MULTIPLE ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES OF U.S. ART MUSEUMS

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ABSTRACT

MULTIPLE ORGANIZAITONAL IDENTITIES OF U.S. ART MUSEUMS

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The dissertation investigates whether having multiple organizational identities, as opposed to a pure organizational identity, leads to positive audience evaluations in the field of U.S. art museums. To this end, I constructed a longitudinal dataset of U.S. art museums for a 12-year period from 1999 to 2010 using three different archival sources: the *Official Museum Directory* (*OMD*), the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), and two art periodicals. There are three core findings. First, market intermediaries tend to reject exhibits in multiple-identity art museums because the evaluative nature of their work drives them to focus on a narrow set of candidates. Second, direct consumers favor art museums possessing multiple identities as they are on a lookout for a broad set of candidates that can meet their desire for gratifying leisure activities. Third, while market mediators' recommendations increase consumer demand in general, consumers for multiple-identity museums are negatively influenced by mediators' recommendations as they are apt to view the critics' reviews as a signal of the organization's increased commitment to a particular identity, which may be understood as going against their preference for diverse identities.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Shinwon Noh was born in Seoul, South Korea. She graduated from Yonsei University with a bachelor's degree in Business Administration in 2007. Upon finishing her undergraduate studies, she joined a Master's program at Yonsei University. She received a Master's degree in Management under the supervision of Professor Dongyoub Shin at Yonsei University in 2009. In August 2009, she left South Korea to join a MS/PhD program in the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. She received a Master's degree in Organizational Behavior in 2011 and a Ph.D. degree in Organizational Behavior in 2015, both under the supervision of Professor Pamela S. Tolbert at Cornell University. Shinwon will be starting her faculty career as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Management and Management Science at the Lubin School of Business at Pace University in September 2015.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The dissertation investigates whether having multiple organizational identities, as opposed to a pure organizational identity, leads to positive audience evaluations in the field of U.S. art museums. Throughout the dissertation, I use the term "pure-identity art museums" to describe the museums that classify themselves into a single category of art, and "multiple-identity art museums" for the museums that classify themselves into two or more categories including art (e.g., art & science museum, art & history museum, art museum & library, etc.)[1]. Identity scholars have long held the view that organizations may have multiple organizational identities (see Gioia et al. 2013 for review). However, a growing body of research has produced inconsistent findings as to whether multiple organizational identities are conducive to positive audience evaluations (Heaney and Rojas 2014; Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009; Padgett and Ansell 1993; Pontikes 2012; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al. 2003). The dissertation seeks to offer an explanation for the differing results by focusing on different aims of external audiences.

The dissertation consists of three chapters in addition to the introductory and concluding chapters: a history chapter ("The Co-evolution of the Conflicting Logics of U.S. Art Museums (1780-2010)"), a theory chapter ("Category as a Building Block of Organizational Identity"), and an empirical chapter ("Aim and Audience: How Multiple Organizational Identities Affect the Evaluations of External Audiences").

The main purpose of the history chapter is to provide an in-depth background of the research context. Multiple-identity art museums as well as pure-identity art museums have

[1] Further discussion on this conceptualization will follow in Chapter 2 "Category as a Building Block of Organizational Identity" and Chapter 3 "Aim and Audience: How Multiple Organizational Identities Affect the Evaluations of Multiple Audiences".

existed since the very outset of the history of U.S. art museums in the late eighteenth century (Alexander 1996). Therefore, the field of art museums provides an excellent setting for investigating the consequences of multiple organizational identities. I review the history of the field from the institutional logics perspective, and posit that multiple-identity art museums and pure-identity art museums originated from two different institutional logics (DiMaggio 1991; Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Drawing on historical accounts from various archival sources (e.g., books, research articles, news articles, etc.), I suggest that different social actors wielded power over the evolution of different institutional logics over time, ultimately leading to the rise and fall of multiple-identity art museums and pure-identity art museums in different time periods.

The theory chapter is intended to provide a theoretical background of the concepts of identity and category that constitute the core of the research question, and to show how the two concepts are directly interwoven. In so doing, this chapter offers a justification for the conceptualization of organizational identity as a set of categorical claims. Some identity scholars (e.g., Gioia et al. 2013) argue that the notion of category is not a meaningful basis of organizational identity because categories put a heavy emphasis on homogeneity among organizations belonging to the same category while ignoring distinctiveness of each organization in the same category. However, I argue that organizations do shape their unique characters using categories on different dimensions and at different levels (Glynn 2008; Glynn and Navis 2013).

