“Bridging Logics in Museums: The Role Of Educational Logic”

Abstract

The paper intends to contribute to organization studies by providing new insights about the role played by education in museums. Through a case study analysis, the study offers a deep investigation of how a minority logic (namely, the educational logic) could affect prevailing logics by bridging them, in rhetoric, practice and metrics. The work thus complements current literature about institutional logics, by focusing an under-theorized and under-investigated area of research: the effect of minority logics on organizational conduct. Moreover, this work tackles the assumption that institutional logics evolve in the long-run, by providing evidences that in the short-run fundamental dynamics take place, requiring a close-up and diachronically-sensitive observation. Implications for organization studies are discussed.

Key words: Organization Theory, Institutional logics, museums, education
1.1. Introduction

In their approach to organizational change, Greenwood and Hinings (1996) have stimulated future research to address the question of how “precipitating” and “enabling dynamics” interact in response to pressures for change (p. 1044). They interrogated about what makes organizations accept or disregard “archetypes” (templates for organizing), and reveal the need for approaches that will “permit the careful assessment of nonlinear processes” (p. 1045).

In this debate it is gaining growing centrality an analytical perspective, which tends to see organizations through the lens of the institutional logics that govern them (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). This perspective makes it possible to go beyond a simplistic view of the organization, by complementing the analysis through the investigation of the fragments (people, practices and values), say portions of the organization, which may even be in conflict with one and another, however, at the same time, may explain, as a whole, the behavior of the organization (Schneiberg, 2007; Schneiberg and Soule, 2005). This fragmentation reflects the field multiplicity of logics (Lounsbury, 2007) which influence the spread and variation of practice, as far as the specific structure of organizations (Fligstein, 1990).

This topic is important because it insists on the neglected and under-theorized issue of how institutional logics and organizations are mutually-influential. Recently, scholarly attention has been directed to understand, on the one hand, how the institutions work (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006, Lawrence et al., 2009); on the other hand, the role that organizations have in confirming, modifying or abandoning institutional frameworks (Drazin, Ann Glynn and Kazanjian, 2004; Hinings, Greenwood, Reay and Suddaby, 2004; Kraatz and Block, 2008).

Lately, prominent contributions have focused their attention to the analysis of the logic multiplicity (i.e. Zilber, 2011; Greenwood et al, 2010) and their impact on organizations. For instance, in his study of the Israeli high-tech field based on the analysis of two high-tech conferences held nationwide in Israel in the year 2002, Zilber (2011) highlighted the “differential constructions of the field, the political
dynamics of field multiplicity, and the role of social distribution in allowing field multiplicity” (p.1539). Similarly, in the study of the birth of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) - a new global regulatory institution born in 2004, Maguire and Hardy (2006) made clear that “discursive struggle” leads to the emergence of institutions. Lounsbury (2007) investigated the mutual fund industry, observing how trustee and performance logics that were rooted in different areas (Boston and New York) directed to variation in how mutual funds established contracts with independent professional money management firms. Greenwood and colleagues (2010) explained the influence of nonmarket logics on market behavior, by analyzing how Spanish firms downsizing is affected by family and regional state logics.

Overall, the tendency of the authors is to look at the relation (conflict or convergence) between multiple logics in the field, rather than the actual relations that can arise within organizations. The only exception is the article by Durand and Jourdan (2012), who made a distinction between dominant and minority logics and argued that adhering to the latter promotes the insurgence of new logics and entails different forms of control over the organizations. Following this reasoning, we believe there is the need to understand the micro-processes that act at organizational level to influence the multiple logics that are essential to explain the conduct of the organization. The emergence of the so-called “minority logics”, besides being themselves the result of an institutional development as other logics, may also exert an influence on the ‘majority logics’ that has to be acknowledged and investigated further.

Hence, if at the organizational level of analysis it is possible to explain the organizational behavior as a result of the intervention of institutional logics well-established and influential in the organization, so at the intra-organizational level of analysis it is possible to focus the alleged marginal role that minority logics have in changing majors logics.
Our work intends to contribute to this field of studies, by focusing on a minority logic, the educational logic, which emerged in the field of Italian museums. By investigating educational logic, the work tends to contribute to the study of institutional logics interaction, focusing on how a minority logics could bridge different logics, with reference to specific symbolic and materials issues, and thus reduce the presumed level of conflicts among them and ultimately result in a strong cooperation among people.

The organizational structure of the museums is traditionally represented as split into two portions: on the one hand the orientation to the preservation of the collections, on the other hand the management and administration of resources. The field of museums is hence considered a well-suited context for an analysis of logics’ multiplicity, as it shows tensions among different views of museums (inhabited by professionals) and because, recently, it has been under pressure for changing and surviving, in a period of increasing lack of resources.

The research has been conducted in the form of field work, and thus the structure of the article does not reflects its development. Actually, the investigation began by analyzing the three major logics which govern museums, namely relational, managerial and curatorial and their level of convergence/divergence. What emerged since the beginning of the work was a specific role played by education activities, albeit marginal. This role, as explained in the rest of the paper, relies on how educators (main vehicles of this logic) interact with others, on the peculiarities of their job, on the rhetoric they maintain.

The article opens with a theoretical argument of minority logics and organizational change. After offering an overview of the emergence of the educational logic as a minority logic in Italian museums, the paper explains how this logic is combined with preexisting logics in a specific case study, the MUSIL (museum of industry and labor) in Brescia, in the Lombardy region. Following the presentation of the case, the author provides an analysis of the bridging role played by educational logic toward relational, managerial and curatorial logics. The paper finalizes by discussing the implications of the findings for the institutional theory
and the contribution they offer to the advancement of institutional logics perspective.

1.2. Minority logics and organizational change

One central question entailed in the institutional logics debate concerns the mutual influence of institutional logics. Approaching the institutional logics as permeable and mutually influential elements is not so common. The analysis of the ILs, in fact, is traditionally linked to long-term processes, to transformations that take place at field level, and often focuses on the emergence, evolution and disappearance, rather than the array of combinations among them. This has led to use ILs as a lens to explain macro-processes of change, or to highlight historical contingencies affecting the structure or behaviors of organizations.

Implicitly, the Neo-Institutional literature has sometimes taken organizations as unitary, neglecting the internal complexity (variety, multiplicity) which can lead to heterogeneous responses of organizations to external change and stimuli (Ruef and Scott, 1998). Research in the field of institutional logics has complemented this work, illustrating how ILs influence the salience and scope of traditional relationships under study (this is the case for instance of the study about the determinants of succession in the publishing industry, in the famous study by Thornton and Ocasio, 1999), therefore, clarifying how the ILs have a direct impact on organizational practices (as in the study on the choice of downsizing among Spanish companies, and the role played by nonmarket logics in limiting that practice, conducted by Greenwood and colleagues in 2010).

Nevertheless, this stream of studies left unexplained the internal relationships among ILs, assuming a sort of sharp autonomy of each logic, and a relative stable nature of its attributes. In this regard, the research on ILs has mainly focus on the predominant logics, while scant attention has been paid to weak or minority logics, apart from some exceptions (Durand and Jourdan, 2012; Alexy and George, 2013).

Acknowledging the active role of minority logics lead to refining the research lens, in order to account for organizational internal dynamics, revealing the hierarchical layers reflecting different institutional logics, and focusing on more
subtle changes that may derive from the reciprocal influence that each institutional logic could exert over the other.

Once we recognize that ILs influence organizational conduct in a specific time span, we could then explore what determined or influenced (or what could prospectively determine/influence) that conduct, or its determinants. Analytically, it implies to disentangle the relations of power and to embrace a time-sensitive framework of analysis. In order to enucleate the possible relations, we propose the following analytical framework:

Fig 1 – stylized schema of potential influences of minority logics over organizational conduct

![Diagram](image)

Alternative influences exerted by minority logic(s) are represented in the form of arrows a, b and c. With the a arrow, we account for potential influence over the conundrum of majority logics; with the b arrow, we represent potential influence over the way in which majority logics affect organizational conduct; by arrow c, we account for potential direct influence of minority logic over the organizational conduct (as, for instance, in Durand and Jourdan, 2012).

While some authors argue that alternative conformity could even lead a minority logic to predominate over the rest (Durand and Jourdan, 2012), we pay attention to the array (a, b, c arrows) of possible influences exerted by minority logics, by investigating the way in which education logic (our focal minority logic) in museums recently arose and influenced museum practice, by affecting the relationship among preexisting majority logics (managerial and curatorial ones).
We claim that the role of minority logic may not be strong enough to directly influence organizational behavior (arrow c), but can be influential on other logics, which are more likely related to organizational practice (arrow a), or eventually on the magnitude or the scope of the conduct derived from ILs.

It is not possible, a priori, to rule out that there are minority ILs (at least at a given time, and in relation to other more influential ILs) which exert influences over other logics, thus leading to new and unexpected organizational behaviors or, retroactively, to enlighten details of the observed conduct. This brings up a more general and epistemological point: our observation of the ILs is inevitably conditioned by the events that organizations face. Those events trigger specific logics and exclude others that contingencies do not call into question. Put differently, events strongly contribute to the placing (the mapping) of logics, their hierarchical stratification, and contingent power of influence they take (Hoffman, 1999; Munir, 2005).

