Rojas's (2010) study of the Third World Strike at San Francisco State College in 1968, which highlights how actors increase their power by 'creating, supporting, or modifying institutions' (Rojas, 2010: 1263); Zietsma and Lawrence's (2010) study of the interplay of boundary work and practice work in the coastal forestry industry in British Columbia, Canada, which highlights the role of institutional work in the transformation of institutional fields; and Raviola and Norbäck's (2013) investigation into the role of technology and meaning in the institutional work of newsmakers at an Italian business newspaper, which highlights the role of materiality in institutional work as traditional methods of producing business news for print meet new online opportunities.

In addition to contributing to conversations within the institutional community, the concept of institutional work also provides a framework within which new conversations can take place that bridge the interests of academic scholars studying institutions and organisations, and those who work in organisations.

By drawing together themes from the innovation and institutional literatures, this research attempts to bring to institutional study a better understanding of the role of technology as a source of institutional transformation and organisational change. Institutional studies have shown that technology can be a source of institutional change (e.g. Barley, 1986; and Clemens and Cook, 1999), however, institutionalism still lacks a comprehensive understanding of how changes in technology impact the logics that define institutional fields

and how technology is used by institutional actors to participate internally and externally in shifting institutional logics (Raviola and Norbäck, 2013).

Specifically, I examine the role of technology as a source of logics shifts and new practices in a setting in which old technologies (music instrument technology) and new technologies (digital technology) coexist. Changes in technology, and the social uses of it, gives rise to contradictions and conflict that bring into question institutional norms and accepted ways of doing things. It also results in individuals acting more wilfully or self-consciously (e.g. Seo and Creed, 2002) by performing new forms of institutional work to make their actions more purposeful in sympathy with institutional change.

This research is motivated by the related questions of how discontinuous technological change affects the logics that define institutional fields and how organisations respond to and participate in technology induced logic shifts.

Research Methods

I conducted a multi-case qualitative study in order to answer the research question. The research design was selected to develop links between technology, institutional logics and institutional work, which are not well understood. It also reflects the exploratory nature of this study, which aims to build theory (e.g. Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003).

Empirical setting

In considering cultural institutions, DiMaggio (1986) observes that nonprofit arts organisations, such as museums, art galleries and symphony orchestras, were created to ‘clarify and embody the distinction between “high culture” and mass entertainment’ (DiMaggio, 1986: 7). High culture is perhaps nowhere as conspicuous as in the output of classical music ensembles (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). Opera theatre companies and symphony orchestras, which represent ‘an extreme case of a nonprofit industry’ (Kuan, 2001), are exemplars of high culture, ‘preserving and promoting the musical heritage of the past, present and future composers’ of music written in the classical tradition and intended as “serious art”.

The classical music sector represents a complex institutional environment within which the division of labour comprises for-profit firms (e.g. record companies, publishing firms and broadcasting networks and corporations), government agencies (e.g. arts councils and cultural

funding bodies), and nonprofit performing organisations that include opera theatre companies, string quartets, chamber choirs and symphony orchestras. These ensembles, which are at the centre of the classical music industry, adhere to similar forms of nonprofit governance and exist to advance complementary mission aims that, broadly speaking, are intended to preserve and promote the classical music canon. They operate in an environment in which there are strong interconnections and interdependencies between the three sectors of government, business, and nonprofit.

Although their cultural contribution may commonly be perceived to be singular, classical music performing organisations are multi-professional in their identity (Glynn, 2000), employing a wide range of highly skilled professional musicians, educators, managers and administrators. They also engage in multiple activities: in addition to performing live concerts, these ensembles engage in a range of subsidiary activities, including recordings, broadcasting events (radio and television) and educational work, all of which serve to advance the aims of their mission. More recently, classical music organisations have developed new capabilities in digital technology; in extreme cases this has involved the establishment of separate trading companies dedicated to exploring digital opportunities.

Similar to other nonprofit organisations that promote “high art”, the central identity elements of classical music ensembles (artisan and utilitarian) constitute organisational identity. In general, artists are seen to ‘seek to claim the logic of aesthetics’ (Glynn, 2000), differentiating themselves from the logics of the market, which are commonly perceived to be the domain of administration. Both the logics of aesthetics and market reflect the strong mission-orientations of these ensembles and a high level of resource dependence; although classical music organisations do generate earned income, they depend on arts grants, sponsorship and donations for a significant proportion of their annual income.

Because they adhere to a nonprofit form of governance, classical music organisations are subject to a non-distribution constraint; they cannot distribute profits to members and in return they receive special tax, legal, and regulatory treatment (Hansmann, 1980). They are ‘organised around a societal mission, which some would argue is their defining criterion’ (Quarter and Richmond, 2001). For example, for orchestras, music is ‘the foremost expression of its mission and the artistic aspirations of its conductor and musicians. The repertoire [they perform] is the language through which the orchestra speaks to the audience’, (American Symphony Orchestra League, 1993:17).

In keeping with other nonprofit cultural organisations, classical music ensembles ‘cannot boost productivity sufficiently to meet inflationary pressures, [and so] require subsidy’ (DiMaggio and Powell, 1986: 6). Given this imperative, the nonprofit form permits cultural organisations to maximise a combination of earned and contributed income (Hansmann, 1980). For example, in the UK, earned income (e.g. ticket and CD sales) represents approximately one-third of the annual income of professional classical music ensembles, with approximately one-third derived from public funding bodies (e.g. Arts Councils) and one-third from donations (e.g. personal and corporate donations, trusts and foundations). In the United States, however, nonprofit classical music performing organisations receive very little federal or state funding (as low as 1% of annual income in some cases) and so rely heavily on endowments, in some cases as much as 70% of total annual income. This leaves U.S. orchestras and opera companies more vulnerable to economic change than their European counterparts.

Despite sharing similar mission-orientations and comparable forms of governance, size, repertoire, funding and location differentiate the focal organisations. For example, large orchestras (symphony and philharmonic orchestras) employ approximately 80 to 100 skilled musicians and primarily perform and record the canonical European repertoire (e.g. Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Mahler, and Stravinsky) to relatively large audiences and markets. In contrast, small orchestras (chamber orchestras) employ approximately 35 – 50 skilled musicians and generally perform in smaller concert venues and often specialise in more niche repertoire (niche within a niche), such as early music (music composed between 500 – 1600) or contemporary music, here defined as music composed post 1945.

The funding of classical music ensembles is largely determined by where they are located. For example, European orchestras obtain more government funding than U.S. orchestras, which receive a relatively small amount of Federal and State funding in support of their mission. Funding is further complicated by geographic location within a given region. For example, in the UK, professional orchestras in smaller cities like Liverpool and Bournemouth are referred to as regional orchestras, in part because they receive public funding on the condition that they serve not only local audiences but audiences throughout the region. For instance, the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra serves a region of 10,000 square miles throughout south and southwest England, performing in approximately 35 towns and cities in a single financial year. In contrast, the London Symphony Orchestra primarily performs its UK concerts at the Barbican Centre in London, where they are the resident orchestra.

Like the institutional fields in which they operate, classical music organisations constitute complex and highly institutionalised environments within which organisational actors occupy various positions within a generally applicable structure, encompassing a wide range of both artistic and administrative roles. For example, in orchestras, an artistic director (principal conductor) presides over an ensemble of highly skilled musicians who occupy various ‘ranks’ within what is a generally accepted hierarchy. A symphony orchestra consists of four proportionate groups of similar musical instruments, namely, woodwind, brass, percussion, and strings, each of which has a principal player who leads the orchestral section. The violin section is further divided into two groups (first and second violins) each of which has its own principal leader. The principal violinist in the first of these violin sections is called the concertmaster (or leader in the UK). He or she is considered to be the leader not only of the string section but also of the entire orchestra, subordinate only to the conductor. Finally, orchestras also contract external constituents, for example, guest artists, including conductors and solo musicians (e.g. pianists and violinists) and also living composers to advance new musical compositions composed in the classical music tradition.

Adding to the highly structured and hierarchical nature of the focal organisations, the administration is organised into multiple departments, within which a wide range of mostly full-time specialist administrators are employed. Although there is variation across regions and organisations, in general, an executive director presides over a development team (e.g. artistic planner, corporate and events coordinator, friends (donor) administrator), marketing department (e.g. marketing director, box office manager), education department (e.g. education coordinator), finance department (e.g. financial controller, etc.), and a digital department (e.g. digital media producer, web editor), the presence of which reflects new organisational behaviour at the focal organisations in response to disruptive digital innovation. Lastly, orchestras are governed by a Board of Directors, which may include orchestral players, the executive director, and external trustees.

Some orchestras (mostly in Europe) are self-governing, which means that the musicians are directly involved in running the ensemble. This style of governance affords members a collective right to determine key matters affecting the company, including the appointment of artistic directors (conductor). Self-governing orchestras are less common in the U.S. where the American Federation of Musicians, which is a union, plays a significant role in the running of most professional classical music performing organisations.

Finally, remuneration for orchestral musicians differs across organisations and regions. For example, in the UK orchestras can be categorised as: contract orchestras – musicians are

employed on a full-time salary; freelance orchestras – musicians are paid on a per concert, recording, or broadcast basis; companies with their own orchestras – opera and ballet companies, Chamber Orchestras – musicians are paid on a per concert basis, and finally the five BBC orchestras – musicians are employed on full-time salaries. In the U.S., where orchestras are funded almost completely by private money and are represented by strong unionisation, orchestral musicians generally receive higher remuneration than their European counterparts.

The classical music field is an interesting setting within which to unpack the complexities associated with shifting institutional logics and organisational-level change following discontinuous innovation. Firstly, the classical music sector is a complex institutional environment dominated by highly institutionalised organisations that are organised exclusively as nonprofits and which have not changed significantly since the late nineteenth century. Secondly, classical music ensembles demonstrate high levels of resource dependency and so are especially susceptible to institutional change, most obviously changing economic conditions. Lastly, because the focal organisations use technology to enhance aesthetic, economic and mission orientations, they are subject to disruption and enhancement from discontinuous technological change and are currently adapting to digital innovations.

Classical music and technology

Classical music has an historical association with and dependency on, technological innovation. This is observed most fundamentally in the evolution of musical instrument technology, which refers to the construction of musical instruments and the way they have changed over time. For example, the instruments associated with the modern symphony orchestra are significantly different from the instruments for which European composers were composing music centuries ago. Specific examples of innovations in music instrument technology include the addition of piston valves to brass instruments, the design of more complex fingering systems for woodwind instruments such as the flute, and the standardisation of the family of orchestral string instruments in the nineteenth century. The early 20th century signalled the emergence of electronic musical instruments, most notably the Theremin (1928) and the Ondes Martenot (1928), the latter of which has been used by a number of classical music composers, including the French composers Olivier Messiaen, Edgar Varèse and Pierre Boulez. In the post-war period, new and increasingly compact circuitry led to the invention of the synthesiser, which evolved to become an important and creative tool for avant-garde musicians working in the contemporary classical music field.

The analogue synthesiser first appeared in 1964, followed seven years later by its digital equivalent, later models of which are, in effect, modified computers. In terms of the computer proper, an increasing number of composers began to use them for music composition, a notable example being the Modernist Iannis Xenakis, much of whose work has a complex mathematical basis – the calculations for which can be arrived at more quickly by a computer. Other composers began to establish special studios for experimentation into electronic music; however, it was only when the results of these experiments were manifest in live performances by composers such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, John Cage, Pierre Schaeffer, and Pierre Boulez that the mixed genre that is known as “electroacoustic music” emerged.

Incremental improvements to traditional music instruments and the invention of electronic and digital music instruments, primarily serve to enhance aesthetic logics. Innovations in audio recording and playback devices, although sometimes used as an important aesthetic element in contemporary classical music, have chiefly served to create new markets or change existing markets for recorded music content.

Prior to the invention of audio recording and playback technologies in the late nineteenth century, the market logics that defined the classical music sector were primarily constructed around the live music event; orchestras were contracted to perform concerts for which audiences paid an admissions fee and orchestral musicians received remuneration. Patrons of the arts commissioned composers to write new music and sheet music (music scores), which dominated the music industry market in the nineteenth century, played a key role in the development of amateur music making. However, following the invention of audio recording technologies, the recorded music industry emerged to replace the sheet music publishing business as the music industry’s biggest market force, signalling the first significant shift in the logics that define the classical music sector.

Since the introduction of Edison’s phonograph cylinder in 1877, and the subsequent growth in the availability of audio-recorded artefacts throughout the twentieth century, there has been an ongoing assessment of how the medium of recording has affected the art of music making and the activity of listening to music. The emergence of early audio recording technologies, such as the player piano (a self-playing mechanical piano) and the gramophone, meant that music could be encoded and duplicated at relatively low cost, resulting in the diffusion of “mechanical music” for the first time in history. Although initially an expensive pursuit that served a small minority’s musical experience (Philips, 2004: 4), incremental improvements to audio recording and playback devices, combined with a reduction in the cost of audio hardware (gramophone players, turntables, CD players) and software (gramophone records,

Long Player – LP, CDs) resulted in listening to recorded music gradually replacing live music as a source of music listening.

In liberating sound from time and space, audio recording brought music to mass audiences, however, it also signalled a growing presence of market logics that threatened to dilute the “purity” and longstanding dominance of aesthetic logics that were built around live music performance. Although the emergence of the recorded music industry resulted in the “piracy” of mechanical music and contributed to a more pronounced distinction between performers and listeners (Philips, 2004: 8), it also provided new opportunities for classical artists and music ensembles to advance both mission and economic logics⁴.

For classical music performing organisations recordings and broadcasting opportunities (radio and later television) emerged to represent important subsidiary activities through which to disseminate their mission and reach new audiences and to enhance their status and legitimacy within the broader organisational field. They also provided an important source of income for orchestral musicians, at least for those musicians employed in the more prestigious high-profile ensembles that make regular recordings and broadcasts. For example, between 1937 and 1954, the New York based NBC Radio Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini, became a household name in the United States and throughout the world through its weekly radio concert broadcasts. In Europe, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra became a globally recognised brand through the ensemble’s recordings and broadcasting activities, most notably between the years of 1955 and 1989, a period in which the ensemble was under the artistic direction of conductor Herbert Von Karajan, an artist acutely aware of the power of audio and broadcasting technologies to advance both the orchestra’s and his own reputation worldwide.

In keeping with its history of early adoption of technological innovations, the Berlin Philharmonic, under the direction of Von Karajan, were selected to record the first ever test pressing of a Compact Disc (CD) in 1979, performing Richard Strauss’s *Eine Alpensinfonie* (An Alpine Symphony). The CD format, which was launched into the market in 1982, represents an example of a discontinuous innovation that is both disruptive and sustaining within an industry sector; the CD was disruptive to manufacturers of vinyl records and record

⁴ Among the early beneficiaries of innovations in recording and broadcasting technologies was the Italian tenor Enrico Caruso, who performed in one of the first ever radio broadcasts – live from the Metropolitan Opera in New York, on January 13th 1910. Caruso exploited the new medium, gaining exposure to a global audience and becoming one of the first “stars” of the recorded music industry. Although orchestral and operatic recordings were produced in the period of acoustic recording their success, in terms of public reception, was not realised until the introduction of electric recording in 1925.

players (turntables) but sustaining to copyright holders, producers and distributors of recorded artefacts and high street music stores.

The invention of the CD, which promised ‘perfect sound forever’, resulted in a boom for the industry, in particular the major record labels (e.g. Universal Music Group, EMI, Warner Music Group, and Sony Music Entertainment), as music collections were modernised from vinyl records (Baym, 2011), leading to industry high profits for the recorded music industry by 1997/98. However, in the same decade there emerged a radically disruptive audio innovation in the form of audio-specific file formats that, in combination with advances in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), revolutionised the way music is produced, distributed and consumed and in so doing destroyed the traditional recorded music sector.

Music in the age of its digital reproducibility

In the early 1990s, experiments in digital audio encoding led to the creation of a standard digital audio encoding format (MP3) by the Motion Picture Experts Group (MPEG) in 1993. Shortly after the emergence of the MP3 format, software products were developed that enabled the transfer of music stored on CD to digital audio file formats and the playback of the resulting audio files. Although initially of poor quality, the MP3 file format underwent a series of incremental changes to emerge as a realistic alternative to physical recordings, ultimately leading to the transformation of the primary consumer process associated with the consumption of music. The extent to which MP3 technology, in combination with advances in ICT, would ultimately disrupt the recorded music industry was not fully realised until the late 1990s, by which time the Internet had drastically altered the processes associated with the production, distribution, and consumption of music (Molteni and Ordanini, 2003).

Digital music distribution, in the form of unauthorised consumer peer-to-peer (P2P) file sharing, became one of the most popular Internet activities in the late twentieth century, following the emergence of the pioneering software Napster, a free service that afforded users access to a vast library of digital music stored on the hard drives of a community of Napster participants. Although it was not the first service to facilitate the free distribution of audio files across the Internet, Napster, which offered a user-friendly interface and specialised in the MP3 format, boasted 80 million registered users at its peak. Although Napster was deemed to be in violation of music publishers’ copyright and shut down by court order in July 2001, its short existence signalled a fundamental shift in the logics that define the distribution and consumption of music content.

The digitisation of music effectively removed the recorded industry's monopoly on high-quality reproduction so that illegal copies were of comparable quality to the original. Concomitantly, the intangible nature of digital music resulted in new distribution and consumption practices. As the first decade of the twenty-first century progressed and consumers increasingly accessed music content online through legal means (e.g. iTunes) and illegal means (peer-to-peer file sharing networks), sales of music in physical formats (CD) began to rapidly decline, resulting in the destruction of the traditional supply chain for recorded music products.

An immediate economic consequence of the shift in market logics was a rapid reduction in recording opportunities for artists and music ensembles as the major record companies began reducing their investment in recording artists. Niche music genres, such as classical and jazz, were especially impacted by this shift in institutional logics as record companies began to focus on so called 'crossover' artists, here defined as performers that adopt classical influences in their music but ultimately serve wider audiences through an accessible and popular sound aesthetic and marketable image; crossover' recordings are designed to appeal to more than one segment of the listening audience. In this context, the term "crossover" has negative connotations, implying the dilution of "serious" music's distinctive aesthetic qualities to accommodate to mass tastes; classical music, because it is a "high art" form that resides outside the domain of popular culture, does not fit this model.

In addition to destroying the traditional recorded music industry sector, digital innovation is redefining the logics that characterise the traditional broadcasting sector, in particular the broadcast of video content. Historically, classical music ensembles have received fewer opportunities to perform to TV audiences compared to audio recording opportunities. However, television broadcast has served to advance classical music, especially opera, which, because it has a large visual element and is narrative driven, is suited to visual broadcasting formats. The Internet offers new potential for classical music ensembles to distribute visual content in a more direct way to audiences in response to changing stakeholder expectations.

Consumers increasingly expect to have free access to cultural content, including classical music and the core of the classical music canon is already available to listen to and watch on services such as YouTube. This further complicates the task of developing a strategy for the production and distribution of both video and audio content for classical music ensembles that are unlikely to generate earned income from digital production and distribution. At the same time, audio and video content continues to play a key role in upholding and enhancing the status and reputation of these organisations, not only to its audiences but critically to those

who fund orchestras and opera companies, including state funding bodies, most of which have developed digital strategies that encourage and expect the adoption and adaptation of digital technologies at the organisations they fund.