In the empirical chapter, I analyze a unique, longitudinal dataset (1999-2010) of 324 U.S. art museums to investigate (i) whether multiple organizational identities lead to positive audience evaluations and (ii) whether the effects of multiple organizational identities on audience evaluations vary depending on the aim of audience. I expect that market mediators (those in a position to mediate between producers and consumers such as art critics) generally react more negatively to multiple organizational identities than leisure-oriented direct consumers due to the evaluative nature of their work. Taken together, I argue that the different aims of market mediators and direct consumers lead to the use of different lenses to make sense of multiple-identity organizations.

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CHAPTER 2

The Co-evolution of the Conflicting Logics of U.S. Art Museums, 1780-2010

Art museums often struggle to maintain a balance between the two contradictory goals of artistic elitism and democratic education. Zolberg (1984: 380) has phrased this contradiction as one of art museums deciding “whether to be palaces for the few or churches for the many; to be institutes for scholarly curiosity or fairs for passive spectators; to cater for the leisure of the elite or entertain the general public.” Using the perspectives of neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Tolbert and Zucker 1983; Scott 1995) and institutional logics (Alford and Friedland 1985; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012), this study reviews the history of American art museums in order to explain how these two conflicting goals have come to co-exist among contemporary art museums and what consequences follow from it.

An institution is a set of norms, values, and taken-for-granted assumptions about what is acceptable, appropriate, and legitimate (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Tolbert and Zucker, 1983). Building on this notion, logics scholars have argued that institutional logics can be understood as “the content and meaning of institutions” (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 100), which serve to link institutions and action. In this sense, institutional logics are cognitive rules and cultural belief systems that help actors to make sense of their world and engage in practical action (Alford and Friedland, 1985; Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012).

As Thornton and Ocasio (2008) noted, the aforementioned goals of artistic elitism and democratic education represent two distinct institutional logics in the field of art museums. Specifically, drawing on DiMaggio's (1991a) two ideal types of art museum—i.e., the *Gilman* and *Dana models*—, Thornton and Ocasio (2008) have described the two models of art museum as examples of different institutional logics. Briefly, the Gilman model is named after Benjamin Ives Gilman, the former secretary of the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) in Boston in the early 20th century, who emphasized the curatorial and preservationist roles of museums. The Dana model, in contrast, reflects the beliefs of John Cotton Dana, an early director of the Museum of the Newark Library Association, that museums are primarily educational institutions. This study refers to the set of values embedded in the Gilman model as the *aesthetic logic* and the set of values embedded in the Dana model as the *public logic*. According to the aesthetic logic, art museums are *object-focused*. Their primary mission is to collect and conserve high or true art. To this end, they aim to establish and uphold the aesthetic criteria for evaluating art. In contrast, art museums that follow the public logic are *visitor-focused* and their mission centers on education and exhibition. In recognizing the legitimate role of public taste, they have a broader and more democratic definition of art.

Table 2.1, which depicts the key characteristic of the two models, shows how they conflict with each other in several ways—perhaps no more dramatically than in the definition of art. In other words, these two models have fundamentally different views of what constitutes "art" and who are the legitimate creators and judges of this work. Advocating connoisseurship in the arts, the Gilman model maintains a very restricted view of art as "rare, timeless, disinterested, non-utilitarian, and qualitatively different from non-art" (DiMaggio 1991: 270). In presuming the existence of "true" art, a small group of aesthetic professionals is granted the organizational power to determine its quality. In contrast, the Dana model presumes both a wider array of art producers and audiences. Within the Dana model, the boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow and art and non-art become much more blurry. Following these distinctions, I assume that category-spanning art museums – those museums that house eclectic collections such as memorabilia and scientific instruments, in addition to the fine arts – hew to the public logic.

Drawing on historical accounts and archives, this chapter argues that different social actors during different periods wield different power on the rise of the aesthetic and public institutional logics. What results is the continual evolution of the two conflicting institutional logics of art museums. My research uncovered the phenomenon of the new aesthetic logic being institutionalized without completely displacing the previous public logic. Instead, with the introduction of the new logic in the field of art museums stimulating the evolution of the older logic, both come to co-evolve.