In the view put forward here, observing internal dynamics of ILs allows to tackle different under-investigated and under-theorized questions. First, understanding organization as ‘an emergent property of change’ (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002: 570), and not the contrary; this means accounting for open-ended micro-processes. Secondly, it offers the opportunity to observe not only intentional managerial action, but also the constitutively ‘always already-changing texture of organizations’ (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002: 570), and thus focusing those internal dynamics that could shape the direction of change (Zilber, 2002).

1.3. Educational logic in museum: chronicle of a ‘minority logic’

The museums have always been considered ‘special’ organizations, as characterized by being simultaneously oriented to survival - in terms of fund raising and therefore of management of financial resources - and the delivery of very specific products and services. This duality of purpose has garnered interest even
among institutionalists, who have highlighted different museum approaches (DiMaggio, 1991) and evolutions (Oakes, Townley and Cooper, 1998). More in general and for a long time, museums have attracted attention from sociologists and organization scholars which have explored the heterogeneous nature of these cultural-market organizations (Alexander, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999), pointing out peculiar tensions among purely cultural beliefs and needed managerial requirements.

Our attention towards education in museums comes from the observation of its increasing recognition at the international level, as a discipline which defines the core functions of museums (and other cultural institutions as well). This emerging recognition, we argue, is fruitful also beyond the scope of sectorial studies, and offers the opportunity to better understand museums as organizations, in the light of neo-institutional approach. And it is therefore of particular relevance today understand whether and to what extent the claim of a specific educational practice, which itself includes specific values, methodologies and objectives can affect the life of museum.

Nowadays, especially in some countries, museum education has taken on the characteristics of a real discipline that involves specific skills and expertise, slightly different from those provided by curators and teachers. As far as audience expectations evolve, so the need for ad hoc professionals for education increases; audience is nowadays intended beyond schools, and includes also adult persons, families, people with special needs, just to mention few examples.

In this new scenario, the acknowledgement of museum as a place of education for all has gained increasing attention in policy makers, scholars and gave rise to specific professional roles, conducing to the formation of the category of museum educators.

Logic of education

The 'public' function of Italian museums – that is, the orientation toward ‘interpret and exhibit’ (Weil, 1990) – has been often invoked and evoked, as if it were natural and obvious. But it is not so, and certainly has not always been the case.
Although it may seem unthinkable today a museum that does not declare this vocation, in fact, the history of museums in Italy bears witness to a controversial relationship between collections and audiences. In particular, although the public value inherent in the care of the heritage was noted and stressed since the '800, it is only recently that the importance of didactics and, more generally, museum education have become highly widely recognized. This is not only limited to Italian museums.

The first public museums in Europe were born for a limited audience, composed by art students, connoisseur, merchants - and their educational function was closely related to ‘artistic training’. Only in the early twentieth century, and under the stimulus of the museums of applied art, it is clear that a popularization of culture, albeit rudimentary, expresses the need to bring large groups of people to the museum, and thereby initiating a series of interventions in favor of a proper cultural mediation (panels, captions, etc. ...).

The drive to a museum education grows mainly in the United Kingdom, where, on the initiative of pedagogical theory of Friedrich Fröbel - "education through play" - it has been the tendency to use the museum spaces as areas of learning. In Italy, however, the romantic culture has increasingly affirmed the primacy of conservation on dissemination, and aesthetic contemplation on pedagogy (Da Milano and De Luca, 2005). So, for example, an illustrious Italian art historian Roberto Longhi stated: ‘The end of the museums is therefore in high sense aesthetic culture, and not didactic. Contemplative and not pedagogic’ (Ferretti, 1987).

In the '60s and '70s orientation to teaching and to the education coincided with a greater openness of museums to schools, but only to so-called guided tours, a view of education limited to young people - in most cases children. And so, despite the development of the Academies of Fine Arts and the increasing attention to the history of art in schools, the gap between education (limited to schools and ‘places of learning’) and museums has for a long time widened (De Luca 2007). Thus, despite the debate on the so-called 'forum-museum’ (recalling the museum as a place for debate) or ‘museum-laboratory' introduced by D. Cameron in the 70s had echoed even in Italy, the prevailing view sees the museum as a 'collection of works of art,
objects, artifacts and value of historical and scientific interest' (Encyclopedia Treccani).

Broadly speaking, there is a substantial fragmentation of experience in the field of museum education in Italy. If, on the one hand, there exist and develop a number of important initiatives (Da Milano and De Luca, 2006), on the other hand, it has not emerged a clear organizational framework for operators, institutions and visitors in the understanding of what the ‘museum education’ is, and what options actually offers. Compared with the curatorial discipline, for example, the didactics suffers some obvious limitations, confirmed by the sector regulations. In the Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape (the main source of legislation in the sector) services like "guidance and educational assistance" are reported in Article 117, among the services for the public that "may” be established. In addition, the article refers to services that are not necessarily publicly administrated and that, in practice, are often entrusted to private external parties, because it is implicitly assumed they are non-core activities for public mission (this configuration has been introduced in 1994 through the law Ronchey, n. 4/1993, and substantially holds until today) (Gremigni, 2001).

Among the empirical studies that more closely have investigated this issue in Italy, we recall the work led by Solima (2000, 2012) who, through a comparative analysis carried out in two phases, in 1999 and repeated in 2011, addressed the perception of museums by the public. Insightfully, the perception of museum-as-a-temple (stressing both the conservative nature and the distance from daily life of audience) remains largely prevalent, with over 40% of responses, and this very high threshold remains stable in the first and second survey, despite numerous legislative measures and changes occurred in over the last few years. A second aspect emerging from these surveys concerns the perception of the museum as a laboratory, which

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1 Retrieved on march 2013.
2 To have a more detailed account of the debate about the inclusion of education services among the potentially-outsourced activities see Gremigni, 2001.
amounted to the average value of 13.8% of the words-associations, with a value of 8.4% among the population aged 15-24, ideally the target on which should be mostly obvious the effect of such museum configuration.

A further confirmation of the apparent marginalization of education in museums come from analyses of the labor market and the profession of museum educator. Institutional initiatives devoted to the recognition of the profession have seen a significant growth over the last ten years, with interesting results. Among those, it is worthy the Charter of Museum Professions (merged into the Museum Professions – A European Frame of Reference, ICOM, 2008), developed by Italian Museum associations in 2004 and approved by ICOM in 2006 (Conference of Pesaro), in which, for the first time, the role of museum educator was recognized as fundamental for museum organization. For professionals of museum education, the survey conducted in 2006 by ISFOL revealed a potential trend of employment, given the scarcity of their presence in museums. In addition, other studies have recognized that the need to expand the service of education is widespread, but always subordinate to the most pressing issues, such as custody, scientific research and fundraising (ECCOM, 2010).

Two last substantive issues recall the marginality of education in museum management. The first concerns the actual financial commitment of the institutions. The second concerns the legal recognition of museum educators as professionals. Concerning the first point, it is remarkable that the expenses for education in museums are estimated being no more than 10% of the total expenses (Federculture, 2012). Similarly, the recent trend of Public Administration - ever more widespread in last years, due to financial constraints - to outsource the education services, retaining low (or even no) royalties testifies to an increasing inability to adequately support such a function, as repeatedly invoked. In terms of professional recognition, there have been calls for a definitive recognition of the role of the museum educator. Among these is the bill no. 3214/2012 on the establishment of a National Register of

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3 Isfol - Institute for the Development of Vocational Training of workers - is a national research under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.
Educators of Museums. The bill has not gained interest, and to date there is no a specific legal recognition for museum educators.

Despite these weaknesses, the logic of education has nevertheless continued to establish itself as a set of beliefs and methods, cared by a professional community, which is increasingly evident to public, as well as to the scientific community. A clear confirmation of this evolution is the specialization of museum education, in the sense of a continuous specification of approaches in relation to the characteristics of the museums. An example of this trend is the development of the document "Guidelines for the organization of educational services in science museums," in 2011 (Celi et al, 2011). This document was elaborated with the autonomous initiative of the National Association of Scientific Museums.

1.4. Methods

Actually, the identification of an educational logic, its centrality in the life of the museum, its interdependence with other essential organizational functions have not been in our minds at the beginning of the work. Initially, indeed, our focus was to understand which of the logic governing the museum had prevailed when deciding whether or not to apply for museum accreditation process initiated by the Lombardy Region in 2003. The first interviews, instead, clearly shown a climate of cooperation that has marked the time of analysis of the accreditation process, and the application process itself.

Hence, this study did not begin as a study about educational logic. Rather, it grew out of an inquiry into the decision processes used at the MUSIL regarding the accreditation process, but what emerged was a story about educational logic, and its role in bringing together different logics.

So, our research was conducted to understand whether the high level of cooperation reported by the director, the curator and the manager, during the early interviews, was due to a particular logic. Interviews, direct observation of life museum and analysis of available data has allowed us to understand that the
decisive factor was the museum didactics, intended as educational logic that permeates the entire museum, influencing the prevailing logics.