As they attempt to reimagine “who they are” as organisations, the focal organisations are performing new forms of institutional work to participate both externally and internally in institutional change. In so doing, they navigate a space between traditional notions of what a classical music ensemble is (they continue to promote the classical music canon through live concerts) and what they might become within the digital space. Put another way, they navigate a space between organisational identity and the collective identities (e.g. Cornelissen et al. 2007) that define classical music as an institution.

In summary, changes in how classical music content is produced, disseminated, distributed and consumed can be framed as a shift in institutional logics, specifically, a shift from analogue to a digital technology, which are characterised by different forms of market and social logics. The shift in logics has altered the structure of the focal organisational field and the practices that define the activities of field members. *Table 1* demonstrates two ideal types in the production, distribution and consumption of classical music.

Data collection

I drew on two primary data sources: (1) a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted across a total of twenty-three organisations operating in the classical music sector, and (2) an analysis of historical materials, including an extensive literature review.

Because the classical music sector comprises organisations that adhere to different forms of governance, I selected research sites to include nonprofits, for-profits and public agencies. However, because nonprofits dominate this institutional field and are the main focus of this study, the core research sample is made up of nonprofit professional classical music performing organisations (*table 2*).

Because they can be differentiated by size, location, repertoire, and resources, I included a diverse range of ensembles in my research sample, encompassing large high-profile orchestras (e.g. Symphony orchestras) that primarily perform the canonical symphonic repertoire (e.g. Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Mahler and Tchaikovsky) and small orchestras (chamber orchestras) including those that specialise in niche repertoire, such as Baroque music and contemporary classical music. The research sample also includes opera theatre

companies, because they employ orchestras and face similar challenges to other professional classical music performing organisations in responding to discontinuous technological change and shifting institutional logics.

The majority of the organisations included in the research sample are UK based; however, I also engage with a number of performing organisations outside the UK, including orchestras located in the U.S.A., Germany, and Holland; although there are significant differences in how orchestras are funded and governed across regions, these organisations face many of the same fundamental challenges in responding to shifting institutional logics following exogenous technological shocks. By engaging with organisations operating in different regions it was possible to account for variation in attitudes and strategies across the focal institutional field. Because changes to the logics that characterise the classical music sector affect a wide range of organisational actors, I selected research participants to reflect a broad spectrum of positions held within the focal organisations, ranging from senior marketing experts to digital media specialists, and executive directors.

In addition to the seventeen primary research sites listed in *table 1*, I conducted interviews at a number of relevant and related organisations operating within the classical music industry, adding valuable secondary data. This part of my fieldwork included a series of interviews with a number of classical music officers at the Arts Council of England, the head of classical music at EMI Music Publishing, the director of the Association of British Orchestras (the national body that represents the collective interests of professional orchestras throughout the UK), and the director of Eaton Publishing (a music-publishing company that specialises in classical music). Finally, all of the research participants who took part in this study engaged in on-going correspondence through email, Skype calls, and additional face-to-face meetings (formal and informal).

Table 1: Two ideal types in the production, distribution and consumption of classical music

Characteristic	Pre discontinuous technological change	Post discontinuous technological change
Industry architecture	Supply chain logic High level of dependency on industry partners (e.g. radio and TV broadcasting firms, record companies and high-street record stores) Steep industry hierarchy	Rhizomatic logic – product distribution extends in multiple directions and has multiple entryways Lower level of dependency on industry partners “Gift economy”
Organisational identity	Purveyors of the classical music canon, primarily through live music performances Members of production and distribution supply chain within the recording and broadcasting industry sectors	Purveyors of the classical music canon through live music performance and a range of digital activities [Potential] Owners of production and distribution processes
Legitimacy	Organisational status and reputation through: - Live performance - Recordings and traditional broadcasting events (TV and Radio)	Position within the digital economy through: - Online broadcasting events - Self-produced recordings - New forms of artistic collaboration - New media partnerships - Status and reputation
Authority structure	Hierarchical Production and distribution of recorded artefacts controlled by a small number of record labels (e.g. Sony, Decca, Deutsche Gramophone, and EMI) Broadcasting opportunities determined by major networks and corporations	Nonprofits gain greater levels of autonomy in relation to the production and distribution of recorded artefacts - Cooperative - Profit-share - Consensual

Mission	To make classical music available to the greatest number of people through live concerts and analogue recording and broadcasting activities.	To make classical music available to the greatest number of people through live performance and digital activities.
Industry innovation	Little incentive for nonprofits to innovate in an environment that offers a degree of protection from changing market conditions.	Increasing need for organisations to innovate in an era in which consumers have almost unlimited access to cultural content.
Focus of attention	Promotion of mission through live music performance and a limited range of subsidiary activities (recordings and broadcasts) Maintaining of historically informed intra-organisational relationships Fulfil unambiguous expectations of stakeholders, including funders, donors, and audience/consumers	Promotion of mission through multiple pathways Develop new intra-organisational relationships and creative partnerships Increasing need to understand changing stakeholder expectations, including changing funders' and audience expectations
Logic of investment	Surplus revenue primarily reinvested in direct support of core mission activities – live music performance	Surplus revenue increasingly reinvested in mission – supporting activities in the form of digital projects Profit-share
Governance	Decision-making processes associated with technology-dependent, mission-supporting activities primarily dictated by external stakeholders	Increased internal control over decision-making processes associated with technology-dependent, mission-supporting activities Consensual decision-making among internal actors Self-governance

Table 2: *Core research sample – nonprofit classical music performing organisations*

Organisation	Ensemble Type	Primary Interviewee*
Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment	Chamber Orchestra	Communications Director
BBC Symphony	Symphony Orchestra	General Manager
London Symphony Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Head of LSO Live
Halle Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Digital Manager
Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Director Marketing/Communications
Philharmonia Orchestra (London)	Symphony Orchestra	Head of Digital
Royal Opera House	Opera Company	Chief Technology Officer
Glyndebourne Opera	Opera Company	Development Manager
Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Business Administrator
London Philharmonic Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Digital Project Manager
Britten Sinfonia	Chamber Orchestra	Marketing Director
English National Opera	Opera Company	Digital Marketing Manager
Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Director Marketing/Communications
Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Head of Marketing
London Sinfonietta	Chamber Orchestra	Executive Director
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Executive Director
New York Philharmonic Orchestra	Symphony Orchestra	Vice President, Communications

* Interviews were conducted with multiple research participants at most of the organisations included in the research sample, in addition to primary interviewees.

I used qualitative research methods to illuminate some initial observations that I had on changing institutional logics and new forms of institutional work in the classical music sector following digital innovations. Interviews were semi-structured, facilitating theory building (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2003). In addition, by considering an historical perspective it was possible to gain insights on the historical impact of discontinuous technological innovations on the focal institutional field and the organisations that operate therein.

Interviews were recorded on two audio devices and transcribed before data was inductively analysed to allow themes to emerge based on their frequency, variation, and emphasis; themes were then defined and organised into categories. An iterative process of analysis that involved moving between theory and data ceased at a point when research objectives had been achieved and new research questions emerged that required further empirical data and theoretical reasoning. Interviews were concluded when it became clear that incremental learning had become minimal and theoretical saturation had been reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Lastly, interview transcripts were re-examined for further incidents of data corresponding with each theme. Transcripts were made available to all research participants for corrections and further contributions prior to concluding a series of research findings.

Research Findings

Field material demonstrates that classical music ensembles perceive digital technology to be disruptive or sustaining based on its direct effects (e.g. loss of recording opportunities) and indirect effects (e. g. changing audience and funders' expectations). It also highlights a range of actions that orchestras and opera companies perform in response to disruptive technology and shifting institutional logics. These actions (institutional work) can broadly be described as *external practice work* and *internal identity work*. External practice work refers to new practices that organisations perform in order to participate externally in shifting institutional logics. Internal identity work defines the types of work that classical music organisations perform to reimagine “who they are” as organisations in response to technological innovation and the social uses of it.

Digital technology and shifting logics in classical music

Digital technology offers a paradox to classical music performing organisations; as the manager of the BBC Symphony stated: on the one hand it provides opportunities for orchestras to develop more direct relationships with audiences by making ‘the music... available to more people in more ways and in more formats than could ever have been imagined twenty years ago’, while on the other hand it is disruptive to the logics that define how classical music ensembles produce and distribute recorded music content (audio and video) and how audiences discover and access it.

A digital manager at the English National Opera stated that digital technology had ‘destroyed the relationships that orchestras once had with record labels and changed how they [engage] with audiences and funders.’ He likened the effects of digital on the classical music sector to ‘the meteor that came down and wiped out the dinosaurs’, stating that ‘the digital revolution has been a catastrophe for any kind of analogue publishing industry like books and music.’ The destructive effects of digital innovation are seen most clearly in changes to how consumers discover and consume music content. The ease with which consumers can now access music online for free through services such as YouTube led directly to the demise of the traditional recorded music industry and changes in how television networks and broadcasting corporations produce and deliver content.

Classical music performing organisations have had to change in response to digital innovation, and the social uses of it. As the head of digital media at the New York

Philharmonic Orchestra pointed out, ‘digital is disruptive to the traditional business models [of orchestras] and although it offers opportunities to expand [orchestras’] brands and reach beyond the limits of TV and radio, it means a lot of change to the way we do business.’ The president of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra also highlighted the need for change within the classical music field in response to technology-induced logic shifts:

Everything that is going on today challenges dominant logic in the [classical music] field. We play in these temples called halls with perfect acoustics and we charge a lot of money and we appeal to a class of society, that’s the dominant logic and today it’s upside down and technology is one of the reasons it’s upside down. Now people don’t want to be closed they want to be open, they don’t want it to be expensive, and they want it to be free. The live product and the concept of the digital product are one and the same but [they involve] different delivery systems. Artists like to deliver live, that’s their preference, however, if you are in the business that we are in you have to be audience centric and the audience has moved to technology. So to ignore that or to fight it I think is at your peril.

Positing a similar sentiment, a manager at the BBC Symphony stated that ‘technology has evolved and you either go with it or you don’t’; digital innovation represents a ‘wonderful opportunity to get orchestral music out to as many people as possible, the challenge is knowing how to engage with it.’ Anne Scoot, who is the Chief Media and Digital Officer at the Lincoln Centre for the Performing Arts in New York suggested that prior to considering how classical music performing organisations should change in response to digital technology we need to address the question of ‘why they (classical music ensembles) would do anything digitally?’ She highlighted a potential tension between the ‘promise of digital’ and what nonprofit classical music organisations can realistically achieve by adapting digital technology.

The great promise of digital technology and platforms for classical music institutions is the ability to deliver on what is so often core to the mission of those institutions in the area of access, whether that access is educational, informative, breaking down barriers that are cost related etc. So the promise of these platforms is tremendous but the question is “What’s realistic”?

Moving from the ‘great promise of digital technology’ to the reality of digital adaptation requires that organisations develop new strategies and practices, barriers to which may include resource constraints, routine rigidities and cognitive framing; for instance, unionisation and concerns around rights management issues that result from ‘releasing content into a digital world that is almost uncontrollable.’

The type of practices that the focal organisations perform in response to digital innovation is also tempered by the particular needs and expectations of stakeholders, which differ greatly

across organisations because ‘every orchestra has different realities.’ For example, the self-governing Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra has long been associated with new technology, which has informed the organisation’s identity. Its stakeholders, who include a global audience, high-profile corporate sponsors, and orchestral musicians, expect the organisation to innovate with new technology. In contrast, as a research participant pointed out, some orchestras primarily ‘work within local markets’ and so have different ‘expectations and needs around digital.’

All of the organisations in the research sample have, to various degrees, been affected by the loss of recording opportunities following shifts in the logics that define how audio recordings are produced, distributed and consumed, and the subsequent demise of the traditional recorded music industry. A digital manager at the London Philharmonic Orchestra succinctly summarised the destruction of the traditional recorded music industry following the emergence of online distribution models for music content:

In terms of the recording music industry you’ve got the file sharing issue. The big labels missed the transformation to online [music distribution], in particular they misjudged the extent to which people could share music and listen to music [online], which then in the classical music industry meant that the bottom fell out of the market for classical music recordings.

A research participant at the London Symphony Orchestra stated that an immediate consequence of this shift in institutional logics was that the major record labels began to ‘reduce their investment in niche musical genres like classical and jazz’ and this was ‘disruptive to many of the leading orchestras and solo [classical] artists.’ For example, the managing director of the BBC Symphony Orchestra described how the orchestra ‘no longer makes recordings for Decca or Deutsche Gramophone’ and they ‘never even think about asking them if they might be interested in doing a project because they (the record labels) no longer have the resources to invest in classical music.’

Similar stories were in evidence across the research sample with a senior manager at the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, a high-status chamber orchestra that specialises in late 18th century music, describing how the orchestra had been reduced to a ‘backing band’; the implication being that the orchestra does not receive “serious” recording opportunities within the logics of digital production and distribution. Finally, a research participant at the London-based Philharmonia Orchestra, an ensemble that was founded by an EMI record producer (Walter Legge) in 1945 and has made over one thousand recordings throughout its existence, described how ‘recording dates that were a prominent part of the orchestra’s schedule in the 1980s and 1990s, are now gone from the orchestra’s diary.’

The loss of audio recording opportunities represented a significant disruption to orchestras because recordings continue to play an important role in advancing their mission and also in enhancing status and legitimacy, which are critical resources in attracting funding and audiences. A digital manager at Royal Opera House in London suggested that ‘recording is even more important to orchestras and opera companies in the digital age’ because ‘now [classical ensembles] can use recordings to reach audiences in a more direct and cost-effective way over the Internet.’ Field data demonstrates that orchestras performed new forms of external practice work in response to the loss of recording contracts. These practices serve to maintain a logic that connects orchestras to audiences through recordings. An example is provided by the London Symphony Orchestras, which established its own record label (LSO Live) in 2000 in direct response to the demise of the traditional recorded music industry.

Managing the logics of production and distribution

The London Symphony Orchestra is one of the most recorded orchestras in the world, having made its first audio recording in 1913. In addition to producing an extensive catalogue of critically acclaimed classical music recordings, the orchestra have performed on a large number of film soundtracks, including the original Star Wars film series in the late 1970s. Audio recording, which constitutes a central feature of the organisation’s identity, has played an important role in establishing the orchestra as one of the most prestigious classical music ensembles in the world. According to a senior manager at LSO Live, in the pre-digital recording era, the orchestra had become ‘highly dependent on relationships with record companies’ for the production and distribution of its recordings. The orchestra ‘practically lived in Abbey Road Studios in London and recording work represented a very important source of income for the musicians of the orchestra.’ He further posited:

This is a self-governing orchestra so the players don't get a salary, they only get paid when they are working and work in the recording studio was always lucrative and this recording work also had the additional benefit of publicising the orchestra.

The degree to which recording work contributes to the status of the London Symphony is reflected in the fact that ‘the orchestra’s name is on over 5000 commercially available CDs and appears on the credits of numerous soundtracks.’ As another research participant at LSO Live suggested, recording represented the organisation’s ‘calling card’ and a central feature of the orchestra’s identity ‘and then digital came along in the 1990s and disrupted that.’

As the institutional logics that define how music is produced, distributed and consumed began to shift and the recorded music industry began to fragment, the London Symphony became

increasingly frustrated with what a research participant at the organisation described as ‘the increased focus of the major record labels on one demographic.’ Record labels, such as EMI and Decca, began to focus on ‘existing buyers of classical CDs simply because it’s easy to reach those people.’ He went on to suggest that ‘the major record labels began looking at the short-term rather than the long-term and classical [music] does not fit into that [strategy].’ At the same time, the organisation ‘felt that it (audio recording)’ would continue to be ‘essential to maintaining [their] concert business’ because it allows the orchestra to reach new consumers, many of who ‘don’t see the difference between the recording industry and the concert industry’; the implication being that there is a recursive relationship between the live event and recordings; ‘concerts drive sales of recordings and recordings encourage more people to come to concerts.’ In addition, the London Symphony has a commitment to its relatively large and global audience, which ‘expects to have access to new LSO recordings’ and in an increasing number of formats, regardless of changes to the institutional environment.

In responding to the loss of recording opportunities, the London Symphony established its own in-house record label – LSO Live, an action that, as a research participant described, would have been impossible in the pre-digital era:

Suddenly we were able to set up our own record label. All the reasons why we couldn’t, such as communications around the world – I mean you couldn’t run a record label unless you had business partners, affiliates, or offices in multiple countries around the world. You had to operate that way up until the late 1990s but digital technologies have changed that. Suddenly, an independent label operating from one country can market itself and work affectively with retailers and distributors internationally and can promote itself globally very easily in ways that were absolutely impossible years ago.

In order to establish LSO Live, the organisation had to navigate a space between an old way of doing things and a new way because many of the processes and mechanisms inherent in the logics of analogue production and distribution are still relevant. For example, when LSO Live was originally conceived it was intended that the company would distribute recordings solely as downloads, negating the need to manufacture, store and distribute physical artefacts. As the research participant further explained:

We’re a logistics organisation, players are easy to move around but boxes of CDs are hell, as you can see in here (office full of CDs). It’s the biggest headache we’ve got and CDs account for less than 20% of our individual transactions now. We set up our label not to sell CDs; we never wanted these things (pointing to boxes of CDs). We set it (LSO Live) up because we realised that the CD was a dying format, digital is the future, and this big stumbling block we always had with logistics was going to be wiped out; your logistics considerations are suddenly a computer, that’s it, you don’t

need to warehouse CDs. But CDs and global CD sales still outnumber digital sales in many genres, so it's not completely dead.

Given this predicament, the London Symphony adopted features of the traditional recording industry (decaying logics) while adapting to new digital production and distribution processes (emerging logics). For example, in addition to producing and distributing CDs, the LSO Live catalogue is mastered for iTunes, a process that aims to 'combine the dynamic range and energy of live performances, together with the transparency of modern high-resolution recording.'

LSO Live enabled, the London Symphony to 'take ownership of [their] recorded output', which means that the orchestra can now 'do things [their] own way, choosing 'what repertoire [they] want to record' and 'who [they] want to reach.' The ensemble records live in its residential hall (the Barbican Centre in London), which negates the need to invest resources in hiring expensive studio space and time. Critically, the organisation now retains ownership of the intellectual property rights for all of the recordings the orchestra makes. By establishing a record label, the ensemble has been able to maintain its historical commitment to the production and distribution of commercial audio recordings and a logic that connects audiences, through audio recordings, with live music performance.

By developing production and distribution capabilities, the London Symphony Orchestra expanded and increased in complexity as an organisation. The institutional field also increased in complexity because the LSO Live model, and variations thereof, diffused throughout the sector as other orchestras began to see benefits of taking ownership of their recorded output. For example, the Amsterdam-based Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra established an in-house record label (RCO Live) in 2004 following 'discussions and information gathering from the LSO.' A senior manager at the Concertgebouw described how 'it had become clear to the organisation that it (establishing a record label) was a good solution to digital disruption. Instead of recording it (music) yourself and delivering it to say EMI and then hoping that they will do something with it, by doing it yourself at least you're in control.'