Specifically, I show the key role of resource providers (e.g., funders, donors, legislators, etc.) in introducing and solidifying the aesthetic and public logics over the past three centuries. I also illuminate how a shift in primary resource providers has led to the return to the public logic and—most recently—given rise to category-spanning art museums. Whereas previous museum studies have investigated the effect of a shift in resource providers on organizational activities such as exhibition contents (Alexander 1996a), this study explores the return of the older public logic with the change in funders. More specifically, the increase of external funders in 1960s has given rise to a form of museum that embraces multiple categories popular since the inception of the field of museums.

Based on the dominant institutional logic and organizational form of art museums at the time, I have divided the history of the field into four periods: 1780s to 1870s (the art museum as an entertainment organization), 1870s to 1900s (the art museum as an elite organization), 1900s to 1960s (the art museum as a professional organization), and 1960s to the present (the art museum as a managerial organization). Despite the opening of Peale Museum, the first public museum in the United States, in 1786, very few *art* museums existed during the first period. Still, I provide historical details of museums during this period as precursors to the art museums that began to appear after the Civil War. The major differences between these four periods are outlined in Table 2.2 which will serve as a main framework for this study.

THE BIRTH OF THE PUBLIC LOGIC:
MUSEUMS AS ENTERTAINMENT ORGANIZATION, 1780-1860

Most early American museums differed from European museums in following the public logic of being dedicated to civic enlightenment and public outreach. This was despite the fact that the very conception of art museum originated in Western Europe. While many European museums, including French ones in particular, were built on royal and aristocratic collections (Alexander 1996a; White and White 1993), American museums grew out of civic boosterism and cultural enlightenment (Alexander 1996a)—a history that naturally led to the evolvement of American museums into entertainment organizations.

As noted above, Peale Museum was the first museum in the United States. Occupying the space of the first building to be designed and built as a museum in the Western Hemisphere, it was founded by Charles Willson Peale, a painter, scientist, and naturalist. Another example of a museum from this early period was Phineas Taylor Barnum's American Museum. Originally known as Scudder's American Museum, Barnum bought and reopened it in 1841. These early museums differed from art museums that opened after the Civil War in two ways.

Public as Key Resource Provider

First, early museums differed from later art museums in that the general public was embraced as an integral part of the success of the museum. While most European museums were open to visitors only by invitation (leading them to be called a gentlemen's club) (Impey and MacGregor 1985), American museums were much more inclusive. For example, Peale, who considered his museum a "national university" for both the educated and uneducated, tried to attract the widest possible audience. In fact, the membership of Peale Museum drew from all social classes including presidents, congressmen, merchants, and laborers (Hansen 2008). Likewise, Barnum pursued the development of a museum where people of all classes and backgrounds could mingle (Kelley 2000). While the Peale and Barnum museums differed slightly in that the former served as a place for entertainment and the latter a place for education, both museums strived to become a place where people of all classes were welcome.

Eclectic Collections

Second, rather than one particular collection, they housed a wide range of collections. The precursors to these early American museums were the European encyclopedic museums in the sixteenth century called "cabinets of curiosities" or *Wunderkammer* (wonder rooms in German), which housed encyclopedic collections of objects. Originating from medieval church treasuries, these wondrous rooms were often founded by men of wealth and intelligence who had amassed a vast assortment of objects. During this era, it was uncommon for collections to be curated by professional scholars with particular specialties.

Rather than concentrating on a particular collection, the cabinets of curiosities encouraged the exhibition of a wide range of collections. For example, Nicholas Chevalier's *Wunderkammer* in Utrecht, Netherlands, featured antique sculptures along with a vast collection of bird and animal eggs. Also, in a letter that Gabriel Kaltemarckt, a German painter, wrote to the governor of Saxony in 1587, he stated that it was imperative for the governor to have three different types of items to form a *Kunstkammer* (an art collection in German). They were sculptures and paintings, curious items from home or abroad, and strange or curious animals (Gutfleisch and Menzhausen 1989). During this time, most art museums in Germany featured functional items. For example, among the nearly 10,000 objects that Elector Augustus had amassed in his Kunstkammer in Dresden in 1560, 8,000 were craftsmen's tools and scientific instruments. Natural objects were also popular items of exhibition during this period. Naturally, within these circumstances, the governor of Saxony was encouraged by Kaltemarckt to build an art museum for rare and unusual items.