In order to investigate the role of educational logic we used a case study analysis (Pettigrew, Woodman, Cameron, 2001), since it offers the opportunity to create organizational knowledge about a specific topic where existing theory and empirical research are scanty (Gibbert, Ruigrok, Wicki, 2008). In particular, we adopted an inductive method, in that we became increasingly aware of the pervasiveness of educational logic, and few pre-existing general categories were known (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). These categories refer to our knowledge about institutional logics in museum and the concerning literature (theoretical and methodological).

Methodologically, we were interested in process explanation (Mohr, 1982; Langley 2009) as we aimed at accounting for the diachronic pattern of logics’ merging and combining, rather than observing a pre-determined relationship between independent and dependent variables. Consequently, our focus has been placed on full narrations of events and daily life by persons working in the museum, allowing for very broad personal descriptions and portrayals of museum.

Case study approach

As we were interested in how and why educational logic influenced major institutional logics in museum, a case study approach seemed to be appropriate. Case studies, indeed, “are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed” (Yin, 2003: 1). This choice allowed for a detailed account of organizational micro-processes and in-depth analysis of different perspectives hold by professionals involved in museum activities.

In collecting data and interpreting emerging results, we adopted an interpretative standpoint about organization (Scott, 2003; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2009). By doing so, we stress that the focus of our attention is on how actors experience institutions and organizations (Gephart, 2004), that is how subjective
experiences such as social and organizational roles, routines, and patterns of interaction, become typified and incorporated in the organization structure and perception.

*Case study selection*

The MUSIL – Museum of Industry and Labour of Brescia (Lombardy region, Italy) – is a project promoted by the Luigi Micheletti Foundation (private entity), through a long preparation started in the ’80s and continued in the ’90s with the first collections of items (the first item was bought by Luigi Micheletti on the 5th September 1989).

The choice to analyze the MUSIL comes from some methodological issues. The first concerns the fact that it took part to the accreditation process initiated by the Lombardy Region (Regional Authority – Culture Department) in 2003. Accreditation is a process of recognition with which the Region, based on national guidelines, checks the meeting of certain requirements in museums that apply for: requirements regard the legal and financial autonomy, the presence of specific infrastructural facilities, a minimum amount of opening hours, the presence of specific professionals, the implementation of conservation, research and exhibition tasks. The process has provided over the years 2003, 2006 and 2008, every museum in the region, public or private, the chance to apply for accreditation. The accredited museums have preferential access to regional public funds and benefit from a sort of 'quality mark' in the public opinion and perception, from operators and the audience.

Our goal was to find a museum in which it was evident the decision-making process behind the decision to apply or not for accreditation. In this way, we wanted to focus on the internal debate that preceded and followed the formal request. This requirement was not easy to observe on a statistical basis, because it would require a thorough direct analysis of each applying museum organization, that were more than 200 in 2003, more than 120 in 2006 and over 30 in 2008.
For this reason we ask regional offices responsible for accreditation for advice. The regional offices, in fact, play a crucial role in the accreditation process, because they respond to the questions of the museums, support museums in the preparation of the application, and finally carry out inspections and assessments that determine the judgment of Accreditation (positive or negative). Moreover, the person in charge of accreditation has always been the same, thus establishing over time a "relationship of trust with all regional museums". For this reason, we asked this person to select museums that in her view had witnessed a non-formal process of application. By non-formal process, we intended an application connoted by internal debate among the different professionals working at the applicant museum, as reflected in continuous dialogue between museum director and the Regional offices (requests for clarification, document exchange, signaling of concrete problems).

The head of the office then selected a shortlist of three museums, from which, once verified the willingness to collaborate in the research, has been selected the MUSIL.

*The MUSIL*

The MUSIL – Museum of Industry and Labour – is a multi-venues museum, designed since the late eighties, driven by the Foundation ‘Luigi Micheletti’, an important center of research and documentation, that purchased in 1989 the first specimen of the collection. The Micheletti Foundation was established in 1981 by Luigi Micheletti, an entrepreneur from Brescia with an interest in the history of Italian industrialization and an omnivorous curiosity that took him years to collect thousands of books, posters, photographs and oral testimonies. After a long incubation period during which the Musil has expanded its collection, an initial turning point was in 2000 when it has been undertaken a feasibility study on behalf of the Regional Authority of Lombardy, with the aim of realizing the project to develop the Museum and complete the work of collecting and documenting lasted many years. In 2001, the Municipality of Brescia provided the Tempini former metallurgical plant to the headquarters of the MUSIL. In June 2002, the agreement was initiated with the consequent integration of the Iron Museum of St.
Bartholomew (outskirts of Brescia), the hydroelectric museum in Cedegolo (Vallecamonica), and the accessible repository of Rodengo Saiano (Franciacorta) in the system MUSIL (we consider it a single museum and not a System of Museums, since the different venues share the owner, the aims, the organizational structure and costs\(^4\)). On 11 March 2005 was signed a Framework Agreement for the creation of the Museum of Industry and Labour, by different public or public-owned entities (such as the Regional Authority of Lombardy, the Province of Brescia, the Municipality of Cedegolo, the Municipality of Rodengo Saiano, and others). On May of the same year was founded the Musil Foundation, with the task of coordinating the activities of museums and constructing the new headquarter, which has not been built up, to date.

Although it was born from a European conception of museum and labour role in modern society, the issues being examined in the museum are aimed in particular at the local community. The history of industrial development is represented by a wide variety of materials, with more than 3,000 items exhibited, which refer to last two centuries. The contents of the collection include machines, large-sized objects related to the history of technology, labor and the environment, as well as archival and documentary sources on the industrial history of the twentieth century and the evolution of communication and printing techniques (with about 100,000 volumes and 15,000 heads). The buildings, former plants, reflect the traces of local industrial history, preserving its cultural heritage.

The MUSIL currently includes the following venues:

- **MUSIL in Rodengo Saiano**, in the region of Franciacorta, a visited warehouse of 4,000 square meters which houses several exhibition areas including: The warehouse where the machines are located, with more than 2,000 industrial pieces, referring to various productive sectors; permanent exhibition dedicated to cinema; spaces for offices and classrooms activities; laboratory for transferring movies from tape to digital; functional spaces, divided into three blocks, with entrance hall, wall for

\(^4\) This is also the formal definition of museum adopted in the accreditation process.
projections and multimedia installations, multi-purpose rooms for conferences, exhibitions and concerts, and space used as a local technical and mechanical workshop, and finally a display of large specimens which also serves as the facade of the museum.

• Hydroelectric Museum, located in the former hydroelectric power plant held by Enel in Cedegolo - Vallemmonica. The building covers an area of 2,660 square meters, is owned by the City of Cedegolo but was assigned with a loan of 99 years to the MUSIL Foundation. Beyond the set-up, highly interactive and sensory (spatially and thematically divided into entrance hall, the rooms of dams and spheres, the turbine hall, and finally "the tree of electricity") in the museum there is an area devoted to didactic representations with experiments and demonstrations, bar-cafeteria, offices for staff and a store.

• Iron Museum, housed in the historic forge Caccagni of St. Bartholomew, on the outskirts of Brescia. Born in 1984 from the initiative of the Foundation of Civilization of Brescia, the museum houses a laboratory that shows the historical development of hydropower and the stages of the artisanal making, with particular attention to environmental, economic and social territory. The tour is developed in different spaces, with a temporary exhibition hall, a video and conference area and classroom for educational activities.

With approximately 10,000 visitors per year, the Museum is experiencing a congenital financial trouble to ensure a balanced budget. In fact, despite public funding, the budget records contained losses since the first year of operation. It should be noted, however, that the public-entities expected contributions have been uneven and uncertain, despite the contractual agreements.

What emerges from the data of financial statements also report that the Foundation has developed MUSIL with the public and, in particular, the role played by the Ministry of Research and Education: Based on a three-year agreement, the Ministry grants museum, as well as other research institutions, a contribution of € 100,000 each year. The inclusion of MUSIL in the Ministerial list occurred as a
natural consequence of the previous presence of the Foundation Micheletti among beneficiary organizations. The relationship with other public bodies was first governed by a Framework Agreement in 2005 and later on in the Statute of MUSIL, since contributing institutions became participating members of the Foundation. In this sense, it is clear that the nature of MUSIL, originally born as a private initiative by a desire to Luigi Micheletti and his successors, was transformed and became increasingly linked to the public sector.

The application for accreditation was launched in 2008 with the birth - or reopening in the case of St. Bartholomew - of the museum. Before this date, the Museum of Iron was already recognized as a museum collection. MUSIL initially aimed to be credited as a museum system, pending the opening of its headquarters and the separation of the peripheral venues. With the delay of the constructions work and so the lack of the ‘center’ of the system, the MUSIL has been recognized as unique museum, with three sections. Today, however, seems to prevail the need to make more autonomous individual museums: the open challenge in this regard is to work because of accreditation requirements are met for each museum venues.

According to the director, the reasons for the application for accreditation were substantially related to the need to acquire legitimacy nationally and internationally, and to motivate those professionals who over the years had invested a lot of energy in the project MUSIL. This is confirmed by the spread enthusiasm which accompanied the application process. Additional expected benefits reported were the easy access to calls for funding issued by Regional Authority.

*Interviews, observation, archival data*

We conducted semi-structured interviews to different respondents involved in museum activities. At the very beginning we interviewed the director, which had been identified as the person who had followed the museum project from the beginning, even co-opting other professionals.