To summarise, shifts in logics that define how audio recordings are produced, distributed and consumed resulted in the destruction of the traditional recording industry and the failure of incumbent record labels. This led to new "spaces" opening up in the focal organisational field. By establishing its own record label, the London Symphony Orchestra occupied a "space" within the changing institutional environment by importing some of the processes

and mechanisms that were intrinsic to analogue recording and distribution and embracing new digital models of production and distribution. LSO Live serves to maintain a logic that connects audiences, through audio recordings, with the live music event and influenced shifts in the collective identity of orchestras, most of which have established record labels through a process of mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

In keeping with Lawrence (1999), this episode highlights transformation in institutional processes and structures from the viewpoint of organisations and organisational actors by demonstrating how an organisation appropriated elements from the environment (e.g. existing processes and mechanisms and technological innovation) and tailored them to function within their own specific context. This episode also serves to underline the potentially complex effects of radical technological change on fields and field members that moves beyond binary perceptions of discontinuous innovation as either sustaining or disruptive; in the case of the London Symphony, organisational actors viewed innovations in online music distribution to be both sustaining and disruptive, necessitating that the organisation navigate a “space” between old and new ways of doing things. Lastly, this case focuses attention on potentially important links between organisational identity and new practices; recordings represent an important feature of the LSO’s identity and it was through the prism of this identity (internal and external constituents view the LSO as a world-renowned recording orchestra) that they developed new recording practices.

Shifting logics and new broadcasting practices

From my field material, I identified a second area of action aimed at external participation in shifting institutional logics. It involves the introduction of new practices in online video streaming to the classical music field.

Opportunities to broadcast video content on the Internet, including real-time concerts, have divided options across the focal organisational field. Some organisations have formed the view that peer-to-peer technologies for Internet video broadcast should be used selectively for marketing and general promotion purposes while others view online video broadcast as an opportunity to develop new practices that redefine audience experiences and their relationship with classical music. An example of the latter was observed at the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra through its ‘Digital Concert Hall.’

The Digital Concert Hall is a website that stores and broadcasts the concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in High Definition sound and image. The production process behind

this innovation involves the recording and publication of every concert the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra performs in its resident concert hall in Berlin – the Philharmonie (over 400 live streams annually). The orchestra performs each concert programme three times, the final performance of which is broadcast live in high definition video and sound. Following a post-production editing process a final production of the concert is placed in an online video archive, which includes over 800 performances of musical compositions. Subscribers can choose from a range of “ticketing” options (e.g. weekly access - £10.50, monthly access - £14.50, or yearly - £108.00) to view live concerts and to gain full access to the video archive, film documentaries, interview with musicians, and a range of educational material. In order to establish video broadcasting capabilities, the Berlin Philharmonic adopted aspects of traditional broadcasting models from other fields (e.g. film and TV industries). However, as an orchestra manager pointed out, they had to ‘work with a much leaner setup than TV [production] companies’, and have produced ‘something quite different than [traditional] television.’

The innovation is in keeping with the organisation’s ‘long history of engaging new technology’ and serves to satisfy the changing expectations of existing stakeholders who ‘expect the orchestra to be at the cutting edge of the latest technology.’ The organisation has been able to ‘developed a more comprehensive digital strategy around [the service], especially in relation to social media channels’, which has allowed the Berlin Philharmonic to develop a ‘more direct relationship with its existing audience world wide.’ At the time, the Digital Concert Hall represents an attempt by the organisation to use digital technology to, as a research participant put it, ‘get to audiences that are not your audience’; in other words, an intended outcome of the Digital Concert Hall is that it should create ‘new fans of the orchestra’.

A concern for the Berlin Philharmonic in developing its digital service is that they ‘deliver a quality that reflects the quality that the orchestra delivers artistically’. The organisation is aware that ‘classical music audiences are quality conscious and want recorded music to be as close as possible to the original.’ The Digital Concert Hall has to ‘reflect the status of the orchestra’ as a world-renowned ensemble. Critically, because the Berlin Philharmonic is a self-governing orchestra its digital offerings need to ‘meet the demands and expectations of the musicians who perform in the orchestra’ and who, because it is a self-governing orchestra, are stakeholders in the initiative.

The Digital Concert Hall redefines the logics of video broadcasting, at least for the Berlin Philharmonic. However, as an innovation it has not diffused throughout the sector because, as

a manager at the organisation pointed out, ‘in order to develop this kind of service you need to have a world-wide audience and a major sponsor who is willing to support you on a long-term basis.’ Most orchestras do not have the resources to invest in this kind of service. One orchestra that has been active in this “space” is the Detroit Symphony Orchestra (DSO), who, in partnership with the Ford Foundation, has developed an alternative video streaming service (‘Live from Orchestra Hall’) that reflects the particular needs of the orchestra and its stakeholders.

Similar to the Berlin Philharmonic, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra has a long association with technology, which has played a central role in defining the identity of the organisation and establishing its status as one of the leading orchestras in the United States. The Vice President of Advancement and External Relations at the DSO highlighted the role that technology has played in defining the orchestra:

Technology has played a big role in [defining] “who we are”, it’s part of the DNA of the DSO. The orchestra was the first orchestra to broadcast a concert on the airwaves in in the U.S. in 1922, and in the 1930s and 40s we were [broadcasting] nationwide on radio every evening; folks tuned in to enjoy the Detroit Symphony and in a way we were the nation’s radio orchestra for decades...the steps we’ve taken more recently, most notably the webcasting service, is really just a continuation of something we’ve always done so we feel like it’s in our DNA to sort of embrace new opportunities in technology.

Live from Orchestra Hall represents the latest opportunity for the Detroit Symphony to use technology to make classical music more accessible to larger audiences. The service involves the streaming of all of the orchestra’s concert performances live from its residential concert hall (Orchestra Hall) in Detroit to over 70 countries worldwide. Although it is not as sophisticated as the Berlin Philharmonic’s model (it has lower production values and only offers live concert broadcasts with no video archive or educational material), the service is free. The strategy of offering live broadcasts of its concert for free online reflects the unique situation in which the orchestra operates; the organisation is in the process of ‘rebuilding its brand and reputation’ following what a musician at the orchestra described as ‘one of the worst labour stoppages in modern orchestral history⁵.’ The president of the organisation stated that they decided that ‘the only way to come out of that [situation] was to embrace opportunities and to embrace technology along with some other activities that all fall under the umbrella of accessibility.’

⁵ A labor dispute prompted musicians of the DSO to strike on October 4th 2010. The strike lasted for 6 months and in this period almost an entire concert season had to be cancelled. Concerts resumed on April 9th 2011 with a weekend of free concerts.

An intended outcome for the organisation in developing this service is that the Detroit Symphony becomes ‘the most accessible orchestra in the world.’ The organisation understands that by taking advantage of reduced costs in digital production and editing and advances in online video streaming technologies the orchestra can reach larger audiences nationally and internationally. According to a senior manager at the organisation, the strategy of offering its concerts for free online is achieving this goal:

When you add [the Detroit Symphony’s] web audience to our [live] classical audience here in Detroit, [the orchestra] currently performs to the largest classical audience in America over the course of a concert season.

Making classical music available to larger and more diverse audiences is a central aim of the mission of all classical music performing organisations and technology plays an important role in advancing this objective. At the same time, the focal organisations often have different technological needs based on their location, audience demographic, and status within the institutional field. For example, although members of the Berlin Philharmonic consider the Digital Concert Hall to be ‘quite revolutionary’, as do many people within the broader classical music sector, the model has not diffused to other orchestras. An obvious reason is a lack of resources, however, as an artistic planner at the Seattle symphony pointed out, services such as the Digital Concert Hall are unlikely to [diffuse] to other orchestras’ because they ‘do not [necessarily] reflect the needs of most orchestras.’ She further posited:

We are the Seattle Symphony and not everyone knows that we exist. You know its different realities, so for us to create a digital concert hall, it’s not possible because it’s too expensive and there are many obstacles. Even if we could overcome these obstacles, I don’t think it’s the way to go. You know, we work within the local market and we want to attract local people to the [concert] hall rather than watching performances on TV; Seattle is a small town compared to Berlin, so every orchestra has different realities.

A number of research participants questioned the value of offering audiences web streams of classical music concerts when, as a manager at the Britten Sinfonia pointed out, ‘an important part of the experience that makes classical music special is hearing it live in a concert hall’ and ‘sharing that experience in a social space.’ An executive director at a U.S. orchestra further posited that the ‘push by some orchestras to video broadcast their concerts is misguided because unlike opera, which is a visual form, orchestras are not that interesting to look at.’ A number of research participants accentuated this distinction, citing the cancellation by the LA Philharmonic Orchestra of a series of broadcasts of its concerts in cinemas throughout the U.S. in 2012 due to poor ticket sales as evidence that orchestral music ‘does not work as a visual spectacle in the way that opera does.’

The relative success of the 'Opera in Cinema' phenomenon, which was initiated by the New York-based Metropolitan Opera (the Met) in 2006, suggests that opera, because it is narrative-driven and includes a large visual element, is more suited to the medium of video than orchestral music. By taking advantage of innovations in digital projection in cinemas and satellite distribution, the Met became the first classical music organisation to successfully harness the potential of new technology to re-imagine the relationship between opera and audiences/consumers. The Chief Media and Digital Office at the Lincoln Centre in New York stated that:

One of the outstanding successes in the digital space has been the Metropolitan Opera's speed of scale of growth and success with its democratised \$20 ticket offerings of its opera product as a digital media matter...I'm quite confident that very few institutions are in the position as a capital and/or repertoire matter to do that with a single brand, but they do.

An important aspect of *opera in cinema*, which contributes to its success, is that it manages to achieve the feeling of community that comes from experiencing music in a social space while taking advantage of the infrastructure inherent in modern cinemas (e.g. surround sound, high definition digital projection, large screens etc.); as one research participant commented: 'it gives a real sense of "being there" (at the opera); it has a social element but it also the big sound [for the music and libretto] and the big screen [for the visual elements].'

The Met's model diffused throughout the opera world and beyond into other cultural sectors, most notably theatre. It allowed opera companies to bypass traditional broadcasting models at a time when television networks in Europe and the U.S. were, to varying degrees, decreasing their investment in classical music. More recently, opera companies have begun to investigate the potential to broadcast opera over the Internet by establishing new inter-organisational relationships. For example, Glyndebourne Opera has partnered with both the Guardian Media Group and the Telegraph Media Group in the UK to broadcast live opera events to worldwide audiences online. This strategy reduces the organisation's level of dependency on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which represented the organisation's only means of video broadcasting prior to the evolution of the Internet. A senior manager at Glyndebourne Opera explained that the organisation was keen to develop alternative broadcasting strategies in the digital space:

Glyndebourne does not want to be dependent on the BBC to come up with the commissioning money to produce a Glyndebourne opera [for TV audiences] and suddenly [the organisation] realised that by partnering with the Guardian Media Group they could achieve the same thing and even exceed audience numbers.'

Glyndebourne and the Guardian first partnered in 2011 to produce the first ever video broadcast of a live opera performance by a UK-based opera company to a global audience online. The research participant further described how by broadcasting opera online, the organisation exceeds the viewing figures it achieves when broadcasting performances on the BBC, citing a comparative example:

The organisation ‘had [their] Don Giovanni on BBC Two on Christmas Eve 2010 and although it was a prime broadcasting slot, the viewing figures were still smaller than what [the organisation] achieved through [their] own online broadcast the following summer.’

He went on to example that by broadcasting over the Internet, the organisation has been able to develop a digital strategy that allows for new forms of audience engagement through social media. In the past the platform for disseminating Glyndebourne’s mission was ‘literally the stage, however, now that platform is [also] the digital space.’

As a high-status classical music organisation, Glyndebourne Opera is concerned to achieve a level of consistency between the organisation’s stage productions and its digital offering. A research participant explained that the organisation ‘commits roughly the same amount of resources to an online production as they do to a staged production’ because ‘regardless of whether someone is experiencing Glyndebourne at home on a Plasma screen or live on stage at Glyndebourne, the quality that is the hallmark of Glyndebourne needs to be present.’ Put another way, Glyndebourne’s digital presence must compliment its status as one of the leading opera companies in the world.

In summary, prior to the evolution of the Internet, orchestras and opera companies relied on television networks and broadcasting corporations for opportunities to broadcast to mass audiences. However, as a research participant suggested, opportunities to perform on TV have ‘always been scarce for classical music [ensembles] but in recent years [they] have become even more scarce.’ The Internet presents alternative opportunities to broadcast video content and this has led to a range of different strategies in relation to video production and distribution across the research sample. In the absence of a dominant logic to define online video streaming services for classical music, the focal organisations are developing “local” solutions that serve the needs of their particular set of stakeholders. For some orchestras it entails the broadcasting of entire concert series for free online (e.g. Detroit Symphony’s Live from Orchestral Hall initiative) while for others the potential to broadcast video content online simply serves as a marketing and promotional opportunity.

The preceding episodes serve to demonstrate that the effect of disruptive innovation on established institutional arrangements results in disparate responses from institutional members because individuals and organisations have different perceptions of “disruptiveness” that are based on their own particular reality. Under these conditions, organisations introduce new practices that may challenge the collective identities of organisational fields, highlighting the dynamic relationship between organisational identity (internal and external perceptions) and collective identity. This brings into focus the paradox of institutional determinism and agency (Seo and Creed, 2002), wherein organisations are seen to want to adhere to institutional norms, values and beliefs while simultaneously striving to be distinct from other organisations with whom they contend with for resources and consumers/audiences. New technology presents opportunities for organisations to innovate and participate externally in technology-induced logic shifts. However, in the absence of a dominant logic to define the technological environment, tensions may emerge between how organisations see themselves and adherence to institutional norms, values and the collective identities of fields.

Internal organisational change in response to logic shifts

I identified a third area of action in evidence across the research sample that involves the reconstruction of organisational identity in response to the changing expectations of internal and external constituents in the digital space.

A senior manager at the BBC Symphony Orchestra highlighted a fundamental challenge for orchestras responding to shifts in patterns of artistic, commercial, and social exchange following digital innovation, stating that they (orchestras) have to ‘change musician’s expectations [because] fees for recordings are no longer realistic [and] musicians don’t get paid for content made available on YouTube.’ Because they now operate within what is (in part at least) a growing “gift economy” or “gift culture”, in which an increasing amount of content is not sold but rather given without an explicit agreement for immediate or future rewards, the focal organisations are tasked with simultaneously ‘upholding the values inherent in classical music while embracing new ways of engaging with and presenting the art form in the digital space.’ A research participant at the New York Philharmonic suggested that adapting to the digital environment is, for many orchestras, like ‘turning a big ship in a new direction.’ Critical to turning this metaphorical ship is the negotiation of digital media deals with orchestral musicians that ‘make it feasible for orchestras to do digital things.’

A typical digital media contract at a symphony orchestra involves musicians agreeing to participate in recording sessions (audio/video) for a small fee,⁶ or in some cases for free, while granting senior management permission to distribute the resulting content (online and offline) on the condition that it advances the mission aims of the organisation or generates new revenue streams. In return, musicians are offered a share in any profits that accrue from the distribution and sale of recorded content.

The capacity of classical music organisations to establish profit-sharing agreements with musicians varies across the research sample because, although all of the organisations included in this research are nonprofit, they are governed differently (e.g. self-governing versus more traditional hierarchical organisational structures). For example, unionisation is perceived to be a barrier to digital adaptation at some orchestras and opera companies; a digital manager at the Royal Opera House in London, which employs an orchestra, suggested that unless the musician's union changes 'how they do their business', the organisation 'will not be able to compete in the digital space.' He further explained that the company 'can hardly use any of [its] orchestra's recordings because of the rules that they (the unions) put in place.' Similarly, a research participant at the New York Philharmonic cited union agreements with the American Federation of Musicians, the largest organisation in the world that represents musicians, as a significant barrier to releasing regular audio products because the organisation 'still has to pay musicians [for recording sessions] on top of their regular salary in order to release products and that makes it difficult and cost-prohibitive to do.'

Field data suggests that self-governing orchestras (orchestras in which the musicians are shareholders in the company running the ensemble and who play a central role in organisational decisions) face fewer barriers in negotiating digital media deals with orchestral musicians than organisations that are hierarchical. For example, a digital manager at the self-governing Philharmonia Orchestra in London highlighted the central role that musicians played in establishing a digital media deal at the organisation:

We have established a media deal with our players, which affords us a pretty broad licence to do what we want really. The players are really behind this because as a self-governing orchestra all the stuff from the management has to come from the players otherwise you have this massive conflict of management versus board.

He went on to explain that:

⁶ In the case of one high-status chamber orchestra musicians were paid as little as £30 each for an audio recording session.

The media deal affords the organisation incredible flexibility to do interesting things with digital and led directly to the organisation establishing a separate trading company (Rite Digital) that is tasked with identifying and developing digital projects.

Rite Digital is a digital media production company that specialises in film, websites, installations and live production for arts organisations. The initiative makes ‘doing digital things’ central to the orchestra’s ‘development [and] outreach work’, which is critical to the organisation’s mission aims. It also serves to advance the orchestra’s ‘Arts Council funded work.’ However, as a senior manager further explained, the organisation is ‘not content to just use digital as a communication tool’:

Our [digital work] is all really about digital as a creative tool rather than digital as a communications channel and though we are using it as that as well it’s more about using digital as a creative thing.

The executive director of the organisations pointed out that the media agreement with musicians and the subsequent establishing of Rite Digital has enabled the orchestra to develop a digital strategy that has three clear objectives. Firstly, ‘to enhance communication between the organisation and its audience’, secondly, to be used as ‘a creative tool’ to develop innovative collaborations across disciplines (e.g. artistic collaborations with digital video artists, museums and galleries etc.) and finally, ‘to generate new revenue streams (e.g. the design and development of art-related web sites and mobile apps.).’

By placing aesthetic logics at the centre of its digital strategy, the Philharmonia is developing new identities that challenge the very notion of what an orchestra is. A research participant explained that the organisation is ‘taking classical music to an entirely different place by exploring new art forms.’ For example, the Philharmonia has developed a large-scale audio-visual installation titled ‘Re-Rite that is based on Igor Stravinsky’s orchestral work *The Rite of Spring*. The production, which has been installed in galleries, warehouses, and museums across the UK and Europe, involves multiple screens and projectors that allow the public to interact with the music score. It represents a ‘new way of listening to classical music’ that ‘does not resemble a classical concert’, suggesting a fundamental shift in how the organisation “sees” itself and how it wants external constituents to see the organisation.

In summary, digital media agreements between orchestral administrators and musicians allow classical music performing organisations to respond internally to shifting institutional logics and to manage the changing expectations of musicians. Without these new arrangements, orchestras and opera companies face significant barriers to developing new practices around digital, which are critical to managing and responding to the changing expectations of internal

and external constituents. Digital media agreements represent changes to organisational identity because they lead to new practices that may redefine what a symphony orchestra is and thus, challenge the collective identity of classical music ensembles.

The identity work that organisations undertake in response to technological change and the social uses of it, involves a realignment of intraorganisational relations. It helps to resolve potential tensions between organisational identity and new practices in periods of institutional uncertainty and organisational transformation. In responding internally to technology-induced logic shifts, organisations also manage the dynamic relationship between internal and external identity. The differing responses of organisational members (resistance/acceptance) suggests that the tension between organisational identity and institutional logics is felt at an individual as well as an organisational level, so that internal identity work is also an effort to resolve those tensions to produce a consistent identity.

Discussion

In the following section, I will discuss three areas of interest to emerge from my research that can help to bring to institutional theory a more detailed understanding of how technological changes trigger institutional change and the introduction of new practices that challenge the identity of organisations. Firstly, I consider the dynamics of technology and shifting institutional logics. I then discuss ways in which organisations respond to and participate in logic shifts by developing new practices. Lastly, I consider some initial observations on the role of identity in constraining and enabling the use of technology in new practices.