"Perpetuating into 1860s the Wunderkammer tradition of curiosities for gullible, often slow-moving throngs" (Scherer 2013), early American museums such as Barnum's American Museum followed this European model. In addition to paintings, Barnum filled his museum with many other objects from the zoo and theatre. The Peale museum, meanwhile, exhibited botanical and archeological specimens. In fact, during this period, it was popular to combine fine arts with other forms of culture and entertainment within the museums. Remarking on the eclectic mix of collections geared towards education and entertainment, Skramstad stated:

> *If there was a distinguishing feature of American museums from the outset, it was their diversity. They might focus on one particular area such as art, history, science, or*

archaeology, or they might take a mixture of subjects, each represented by a mass of collection materials (1999: 110).

To understand how this type of museum development was possible, it is necessary to consider that the distinction between high culture and popular culture was not widely diffused among the public during the antebellum period (Levine 1988). The concept of highbrow versus lowbrow culture existed only among a tiny fraction of American collectors and connoisseurs who were familiar with European museums. Meanwhile, due to the public's wide-ranging and eclectic taste, genres that would be considered highbrow culture today were widely popular. For example, with the lower class audiences' predilection for Shakespeare and grand opera, the general public "tended to regard art exhibitions as little more than a form of entertainment or spectacle" (Wallach 1998: 3).

Implications for Contemporary Art Museums

Following the above review, most museums during the antebellum period were infused with the public logic—a logic still retained by most category-spanning museums today. During the antebellum period, with the support of a public audience critical for their financial success, most museums tried to attract large crowds by expanding their categorical boundaries. For example, when the Peale Museum displayed the bone of a mastodon, a large, extinct, elephantlike mammal, it attracted more visitors to the museum than all of the paintings of famous historical figures combined. Barnum also engaged in many antics to appeal to the public such as holding circus shows (Bailer 2001). In trying to entice large audiences and boost ticket sales, the mindset of early museum owners was closer to that of a business entrepreneur than an aesthetician. Taken together, these early museums laid the groundwork for contemporary multi-category art museums and their continued reliance on public support for their financial success.

BIRTH OF THE AESTHETIC LOGIC:
ART MUSEUM AS ELITE ORGANIZATION, 1870-1900

The Role of Elite in the Birth of the Aesthetic Logic

As shown in Figure 2.1, museums remained rare until the late 19th century. According to Figure 2.1, the total number of new art museums never exceeded five per year until 1870. As such, the field of art museum remained almost non-existent before the Civil War. However, several important changes in the field of art museums began to occur around 1870. First, there was a dramatic increase in the founding of new art museums. Figure 2.1 illustrates the sharp rise in the number of new art museums after 1870. Second, large-scale art museums began to emerge. It is noteworthy that three of the largest and most scholarly art museums in the United States—the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the MFA in Boston and the Philadelphia Museum of Art—all opened in the 1870s.

This chapter views the growth of art museums as the outcome of the cultural power of new elites[2] in the post-Civil War period. As DiMaggio (1982: 33) noted, "the distinction between high and popular culture, in its American version, emerged in the period between 1850 and 1900 out of the efforts of urban elites to build organizational forms that, first, isolated high culture and, second, differentiated it from popular culture." Ultimately, this form would be "the non-profit corporation, governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, who, eventually would delegate most artistic decisions to professional artists or art historians" (DiMaggio 1982). His

[2] I use the term 'elite' to denote what DiMaggio (1982: 40) described as 'class' or those "united by bonds of economic interest, kinship, and culture."

argument largely influenced Wallach's (1998) later interpretation of the early American art museum scene. According to Wallach (1998), the slow growth of art museums during the antebellum period can be attributed to the fragmented nature of the early American elite.