This two-hours and open-ended interview with the director, at the outset, was aimed at accessing his understanding and views of the ‘accreditation issue’
which was the core of our empirical investigation. Rather than seeking to standardize responses, our purpose was then to gather *new elements* and to take into consideration *traces* of influences exerted by specific logics – logics well known in advance: relational, curatorial and managerial. This standpoint lead us to prefer an open-ended interview, with general questions, long talks around each subject, reshaping the direction of the interview (King, 2004; Cassell, 2009). We did not develop, ex ante, any grid, apart from our institutional logics framework (reported in fig.2), which guided us in the interpretation of interviewee’s concepts. Then, our research emerged and progressed during the period of analysis, and in particular on the base of this first in-depth interview (something similar is reported in McCabe, 2007).

*Fig. 2 – major institutional logics in museum*

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<th>Curatorial logic</th>
<th>Managerial logic</th>
<th>Relational logic</th>
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<td>Aesthetic and historical value</td>
<td>Financial control</td>
<td>Relations</td>
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<td>Source of legitimacy</td>
<td>Reputation</td>
<td>Balance sheet/budget</td>
<td>Audience</td>
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<td>Source of authority</td>
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<td>Basis of strategy</td>
<td>Philology</td>
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<td>Logic of investment</td>
<td>Minimize risk for heritage</td>
<td>Minimize resources</td>
<td>Maximize activities</td>
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</table>

*Source: our elaboration*

Retrospective interviews (see, for some antecedents, Isabella 1990; Dutton and Dukerich, 1991) were built around a critical event – the accreditation process – both as an area of interest and a pretext to contextualize individual experiences, and let the individuals assume an active role, talking about things they did and perception they had, and not general answers about ‘desirable responses’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Flanagan, 1954; Chell, 2004). To ensure consistency and narrative continuity, we selected key informants (Daft and Weick, 1984; Kumar, Stern, and Anderson, 1993) who had personally experienced the accreditation process. They were contacted by the director, first, and then by the researchers.

Interviews took place face-to-face, with two interviewers - a senior and a junior – in order to have different perspectives and power relations among
interviewee and interviewers (Cassell, 2005; Lawthom, 1998). Each interview has been recorded, and transcribed within 24 hours, and details - such as facial expressions of approval, doubt, conviction - have been noted during the interview, in order to account for visual cues and small utterances (Stephens, 2007: 211). Each interview was conducted through an interview guideline, focusing on museum story, interviewee profile and accreditation process experienced by him/her, and lasted from 45 to 120 minutes. To minimize cognitive bias interviewees were asked to present facts, then to account for their personal background and finally to report impressions and evaluations (Huber and Power, 1985). Two main elements support the decision to conduct retrospective interviews focusing the accreditation process: the application for accreditation has been a high-involvement activity for the museum and the interviewed persons, so that interviewees should be able to recall it accurately (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986); effects of application/accreditation process are generally long-lasting, and may be referred to or evoked by interviewees in recent decisions (Tulving and Pearlstone, 1966)5.

Interviews have been conducted in the place of work of respondents; this was particularly fruitful, because the location allowed for a detailed account of daily work and a better description of concepts interviewees exposed during the talk. In this sense, context had an active role (Herzog, 2005). Moreover, the interviews implied a tour in the museum that allow us to gain insight about the general process discussed in the interviews (Burns, 2004).

We conceived interviews not as isolated sources of data, but complemented them with archival documents (financial and planning reports) and direct observation (on-the-spot investigations). Triangulation of data (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003) has been ensured by the following process: each relevant issue emerging from interviews was confronted with reports, press releases, other museum

5 Discussion about application for accreditation has been fruitful, because it allowed to talk about many issues and mixing ideal/symbolic arguments with concrete facts and numbers. For example, the requirement of opening hours, involving a schedule of 5 days per week including weekends was easily associated to symbolic issues (the importance of being open) and concrete problems 'in the location of Rodengo Saiano, given that 80% of visitors focuses on the weekends and the schools have scheduled visits, it becomes therefore counterproductive to keep the site open with very high costs of utilities and little response in terms of visitors').
documents, and notes taken during inspections and tours. Multiple respondents were chosen in order to detect potentially idealized responses, sometimes present in retrospective interviews (Schwenk, 1985). We focused on verifiable actions, and stressed the correlation between declared beliefs and concerning behaviors (Golden, 2002). We asked colleagues to review our findings and conclusions as the study progressed.

We rejected those elements that did not find overall support from triangulation of data, thus increasing the credibility, accuracy and internal consistency of our emerging findings (Langley and Abdallah, 2011). When we had the chance to read archival materials (such as projects, plans and promotional documents) we related them to specific words, constructs and impressions emerged in interviews.

We interviewed 7 respondents over a total amount of 15 members (including one secretary, and six temporary volunteers), theoretically sampled (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to represent the different logics governing museum: the director, who is in charge of the relational logic; the curators, in charge of the curatorial logic and the administrative officer, who is in charge of the managerial logic. Then we focused on educators.

Fig. 3 – list of interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pier Paolo Poggio</td>
<td>Director of MUSIL and Micheletti Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>René Capovin</td>
<td>Person in charge of Communication, Cultural activities planning and international relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michela Capra</td>
<td>Person in charge of education (Iron Museum - Brescia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabio Ghidini</td>
<td>Person in charge of IT systems and website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Guerrini</td>
<td>Person in charge of education (Machine Store - Rodengo Saiano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniela Poetini</td>
<td>Guide for visitors and person in charge for management (Hydroelectric Power Museum - Cedegolo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coding and categorizing

Coherently with grounded theory research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994), two researchers coded data, by splitting raw materials, transcriptions and notes and by independently observe patterns and recurrences through reading and rereading all the material. Each researcher coded data by focusing on three basic points: what constitutes the ‘educational logic’ emerging from analyses; how educational logics influenced majority logics; which is the nature and what are the attributes of those influences.

In line with our theoretical focus, we devoted attention both to ideal and material aspects of such influences, in order to ‘explore the interplay between them’ (Zilber, 2002: 239).

Following grounded theory processes (in particular, Goulding 2009) we coded findings searching for key words and phrases which seemed to be insightful. Then, we subsumed coding results in categories, and re-discuss categories and personal memos in order to derive higher-level categories and relate codes to them.

1.5. Bridging logics: the role of educational logic

Relational logic

Each museum is a complex matter, given by the dense network of internal and external relationships, between people, with the territory and with the public. This complexity creates new roles, with the presence of dedicated people - formally or informally - to building and maintaining these relationships. This is also the case of MUSIL, which over the years has developed a series of relationships with different actors. The type of activities and relationships that have been established over time operate on very different levels, from contacts with the local community to the relations with international institutions. In particular, the efforts of MUSIL are directed to support the activities of:
- Communicating the mission, image and value the museum to visitors and the community;
- Relating and promoting the museum with public institutions and funders to search for support in projects and cultural activities of the museum;
- Relating and promoting with institutions and museums internationally;
- Relating with associations, organizations already on the territory (including other local museums);
- Relating with companies and entrepreneurs in the area, to promote collaborative projects as well as funding;
- Relating with schools and teachers to ensure a steady flow of requests;
- Relating with the local community, neighboring communities and former employees of the plant of Cedegolo (such as the Association of Friends of the Museum).

Relational activities are supported in two ways:

1) Institutional communication: participation in competitions and meetings, promotion and 'traditional' communication tools. In this case there is a coordinated effort between locations in order to convey the image of an integrated MUSIL. The activities have therefore originated from centralized functions of MUSIL.

2) Direct relations: human relations and personal contacts, especially with regard to the relationship with the territory. In this sense, the individual branches of the MUSIL operate in relative autonomy, especially some key people involved to maintain direct contacts.

There are several people that in MUSIL play a role that is part of the relational logic of the museum. To understand how the activities of people who work for the MUSIL fall into a logical rather than another is, however, necessary to make a premise: because of the condition of insecurity and lack of economic resources, there are no well-defined roles and boundaries are sometimes unclear, leaving room for overlap. This is a limitation that was highlighted by all respondents:

"In reality we are all a bit 'all, then we exchange part of the job" Fabio Ghidini

"There are no jobs if not formally" Michela Capra

"As is organized MUSIL, as they are organized almost all Italian museums
specialization is impossible. you look after a number of things ..." René Capovin

"People will have to adapt, so they do also something else .." Pier Paolo Poggio.

That said, it is possible to identify individuals whose role involves the development and maintenance of internal and external relationships to MUSIL. The museum's director, Pier Paolo Poggio, is the person who coordinates the main relationships with institutions and government agencies, partners and sponsors, and not least the public and the local community. Its activity is closely linked to the concept that the museum and its mission, which is to "gather knowledge and makes it available." This knowledge is the knowledge contained in the industrial and artisan artifacts and materials collected. Poggio refers to it in these terms: "These stories seemed to us beautiful and little known. Such stories are not told. We believe it is important to communicate." In this sense, the greatest criticality was to be able to effectively communicate the value of the cultural offer of MUSIL. This is the biggest challenge of the museum and one of the aspects that engages Pier Paolo Poggio firsthand. "This case is almost unique. Yet we have not been good at communicating. Here are the people, there is the continuity of human capital, intangible heritage. Yet this is not considered culturally relevant, in the sense that is perceived as part of the ordinary life, of the local economy not of the national culture (...) The culture was and still is mainly conceived to be a beautiful painting, and to sustain culture is not something related to industrial heritage. So you can find people ready to help in restoring a church, but do not maintain this dimension of the material culture of the area".