The dynamics of new technology and shifting institutional logics

Based on this study, I make some novel observations about how technology triggers change in institutional fields. Firstly, the introduction of new technology into a well-established institutional arrangement results in multiple logic shifts, which affect organisations directly (e.g. loss of recording contracts) and indirectly (shifts in funders' expectations). Field data shows that digital technology triggers shifts in the logics that define consumer behaviour, production and distribution processes, intellectual property rights, funders' expectations, and the logics that define how music content is commercialised. Based on this observation it is reasonable to conclude that individuals and organisations manage potentially complex scenarios following disruptive innovation that may ultimately lead to them having to alter

deeply held assumptions and beliefs about what an organisation or organisational field represents.

This leads to a second observation: because organisational actors hold values and beliefs that are consistent with certain institutional logics they are likely to question those values and beliefs as logics begin to shift. When faced with a multiplicity of logic shifts, orchestras and opera companies questioned their identities. They viewed the effects of digital innovation not through the lens of binary oppositions (e.g. sustaining and disruptive) but rather as a more complex phenomenon that results in contradictions and dilemmas. For example, classical music organisations perceive the Internet to be simultaneously disruptive (e.g. it has destroyed social and economic arrangements surrounding intellectual property) and sustaining (e.g. it facilitates more direct engagement with audiences and consumers); paradoxically, by taking advantage of opportunities to use the Internet to promote their mission, the focal organisations make music content available in a “virtual space” that they cannot control.

A third observation to emerge from this research suggests that although changes in technology result in opportunities for organisational renewal, the capacity of organisations to exploit these opportunities is limited by resource constraints, existing capabilities, and routine rigidities, as demonstrated in the innovation literature (e.g. Henderson and Clark, 1990; Christensen and Bower, 1996, Tushman and Anderson, 1986). Based on my findings, I suggest that status and legitimacy are also critical to the exploitation of new technology because they lead to resource flow. In the current context, this point is made particularly clear because as nonprofit organisations the status of orchestras and opera companies is critical in attracting public funding, donations and to generating earned income. Field material suggests that orchestras with the highest status are more likely to attract corporate partners to develop new practices in the digital space; an obvious example is the Berlin Philharmonic’s partnership with Deutsche Bank, which made the development of their Digital Concert Hall possible.

Lastly, my research focuses attention on connections between changes in technology and identity. It demonstrates that by triggering shifts in institutional logics, digital technology challenges both the collective view of orchestras and also how organisations see themselves (internal identity) as well as how others see them (external identity). More specifically, as a consequence of technology-induced contradictions and dilemmas, organisations question traditional ways of doing things, which can lead to more purposive actions aimed at responding to and influencing logics shifts. From the episodes presented in my research findings, I identified three areas of action that the focal organisations undertook in response to

changes in technology, two of which involve external participation in institutional change and one of which focuses on internal participation in logic shifts.

Technology, agency and institutional structures

A central aim of this study was to develop a more nuanced understanding of how organisations reimagine who they are in periods of technological change and shifting institutional logics. In the episodes that came to light, I identified two areas of action that represent different forms of engagement with technology and which highlight the role of agency and self-interest in shaping changes in the institutional environment. The first demonstrates how organisations responded to the direct effects of disruptive innovation (i.e. the loss of recording contracts).

A novel observation that emerged from my field data highlights how “new spaces” open up in institutional fields following disruptive innovation and the failure of some incumbent firms to make the transition to the new technology. In keeping with Christensen (1997), new entrants were shown to replace incumbent firms (e.g. the Apple Corporation cornered the music content market following the demise of the traditional recording industry). However, research findings demonstrate that established organisations also participate in the reimagining of institutional logics following disruptive innovation by developing new identities, competencies and practices. The London Symphony Orchestra provided an interesting example of how an established organisation responds to disruption by using technology to influence shifting institutional logics.

The demise of the traditional recorded music industry resulted in a dilemma for the London Symphony Orchestra because recording represents a central feature of their identity. The organisation’s response to was to innovate by becoming the first orchestra to establish a record label (LSO Live). The LSO’s strategy was interesting because it involved navigating a space between an old way of doing things (e.g. producing and distributing physical recorded artefacts) and a new way (e.g. producing and distributing digital downloads), a solution that incumbent firms (record labels) were unable to negotiate.

In keeping with certain aspects of Markides’s (2006) notion of business-model innovation, the LSO’s strategy did not involve the introduction of a new product or service into the field but rather a reformulation of the logics that characterise the production and distribution of existing products (e.g. CDs and digital downloads). In so doing, they imported processes and mechanisms from another field (the recording industry) and adapted them to fit a new

business model. LSO Live represents an internal response to logics shifts because the orchestra introduced new organisational practices and, by extension, changes to its identity. However, it also constitutes external participation in institutional change because, although it was not an intended outcome, this innovation influenced how other organisations produce and distribute music content. Put succinctly, Spaces were generated in the institutional field, and the LSO moved to colonise those spaces. In so doing, the organisation influenced the emergence of a new dominant logic to define how orchestras manage relationships with audiences through audio recordings.

I identified a second type of action aimed at external participation in logic shifts, which entails the use of new technology to create new-to-the-field practices and services. It involves the conscious efforts of individuals and organisations to adopt digital innovation to redefine producer/consumer relations. For example, the introduction by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra of a proprietary online video streaming service (Digital Concert Hall) represents an attempt by the organisation to develop a new form of audience engagement. Although this innovation is in keeping with the organisation's identity as the world's leading classical music ensemble, it has not diffused throughout the industry sector. This brings into focus potential tensions between the self-interests of organisations and those of the larger institutional field; each organisation makes sense of their institutional environment through the lens of identity, which may result in conflict between organisational identity and collective identity.

These episodes highlight how identity (internal and external) informs new practices and how they, in turn, may inform identity. Institutionalists such as Glynn (2008) have developed links between identity and practice; highlighting how institutional environments supply 'possible and legitimated meanings and symbols that constitute the "raw materials" that organisations appropriate to construct their identities.' However, in keeping with previous research that emphasises the dynamic of self-interest and agency in institutional change (e.g. Lawrence, 1999), this study demonstrates how institutional environments can be transformed by the actions of individuals and organisations. It contributes to the literature by highlighting a particular form of agency that is located at the intersection of technological structures and human action, which brings into focus issues of identity.

Technology and identity

Despite the potential significance of identity in the analysis of discontinuous technological change, shifting institutional logics, and organisational transformation, the concept has received relatively little scholarly attention. My findings build on an idea posited by Tripsas

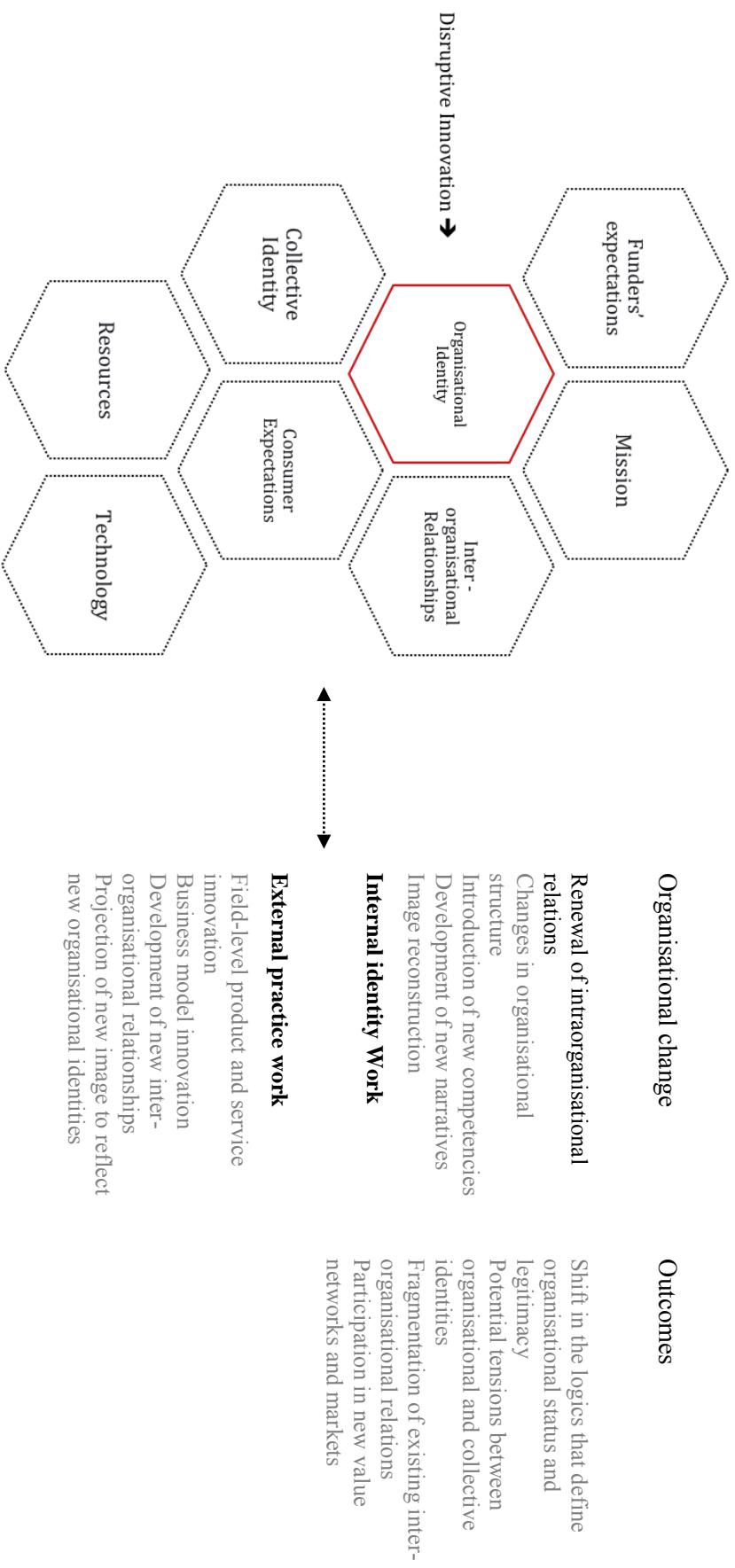
(2009) that ‘even seemingly minor shifts from a technological standpoint may challenge the existing organisational identity if, by pursuing the new technology, the organisation violates the core features associated with its existing identity.’

The episodes presented in this study demonstrate that as organisations develop new practices in response to disruptive technology and shifting institutional logics, they do so through the lens of organisational identity (internal and external perceptions), which organisational actors invoke to make sense of their actions (Albert and Whetten, 1985). However, identity can be both an enabling and constraining force within organisations as they adapt to new technology and the social uses of it. For example, field material suggests that self-governing organisations are more likely to develop new practices and instigate a process of internal identity renewal than more traditional and hierarchical organisations. For instance, unionisation was cited as a significant barrier to digital adaptation at number of organisations across the research sample, including classical music performing organisation in European and the United States. In contrast, other orchestras in which musicians play a central role in governance have been able to establish profit-sharing media agreements to reflect the new digital reality and changing stakeholder expectations.

External identity (how external constituents view organisations) is also an important consideration for organisations as they develop new practices in periods of technological change. Because status and legitimacy are critical resources for nonprofit classical music ensembles in the generation of contributed income (e.g. public funding etc.), they occupy a central position in the development of new practices. By navigating a space between adherence to institutional norms and values and new practices, orchestras risk exposing their identity to forces that lie outside of their control (e.g. music critics and other media commenters etc.).

A final observation on identity is that, by changing “who they are” as organisations, firms risk unsettling collective identities (e.g. Cornelissen et al. 2007). For example, by introducing a video web steaming service that affords audiences free access to concerts online, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra instigated a debate among some members of the classical music community on the potential devaluing of classical music by giving it away for free. This brings attention to the notion that organisations strive to see themselves, and have others see them, as similar to some referent group or category and yet distinct in some way.

Fig. 1: Technology change, logic shifts and organisational change



Conclusion

This study was motivated by a desire to unpack how changes in technology trigger institutional change and the development of new practices by individuals and organisations. It builds on previous empirical studies that consider technology in the analysis of institutional work (e.g. Hargadon and Douglas, 2001; and Raviola and Norbäck, 2013), specifically, by considering the effects of technology across a range of organisations operating in the classic music sector.

In keeping with the exploratory nature of this study, I developed a multi-case approach, which allowed me to consider technology as a field-level structuring mechanism. It also allowed me to develop a macro-level view of the effects of technology on institutional logics and to generate a wide range of episodes that highlight the efforts of the focal organisations to use technology to develop new practices in response to, and in order to participate in, shifts in institutional logics.

By exploring themes at the intersection of technology, institutional logics and organisational action, this research contributes to the relative small body of work that considers technology as a field-level structuring mechanism and a trigger for institutional and organisational-level change. It highlights a number of important issues that warrant further investigation. Of particular interest are questions on the role of identity (insider/outsider and collective perceptions) in shaping organisational responses to identity-challenging technology.

It would be useful to conduct this research over a longer period of time, especially considering that the effects of digital technology on organisational fields and organisations are ongoing. It would allow for the inclusion of additional institutional actors that would offer different perspectives, for example, music critics, classical music patrons and so called culturally aware non-attenders.

The results of this research are limited by the fact that this is a multi-case exploratory study. Future research in this domain will benefit from a more focused research sample or single-case study. Additional research that scrutinises the intersection of technology, logics, and institutional work is needed to build a theory of how technology affects institutional logics and how organisational actors respond to technology-induced logic shifts. This study represents a promising research domain that merits further attention.

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Discord in the ‘museum of music’: Identity struggle at the Seattle Symphony following declines in the classical music field

Abstract

I investigate the types of identity work a symphony orchestra has performed in response to field declines rendered by cultural, economic, social, and technological change. More specifically, I consider how the Seattle Symphony Orchestra responded to declines in the classical music industry, most notably, an aging audience base, reduced funding, and disruptive technology, by instigating a process of identity renewal. This case serves to highlight how field declines bring into question accepted institutional norms, values and beliefs, prompting field members to question ‘who they are’ and ‘who they should become’. The Seattle Symphony’s response is to innovate by performing identity work (internal and external forms) to manage the changing expectations of internal and external constituents and to ensure the organisation’s survival in a period of uncertainty for American orchestras. This study extends thinking on organisational identity by focusing on specific forms of identity work that the Seattle Symphony performed – symbolic identity work, internal transformation and new practice work. It also contributes to the field of technology management by considering how the focal organisation is responding to disruptive technology, which has altered patterns of artistic, commercial, and social exchange between the orchestra and its audience. Lastly, although this study emphasises identity renewal in a niche nonprofit sector, research findings may have implications for other nonprofit and for-profit firms who also face identity-challenging field declines.

Introduction

I consider the types of identity work that the Seattle Symphony has performed in response to declines in the classical music sector in the U.S. I focus on a period beginning in 2011, at which time the organisation was struggling with a range of problems that impacted on its identity; a new President and CEO, and a new artistic director, were appointed in 2011, to lead the organisation into an era of organisational renewal, with the key aims of making the orchestra and the music it performs available to larger and more diverse audiences, achieving fiscal stability, and engaging new technology to advance the mission aims of the organisation.

Like other cultural institutions in the U.S. (e.g. museums and art galleries), the American orchestra was established in the nineteenth century to differentiate ‘high art’ from the culture of the masses (DiMaggio, 1982). While the provision of exclusively ‘high culture’ made orchestras economically and culturally viable throughout most of the twentieth century, these ensembles have become increasingly marginalised as society has become more consumer-led, heterogeneous, and technology-dominated. Subsequently, orchestras have been affected by

‘changes rendered by declines in the industry’ (Glynn, 2002); most notably, a ‘graying’ audience, a reduction in government support for the arts, and digital innovation, which has altered patterns of artistic, commercial, and social exchange between music producers and consumers. Underscoring these environmental shifts is the demise of the urban elite who formed the constituent audience for high culture. It is also worth noting the general observation that classical music is at odds with the logic of a consumer society, which considers the old to be somehow ‘used up’ and therefore to be disregarded (Johnson, 2002).

Perceptions of classical and orchestral music as anachronistic are compounded by changes in education and technology, which have resulted in new generations of consumers with very different needs and priorities than current and past classical music patrons. A central feature of the mission of orchestras is the preservation of something that is relatively old (classical music), that requires attention and a willingness to learn and yet, paradoxically, orchestras now operate in a ‘digital space’ that is in some ways antithetical to classical music culture; it prizes novelty and innovation (although it also provides a space for minority and niche tastes).

The extent to which American orchestras are in financial crisis is evidenced in a series of lockouts, strikes and bankruptcies that have affected a number of classical music ensembles throughout the U.S., in particular since the beginning of the economic downturn in 2008. In extreme cases, financial duress has resulted in the actual demise of orchestras, while other organisations have been forced to implement severe cost-cutting measures, including cuts in musicians’ salaries, in order to remain in operation. As nonprofit organisations, orchestras rely on support from external stakeholders in the form of patronage, corporate sponsorship, government funding, and audience attendance; these revenue sources become less reliable in an economic downturn, putting pressure on individual orchestras, and the American orchestra as a cultural class.

The American orchestra is thus experiencing a crisis of identity, forcing these ensembles to reimagine ‘who they are’ as organisations or risk becoming further marginalised, both financially and within the broader cultural landscape.

Orchestras are responding to field declines by developing new strategies and introducing new practices aimed at generating new and more diverse audiences. Some of these innovations are challenging traditional notions of what an orchestra is and the collective identity of classical music more generally, exposing an institutional conflict between the historical role of orchestras (to serve an elite audience) and the current need to reach larger and more diverse

audiences. For example, some orchestras have blurred the lines between ‘aesthetic’ logic in the classical music field and commercial ‘market’ logic by drawing on ‘mainstream’ or ‘pop’ interpretations of classical music and in so doing have created a ‘cultural threat to the “pure” canon of “highbrow” music associated with the symphony’ (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005)

I approach this problem empirically by investigating how the Seattle Symphony Orchestra managed identity change in response to field declines by performing identity work aimed at managing the changing expectations of internal constituents (internal identity work) and also the changing expectations of external constituents (external identity work).

The concept of identity work denotes ‘people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness’ (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Creed and Scully (2000) highlight a performance-based element to identity work by building on Goffman’s (1961) notion of social encounters in which people perform in such a way as to ‘announce and enact who they are’. For example, Snow and Anderson (1987) highlight how ‘identity talk’ constitutes the dominant form of identity work through which homeless street people construct and negotiate personal identities and Thomas and Linstead (2002) investigate the discursive activities of middle managers as they attempt to construct self-identities around organisational position and status.

Like other identity-related themes, identity work is applicable on a multitude of levels, including organisational, individual, and social. Much of the work that has been undertaken under the rubric of identity work focuses on the *self* or ‘internal’ aspects of identity; for example, Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) conducted an in-depth case of a single manager and the context in which she works by way of addressing the interplay between identity work and organisational discourse, role expectations, and narrative self-identity; Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep (2006) explore tensions between personal and social identity, developing a model of identity work that illustrates how people negotiate their unique individual identities in the face of strong social demands toward shared collective identity; Creed, DeJordy, and Lok (2010) demonstrate how marginalised actors (gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender ministers) within two Protestant denominations in the United States who are committed to the institution in which they are embedded, act as agents of institutional change by conducting embodied identity work aimed at resolving institutional contradictions.

The concept of identity work supports a more nuanced understanding of organisational-level change, when environmental conditions necessitate a shift in identity, which often involves risk and can be difficult to manage (Hannan et al., 2006). For example, Gawer and Philips

(2013) highlight a particular form of identity work that was driven by shifts in institutional logics. Specifically, they consider how members of the Intel Corporation attempted to make sense of tensions between the organisation's identity and new practices following a shift from a traditional supply chain logic dominated by computer assemblers to a new platform logic in the computer industry in the late 1980s and 1990s.

In this study, I attempted to develop and refine the concept of identity by considering the kinds of identity work an organisation performed in order to manage the changing expectations of internal and external stakeholders following declines in the field they inhabit. I consider both internal and external forms of identity work because organisational members perceive uncertainty through the lens of both internal identity (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991, Markides, 2000) and external identity (Gioia et al., 2000). Research findings suggest that by performing identity work, the focal organisation negotiates and optimises the boundaries between organisational and field-level identity, exposing potential tensions between organisational members' perception of what a symphony orchestra should be in the twenty-first century and traditional notion of what an orchestra should be.

Following a detailed description of the research setting and an outline of my research methods, I present a series of findings by way of addressing the research question: *what kind of identity work do organisations perform in response to field declines?*

Research Setting

The Seattle Symphony Orchestra is a professional nonprofit classical music organisation that has been in continuous existence since 1903. It is mission-driven, with a commitment to the promotion and preservation of the musical repertoire it performs. The ensemble has a dedicated subscriber base of 25,000 contributing patrons and performs 200 concerts to audience numbers of approximately 315,000 annually. Over the past three decades, the organisation has evolved from a relatively low-status regional orchestra that lacked a distinctive musical identity to an ensemble with a growing national reputation and increased potential to enhance its profile and status internationally.

The Seattle Symphony is a multi-professional organisation: it is headed up by President and CEO Simon Woods and the orchestra's artistic director Ludovic Morlot, who, as the ensemble's principle conductor, brings prestige and also his own personal musical and professional ambitions to the organisation; it consists of a range of highly skilled orchestral

musicians who occupy various ‘ranks’ within what is a generally accepted hierarchy and a diverse array of administrators, including marketing and communication specialists, artistic planners, education officers and Information Technology experts. Lastly, there is a board of directors that oversees the governance of the orchestra. The multi-professional nature of the organisation reflects its hybridised identity, within which artistic ideology and managerial utilitarianism co-exist.

A central characteristic of the Seattle Symphony’s identity is the musical repertoire that it performs; it constitutes the foremost expression of the orchestra’s mission and the artistic aspirations of its artistic director and orchestral musicians. Although they primarily perform the standard Western classical music canon (e.g. the music of Mozart, Beethoven, and Mahler), the ensemble has also established a reputation for programming twentieth century music, in particular the works of neglected American composers and more generally contemporary classical music, here defined as music composed post-1945. More recently, the ensemble has embraced more popular musical forms through a series of innovative hybridised concerts that celebrate Seattle’s musical heritage (e.g. the music of Jimi Hendrix).

Although the orchestra’s *raison d’être* is to perform live to audiences in the Benaroya Hall, the ensemble’s residency in downtown Seattle, it also engages in complementary activities in support of its core mission, including recordings, broadcasts, and educational work. For example, the orchestra produces audio recordings that are sold as Compact Discs (CDs) or online downloads and are broadcast on radio. The organisation also runs a music discovery education centre called *Sound Bridge* where people of varying ages come to explore classical music through classes, exhibitions and music performances. The orchestra’s education offering, combined with its nationally recognised community engagement programs, bring classical music to over 50,000 people annually. These activities, which serve to increase the legitimacy and status of the orchestra, form an important part of the organisation’s mission and also inform its identity.

The Seattle Symphony has a hybridised identity (artisan and utilitarian) that reflects its aesthetic and economic orientations. In keeping with other nonprofit classical music arts organisations, it seeks to claim the ‘logic of aesthetics’ (Glynn, 2002); the value the ensemble provides to audiences produces a distinct identity. However, the orchestra is also subject to exogenous events, most notably, changes in the cultural, social, economic, and technological conditions in which it operates, which also informs ‘who it is’ as an organisation.

The orchestra has had to adjust its business model and sharpen its commercial thinking since the economic crash in the U.S. in 2008 and the subsequent reduction in arts funding (private and public) and threat to American orchestras, which have been afflicted by bankruptcies, lockouts, and strikes. For example, in April 2011 the Philadelphia Orchestra, one of the so called “Big Five”⁷ American orchestras, filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, only surviving by introducing a hiring freeze, reducing the size of the orchestra by ten musicians, and implementing a 15 percent pay cut for the remaining orchestral musicians. Similarly, in 2009, the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra filed for Chapter 11 protection and was forced to cancel its 2009 – 2010 concert season, only to be dissolved 14 months later. Because they are so heavily reliant on contributed income (donations, public funding, corporate philanthropy etc.), the Seattle Symphony has been affected by the economic downturn. The situation has been compounded by changes in technology and their cultural, social and economic impact.

Advances in Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) have caused shifts in the logics that define how classical music is produced, distributed, and consumed. A consequence for the Seattle Symphony was the loss of recording opportunities following the collapse of the traditional recording music industry. More generally, in order to adapt to the new digital reality, the organisation is challenged to redefine internal processes and structures to manage the changing expectations of internal (e.g. musicians, board members) and external (e.g. funders, patrons) stakeholder and also changes in audience/consumer behaviour.

Underlining economic anxieties and technological change is a concern about the continuous decline in audiences for classical music in the U.S. since the early 1980s and a shift in the social and cultural habits of the middle classes who once formed the constituent audience for classical music. Because the Seattle Symphony can no longer depend on this narrow demographic, it must discover new ways to engage audiences that are more diverse. This is a significant challenge because it involves questioning core values and beliefs that have informed the collective identity of the American orchestra for over one hundred years, most fundamentally, its historical role as an elitist milieu created to separate “high culture” from the masses.

A significant internal shift occurred at the Seattle Symphony in 2011 with the appointment of a new President and CEO (Simon Woods) and a new artistic director (Ludovic Morlot), and,

⁷ The term “Big Five” orchestras gained currency in the U.S. in the 1950s to describe the top five American orchestras based on a number of criteria, including musical excellence, weekly basic wage, and recording guarantees. They are: the New York Philharmonic, Boston Symphony Orchestra, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Philadelphia Orchestra, and the Cleveland Orchestra.

subsequently, other key personnel, all of who brought new and innovative perspectives to the organisation, which at this time was financially and culturally bankrupt. Under the new regime, the Seattle Symphony embarked on a process of identity transformation, manifestations of which are observed in changes to its internal structure, the introduction of new practices, and the projection of a new image for the orchestra.

Research Methods

I conducted a detailed qualitative analysis in the form of a single case study to address the research question. Fieldwork was conducted over an 18-month period between 2014 and 2015. The research design reflected a desire to understand the processes through which an organisation manages its identity in response to field declines and to accommodate theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). Although focusing on a single organisation limits the ability to generalise research findings, it permitted me to inquire deeply into the focal organisation and develop a more comprehensive understanding of the role of identity work in organisational transformation by combining insights from interview data, observations, and archival data.

Data sources

I drew on three primary data sources: (1) a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with a diverse array of actors at the focal organisation; (2) an in-depth analysis of organisational change as revealed through archival materials and published accounts; (3) a series of observations at the Seattle Symphony, including meetings, recording sessions, and concert events.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted in three phases: first, I carried out some initial conversations with the President and CEO of the Seattle Symphony (Simon Woods) via Skype to refine my research question. I then conducted two rounds of interviews and observations at the Seattle Symphony in May and October of 2014 respectively. Research participants (*table 1*) were selected to reflect both managerial and artistic concerns and included both long-term employees who offered an historical perspective of the organisation and employees who have joined the Seattle Symphony since 2011 – the year in which the organisation appointed a new artistic director and President and CEO who initiated a process of organisational identity renewal. Interviews lasted 1 – 2 hours and were recorded on two audio devices.

In addition to the interviews listed in table 1, I conducted a two-hour interview with Elizabeth Scott – Chief Media and Digital Officer at the Lincoln Centre, New York – in order to gain a deeper understanding of the institutional environment in which the focal organisation operates. Scott is one of the foremost experts on the disruptive forces that are changing the face and function of the cultural sector in the U.S. with a particular interest in and unique insights into the role of digital technology in shaping arts organisations in the twenty-first century.

Archival materials

I was afforded unlimited access to a range of internal documentation, including musicians' contracts, marketing data (e.g. the results of a recent audience survey), and financial documents, including annual financial reports. In addition, I surveyed the relatively small amount of documentation pertaining to the orchestra (compared to other U.S. orchestras) in the public domain, primarily through online resources. Archival material such as strategic plans and presentations proved useful in confirming or refuting insights and conclusions. For example, strategic plans and mission statements proved useful as supporting evidence of internal identity and media coverage helped me understand external perceptions (external identity) of the Seattle Symphony.

Table 1. *Research participants at the Seattle Symphony*

Job Title	Number of Interviews
President & CEO	6
Artistic Director	1
SVP of Marketing and Business Operations	3
Cellist with the Seattle Symphony	1
Digital Media Manager	2
Vice President of Communications	2
Vice President of Artistic Planning	2
Digital Content Manager	2
Vice President of Development	2
Interactive Media Coordinator	1
Vice President of education and community engagement	1
Violinist with the Seattle Symphony	1
Director of Audio & Recording	1

Observations

I attended a number of meetings at the Seattle Symphony at which management from across the organisation discussed the re-branding of the orchestra and the re-design and development of the organisation's website, initiatives that were critical to the process of identity renewal.

Observational work was also carried out at Soundbridge, the organisation's education programme, and the orchestra's recording studio. Lastly, I attended a number of innovative concert events at which the Seattle Symphony presented classical music in a non-traditional and less formal manner, with the aim of attracting new and more diverse audiences; this fieldwork primarily served to provide insights into new practices at the focal organisation as part of its identity reconstruction.

Interviews were conducted before and after each observation; for instance, the SVP of Marketing and Business Operations guided me through the re-branding of the Seattle Symphony prior to and following a branding meeting; and the Vice President of Artistic Planning briefed me prior to and following two innovative concert events performed by members of the Seattle Symphony and aimed at attracting new audiences.

Data analysis

Data analysis unfolded in two distinct phases, the first of which involved an initial analysis of data gathered from the first round of interviews (May 2014). I used open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1994) to identify initial thematic patterns in my field data. For example, a general concern for research participants at the Seattle Symphony that emerged as a prominent theme, following the first round of interviews, is the recognition that the orchestra needs to change in response to field declines while, paradoxically, continuing to adhere to field-level beliefs, values and norm (collective identities) in order to maintain legitimacy.

Following this initial data analysis, I returned to the Seattle Symphony to conduct a second round of interviews (October 2014), after which I completed additional data analysis to refine research themes. Following a number of readings of my two datasets, I established a series of general codes (*figure 1*).

Lastly, I carried out ongoing correspondence with key research participants at the Seattle Symphony, which served to address additional questions and gaps in my dataset. Data was analysed iteratively until a point of theoretical saturation was reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and new research questions that are outside the scope of this study emerged. I composed an initial report on this case and shared it with all of my research participants, some of who returned a redlined version with corrections.

Figure 1: *data structure*

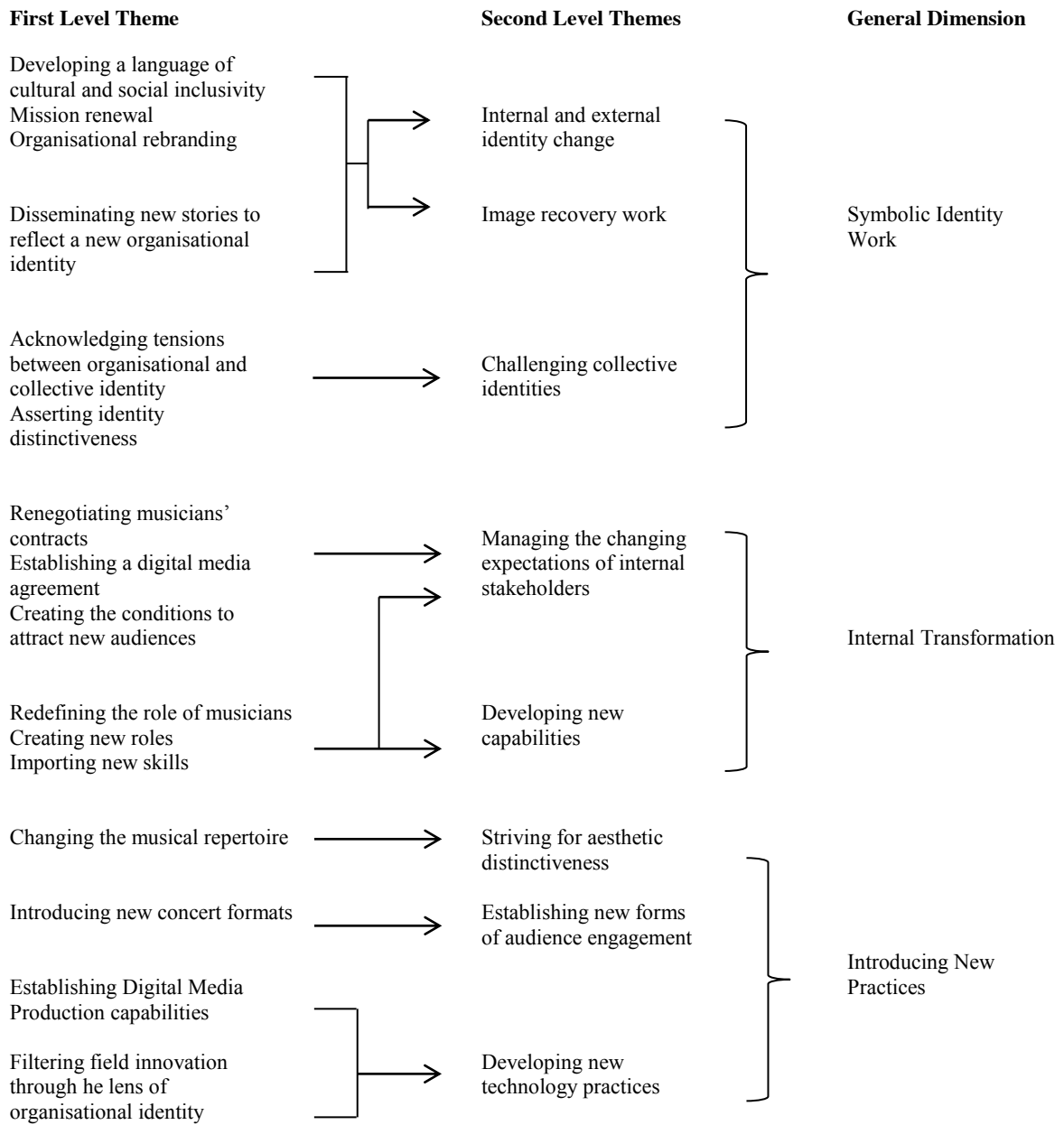


Figure 2: *data table*

Interviewee quotes	Second level theme	General Dimension
‘Simon [President and CEO) and Ludovic (Artistic Director] just threw open the doors to everyone and Ludovic was really big on welcoming everybody and encouraging them to come as they are; just get everybody into the concert hall’. ‘The organisation’s identity is evolving and will continue to do so; the organisation is not content to stay in once place and we are constantly thinking of new ways of reaching out to all parts of the community’.	Developing a language of cultural and social inclusivity	Symbolic identity work
‘We wanted our mission statement to focus on how the music we perform can have a positive effect on people, on the human spirit...’ ‘Our mission is both artistic and educational, both components. They are not separable, they have to go hand in hand’.	Mission renewal	Symbolic identity work
‘Part of what we are trying to do is work through some of our internal confusion around the organisation’s brand so we can develop a better story to tell externally...’ ‘Developing a new brand was central to our image recovery work’.	Organisational rebranding	Symbolic identity work
‘After we completed a full-scale re-branding of the orchestra, we sent a really loud signal from this building that everything was about to change.’ ‘Once we got our story straight we focused a huge effort on getting the message out that the Seattle Symphony is an arts organisation for everyone in Seattle...’	Disseminating new stories to reflect a new organisational identity	Symbolic identity work
‘Because of commonly held perceptions of classical music and orchestras, people will always think of us as a kind of museum and that is a big problem... it’s a perception thing and I would love for this perception to change because we have to move on’. ‘Every orchestra has different realities and we have to prioritise our local community ahead of some collective idea of what a symphony orchestra is suppose to be’.	Acknowledging tensions between organisational and collective identity	Symbolic identity work
...’What would be distinctive for us would be to balance our budget every year...’ ‘We don’t have the same brand as other orchestras so we have to begin to [accentuate] the things that make us stand out from other orchestras...[for instance], since the orchestra broke away from the American	Asserting identity distinctiveness	Symbolic identity work