The relationship with the other museums in the area was very important, especially at the beginning. Around the end of 2006 was launched a project to create a Brescian museum system, funded by the Ministry of Education and the Province of Brescia. In that phase, strengthening links with other cultural institutions for the purpose of creating a network in the area was one of the objectives of MUSIL, that tried to lead the system. However, the project never took off, and right now the priority of MUSIL is to cope with financial difficulties and management of its venues.

To ensure the survival of the museum were also strengthened relationships with companies and entrepreneurs in the area, with which it is sought to work
together especially for the rental of museum spaces for events and conferences. These activities have become increasingly frequent in recent times especially in Rodengo Saiano and Cedegolo. The Director Poggio deals with this type of activity, which, however, are not without drawbacks in terms of cost for the museum: "There are growing demands of diverse use of space between them. From the artist who seeks to show his / her items, to the company who wishes to make a demonstration of its products. we are trying to satisfy them as much as possible, not because of money (what we gain is less than what we spend), but because it makes the museum living. (… ) it’s good for the relationship, not good because it means that we need to employ people to assist the business".

René Capovin is the person in charge of developing the cultural projects of the Foundation and look after the communication of the museum. Communication is mainly intended as "enhance the presence of MUSIL especially at higher European networks, and secondly, to liaise with local realities. Rather than the 'Department of Communication', I would say that it is the 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs". Capovin takes care to maintain institutional relations at the international level in several ways: participating as a representative of the Foundation in the jury Micheletti, visiting museums participating the prize, liaising with the various museum directors and secretary EMA (European Museum Academy). He also works at the local level, as in the promotion of cultural activities in collaboration with the film club 'Beyond the image' of Rodengo Saiano and the organization of a theater project with schools nearby. Efforts seem to be winning, but not without difficulty: "We are quite rooting in the town but it is not easy. It is a small city and the museum is seen as a kind of spaceship planed there to drain money".

In addition to Pier Paolo Poggio and René Capovin, other people in MUSIL deal with consistently maintain relationships with a variety of actors. This generates sometimes overlapping roles, as in the case of Camilla Cremonesi, responsible for guided tours and employed in Rodengo Saiano: she maintains the relationships with schools and local communities. This is confirmed by the words of Fabio Ghidini, according to which "especially Camilla was the last year the interface with the public and schools. From the point of view of the human relationship is very good". The same goes
for Michela Capra, curator of the Museum of Iron in San Bartolomeo. She is in charge along with her colleagues of maintaining relationships with schools and the North District of the City of Brescia, with which the museum has initiated an educational project.

In the case of Daniela Poetini instead it can be said that the relational role over time become one of the predominant activity of its job in Cedegolo. Although not officially responsible for maintaining external relations at the museum, Daniela Poetini is definitely the person, due to her personal relations and contacts with local authorities. "Daniela Poetini has a great relationship with the territory. This is a great resource: meeting people, administrators, companies, and so on. Maybe this is a treasure that is not seen immediately, but we need people like that" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

The Museum of Cedegolo had initially met some resistance from the community as it was perceived as an institution rather than a museum immersed in the local community. As pointed out by René Capovin: "We lacked perhaps a rooting in the local dynamics: MUSIL is networked with local institutions, but it had not the ability to forge stronger relationships with community organizations (such as associations, groups of citizens) of the town. This has meant that MUSIL is perceived very much as an exterior institution, so that people do not perceive it as a resource. This is something that we have in mind". In this sense, the contribution of Daniela Poetini was crucial: "Daniela is the most important resource we have to tackle this limit, we intend to face in the coming years"(René Capovin).

Daniela Poetini in particular deals with, among other things, to maintain contact with members of the Friends of the Museum, which brings together retired people from Enel and Edison, people who in the past had worked on the plant of Cedegolo and still feel part of that story. "They come down to me and tell their story. They see a piece of iron and explain why it exists, how it worked... something that we lack. They go into detail: tell the life of the plant and also tell the life of the equipment".

According to Daniela Poetini maintaining relations with them is extremely important: "They are very willing to tell their story, however, they must be looked after. If you organize initiatives they gladly participate but they must also be involved in many ways. They need to be contacted, they expect the museum adapts to their available hours".
… they must feel, however, that the museum is also theirs, or they give up and do not participate. This is the relation with the local people”.

Apart from the members of the Association, there is a constant effort to maintain contacts with schools and, most of all, with teachers: “I have personal contacts with local teachers, in Cedegolo, Sellero and other neighboring towns, so that if I have proposals I can send directly to more active teachers.. the best strategy is to go there, into the school, talk with teachers”. This approach is replicated towards elderly people, which are mainly members of the Association. “They have no email addresses, so I usually call them by phone, I use the dialect so they feel more emotionally involved”.

In this sense it is also important to keep a network of relations with the surroundings, that involve even local associations. To promote museum, thus, means to have “a network rooted in the community, a web of personal connections. What was missing at the beginning was a knowledge of those who already used to operate in here. We discovered and still discover associations that have ideas, projects… it is important to know what already exists. We develop project with them, we do not overlap, but use the knowledge that already exists and develop it in common”.

In this continuous dialogue with external parties it is reported to be relevant the request for feedbacks after educational activities. These feedbacks, collected through questionnaires, are particularly appreciated by teachers, because they perceive the chance to improve the quality of the service.

The relation with surroundings implies also specific tasks and skills for guides. “Many students, and even teachers, do not know much about ValCamonica, and so they ask many questions, beyond the content of museum. After visit, they usually ask ‘where could we go right now?’, so the guides need to be prepared about the context, the petroglyphs or other scientific museums”. But relation with locals is also critical, because of the traditional industrial culture, which leads people to a certain skepticism in the face of a cultural - and seemingly ephemeral - project. “Let’s say that someone sees the museum as a useless thing. A waste of money, according to them, because funds (especially if public) should be addressed towards industry, then plants – because they produce profits - not culture”.

Managerial logic

The relational and managerial logics are, in practice, inevitably intertwined. Every relational attitudes implies or derive from a managerial decision, as for example relation with donors drives management and vice versa. This is particularly true where public relations with the external parties is strictly related to economic survival of the museum. Management of museum mainly regards:

- Administration and Accounting;
- Personnel management;
- Coordination activities of the three museum spaces;
- Management of revenue and the cost of heating and maintenance of premises;
- Definition of target visitors;
- Definition of the mode of communication of the offer to the target audience;
- Agreements with partners to attract visitors and increase the accessibility of the museum (in particular with the outlet stores of Rodengo Saiano and the public transport company).

Pier Paolo Poggio is the reference point for the MUSIL as regards the aspects of management. The Director shall preside at all meetings and is in constant communication with the representatives of the individual sites. There are several people who are concerned with the ordinary life of the premises. As previously indicated, due to lack of resources do not exist very defined roles. All workers refer to Poggio for the most important issues which may relate to opening, press releases, technical problems related to utilities and failures, educational activities and accounting for revenue, and everything that falls in activity out of the ordinary (such as 'rent space for events, exhibitions, conferences). Giovanni Tampalini deals with the financial statements of the Foundation MUSIL: he is the responsible for the administrative and accounting aspects. Tampalini has also developed the statute and oversaw the establishment of the foundation, in its preparatory phase.

At the time of establishment of the Foundation was created a board of directors, whose members were appointed by the founders and promoters on the basis of contributions. “The Board is responsible for making decisions concerning the
management of the museum. Giovanni Tampalini has an administrative delegation and presides together with Pier Paolo Poggio ordinary activities: the living costs of management and ordinary expenses. However, is the board that makes strategy and addresses. Then Dr. Poggio and I execute it. There is a general trend, then Poggio is the general manager, a bit 'as if it were a CEO, he is signing on the ordinary, then sometimes I sign too. All decisions are still related to strategic decisions taken by the Board of Directors over the years. Then everything is condensed in the budget, where there is a lot of transparency" (Giovanni Tampalini).