Federation of Musicians (AFM) [dominant labour union for musicians in the U.S.] in 1988, it has become one of the most recorded orchestras in American. In fact, the break from the AFM made it possible for us to do the current media deal, which has allowed us to continue our recording legacy...’		
‘The [contract] negotiation was a year long process, it was a very difficult negotiation in terms of the salaries and financial stuff...’ ‘Everyone had to drink the “cool aid”, especially the musicians who have had to be really flexible ’.	Renegotiating musicians’ contracts	Internal transformation
‘last year we were able to convince our musicians that it is time for them to let us record our concerts live and then release CDs based on live recordings. This was a significant step towards embracing digital’. ‘The media deal was not so difficult as you might have thought because the musicians were very very keen. You know we have this thing where our musicians are not part of the national union and this made it easier [to complete the deal]’.	Establishing a digital media agreement	Internal transformation
‘We didn’t sleep for that whole first year because [they] had tremendous goals in place and [were hopeful] that the audiences would flock to this new Seattle Symphony’. ‘Just before we went to New York to [perform at] Carnegie Hall, we played the whole programme, the Carnegie Hall programme, we ran it in here in our hall as a free concert. We gave away the house, so we had 2500 people and it was wonderful and it was a great promotional tool and it was a wonderful occasion for the city and it really opened up the symphony and our concert hall to the people of Seattle’.	Creating the conditions to attract new audiences	Internal transformation
‘We have to manage the expectations of musicians and work closely with them to develop new ideas but negotiations are difficult because they [musicians] have [well-defined] roles that are [historically informed]’. ‘This is a difficult time for art in the U.S. and so we have to grow our product and that, at a very fundamental level, involves changing contract agreements and that isn’t easy’.	Redefining the role of musicians	Internal transformation
‘We have started to think about bringing in a dedicated digital video production person because we realise that video [content] is playing a bigger role in our marketing strategy’. ‘In the future orchestras will have to be able to produce content on a weekly basis and increasingly that content will have to be video that has been produced with the	Importing new skills	Internal transformation

highest production values not least because other organisations operating in other arts forms are already doing it. That will mean developing new skills in-house and employing a film maker basically’.		
‘Prior to Ludovic’s [Artistic Director] arrival we played a lot of new American music, much of which was pretty dull and not very good...’ ‘The pieces we have recorded for the first batch of CDs are very personal to us, I mean this is a young French conductor [Ludovic Morlot] with an American orchestra and that relationship and that repertoire is very new to us, we hadn’t really done much French music, it’s very new to us. We’re not trying to record all of the Beethoven symphonies, we’re trying to record music that is very personal and relevant to us and what we want our reputation to be’.	Changing the musical repertoire	Introducing new practices
‘The last one [late night concert] we did was a preview of the New York concert. So we did a free one [concert], free late night Untitled styled concert and people were literally lying down on the carpets that we put out there and we put bean bags and carpets squares, all kinds of chairs and couches. This was a totally new approach for us and it worked in that it introduced new and mostly younger people to the orchestra’. The Seattle Weekly wrote a piece when we first did the late night ‘Untitled Series’. [The reviewer] came to the whole first year worth of them and wrote this article called “the wrist-banding of classical music” because people handed in their ticket and they got a wristband; going with the club feel because we had so many people coming in and out. You want to buy a drink and come back in and if that’s a symbol what does that mean and I think he really had some interesting thoughts about the exchange of a ticket for a wristband, what does it mean to be doing classical music in the popular mind set?	Introducing new concert formats	Introducing new practices
‘It [establishing in-house digital production capabilities] is a small tiny baby step towards embracing technologies and many orchestras had done it before, you know we are not unique obviously but it is just an example of how we are beginning to integrate with the world and if we are out-dated that is something that we need to change’. ‘Being able to produce and release our own recordings is huge for our marketing and branding. Even the artwork on the CD covers is [now] more personal to our identity; we no longer have record labels controlling that and of course we decide what we want to record. For example, we recently rehearsed and performed in concert Dvorak’s New World Symphony and although we had no plan to	Establishing Digital Media Production capabilities	Introducing new practices

record it we did because the rehearsal and the concerts when so well. This is the kind of thing we can do now that we have our own [record] label’.		
‘Some orchestras are producing something that is technologically state of the art but actually what is it doing, it’s actually reinforcing all the common prejudices about classical music’. ‘I don’t think that we should follow the lead of some orchestras who are pursuing online video broadcasting models. It didn’t work for the LA Philharmonic Orchestra and they are one of the wealthiest orchestras in the country. They had an opportunity to invest in a project that involved broadcasting some of their concerts in select cinemas across the U.S. We don’t, we can’t make that kind of investment but they could but they called it off because it just didn’t work because it’s a symphony orchestra, people don’t want to watch it, you know it’s not a movie. So in that way we are a certain beast and people know what to expect from us and it’s fine...we don’t have to have them visualise their experience necessarily in order to enjoy the music we perform.’	Filtering field innovation through the lens of organisational identity	Introducing new practices

Research Findings

The Seattle Symphony is concerned about declines in the classical music industry, at the core of which is a ‘graying’ audience for classical music. The President and CEO Simon Woods highlighted the organisation’s concern about audience declines:

In the U.S., audiences for classical music have been in a constant decline, just a steady decline and that is endemic in every art form in the U.S. There is declining participation in all art forms and in church going and in American participation in general from being a very participatory society. The audience line is basically a straight decay, you know it probably peaked; I’m going to say it peaked in the 1980s and since then it’s just been a constant decline.

The SVP of Marketing and Business Operations further posited that ‘people are not subscribing to symphony concerts the way they use to and so [the Seattle Symphony] has to negotiate this change in the market place’. This is challenging because, as he went on to point out, ‘[the Seattle Symphony] is operating in a very different world than even twenty years ago; people have more choice than ever and funding [for the arts] has largely dried up’.

Declines in audiences for classical music are compounded by a general reduction in Government and corporate funding for arts organisations in the U.S. A senior manager stated that ‘the situation is really bad for orchestras; endowment funds are shrinking as corporations that once played a key role in funding arts organisation like the Seattle symphony are now focusing their philanthropic efforts elsewhere’. Another research participant, in highlighting the lack of Government funding for classical music, pointed out that ‘the orchestra only received 0.01 percent (\$266,672) of its operating budget from public funding between 2013 and 2014’. Consequently, the orchestra relies on an endowment fund, which is maintained through corporate donations, trusts and foundations and individual giving, which is especially vulnerable in periods of economic downturn, when income from investments falls.

A third area of concern for the focal organisation is the emergence of new technology and the social uses of it. An artistic planner highlighted the need for the organisation to change in response to technological innovation:

The world is changing, you cannot imagine any function of the world without technology anymore and it's the same with orchestras. If we haven't changed [then] we must change. Technology has to become an integral part of what we do...if orchestras do not change then that's a big problem, we [the Seattle Symphony] must absorb everything around us.

Adapting to the new digital reality presents a number of challenges to the Seattle Symphony. As one research participant pointed out, the organisation has first to address the question of why the organisation, which is not technology-intensive, should engage digital:

Why would an institution like the Seattle Symphony look to do anything digitally? I think the great promise of digital technology and platforms for classical music institutions is the ability to deliver on what is so often core to the mission of those institutions in the area of access – whether that access is educational, informative, breaking down barriers that are cost-related etc. So the promise of these platforms is tremendous. “What’s realistic” is the question.

In addition to resource constraints, some of the biggest barriers to moving from the promise of digital to the reality of delivering innovation tend to be rights-related. The interviewee went on to say that ‘considering the fact that orchestras in the U.S. are already shortening the number of weeks of performance activity [and] shrinking the number of musicians on its roster, it is difficult to ask musicians to “give us these additional rights so we can be more nimble in the digital space”.’

A senior manager posited that ‘the organisation is going to have to be really tenacious and willing to try new things if it is to survive changes in the classical music sector’. From my field material, I identified three types of identity work performed by the Seattle Symphony aimed at identity transformation in response to industry declines – *symbolic identity work*, *transforming internal structures and culture*, and *introducing new practices*.

Organisational change through symbolic identity work

In 2011, the Seattle Symphony was struggling with its identity following what one research participant described as ‘years of organisational turmoil that was compounded by the economic downturn and a general decline in the classical music sector.’ She further suggested that ‘...the identity of the organisation was damaged with big financial issues and huge reputational problems’ following the publication of a number of negative stories in the media pertaining to the state of the organisation’s finances, as well as reputed tensions between the former artistic director (Gerard Schwartz) and some members of the orchestra. By the time Ludovic Morlot (artistic director) and Simon Woods (President and CEO) were appointed to the organisation in 2011, the orchestra had been running a \$5 million-dollar deficit. The Vice President of Communications suggested that the organisation was in a ‘do or die situation and had to climb out of this huge hole’. Initially, this involved changing the identity and image of the organisation by developing a language of cultural inclusivity aimed at breaking down some of the perceived barriers to the orchestra and the music it performs.

Developing a language of cultural and social inclusivity

Under the leadership of Ludovic Morlot and Simon Woods, the organisation moved quickly to begin to repair its image and reputation by performing symbolic identity work which, as a senior marketing expert suggested, ‘helped to create a new buzz around the orchestra and the concert hall.’ Initially, this involved developing a new ‘story’ to reflect the intended shift in the organisation’s identity. As Woods explained:

‘By the time I arrived in May 2011 we didn’t have a strategic plan but we knew our story and the story has not changed, it’s about the orchestra being of Seattle not just being in Seattle; the story is about waking the sleeping giant, artistically, and the story is about not what we take from the community but what we give to the community. We had a very clear sense of what was possible for this organisation and what was possible was to grow it artistically, to explode it, to make it as a symbol of what the city stands for, to be much more innovative and outward facing’.

Morlot also emphasised the need for the organisation to become more outward facing, describing how when he began working with the orchestra in 2011 his focus was to ‘prioritise the needs of the community.’ He was ‘curious to know what the city and the community was looking for from an organisation like the Seattle Symphony’ and this meant ‘understanding the identity of the city through its musical legacy...so the orchestra [could] “speak” to the concertgoers of Seattle’. The Vice President of Development further suggested that the organisation had to change from a ‘self-regarding organisation that was used to looking in the mirror to one that was looking out the window and really being relevant to the community.’ Lastly, the President and CEO suggested that ‘as an arts organisation [the orchestra has] a moral responsibility to be in the community’. This attitudinal shift prompted the organisation to reimagine a central feature of its identity – its mission.

Mission renewal

An important symbol of the Seattle Symphony’s identity is its mission, which is encapsulated in the organisation’s mission statement and expresses its core values and beliefs. As such, it represents an important means through which the orchestra projects its identity and image to external constituents. In keeping with its intention to become more outward facing, the organisation updated its mission statement⁸ to emphasise *why* the orchestra performs music rather than focusing on *what* they perform (e.g. the highest-quality symphonic music). A research participant further explained:

‘Our old mission was generic and boring and could be any orchestra. Our new mission highlights how music can inspire people and bring them together and lift their spirit. The new mission is about the “why” not the “what”; the “what” is not inspiring, the “why” is the interesting thing because it links us to the outside.’

The change in emphasis in the orchestra’s official mission statement reflected a general attitudinal shift across the organisation in relation to both its internal and external identity and a desire to carry out what a senior manager called ‘image recovery work’. Efforts to renew identity involved developing a language of inclusivity that advanced this idea that the orchestra, the music it performs, and the concert hall in which it performs, should be available to everyone in the community. As the Vice President of Communications posited: ‘We started to develop the idea that the Seattle Symphony should be a place for live music of all kinds for

⁸ *Old mission statement:* 1985 – 2011 – [The Seattle Symphony] provides the highest quality symphonic music in a distinctive way for the cultural enrichment, education, engagement and enjoyment of audiences locally, nationally and internationally.

New mission statement: 2014 – present – The Seattle Symphony unleashes the power of music, brings people together, and lifts the human spirit.

all kinds of listeners...making the music we perform more accessible and welcoming to everyone.'

Organisational rebranding

An important aspect of identity transformation and image renewal involved the re-branding of the organisation and also the re-design and development of the orchestra's website, both of which, in the words of the head of Marketing and Business Operations, 'play a critical role in embellishing the organisation's identity.' He went on to say that 'building a new website is not just about enhancing the orchestra's web presence, it's about "who we are"; you can't build a website without considering brand and identity.'

Although ultimately aimed at external stakeholders (and potential new stakeholders), this work, according to one research participant, required that the organisation 'do a lot of soul searching.' To facilitate this process, each employee (administrators and musicians) was invited to participate in interviews and meetings that were designed to better understand the features of the Seattle Symphony's identity that its members deemed important to the transformation of the organisation in a period of industry declines. Put another way, orchestral members were invited to shape the story they were telling.

Disseminating new stories to reflect a new organisational identity

The organisation also performed identity work aimed at changing external perceptions of the organisation (external identity). For example, a research participant explained how important it was for the orchestra's new artistic director to be out in the community promoting a new story about the Seattle Symphony:

'We had to be very external in all of our work, so there was internal work going on but there was a tremendous amount of work we did that was external. For example, it was critical that Ludovic [artistic director] was in front of the right people and groups around town to tell new stories about the orchestra...'

Part of the Seattle Symphony's strategy involved 'relentlessly telling a new story' about 'who the organisation is' to both internal and external stakeholders. As the President and CEO Simon Woods explained:

We told our story to everyone who would listen and [in addition to] telling our story to external stakeholders we told it to our own board and even in the darkest moments when we didn't know how we were going to make payroll and we had to borrow yet

more money from the endowment [fund] we were still telling the story; if you tell the story enough you start living it.

‘Living’ the new story involved organisational members rejecting the traditional language used to describe classical music, which they deem to be elitist and symbols of exclusivity.

Acknowledging tensions between organisational and collective identities

In addition to developing a language of inclusivity, organisational actors began to openly reject some of the language traditionally associated with classical music. For example, an artistic planner suggested that ‘the term “high art” [which is commonly used to describe classical music] is a discriminatory term and if the organisation wants to move away from this kind of elitist language, high quality is a good qualifier.’ Another senior manager suggested that ‘classical music has a stuffy image and we [the Seattle Symphony] have to develop a new language to express what we do to make the orchestra more welcoming to people who feel intimidated by the concert hall and [the formalities associated with] traditional classical music concerts’.

The Vice President of Artistic Planning suggested that a fundamental challenge and aim of presenting a new narrative about the organisation is to change the mind-set of people who commonly ‘think of the orchestra as a kind of museum of music.’ This highlights potential tensions between organisational identity and collective identities as the focal organisation, in responding to industry declines, began to question its place within the broader cultural and social landscape. Another research participant, while discussing the need for the Seattle Symphony to develop new identities, stated that ‘in order to evolve as an organisation we [the Seattle Symphony] have to let go of some of the assumptions associated with classical music.

Asserting identity distinctiveness

As part of its strategy to make the orchestra ‘accessible and welcoming to everyone’, the organisation began to develop a language that reflected a level of discord between organisational-level identity and the collective identity of classical music. A senior manager highlighted this tension while discussing identity renewal at the organisation:

‘We are not striving for what other people are striving for and what they think we should be striving for...When I think of organisational identity transformation our goals are so far from everyone else’s or where people think it should be, it’s where the people of Seattle want it to be...’

A key challenge for the Seattle Symphony is that in order to become accessible to larger and more diverse audiences within its local community, it must address negative perceptions of classical music as an elitist milieu. In so doing, the organisation has to change certain features of its identity in order to appear less like what one research participant labelled ‘a weird animal’ while articulating the following point:

‘An important part of the shift in our identity concerns how people perceive us, what our donors think we should be and what our audience members who were trained in school when they were 50 years younger think we should be. But what we are also trying to do here at the symphony is to bring new generations [of audiences], who don’t have those perceptions, into the concert hall; people who grew up in a different world and see us as a weird animal that is totally not compatible with their lives...we need to change, not them.’

A survey carried out by the Seattle Symphony in 2013 and that formed an important part of its external work, further highlighted challenges around the narrow demographic of its audience. It found that a typical audience member is white (almost 90%), affluent (household income of \$100-150,000), highly educated (91% have completed college or a higher level of education), is mature (71% are 44+ and 44% are 65+), and is a lifelong classical music fan (introduced to classical music at an early age by family, school, or through playing a musical instrument)⁹. Compounding this situation is the fact that this audience demographic, in addition to being narrow, has been in steady decline since 1982¹⁰.

I have highlighted a particular type of identity work that the Seattle Symphony performed in response to the organisational turmoil that resulted from industry declines, most notably a decline in audiences for classical music in the U.S. The organisation’s response was to perform symbolic work intended to transform the identity and image of the organisation to both internal (board members, employees) and external (funders, audiences) stakeholders. The ultimate aim is to broaden the scope of its audience, to ‘reach beyond lovers of classical music.’ However, this is a huge challenge because as one commentator suggested, ‘classical music is tainted by the sins of its own age’ (Johnson, 2002) and organisations like the Seattle Symphony face a paradox: on the one hand, in order to remain legitimate they need to adhere to institutional norms, values and beliefs that are historically informed (DiMaggio, 1986) and on the other hand, they need to develop distinctive identities in order to remain relevant in a shifting economic, cultural, social and technological environment.

⁹ Seattle Symphony Insights – audience survey, 18th April 2014

¹⁰ 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts – National Endowment of the Arts

Field data highlighted another type of identity work that the focal organisation performed in response to field declines that involved changes in the structure of the organisation and its culture. As a senior manager pointed out, ‘we had big plans in place and we had [generated] a lot of rhetoric around our new identity and so on but in order to realise our goals we had to make some fundamental changes within the organisation.’

Internal transformation

Structural and cultural change within the Seattle Symphony represent tangible manifestations of organisational identity change. It also reflects the changing expectations of internal and external stakeholders, who are directly affected by, and concerned about, field declines. Critical to the organisation’s capacity to change in response to declining audiences, economic downturn, and technological change, is the relationship between the orchestra and its members, which is formalised in contract agreements between the board of management and orchestral musicians. A clear example of how this relationship has changed is observed in the organisations renegotiation of media contracts in response to shifts in the logics that define how music is produced, distributed, and consumed.

Establishing a digital media agreement

Prior to the emergence of online music distribution and the subsequent demise of the traditional recorded music industry, the Seattle Symphony was, according to a senior manager, ‘one of the most recorded orchestras in America’¹¹ and recording work represented ‘significant supplementary income for the musicians.’ He went on to state that ‘the orchestra no longer receives recording work from record labels’ and yet ‘it [recording] still plays a key role in [advancing] the mission of the organisation’ and, by extension, in defining the identity of the orchestra.

The organisation responded to this dilemma by establishing an in-house record label – Seattle Symphony Media. This involved the setting up of a state-of-the-art audio recording studio in the Benaroya Concert Hall, the orchestra’s permanent residency in downtown Seattle, and the acquiring of specialist skills (i.e. Director of Audio & Recording and Digital Media Manager). Critically, it necessitated the need to negotiate digital media agreements with the musicians of the Seattle Symphony as part of broader and ongoing contractual arrangements

¹¹ The research participant went on to explain that the reason why the orchestra made more recordings than other American orchestras was because it runs its own Union and is not constrained by the American Federation of Musicians (the dominant labour union for musicians in the U.S.), which it broke away from in 1988.

to reflect changes in patterns of artistic, commercial and social exchange between producers and consumers following digital innovation.

The most recent musicians' contract, which was agreed in 2013 and extended in 2014, is a complex document, some aspects of which required fifteen months of often difficult negotiations between the orchestra's board of management and orchestral musicians. However, the media-related content, which encompasses audio and video production and distribution, was, according to a senior manager, 'pretty easy to get done because both management and musicians were all in total agreement that it needed to be done.' This reflects a collective awareness among organisational members that the orchestra needs to be active in the digital space in order to remain relevant in an era in which the expectations of audiences/consumers and funders are changing. It also reflects a new reality for the orchestra's musicians, who are unlikely to generate earned income for recording activities in the digital space. As a senior manager pointed out, 'they [orchestral musicians] agreed to it [media contract] because we offered them a profit share structure; but we're not going to make any profit.'

As part of the new media agreement, musicians receive a payment of 0.4%, which, at the 2014-15 scale, is the equivalent of approximately \$8 per week or \$370.00 per year, for media-related activities. Although the agreement includes a profit share for musicians, actors across the organisation acknowledge that profit is unlikely to accrue from these activities, considering that classical music represents a niche market within which even relatively high-status orchestras now struggle to make a profit from recordings. Even in the unlikely event that the focal organisation were to generate profit from recordings, revenue participation for musicians is only triggered when the organisation has recouped all of the initial costs of producing a recording, including the 0.4 percent payment to musicians, which collectively represent approximately \$37,000 to the organisation annually. As an orchestral musician who performs with the orchestra pointed out, in the digital ecosystem 'the people who own the delivery mechanisms are the ones who get paid, not the musicians', who have had to 'temper their expectations in [relation to] recording work'.

The media agreement primarily serves to give senior managers a high level of autonomy in using digital content to advance the aims of the Seattle Symphony. A senior manager highlighted the level of flexibility with which the organisation can now produce and distribute its audio recordings:

We can release, on CD or Internet [downloads], 240 minutes of audio product per year. That's based on the notion of three CDs [recorded live]. But in addition to those three CDs we also have ten studio sessions, which are bought [as part of the media deal], so what we've got is three live CDs plus the studio sessions so in fact we can probably issue five CDs per year...'

The research participant went on to suggest that this level of autonomy to use digital content is a 'wonderful opportunity to promote the orchestra through different channels, [including] social media, iTunes, and [the orchestra's] website'. However, he went on to suggest that 'a more fundamental challenge is to find new ways to [present] classical concerts to audiences because, although recording remains an important activity for the orchestra, it is a performing ensemble that needs to play to live audiences'.

Redefining the role of musicians

The organisation also initiated change in response to audience declines by reimagining how it presents classical music to audiences. As a research participant explained: the aim is to make the Seattle Symphony a 'place where you now go for an experience as opposed to a place you necessarily go just for tradition.' In addition to performing traditional concerts from the main stage of the Benaroya Concert Hall, the orchestra began to perform in less formal settings and at unconventional times. For example, the organisation introduced late night concerts that take place in the casual setting of the foyer of the Benaroya Hall and while on tour on the East Coast in 2014, some members of the orchestra performed in a nightclub in New York. An artistic planner suggested that 'changing concert formats represents the most important innovation at the organisation' as it attempts to attract new audiences to the symphony. However, in order to experiment with concert formats, the organisation had to redefine the role of the musicians who perform in the orchestra, which created challenges, as highlighted by an Artistic Planner:

Our biggest challenge will be adjusting musician's contracts to the new realities. I'm a musician myself and I adore members of our orchestra and I always support them as much as I can but some things need to change and it's going to be challenging, it has been challenging already. If we find a way to keep them [musicians] engaged, as much as they are engaged now and pay them well enough then we are going to thrive. However, if we tell them that you have done your ten thousand hours of practice [estimated practice hours required to become a professional orchestra musician] and you got this job but now we want you to do master classes [educational work] instead of playing on the big stage and we are going to pay you 50% less, I don't know, this is a major challenge.

Another research participant suggested that these new practices, and the contractual conditions that make them possible, 'are mostly PR activities for [the organisation] rather

than profit-making and they [the musicians] are going to have to realise this. [The musicians] are very smart, they understand all of that but they want to protect their rights and I'm respectful of their wishes but the model has to change.'

Introducing new roles and skills

An important aspect of the internal transformation of the Seattle Symphony involved the creation of new roles within the organisation and the importing of new skills. An ongoing challenge is to know what skills to add to the organisation as it attempts to reconstruct its identity. A senior manager posited that the organisation 'established a number of new roles around digital' in response to technological innovation. For example, he highlighted the importance to the organisation of bringing in a 'first-class [sound] engineer' to 'oversee the orchestra's [audio] recordings':

In order to set up our in-house recording studio we had to find a first-class [sound] engineer and we were extremely lucky to find Dmitri [Director of Audio & Recording] who is an absolutely first-class engineer. In addition to overseeing all of our recordings for CD and download, he edits a programme for local radio, which is broadcast each week; this involves touching up the recordings he makes here at the concert hall'.

In further highlighting how the organisation has changed in response to digital technology, the research participant pointed out that, in addition to employing a specialist audio engineer, they have established roles for a Digital Media Manager, a Digital Content Manager, and Interactive Media Coordinator. In addition, the President and CEO described how he is keen to create a role for a 'video person who will spend '75% of his or her time just doing video'. He also stated that 'ideally, what [the organisation] needs to do is to establish a dedicated video broadcasting studio to match our audio recording set up but despite the fact that we have our media agreement in place, we don't really have the money to do that right now'.

In order to enact identity change at the Seattle Symphony, the organisation had to implement structural and cultural change. This involved changing contractual agreements between orchestral musicians and the orchestra's board of management to reflect the changing circumstances in which the orchestra now operates. As a senior manager at the organisation suggested, 'musicians have had to be very flexible and they may have to be even more flexible as [the organisation] continues to adapt to the new reality for classical music.' Put another way, in order to introduce new practices to reconstruct its identity in response to industry declines, the Seattle Symphony had to manage the expectations of its internal stakeholders. For musicians, this meant adapting to new financial and contractual conditions. It also meant participating collectively in new practices. In addition to changing the role of

musicians, the orchestra underwent structural change following the establishment of digital production and distribution capabilities and the introduction of new roles and skills.

Introducing new practices

A communications officer stated that the Seattle Symphony generated ‘a tremendous amount of hype around the orchestra but [they] had to match the rhetoric with action.’ She went on to state:

We had to rapidly show, especially when things were really dire financially, the dream of where we were going as an organisation and be able to back that up with a whole lot of substance. There was no room for empty promises and so we had to be innovative in deciding what music to perform and how to [present] it to audiences’.

Changing the musical repertoire

A material and symbolic instantiation of identity change at the Seattle Symphony is observed in the musical repertoire the orchestra performs. By 2011 there was a general sense, throughout the organisation, that the repertoire the ensemble was performing had become too narrow. A research participant suggested that following Morlot’s appointment as artistic director, the orchestra was keen to begin performing and recording music ‘that is more personal and relevant [to the organisation] and what [they] want [their] reputation to be’ at this point in the orchestra’s history. Another interviewee suggested that the organisation wanted the programming of the orchestra’s concerts and recordings (e.g. CDs and downloadable audio files) to be ‘a little more quirky’, to better reflect the “personality” of the ensemble and to be more in keeping with the re-branding of the orchestra under what a senior administrator labelled the ‘Simon and Ludovic years.’

The shift in the orchestra’s aesthetic focus represents a change in the Seattle Symphony’s identity because the musical repertoire it performs constitutes a central feature of ‘who it is’ and serves to distinguish it from other classical music ensembles, while also determining its (new) position and status in the institutional field.

Introducing new concert formats

The Seattle Symphony also introduced new concert formats through which to present the repertoire it performs. In addition to presenting audiences with traditional concert formats, the organisation is presenting classical music in innovative ways with the aim of breaking down

some of the perceived barriers to the orchestra, the music it performs, and the concert hall in which they perform it. These new practices include the ‘Sonic Evolution Series’, which involves the commissioning of new works that honour Seattle’s musical heritage, including popular culture (e.g. Jimi Hendrix and rap musician Sir Mix-A-Lot) and, in more direct relation to the classical canon, a concert series dedicated to contemporary classical music (here defined as music composed post 1945) that the organisation promotes as “Untitled”, which, as a research participant suggested, ‘is all about broadening the scope of our audience’.

The “Untitled” concert series takes place in the less formal setting of the Grand Lobby of Benaroya Hall. The series represents a departure from the orchestra’s traditional concert offering and is intended to attract non-traditional audiences to the Seattle Symphony. In a break from tradition, concertgoers are encouraged to experience music performance in unconventional ways; audience members are permitted to walk around and consume drinks and chat during performances. They can also choose from a range of casual seating options, including sitting in booths, at tables, floor cushions or lying on the floor. Completing a two-pronged strategy to attract non-traditional listeners, the organisation has also instigated a concert series titled “Untuxed”. For this series, the programming leans toward the mainstream classical repertoire; however, concerts are shorter in duration than traditional classical concerts and orchestral musicians and the artistic director (conductor) adopt casual attire.

These initiatives represent a conscious attempt by the Seattle Symphony to make classical music more accessible to new and more diverse audiences; to make them (the orchestra) seem less like ‘a weird animal’. As a research participant explained, ‘it’s no longer just about the organisation reaching out to audiences but about creating the conditions under which audiences can reach out to the organisation’ - even if that means ‘going against traditional notions of what an orchestra or classical concert is supposed to be’. The SVP of Marketing and Business Operations suggested that these new concert formats (Untitled and Untuxed) are primarily aimed at what he termed ‘cultural explorers’, which is similar to the notion of ‘culturally aware non-attenders’, a term commonly used to describe people who go to museums, art galleries and museums but who, as he went on to suggest, ‘do not feel welcome at classical music concerts.’

Because the Sonic Evolution series crosses the boundaries between ‘art music’ and popular culture, it challenges the collective identity of American symphony orchestras, which is rooted in the nineteenth-century notion that ‘high art’ needed to be segregated from popular culture. For example, the organisation attracted a mixture of criticism and accolade following

a Sonic Evolution concert that featured collaboration between the classical composer Gabriel Prokofiev, local rap musician Sir-Mix-A-Lot, and the Seattle Symphony Orchestra. Sir-Mix-A-Lot, while performing with the orchestra, invited female members of the audience to join him on stage to dance and this led to heated debate in the mainstream press and on social media, with some members of the broader classical music community questioning the appropriateness of a professional symphony orchestra engaging in this form of hybridised performance. The organisation, however, viewed this event as a major success because as the Vice President of Communications suggested, ‘it got people talking about the Seattle Symphony¹²’.

This attitude reflected a general sense across the organisation that certain features of the collective identity of classical music are subordinate to the logics that characterise the local cultural field in which the Seattle Symphony competes for audience attention. While commenting on potential tensions between the organisation’s identity and the collective identity of symphony orchestras and classical music more generally, a research participant posited that:

Although identity is important to how the industry sees us, there is also a local market that we have to think about. A lot of people in this building cheered when he [Norman Lebrecht – classical music commentator] wrote something nasty about us following our collaboration with Sir Mix A-Lot, because if he does that to you then you must be doing something right according to our organisation’s ethos or our ideals and goals. We are not trying to be what his ideals are and we are not trying to be what a lot of people’s ideal for a symphonic organisation is, we are trying to do something very different that works for us in this community.’

The Seattle Symphony was not the first orchestra to experiment with concert formats; however, these initiatives were considered ‘quite revolutionary for the organisation’. They represented a shift in the organisation’s identity and are in keeping with its aspiration to become a more outward-facing orchestra that serves all of the community rather than a narrow demographic. By developing new concert practices the organisation entered a space within the institutional environment where tensions arise between the logics that define the collective identity of symphony orchestras and classical music more generally (i.e. some people in the broader classical music community deem it inappropriate for orchestras to venture far from the classical music canon).

¹² A video of the Sir-Mix-A-Lot performance attracted over two million views on YouTube.

Developing new technological practices

A significant challenge for the focal organisation, as it attempts to create the conditions in which to attract larger and more diverse audiences, involves developing a greater understanding of the role that digital technology, and the social uses of it, is playing in shaping orchestras in the twenty-first century. An artistic planner at the Seattle Symphony highlighted how advances in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) are impacting how identities are formed within the digital space:

The digital communication capabilities and information technologies developed in the last twenty years have completely revamped the methods [through] which identities form over time; people can now venture beyond face-to-face relationships and a reliance on the vertical axes of state-circulated media into an even more egalitarian society.

New technology has penetrated throughout the organisation, affecting its education work, marketing and communication strategies, and the methods through which the orchestra produces, and disseminates and distributes recordings (audio and video). It resulted in the introduction of new practices that, as one research participant commented, have ‘evolved the identity of the orchestra’.

The most significant development was the decision to establish in-house digital production and distribution capabilities by setting up Seattle Symphony Media in 2014, the organisation’s in-house record label. This allowed the organisation to take complete ownership of its recorded output, giving the orchestra complete autonomy in determining the repertoire that the ensemble records, the formats in which it releases audio products and also the distribution channels through which the Seattle Symphony makes its recordings available to consumers. The artistic director highlighted the impact that this innovation has had on the orchestra’s identity: ‘by establishing a record label and introducing new and more diverse programming, we created a different buzz around what we do’. Another research participant stated that the Seattle Symphony is ‘no longer just a performing orchestra but also a producer and provider of digital content and this is a big change for [the organisation]’.

In contrast to how the orchestra made and distributed recordings in the pre-digital era, which involved the organisation partnering with record labels who organised recording sessions and produced and distributed the resulting products (e.g. CDs), the orchestra now records in its resident concert hall and has, according to its President and CEO, ‘what no other American orchestras has, in [being able to] publish [from] any combination of live [concerts] and [dedicated] studio recordings’.

In addition to producing audio recordings in CD and download formats, the organisation is also permitted, through its media agreement with orchestral musicians, to publish seven-minute segments of video or audio content for the purpose of online marketing. This, for example, means that the organisation can film rehearsals, and edit and publish the resulting content on the same day through their website or on social media.

Filtering field innovation through the lens of organisational identity

A research participant highlighted the importance of digital video content, stating that ‘in a world now saturated with visual stimuli it is critical that we [the Seattle Symphony] develop video production capabilities’. However, he went on to highlight a potential devaluing of classical music through what he called ‘the overuse of online video streaming’:

There is a danger of devaluing classical music if we give it away for free. There’s a difference between giving some video content away for free as a promotional tool and giving entire concert video broadcasts away for free. Why would you give it away for free? We don’t let people come free to our concerts...it devalues the work of the musicians and the livelihood of the musicians and the livelihood of composers.

A cellist who performs with the orchestra expressed a similar sentiment:

It devalues anything to give it away for free. If you look at Louis Vuitton, they are the luxury brand that you’ll never find in the knock-off store. You’ll find counterfeit stuff on the streets but you will not find the original for anything other than the retail value.

These attitudes highlight how the organisation filters new practices in the field through the lens of its identity; the organisation is not following the lead of some other American orchestras that have introduced the practice of broadcasting entire concert performance, and in some cases entire concert series, online and in some cases for free¹³. Instead, the Seattle Symphony want to use technology to develop new practices that, as the President and CEO suggested, are ‘Seattle like’. In other words, and in keeping with their latest mission statement, the organisation wants to use technology to encourage larger and more diverse audiences to attend the orchestra’s concerts in the Benaroya Concert Hall in downtown Seattle.

A communications manager stated that because of the media agreement with musicians, ‘the Seattle Symphony is in a great position to embellish its own identity through technology and through the website in particular and through its recordings’. However, the organisation is also wary of adopting ‘every new technology trend that comes along’ in the field. Although

¹³ The Detroit Symphony Orchestra broadcasts all of its concerts from its resident concert hall in Detroit for free as an online video stream.

they understand that technology can help to break down some of the perceived barriers to classical music (e.g. the Seattle Symphony website includes educational and promotional video content), the organisation also understands that ‘technology is not going to resolve all of the organisation’s issues’. For example, The Vice President of education and community engagement stated that:

In the past, we filled Soundbridge [the organisation’s Music Discovery Centre] with state-of-the art technology, which was donated by Microsoft. However, many parents of kids who come to learn about music at Soundbridge asked us to get rid of the technology because they bring their kids to Soundbridge to get them away from screen technology. So, we have to think carefully about how technology can advance our mission but also how it might [impede] it.’

A challenge for the Seattle Symphony as it attempts to realise what one interviewee called ‘the promise of digital’, is resources. He went on to suggest that ‘the organisation ‘does not lack for imagination, it lacks the kind of resources the orchestra needs to invest in technology.’ [The organisation] has a ‘rich amount of “emotional capital” but it does not know how to activate it and archive it and use it properly’ at a time when ‘technology offers a rich and powerful way for [the organisation] to get [its] story out there.

Discussion

Identity work in response to field declines

Historical processes in the production and understanding of art inform the Seattle Symphony’s identity. However, the organisation’s identity is also shaped by a set of internal and external relationships, most notably, with its members (orchestral musicians, administrators and board of directors); its existing audience (and potential new audiences); and with its financial and cultural stakeholders. As the field in which it operates declines, the Seattle Symphony performs a range of identity work in an attempt to survive, and even thrive, in a new, contested space.

Internally, the organisation performs identity work by telling a new story to organisational members, and also by asking them to tell their story, and to shape the story it is telling. This work serves to transform the internal structure and culture of the organisation by changing its relationships with its members; a material manifestation of this changing relationship is the ongoing contractual negotiations with orchestral musicians. The organisation introduces new practices by asking its member musicians to perform new music and also to perform both the

new and old repertoires in unconventional settings and formats. Lastly, the organisation enlists its member musicians in its negotiation of a new digital space.

Externally, the Seattle Symphony performs identity work by telling its new story to its audience, its community (greater Seattle area) and its stakeholders (e.g. funders and patrons). It transforms organisational structures and culture by becoming a different organisation (relinquishing the image of the 'museum of music') that does more and different things than simply offering a product that is commonly perceived to be old and elitist; it attempts to reposition itself in the cultural life of its home city, and by extension in the field of classical music in the U.S. Its new practices include playing its expanded repertoire in new settings, and attempting to colonise digital space in search of new audiences (e.g. developing audio and video digital production and distribution capabilities).

Some of the internal and external identity work that the focal organisation performs is challenging to the Seattle Symphony. Efforts to reconstruct its identity must transcend rhetoric to reach deep into organisational processes (Tripsas, 2009) and serve to transform the culture of the organisation. In the context of the findings presented here, this means that organisational members question historically informed beliefs and values that define the field in which the orchestra operates. In so doing, they risk damaging their status and legitimacy, which are critical resources for the organisation.

As the Seattle Symphony attempts to broaden its audience demographic, it navigates a space between institutional conformity and organisational distinctiveness and this involves risk; by inviting musicians from popular genres to collaborate with the orchestra (e.g. rap musicians), the organisation, in seeking to entice new audiences into the concert hall, may end up alienating traditional patrons or other stakeholders who subscribe to traditional notions of what a symphony orchestra is.

This brings into focus an organisational dilemma; the Seattle Symphony strives to see itself (internal identity) and have others see the organisation (external identity), as complying with the norms, values and beliefs of its referent institutional setting (the orchestra provides audiences with 'a clear outline of the history of music'); at the same time, organisational members want to disassociate the orchestra from classical music's elitist image as it struggles to achieve optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 2003) within its referent field.

This organisational dilemma reflects the theoretical paradox of institutional determinism and agency and raises the question of whether or not symbolic, structural, and behavioural

identity work can help to resolve the ‘paradox of embedded agency’ (Seo and Creed, 2002). It also brings attention to the largely unexplored question of how institutional logics and the organisational dynamics of practices and identities influence each other (Greenwood et al., 2011).

The extant literature on organisational identity primarily focuses on a ‘static sense of being identified’ (Glynn, 1998: 238). In this study, I have attempted to emphasise the *becoming* of organisational identity rather than its state of *being* (Ashforth, 1998; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003) by demonstrating how the focal organisation changed by engaging in identity work in response to field declines. In keeping with Gioia et al. (2013), organisational actors achieve identity continuity by preserving certain labels that retain fundamental beliefs and values (the organisation continues to be a symphony orchestra that performs classical music) while the interpretation and meaning of these labels is transformed (the ensemble presents classical music in night clubs and other non-traditional performing spaces); in other words, identity work serves to give the appearance of stability even as the organisation’s identity is changing. There is a reassuring continuity for members (and also for interested external constituents) in understanding that the organisational mission or central values and beliefs remain constant while their representations (e.g. mission statement) and translation into action (e.g. new practices) take on different forms over time (Gioia, Schultz and Corley, 2000).

Identity work represents a particularly useful form of institutional work through which to consider identity transformation because it addresses specific processes of identity construction at a personal (e.g. Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003) and organisational (e.g. Gawer and Phillips, 2013) level, individual identity work and organisational identity work respectively. However, there are relatively few empirical studies that explicitly draw on the concept of identity work to unpack the potential complexities associated with the set of active processes (forming, strengthening, and revising) that serve to construct a sense of identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). In this study, I drew on the concept of identity work to develop a better understanding of how organisations respond to field declines by actively attempting to change ‘who they are’.

The promise and risk of digital

Digital innovation has emerged at a time of field declines for classical music. It has compounded the problem of shrinking audiences by changing consumer behaviour (e.g. Christensen and Bower, 1996) and challenged organisations to develop new business models

(Tripsas and Gavetti, 2000). The shift in the technological environment threatens to undermine the identity of orchestras as live performers of the classical canon, because, as Johnson (2002) suggests, most people now encounter classical music in recorded form and its presence is assiduously mediated by contemporary technology. Their response is to perform identity work aimed at managing a process of identity change.