Pier Paolo Poggio is also responsible for the management of the museum staff and the coordination of the three sites. These two aspects in particular have some problems, arising from the scarcity of resources. First, since there is no real salaried staff of MUSIL (except for 3 people), everything is outsourced and labor relations are on an occasional basis. This is a serious deficit for the museum, which instead aims to have a continuous relationship over time: "We focus a lot on continuity even if we are forced to insecurity, but we realized that it takes a long time to train people. But when we are forced to let them go away, it is a disaster" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

One of the most critical issues for MUSIL is the cost of heating, inevitably linked to the opening days of the museum. "One of the tricky points are the fixed costs of this structure, we have some important costs for heating and cooling, terrible for us because it is very difficult to sustain" (Pier Paolo Poggio). This is true for all three locations MUSIL, but in particular for Rodengo Saiano that has an architectural structure not designed to be a museum. The high heating costs have a major impact on the activities of the offices, which are forced to close during the colder months or reduce days open to the public: "The heating in the warehouse is crucial because we cannot have the guided tours in January and we place them in the spring" (Stefano Guerrini). Same goes for the premises in San Bartholomew: "We have reduced opening hours for the costs of heating, too expansive: since there are no resources to pay for utilities and heating we are forced to keep open only in the warmer months, from April to October" (Michela Capra).
The overall economic sustainability of the museum is critical, given that "revenue tickets are little more than symbolic" (Pier Paolo Poggio). Ancillary activities such as rental space for corporate events and conferences provide some revenue but are also a source of expenses for the museum: "the return is minimal because they are activities that require a strong commitment of the staff. In Rodengo especially, having the collections at hand, for security reasons, we cannot rely on someone other than our staff. We did some things, not many, with an economic return, a thousand Euros, but you cannot go much beyond"(Pier Paolo Poggio). This causes the MUSIL is in a state of great dependence on membership fees and public and private funding. The situation is precarious because the partners decide each year whether and how much to contribute and do not always allocate public funding for the museum: "This makes it even more random the life of the museum because we have no certainty" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

There is no a person in charge of the marketing of the museum: "At this moment we have no resources available to it. It is an issue that we know to be important, but we do not invest in this because it costs"(Giovanni Tampalini). In general, the majority of visitors come from the schools. The venue of Rodengo Saiano has however identified other target visitors, related to its very different position: the museum is actually located in a warehouse inside the mall Franciacorta Outlet Village. "The targets are four: the local community of Rodengo Saiano and schools; workers, entrepreneurs, and the 'visitor with no quality' of the outlet mall: the person who is shopping and would spend an hour of his day there at the museum. To reach these targets was our most ambitious challenge. So far it is still to seek"(René Capovin).

The museum aimed to reach the general public of the outlet mall to attract new visitors: "Our idea was to draw an infinitesimal percentage of that public to have quite significant numbers of people who maybe do not usually visit museums. So we decided to keep low the prices, make policies in collaboration with the outlet stores to invite people to come. It seemed to be a cakewalk! We thought: people are already there, you just have to convince them to do 100 meters more. But we failed"(René Capovin).
Even in relation to the lenders the problem seems to be to find a language appropriate and effective. This particular aspect was highlighted by Fabio Ghidini: "We lack a little know-how, not so much on the content of a project rather in the form of presentation of a project. Like the statistics, or the type of content that the evaluators analyze. Hence in this we are actually lacking. Demonstrating with numbers where you want to go, with some statistics and expected results … who reads our projects finds something that could find in a history book, maybe original, with ideas, but you know, packed not so well".

**Curatorial logic**

The curatorial logic is closely linked to the mission of MUSIL, which is divulgation, "*but attached to documentation*" (Pier Paolo Poggio). The MUSIL is characterized by a double identity: research and dissemination. The museum "*is not only a place where educational activities and collections are displayed. It is a place where scientific research, internally cultivated, is exposed*" (René Capovin). In this sense, the research activities are pursued constantly from the curator – person in charge of collections. The curator is the architect Daniel Mor, who has followed the evolution of the museum and the collections from the beginning. In particular Mor works at the site of Rodengo Saiano. The role of Daniel Mor is to deal with all aspects of the organization of the exhibition, conservation and cataloging of the finds. This work is constantly in progress, given the amount of material and documents in the collection of MUSIL. "*The Museum of Rodengo was born as a visitable storage, but mainly as a warehouse. Now we are trying to make it even more visited. Only recently, we labeled the items. The curator himself moved objects, even jumbo, as to create thematic islands, although the initial purpose was to maximize storage of objects in space, without any exhibition purposes*" (Fabio Ghidini).

This aspect, together with that of safety, it is one of the main objectives of the work of Mor, who is responsible for the daily care of the machines and artifacts. His approach – which comes from his role - it is very oriented to conservation\(^6\). "*The

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\(^6\) We conducted a long visit at the site of Rodengo Saiano with the architect Mor. The interview was conducted essentially walking while he was showing us the space, the items. The personal reserved nature of the curator has
curator is a conservative. The role is very typical and specific, as it requires specific knowledge. As I've seen in other museums, curators are people very focused in what they believe is a museum... and you cannot change their mind. So for them if the museum is full or empty, it is almost the same. I do not say that they do not care, but it is not among their priorities to make heritage accessible here" (René Capovin). As curator, Mor is understandably jealous sometimes of the findings, upon which he spends hours and energy every day. "Consider that the conservator is a person of great quality and has a lot of knowledge, but it is very jealous. Because for him a machine, a finding is to be preserved" (Pier Paolo Poggio). Very similar words are also used by Fabio Ghidini: "He is very jealous of the objects...because he placed and preserved all the machines that you have seen. So from that point of view is a bit 'jealous', but – let’s say - it is his nature” (Fabio Ghidini).

**Educational logic**

**The emergence in practice**

In spite of the marginality of this logic in the existing theory (see above), the MUSIL showed that educational function is of fundamental importance. The main practical reason, which allows us to observe it, is that the guided tours with schools represent the majority of visitors to the museum. And indeed school visitors have been continuously mentioned by interviewees, highlighting the importance of maintaining relationships with teachers and to improve the educational offer. In the words of the director of the museum "the education is looked after constantly... We are trying to increase the offer of the workshops, which are starting to have some feedback. Organizing the workshop, see the materials you need, see the contents, this is a point in which we work together" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

That education is a priority is also proven by the fact that the few available resources are focused on the development of this area to the detriment of other investments: "Having a great promotional campaign investing 30 or 40000 euros to have
few visitors more, seemed to us, due to the resources we had, useless. We decided to save the money to build up a teaching plan and train guides, design an itinerary and gather machines of a certain type ... gradually we made small museum installations also in the warehouse" (René Capovin). The same applies to the site of St. Bartholomew, where educational activities are at the heart of the museum: "We managed to get contributions to get a nice workshop for doing activities with schools, complete the museum exhibition with a nice plastic … this project lasted three years and called into activity the museum" (Michela Capra). In this sense, it should be stressed the importance of teaching activities as they ensure the achievement of certain funds, as in the case of the museum of Cedegolo where the company Enel delivers consistently contributions for visits combined with its plant of Edolo.

Main characteristics

People who are concerned with the educational activities of the three museum spaces are:

• For the Iron Museum of St. Bartholomew: Michela Capra, helped by Samantha Margoni and Irene Zorzetti.

• For MUSIL Rodengo Saiano: Stefano Guerrini, Camilla Cremonesi, Fausto Clemente, Massimo Morelli and Silvia Zinchetti.

• For Energy Museum of Cedegolo: Daniela Poetini, Simona Rivetta, Nadia Gelmini, Alina and Barbara Cavestro Valentini.

In particular with regard to Cedegolo guides refer to the cooperative Inexodus, which has contracted tours and was already active in the area prior to the opening of the museum in 2008. The guides were formed with the activities of this cooperative with visits to the central Edolo, with which they are combined, 80% of visits to Cedegolo. In Rodengo Saiano instead the reference point of the educational team is Stefano Guerrini, who cares, however, to emphasize that "we are a close-knit team, we do meetings where we talk about the teaching program (...) However, it is a lot of teamwork, also for temporary exhibitions. For example, when there is to move a
machine we try to decide all together in which context to put it, in which position” (Stefano Guerrini).

Daniela Poetini works in a teaching team too, even if it is a different team from the one she formed in 2008: "In 2008, when the museum opened I had some colleagues with whom I had formed a close-knit group and there was like a combination of guided tour before to the plant and then to the museum or vice versa. We were three, we used to start from the museum and then we used to go to the plant, with the same guide throughout the day. Only one discourse, which encompasses both the museum and the plant. And I think it was very important, because you can deepen the discussion without having to return on the same topics. At this time, however, things are a little changed, my colleagues changed jobs, and guides from cooperative were employed. They are very well trained about technical information in the plant, but the museum is much complex of a plant, in my opinion" (Daniela Poetini).

Different are her priorities. For Daniela Poetini is essential being able to communicate the cultural value and not only technical-scientific information. All must be conveyed in a language suitable for different age groups. "There is a cultural part of our service, in my opinion much more extensive than technical knowledge about machines. If the plant offers many insights into the technical side of industrial story, maybe more interesting for technical students, here the aim is to involve the children in the nursery school: you have to have a different preparation. The children are young and you have to be more prepared, more available" (Daniela Poetini).

The priority for those responsible for educational in Rodengo is to make the collection accessible as possible through an exhibition divided into themes that can reach an audience not only of experts. This was also a major challenge due to the characteristics of the space of Rodengo Saiano and the number of finds to be reordered. "At first the museum was very confused. As my role is also to write the texts for guided tours of course I had to create a thread. So we decided to divide the museum in this way. But it is a job that is not finished yet, because many things need to be reviewed, there are still a few things to move and check"(Stefano Guerrini).
However, there are difficulties of a more structural nature that have slowed the start of teaching activities: the opening of the headquarters of Rodengo for example, "the museum had not the resources to enable an educational activity, a full educational program" (René Capovin). This point was also highlighted by Fabio Ghidini: "Basically we are ready only since last September. Before actually there was a collection but it was just a collection of exhibits, with nothing of the museological path.

**Conservation vs education**

Traditionally, the curatorial logic, linked to the need for conservation, is opposed to educational logic which has as priority to divulge the collections to an external audience, putting in some way 'at risk' the integrity of the findings. The MUSIL in this sense is not an exception, since there is a dialectic between the priorities of the guides and those of curator: "If something becomes an object of teaching he (the curator) cares [Daniel Mor, ed.] Maybe it's something he has restored … so there is a dialectical conflict, which is fine unless it becomes a fight. The perspectives are opposed. He tends to keep the findings at their the best status of conservation, while educators strive to let each item available for the audience, allowing people to touch it, and to play with it"(Pier Paolo Poggio).

Occasions when the curator suggests not to use a particular finding are, according to Pier Paolo Poggio, frequent. "For example, our most popular exhibit is a Cinemobile of the '30s, a truck restored with enormous efforts which projects images in the squares. There's a conflict quite often, even for the use of this machine in the museum, because anyone who sees it wants to open the door, go inside, and take it out. This is an edge case. It happens quite frequently. We have hundreds of thousands of drawings, a large collection of animated cartoons. At the time was necessary to make 12 per minute, so it means a huge amount. This would be nice to show, make known, but some are fragile, and then we use them to involve schools and the younger children or preserve them? This problem is constant I would say, because one thing is the virtual interactive museum, an account is a museum that provides the historical objects of authentic relics. This is a contradiction inevitable and you have to find a compromise. The most beautiful things are
the most difficult, but on the other hand, if we put everything under a glass, people cannot see... well, maybe a specialist but not the common people”.

Fabio Ghidini confirms the ‘Cinemobile issue’, explaining that "the simple fact that we have placed it in that position, that seems like a trivial thing, is the result of compromise". He also confirmed that in many cases there is a 'veto' by the curator, “but then he changes his mind. Let's say he needs time to absorb things. For example when we needed to move machines in order to create thematic islands – so to avoid guides to make 500 meters back and forth to find items. The typical response of curator is "no, no, you cannot do", then, after some days, we find a solution. Sometimes we need to make compromises, but this is normal in our job”(Fabio Ghidini).

It's just getting on with little compromises that the logic of teaching and that of conservation can go hand in hand: "Of course the actual result, which is not yet final, is the result of compromise between the needs of conservation (and security problems) and the needs of the education... for example, one thing we are thinking about right now is trying to operate a linotype: this, however, should lead to a whole range of security issues. Even there we will seek a compromise between the objectives of education and security and conservation needs”(Fabio Ghidini).

The dialogue between curator and educators is constant, because when something deals with collection then "everything must go through him (the curator, ed.)” (Stefano Guerrini). In particular, Stefano Guerrini confronts with Daniel Mor for choices regarding the exhibition. The relationship has evolved over time and has resulted in a very positive dialogue, with only some minor difficulties at the beginning, "but I think this arose from the fact that the staff was put together in a short time and the curator, who used to work here for many years, did not know us ... so maybe he needed to spend time with us to see if we were reliable. But now I honestly do not find any difficulties. Also because he seems very open, when we ask him to move something or to review a few things in the path" (Stefano Guerrini).

According to Rene Capovin, Stefano Guerrini is "the person in charge of mediating, because besides being a guide, he is assisted by the curator in finding the best
way to calibrate the guidance and planning laboratories about the collections and materials that we have. He is the crucial person to merge the conservation and restoration duties with the provision of information and knowledge in the laboratories”.

In particular, Stefano Guerrini seems to play a key role in the relationship with Daniel Mor, in a constant mediation between preservation and dissemination. What characterized Stefano’s work is ‘very physical approach with the findings’, as way of interpreting objects. Something that he shares with the curator.

As a result, the educational approach of MUSIL, in particular in Rodengo Saiano, is very physical, "We have also invested a lot in the teaching using the findings and the machines. So when we do, for example, the educational workshop on typography we tend to use both the movable types of the 800s and the historic machines. (...) Thus, the relationship between teaching and conservation tries to go hand in hand"(Stefano Guerrini).

"We try to bring children towards working with machines, with collections. According to us, this should be the hallmark" (René Capovin). And this kind of physical -oriented teaching relationship is what brings the educators closer to curator, and the visitors too. So the vast collection available to MUSIL is its main source of advantage. "We must enhance our distinguishing characteristic that is: the fact that we have the collections. Even when we arrange laboratories, we try to focus on something that you cannot get to school. We seek for a physical relation between students and machines, and a typical example is the laboratory of typography. Mainly a result of Stefano Guerrini’s efforts, in the laboratory of typography every one is able to use the machines. Teaching is peculiar, more than preserving and exposing. We not only have to communicate the pieces to teachers, we need to do more, by also entering the collections in the learning process. This is the basis of our philosophy"(René Capovin).

This approach to teaching is also useful to stimulate the attention and curiosity of young visitors: "There is a very physical relationship in laboratories. This is also because we have noticed that when tell a guy who is working with a machine that
that machine has been working for 4-5 generations ago, he is much more interested" (Stefano Guerrini).

The attitude of educators of working with hands has been widely remarked as a common approach because it creates a bridge between these two ways of interpreting museum and its work: "These people (educators, ed.) have proven to have not only an attitude, I would say, theoretical but also to be able to 'get their hands dirty' and they proved to be able to handle the findings" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

This aspect clearly emerged during the interviews. "If the curator has to move a machine I help him willingly. Because I like to be on the field right to decide whether the machine is to be moved in one way or another, also as a matter teaching. I do not want arrive later, I want to be active at the time" (Stefano Guerrini).

"I would like to be there if it comes to move pallets, clean the machines .this facilitates a dialogue with the curator about concrete things" (Fabio Ghidini).

To ensure that a material knowledge emerges and is transmitted in an even more effective way, they are trying to engage in guided tours people who have worked for years with the machines on exhibition. "Our ambition would be to do workshops where not only teachers are involved: we want to pull in the technicians, workers who could add value, because they lived with those machines. We have seen that when we get, success is very different, even with the kids. Kids capture the difference between those who have learned on the books certain things and those who speak about something that come from thirty years of work. This is a work of human relations" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

In this sense, the teaching activities contribute to increase the intensity of the relationship with the territory, which is part of the relational logic that distinguishes the museum. This means to activate a series of contacts and relationships with associations and local authorities, former workers, artisans and laborers. "We always meet people like that in guided tours. For example pensioners: even though I'm doing the tour, they narrate and interact. So many of these people could be useful as narrators, and indeed we take contact with them" (Stefano Guerrini).
As interactive visits, guided tours encourage an intergenerational exchange, which is precisely the desire to transmit material knowledge from generation to generation. "When we saw the grandfather explaining to the grandson how he used to work with that machine for several years, brightening the face of joy, we saw that it was something that could become explosive" (Pier Paolo Poggio).

Thus the logic of education comes into play in the dichotomy research-disclosure, the dual spirit that distinguishes the MUSIL museum. Teaching in fact has a double profile: on the one hand meets the needs of conservation and research, and on the other hand helps to push the relational aspect of the museum, that is dealing with the public. Therefore allows to resolve the tension between research and dissemination, integrating different aspects. The data and information gathered from research are reprocessed for a visit or an educational workshop, "become part of what is said during the tour. The historical machines that for long time were simply stored, now become the objects at the center of the teaching laboratory. (...) Now, not only the machines are retrieved but we do research on them, and promote studies about machinery"(Fabio Ghidini).

Teaching contributes to the development of personal relationships with teachers and local communities, working toward an increase in the value of the collection, concretizing the mission of the museum, and attracting new visitors.

1.6. Results and discussion

Museums are experiencing major changes in expectations and internal reconfiguration (Weil, 1990; Ames, 1992; Skramstad, 1999). Through a case study analysis we intended to offer new insights about how change is produced internally, while acknowledging that external stimuli are relevant, especially when mirrored in values, practices, beliefs which we condensed in the term institutional logic. We started by focusing major institutional logics (ILs) which predominate the operation of museums. These ILs are: the relational, the managerial and the curatorial logic, which deal with specific views of museum – what it is (role, identity) and on which priorities it should be focused on (practice, activities). While accounting for their
relevance, profile and contrasting expectations and practices, in the case under analysis, we observed that a seemingly minority logic emerged in the confrontation with respondents – through interviews.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tab. 2 – map of logics emerged in the case study analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who embodies it</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Paolo Poggio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>René Capovin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniela Poetini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camilla Cremonesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier Paolo Poggio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giovanni Tampalini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curatorial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniele Mor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michela Capra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team in Rodengo Saiano:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stefano Guerrini, Camilla Cremonesi, Fausto Clemente,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massimo Morelli, Silvia Zinchetti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team in Cedegolo: Daniela Poetini, Simona Rivetta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadia Gelmini, Barbara Cavestro, Alina Valentini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team in San Bartolomeo:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michela Capra, Samantha Margoni, Irene Zorzetti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Communication of the mission, image and value of the museum to visitors and citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building and promotion with public authorities and financiers in order to gain financial support for the museum’s cultural projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building with institutions and museums at the international level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building with existing associations, institutions and informal organizations at the local level</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building with local firms and entrepreneurs in order to promote cooperation and gain financial support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building with teachers and schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Relationship-building with local community, neighboring Municipalities, former workers of Cedegolo powerhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Administrative tasks and bookkeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Personnel administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Coordination of the three museum branches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Monitoring of revenues and costs (heating and maintenance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Definition of target visitors</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Definition of communication strategy to address to each target range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drafting of agreements with partners in order to attract visitors/increase museum accessibility (Franciacorta Outlet and public transport company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Museum strategy definition (Board’s responsibility)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Plan and design of contents and methods of guided tours and didactic workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Design of exhibition itinerary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Bookings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Implementation of educational activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Keeping contacts with teachers and schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Research and refresher courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Narrowness of mind of part of the local population</td>
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<tr>
<td>● General lack of effective and coordinated communication activities in the area</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Expenditure of energy and resources</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Lack of know-how of presenting projects in an appealing way to authorities and potential investors</td>
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This logic, namely the educational logic, has been traditionally marginal in the representation of museums. Only in 2005, for example, the Charter of the museum professions - who found a its compliance at European level in European Handbook of museum professions (2007) - for the first time includes among the top figures of the person responsible for educational services, which has among its professional skills to "coordinate and develop educational services, arranging activities to promote lifelong learning and recurrent, social integration and dialogue with other cultures."