Identity work carried out in the digital space involves inherent risks for classical music arts organisations: while it offers new opportunities for audience engagement and the dissemination of the core product and mission, technology opportunities may simply pass by unnoticed (Tripsas, 2009) and orchestras may get left behind. Even when these organisations do invest in digital innovation, they may make the wrong digital choices because they don't fully understanding the changing expectations of audiences and stakeholders in the rapidly evolving technological environment. When new technology is perceived to be worth pursuing, identity-informed beliefs may temper interpretations of it or routine rigidities (Gilbert, 2005) may exclude participation (Tripsas, 2009).

As the Seattle Symphony attempts to make sense of new practices in the digital space to realise the 'promise of digital', it views uncertainty through the lens of organisational identity, which influences the technology choices they make, how they interpret technology, and what action they need to take in order to adapt to the digital environment (Ocasio, 1997). Organisational members invoke identity to make sense of their actions (Albert and Whetten, 1985) and to ensure that the innovations they pursue are 'Seattle like'. However, a dilemma for the organisation is that its identity is embedded in an old technological regime (e.g. traditional recording industry, radio broadcast etc.), necessitating that the organisation changes its relationship with technology, which means changing its identity. Its response is to perform identity work, which involves filtering the organisation's technology choices.

Because the production and distribution of audio recordings represents an important feature of the Seattle Symphony's identity, it made sense for the organisation to adopt the common digital practice of establishing an in-house record label in response to the loss of traditional recording contracts. Conversely, the organisation's decision not to follow the example of some American orchestras who have developed new practices in online video broadcasting, highlights how organisational identity can serve to filter technological choices in order to preserve certain organisational values and beliefs. Video broadcasting is not part of the Seattle Symphony's identity and so by pursuing it, the organisation would risk violating a core feature associated with its existing identity (Tripsas, 2009).

The challenges that organisations face as they attempt to adapt to new technology is well documented across a diverse range of organisational fields (e.g. Christensen, 1997, Tushman and Anderson, 1986, Utterback, 1994). Building on Tripsas's (2009) observation that the concept of organisational identity can help unpack the difficulties that some organisations face when pursuing opportunities in new technology, this study demonstrates how an organisation responded to identity-challenging technology by performing identity work. This involves filtering out new practices from the field that are deemed to be discordant with existing organisational identity. Because internal identity guides interpretation and action in periods of uncertainty (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991, Markides, 2000), it follows that identity work aimed at adapting new technology is a symbolic and material representation of an organisation's beliefs, values, and concerns.

Despite the potential significance of organisational identity in discourses on technological change and its impact on organisations, this fertile research area has been largely ignored. By considering identity work as a response to new technology, this study contributes to our understanding of the role of identity in adapting to technological change and may also have implications for the literature on technology management.

Implications for classical music

Although the focus of this research has been on an individual organisation's response to field declines, research findings have implications for other classical music arts organisations operating in the United States that are also struggling to remain relevant in the face of declining audiences, resource constraints bound to reductions in patronage and government arts funding, and new technology. These environmental shocks and economic strains are a cause of great concern for orchestras, opera companies, and other classical music arts organisations as market and aesthetic logics shift (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005) and they struggle to maintain the equilibrium of their hybridised identities (the blending of utilitarian and artistic logics).

The perceived enduring nature of classical music and its status as 'high culture' has come under scrutiny in recent decades (Gilmore, 1993), largely due to the corrosion of an urban elite who once upheld the boundaries that separated 'high culture' from the masses (DiMaggio, 1986). As a result of this social and cultural shift, classical music arts organisations are no longer insulated from market forces and are seen to be at odds with a consumer society that is governed by commercial criteria. This has resulted in both the

cultural and economic marginalisation of these nonprofit organisations, which threatens their survival.

Cultural and economic marginalisation has forced these arts organisations to address questions, such as, ‘who are we’ and ‘what do we stand for’ (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). Resolving these, and other identity-challenging questions, is not easy because as long as orchestras and opera companies are in the preservation business (‘museums of music’), potential new audiences, even those that are open to new works in other creative fields (‘cultural explorers’), will continue to dismiss classical music as being ‘used up’ and irrelevant (Tommasini, 2001).

Field material suggests that one approach to addressing the identity crisis in the classical music sector might involve organisations performing identity work in response to field declines. This work may serve to renew symbolic, structural, and behavioural features of organisational identity (e.g. Glynn and Abzug, 2002). Symbolic work can play an important role in ‘image recovery work’, not only for individual organisations but also for the classical music field more generally. By projecting an image of inclusivity (e.g. being of the community rather than simply existing in a community), orchestras and opera companies can begin to become decoupled from certain features of the collective identity of classical music that are historically informed, most notably those features that accentuate its elitist beginnings (DiMaggio, 1986), but are now a barrier to the survival of the art form.

Classical music arts organisations also need to undergo internal transformation (structures and processes) because, as the Hungarian conductor Iván Fischer suggested in 2014¹⁴, orchestras cannot survive in their current form. However, this is going to be a significant challenge because it involves changing musicians’ agreements and redefining their role (e.g. increased education work, concert performances outside the traditional setting of a concert, and new media agreements). Organisational rigidities (Gilbert, 2005) associated with union agreements represent an immediate barrier to internal transformation for many organisations and even those organisations that self-unionise (e.g. Seattle Symphony) are going to find it difficult to adjust musicians’ contracts in line with changes in the field, especially technology change.

Internal transformation is critical to the introduction of new practices for orchestras and other classical music performing organisations. For example, without media agreements and the

¹⁴ In 2014 Iván Fischer did an interview with the Telegraph newspaper in London in which he emphasised the need for orchestras to change in order to survive.

acquiring of new skills (e.g. digital specialists) orchestras cannot establish digital production and distribution capabilities. Even with agreements in place, these organisations face significant challenges around the introduction of new practices to make classical music more accessible to the general public. Orchestras have been compelled to breathe new life into the repertoire they perform by balancing traditional with non-traditional “popular” music. The risk for orchestras who collaborate with musicians from pop culture is that they may alienate traditional audiences and stakeholders, which could further damage the economic conditions in which they now operate and risk orchestral legitimacy and cultural capital (Glynn, 2002). Some orchestral musicians may also deem it inappropriate for the ensembles they perform in to collaborate with musicians from popular culture.

The case of the Seattle Symphony’s response to field declines demonstrates the central role of identity work in negotiating new and contested organisational spaces within an institutional field. It also demonstrates the importance of technology as an agent of change and field decline, even in settings where traditional or ‘old’ cultural practices are carried out. The combination of technology change, economic hardship and demographic shift is transforming the institutional field of classical music and threatening the survival of organisations within the field; active and dynamic identity work is core to the current survival strategy of those organisations.

Conclusion

My investigation into identity renewal at the Seattle Symphony Orchestra afforded me the opportunity to consider phenomena associated with organisational change in a novel setting. I highlighted how the focal organisation responded to field declines by reconstructing its identity through symbolic identity work, internal transformation, and the introduction of new practices. Organisational members consider identity change to be critical to the orchestra’s survival at a time when some American orchestras are facing into the harsh realities of bankruptcy.

Field data demonstrated how the Seattle Symphony changes internal and external perceptions of the organisation’s identity by telling new stories about ‘who they are’ and ‘what they stand for’. This symbolic identity work challenges certain features of the collective identity of classical music (features that organisational members perceive to be out-dated and a barrier to attracting new audiences) that are symptomatic of a crisis of identity within the classical music sector. Realising the rhetoric of identity claim making is difficult because the Seattle

Symphony operates in a highly institutional field and incorporates certain institutional elements into its identity to garner legitimacy and to enable resource flows in support of its mission. This raises the question of whether it is possible for an orchestra such as Seattle Symphony to achieve optimal distinctiveness, survive field declines, and adapt to digital innovation simultaneously.

The findings presented here are relevant to other classical music arts organisations operating in the U.S. who are also threatened by field declines. They may also have significance to organisations operating in the broader arts sector (theatre, dance, art galleries etc.) and beyond to other nonprofit and for-profit sectors where firms also experience a crisis of identity following declines in the environments in which they operate.

Because this is a single case study, the results that I have presented are limited. Further work needs to be carried out at the intersection of organisational identity renewal and field declines to build a theory on the recursive relationship between organisational identity and institutional shifts. It would be advantageous to conduct this research over a longer period of time because the processes of identity transformation described here are ongoing and themes that emerged during this research warrant further investigation. This represents a promising research domain that warrants further attention.

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Thesis conclusion

My research was conducted at the intersection of technology, institutional fields and institutional field members. Specifically, it allowed me to investigate how technological change triggers shifts in the logics that define the classical music sector and the organisations that operate in it. The research setting is interesting because classical music performing organisations are currently adapting to digital technology and its social uses. This is challenging because, as nonprofit performing ensembles they don't all have the resources to invest in research and development and, while technological innovation is part of their history as organisations, it is not a central feature of their mission or identity; in other words, they are not technology-intensive organisations. At the same time, they need to develop new strategies and practices in response to the changing expectations of internal (e.g. musicians) and external (audiences/consumers and funders) constituents, who are adapting to the digital space.

I used qualitative research methods because I wanted to develop concepts and build theory through direct encounters with a range of actors in the focal organisational field. This involved a series of semi-structured interviews and observations across a diverse sample of nonprofit professional orchestras and opera companies, which allowed me to develop a view on how the focal organisations manage tensions that arise following exogenous shocks and the introduction of new practices and changing constituent expectations (internal and external).

My research highlights a number of anomalies in institutional theory, the most significant of which is the lack of attention that institutionalism affords technology as a source of institutional change and agency, in the form of new practices. This is somewhat surprising, considering the role that technology often plays in shaping organisational fields, field members and society more generally. I attempted to address this gap in the literature by first considering the disruptive effects of technological change on the logics that define organisational fields before focusing on how organisations respond to and participate in technology-induced logic shifts. In doing so, I developed a view on “disruption” that highlights potentially complex outcomes for organisations that perceive its effects to be both direct (e.g. loss of recording contracts) and indirect (e.g. changing audience behaviour and expectations, shifting copyright logics etc.). In other words, it emphasises how organisations contend with multiple shifting logics following disruptive innovation.

My survey of new practices within the focal organisational field investigated the role of organisational self-interest and agency, demonstrating how organisations influence logic shifts in a period of technological change. A novel insight to emerge from my research highlighted how established organisations colonised “spaces” within institutional fields that were left vacant by firms who failed to make the transition to disruptive innovation. In the case of the London Symphony Orchestra, this involved the setting up of a record label in direct response to the demise of incumbent record labels and the subsequent loss of recording opportunities for the ensemble. They did so by developing a new business model that involved importing existing processes and mechanisms from the traditional recorded music field and appropriating them to serve the changing needs of the LSO. Because this model diffused throughout the sector, it influenced the emergence of a new dominant logic to define how orchestras produce and distribute audio recordings.

This episode highlighted the potentially complex effects of disruptive innovation on organisations and institutional fields. For example, management at the London Symphony identified a sustaining feature of new technology at a time when it was disrupting the logics that define an important aspect of the organisation’s relationship with internal and external constituents. It emphasised potentially important links between organisational identity and technology, highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamic and recursive relationship between identity and technology; recordings represent an important feature of the LSO’s identity and it was through the prism of their identity that they developed new recording practices.

By viewing institutional change and organisational renewal through the lens of disruptive innovation, my research focused attention on organisational identity (insider and outsider perceptions), the complexities of which were evidenced in how orchestras and opera companies attempt to manage tensions that arise following logic shifts and the introduction of new practices. Paradoxically, a central feature of the focal organisations’ mission and, therefore, identity, is the preservation of something that is relatively old (classical music - a cultural medium which requires attention and a willingness to learn), yet they operate in a digital space that is in many ways antithetical to classical music culture. A material instantiation of these conflicting logics is manifest in how the Internet is both sustaining (it provides tremendous opportunities for orchestras and opera companies to advance their mission) and disruptive (it has destroyed social and economic arrangements surrounding intellectual property) to the focal organisations. Under these conditions, organisations introduce new practices that may challenge institutional norms, beliefs and values, thus

demonstrating the dynamic relationship between organisational identity (internal and external perceptions) and collective identity.

Field material demonstrated how the effects of disruptive innovation on established institutional arrangements results in the introduction of disparate practices across institutional members, because organisations have different perceptions of “disruptiveness” that are based on their particular needs. For example, some orchestras have taken advantage of web streaming technologies by developing innovative online video broadcasting services and in the case of the Detroit Symphony, this involved the introduction of a web streaming service that gives audiences in over seventy countries free online access to all of the orchestras concert performances. In contrast, some organisations have formed the view that the broadcast of classical music performances online is misguided because, unlike opera, orchestral concerts lack a strong visual element and audiences already have free access to recordings of much of the classical music canon (video and audio) through services such as YouTube. This, and other episodes, highlighted the individual needs of organisations that while sharing a similar purpose and mission to other orchestras often operate in very different circumstances.

My research also highlighted tensions between organisational identity and collective identity as organisations react to disruptive innovation and shifting logics in distinctive ways. For example, in responding to a general decline in classical music audiences in the U.S. and changes to the competitive field following digital innovation, the Seattle Symphony introduced new concert formats to attract a more diverse audience demographic. This strategy, which involved inviting musicians from popular music fields (pop, rock, rap) to perform with the orchestra, reflected a view within the organisations that classical music, as an institutional field, needs to reinvent itself in order to remain relevant in the digital age. As a counterpoint to this view, some members of the broader classical music community criticised the organisation when a local rap artist was invited to perform with the orchestra, suggesting that this was inappropriate behaviour for a symphony orchestra.

The new practices discussed in this research highlight the paradox of institutional determinism and self-interest; the focal organisations are seen to navigate a space between institutional conformity (they want to adhere to collective institutional norms, values and beliefs) and self-interest (orchestras strive to be distinct from other organisations with whom they compete for resources and consumer/audience attention).

Finally, field data demonstrated how organisations perform identity work aimed at managing tensions that arise between organisational identity and new practices following disruptive innovation and shifting logics. For example, a number of orchestras have negotiated profit-share media agreements with musicians to reflect changing constituents expectations (internal and external) in the digital space. These agreements were critical to the reimagining of organisational identity because they enabled internal actors to move beyond the rhetoric of identity change to develop and introduce new practices. Here, it permitted a number of orchestras to establish record labels and, in some cases, separate trading companies tasked with discovering and developing a range of digital projects that move beyond a simple communication tool to include new aesthetic forms (e.g. the Philharmonia's installation work in museums).

The focal organisations also perform identity work aimed at influencing shifts in the logics that define external perceptions of the organisation. For example, in responding to internal crises and changes to the external environment (technological change and a general decline in classical music audiences), the Seattle Symphony Orchestra established a new narrative to announce internally (to board members) and externally (to funders and audiences) that the orchestra was undergoing a process of renewal, the intended outcome of which was to become an orchestra for the community rather than a narrow demographic, which has traditionally been the case for symphony orchestras.

My study of classical music performing organisations represents an extreme and somewhat specific case of how organisations are affected by, and influence institutional change. Like universities and other mission-driven organisations, orchestras and opera companies generally receive the ongoing support of stakeholders and constituents, many of whom share in their mission aims. Their nonprofit status means that the focal organisations are partially protected from changing market conditions; they would not survive without subsidies. Unlike many established for-profit firms, who have to respond immediately to disruptive innovation or risk failure, the focal organisations have time to adapt to technological change. So, a possible limitation of this research is that it may not reflect the circumstances in which most firms operate; yet it has application in areas where nonprofits compete, such as health care, research and development, and education.

Because my research is relatively novel, it inevitably carries limitations that could be addressed in future study, particularly in terms of resources like time-span. This work would benefit from a longer research period, which would accommodate the inclusion of a wider range of research participants; although I worked closely with a number of arts officers at the

Arts Council of England, it would be useful to include other stakeholders in this research, including arts foundations, corporate sponsors and general patrons of the arts, who have a vested interest in how the organisations they support use respond to shifts in institutional logics and technology to advance their mission in the digital space.

Because the impact of digital technology on the focal organisations represents a series of ongoing processes as well as dynamic episodes, my research would benefit from a longitudinal approach, which would allow for a more detailed understanding of the outcomes of the new practices that orchestras and opera companies are currently undertaking. It would also allow me to further address some of the key issues highlighted in this research and the additional questions it raised.

Further research needs to be carried out at the intersection of discontinuous technological change, shifting institutional logics, and organisational change in order to build a theory of how actors are affected by and influence logic shifts. Of particular interest are questions that focus attention on the relationship between identity and technology. For example, how do organisations use their identity to make sense of new practices in response to identity-challenging technologies? This line of enquiry focuses on the recursive relationship between organisational identity and the collective identity of institutional fields, specifically raising questions pertaining to the paradox of institutional determinism and organisational agency – how organisations want to adhere to collective institutional norms, beliefs and values while striving to be distinct from other institutional members. Research that develops links between identity and technology has received a relatively small amount of attention in the institutional literature and is a potentially fruitful area of study.

A second area of research that warrants further attention concerns links between the related concepts of institutional work and institutional logics. Despite the dynamic and recursive relationship between these two concepts, a relatively small amount of research has been carried out that explicitly explores links between them. Within this research domain, I propose that more attention be afforded the role of technology in mediating between the purposeful action of individuals and organisations (institutional work) and changes in institutional logics. More specifically, I am interested in the question of how institutional workers use technology to make sense of new practices in an arrangement where old and new technologies coexist.

Finally, I propose that further research should be carried out within the research setting of the classical music sector. As classical music performing ensembles are organised exclusively as

nonprofits, the industry represents an extreme case and by conducting research here, it may be possible to isolate key features of analysis, which may then be applied in other settings. Furthermore, by developing a more detailed understanding of how these nonprofit organisations survive exogenous shocks, it may be possible to garner new insights into how for-profits respond to institutional change, particularly in an era in which many corporations are adopting aspects of nonprofit culture (e.g. corporate social responsibility) in an attempt to reconstruct their identities, and by extension their image in response to deteriorating external perceptions of these organisations. This represents a promising area of research that warrants further attention.

The new media landscape presents complex problems for orchestras, opera companies, and other nonprofit performing arts organisations. In an era in which instant gratification choices for culture and entertainment are ubiquitous, it is becoming increasingly necessary for these organisations to reimagine their identities or risk becoming further marginalised within the broader cultural landscape. A key challenge for classical music ensembles, as highlighted by Alan Gilbert (artistic director of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra), is to know how to change without compromising their ‘artistic soul’. Paradoxically, they must change in order to remain what they have always been.

The Hungarian conductor Iván Fischer has suggested that classical music organisations cannot survive in their current form. Based on a series of recent strikes, lockouts and even bankruptcies in the U.S. (e.g. The New York City Opera filed for bankruptcy in 2013 following six decades in operation), and increased deficits at a number of leading orchestras in Europe (e.g. Royal Concertgebouw), this prognosis seems to be well founded. Technology represents one aspect of what is a complex institutional milieu, but it affects many of the logics that define the field, not least the expectations of audiences, funders and the musicians who play in classical music ensembles. Technology plays a leading role in shaping the cultural, financial and social landscape within which classical music functions and if, as an artistic programmer at the Seattle Symphony suggested, technology does not become part of what orchestras and opera companies do, then they will face further cultural isolation and risk becoming irrelevant.