Despite this peripheral position, educational logic arose to be central in the formation and consolidation of a collaborative climate within the museum in the occasion of the accreditation process, which was the critical event we adopted as an instance to better observe personal positions of employees and indirectly let emerge their view about museum and its daily life.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Exemplary quotations referred to educational logic (educators and their work)</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Coding</th>
<th>Ascribing logic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work on the site</td>
<td>“These people do not only have a theoretical approach, they demonstrated they can get their hands dirty and deal with a machine”</td>
<td>Poggio (director)</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work on the site</td>
<td>“The same historical machines that some time ago were merely conserved have now become object of the educational workshops” (Research on finds and items - integral part of the didactic experience)</td>
<td>Ghidini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Shake hands of teachers, create a personal relation with them</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“When elderly people transmit knowledge to younger, that’s the value of what we do”</td>
<td>Poggio</td>
<td>Metrics/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Relational/Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“Museum is much more than a plant, it entails a cultural value”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Rhetoric</td>
<td>Curatorial/Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity/Planning</td>
<td>“The guide should be prepared to a total vision of the territory”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“It was important the word of mouth of teachers”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational/Managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“Last year I had a satisfaction because some kids who previously came with their class came back with their friends”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Metrics</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“With them I manage to form a group with whom I can plan”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial/Managerial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“If children are young it doesn’t mean you can improvise, indeed you must be even more prepared”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/Identity</td>
<td>“We want to create didactic itineraries on the territory”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“Involve primary school teachers in order to understand how to set workshops”</td>
<td>Poetini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational</td>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work on the site</td>
<td>“Dialogue on concrete things”</td>
<td>Ghidini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“We are essentially ready from September. Before there was just a collection of items … we had to work on it planning guided tours and workshops”</td>
<td>Ghidini</td>
<td>Metrics/Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/work on the site</td>
<td>“Guerrini is the person with most resources because besides being a guide he cooperates with the curator in order to best tare guided tours and workshops according to the type of items and collection we have. He’s the decisive person to make conservation and divulgation go at the same pace”</td>
<td>Capovin</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“We try to make children work with the machines, the real collection. In our point of view this must be the distinctive feature”</td>
<td>Capovin</td>
<td>Practice/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“Our attempt is to make items dialogue with the educational activity”</td>
<td>Capovin</td>
<td>Practice/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“We worked on building contacts with schools therefore now we start seeing results: now they begin to know us and the voice is spreading”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/work on the site</td>
<td>“I like to take the field to decide if that machine needs to be put in one place or another, also for didactic purposes. I don’t want to arrive afterwards, I want to be active in that very stage”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/work on the site</td>
<td>“At the beginning the museum was very confused. …I need to create a logical thread and that’s why we decided to arrange the museum in this way”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/identity</td>
<td>“We are doing research at the moment, it is related to some aspects of our work”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning/work</td>
<td>“We focused a lot on using machines and items in the”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
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<tr>
<td>on the site/identity</td>
<td>educational activities (…) Workshops are very physical”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice/Metrics</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work on the site</td>
<td>“We noticed that when you explain to a kid that he’s working on a machinery that used to function 4-5 generations before, he’s much more interested”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice/Metrics</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>“I met former workers, I’m building relationships with them”</td>
<td>Guerrini</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“Our ambition is to create workshops were there are not only teachers, we want to involve technicians, workers. We saw that when we manage to do this the success is much greater, also with kids – as they realize immediately the difference”</td>
<td>Poggio</td>
<td>Metrics/Practice/Rhetoric</td>
<td>Relational/Curatorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>“The educational approach is to make items available, let people touch them, let people do things”</td>
<td>Poggio</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Curatorial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The contingent centrality of this marginal logic has been hence deep-investigated, and has been confirmed in several ways: it influences the rhetoric and the practice of work in museum. In particular, it plays a role that we labeled bridging in the sense that it connects and let converge the major logics which govern museum. Hence, educational logic works at the rhetorical level, by spanning its vocabulary from managerial and relational-sensitive terms (such as cost control and promotion, openness and access) to curatorial ones (to respect the authentic nature of collections and recipients, to communicate contents which are philologically correct). Moreover, it bridges logics by connecting practices, as educators ‘get their hands dirty’ (resembling the work of curators), maintain and develop relations with local context (as director does), adopt managerial instruments and tools to coordinate, monitor and report their work and results. Finally, educational logic bridges logics by providing metrics that encompasses elements from different logics.

This role of educational logic has been represented through exemplary quotations, in which we coded main sentences and reported the ascribing logics, on which the educational logic draws.

The literature on ILs has explored different organizational dynamics in several areas over time (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton et al., 2012 for a review), often pointing out that the logics emerge and take form in the long term, albeit they are particularly influential on organizations’ conduct, as well as on their structure (Greenwood et al., 2010). A central question remain under-theorized: how do institutional logics emerge, evolve and change over time. This question lies on a more general epistemological approach, which see change as continuous and emergent, rather than sudden and sharp. Continuity and emergence do not imply any assumption of slow gradualism about organizational evolution, but simply tends to remark the texture of the different sources of emerging change (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002), the intraorganizational determinants of societal institutional logics (Kraatz and Block, 2008), and the internal diachronic combination of material and symbolic structures, which ultimately affect institutional logics (Barley and Tolbert, 1997).

The adoption of this perspective leaded us to pay attention mainly on institutional logics in action, rather than on their emergence (on the same point, see Zilber, 2002). Investigating museum as a complex organization, governed by a multiplicity of logics – some prevalent, some marginal – allowed us to observe how, in the short term (we cannot infer anything about the ultimate effect in the long run), marginal logics could play a role in bridging major logics.
The case under analysis revealed an apparently subtle role played by educators, and thus the influence of their logic over the others. These results offer different contributions to extant literature, as they point out a neglected area of analysis, related to the internal dynamics of institutional logics, and in particular to the influence that marginal logics could play over the major.

In the institutional logics perspective, this result points out the importance of observing in the short term how ILs work, in order to explain the overall array of possible determinants of observable outcomes. As in the case of MUSIL, where we better understand the role played by the educational logic, through rhetoric, metrics and practices, in the accreditation process. Symmetrically, this view allows to account for specific moments of convergence or divergence among institutional logics, albeit these moments could be temporary. Even if we assume that short-term dynamics are constitutively intermediate, indeed, this does not necessarily imply that they are not influential or irrelevant. Moreover, this focus could enlighten how institutional logics evolve, that is, change under the effect of minority logic’s influences.

The paper intends to contribute also to the recent literature engaged in the investigation of minority logics’ influence (see for example Durand and Jourdan, 2012), as determinant in organizational conduct. Actually, albeit we began by investigating the accreditation process, we cannot infer that educational logic has been determinant over it, but we observed its influence on the cooperation climate that has been acknowledged as effective in the application process for accreditation.

The results contribute also to museum studies, insisting on some of its ‘persistent paradoxes’ (Janes, 1997): to widen public without commercializing or debasing culture. The role played by educators in bridging rhetoric and practices among workers in museum confirms that educational activities should become central both in management of change and policy making, where regulators expect change to be shared and speed.

The work aims at contributing to research methodologies in organizational studies. We adopt a case study analysis in order to observe organization diachronically (Yin, 2003). Analytically, we separated institutional logics and coded their relations, namely the influence exerted by a minority logic over the majors. This choice is not without limitations: first of all, operationalization of institutional logics is controversial. When referring to persons who carry the values, beliefs, tools, methodologies we could misinterpret the phenomenon. Sometimes are
scripts or events that witness the existence and nature of some logics. We preferred to focus on persons, because in the museum organization their influence is, to our knowledge, predominant over means or specific events. In that, we found support in previous studies (Ruef and Scott, 1998; Scott et al., 2000). Another potential weakness comes from the methodology adopted: a case study in which we followed a grounded theory approach. This implied an interpretative effort, subject to problems of validity and generalizability (Gephart, 2004). Validity issue has been addressed above; generalizability problem is obviously present, and invokes further tests and analysis, with different methodologies to complement current results.

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