As DiMaggio (1982) noted, groups of elites are critical in establishing the institutions of high culture such as art museums because they have the social, cultural, and economic power to not only make a particular organizational form prestigious but also to make it endure through their patronage. Although an early group of elite Americans (that existed before the Civil War) aspired to build a high art institution like Louvre, they were too politically and economically divided (Jaher 1982). For example, when a group of businessmen proposed the idea of the New York Gallery of Fine Arts in 1844, the other upper class groups including bankers and stock brokers strongly opposed them, remarking that merchants "know more about pork and molasses than they do about art" (Wallach 1998: 17). This division within elite factions led to the failure to establish the distinction between true art and non art. In other words, during the antebellum period, economic and political factions among the elite and the consequently fragmented criteria for high art (e.g., what qualities make an artwork worthy of display within in an art museum) hindered the creation of art museums.

With the end of Civil War and the vast expansion of American economy, large industrial cities such as New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit formed that also quickly became centers of commerce. Among the wealthy individuals who emerged during this period of post-Civil War economic prosperity, collecting art became a popular hobby. With their accumulated wealth enabling them to collect European masterpieces, they needed a place to house and conserve their valuable collections. In this respect, wealthy individual patrons were the backbone in the rise of art museums.[3]

The Boston Model: Distinction between High Culture and Popular Culture

However, it was more than a hobby that pushed for a distinction between high culture and popular culture. Rather, it was an outcome of various political and social transformations at the time. The case of nineteenth- and early twentieth century Boston provides an important explanation for this, as the process by which the distinction between high culture and popular culture emerged in most American cities was largely influenced by what happened in Boston during this period (DiMaggio 1982). In his study of the creation of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the MFA, DiMaggio (1982) vividly described how the Boston Brahmins, a traditional Anglo-American urban elite group in Boston, embraced their aesthetic ideology which focused on a distinction between noble art and vulgar entertainment. According to DiMaggio (1982: 34), "the distinction between true art, distributed by not-for-profit corporations managed by artistic professionals and governed closely by prosperous and influential trustees, and popular entertainment, sponsored by entrepreneurs and distributed via the market to whomever would buy it, had taken a form that has persisted to the present."

Then, what led the Brahmins to push for cultural divisions and to define highbrow culture as distinctive during this period? Some historical accounts suggest that the ethnoracial political transition that took place in Boston in the late nineteenth century might have played a crucial role

[3] This symbiotic relationship still persists today as seen in the recent proliferation of private art museums. The number of small, jewel-box private art museums built by wealthy art collectors has dramatically increased over the last decade. They usually build museums close to their homes to house their private collections of extraordinary artworks and to offer a small group of visitors a unique viewing experience. However, they also face the criticism that they do not completely open their museums to the public while saving millions of dollars in federal taxes by donating art and money to their own museums (Cohen 2015).

in the emergence of the aesthetic ideology (DiMaggio 1982; Eisinger 1980; Hofstadter 1956). Ethnoracial political transition is defined as "the acquisition of formal executive office in a political jurisdiction by a member of a previously subordinate ethnic group that is now backed politically by a new, potentially durable working majority composed largely of or dominated by members of that group" (Eisinger, 1980: 5).

From the 1840s, Irish immigrants began to flow into Boston, as the city's rapid industrialization attracted cheap Irish labor. The Brahmins and the Irish immigrants shared little in common. For example, the Brahmins were mostly Anglo-Saxon Protestants, whereas the Irish had different ethnic origin and was predominantly Catholic. In addition, in Brahmin eyes, what the Irish working-class immigrants represented was quite unpleasant. Regardless of the Brahmin's uneasiness toward the Irish immigrants, the Irish began to emerge as a serious political force in Boston after the Civil War. For example, they elected one of their own, Hugh O'Brien, to the mayoralty in 1884. Also, of the 16 mayors elected between 1884 and 1979, 9 were of Irish descent (Eisinger 1980).

In response to the increased political triumph of the Irish people, many Brahmins wrote eulogies to the "old Boston" (Eisinger 1980: 30). For example, Charles Eliot Norton who played a crucial role in founding the MFA in Boston wrote in a letter in 1897 "I fancy that there has never been a community on a higher and pleasanter level than that of New England during the first thirty years of this century, before the coming in of Jacksonian Democracy, and the invasion of the Irish" (Eisinger 1980: 40), and expressed an uneasiness about absorbing "a people so long misgoverned … a race foreign to our own" (Solomon 1956: 12), referring to the Irish immigrants.

As strategic adjustment to this political transition, the Brahmins pursued another form of control – control in the cultural realm. Even though they lost their control of their political institutions, they attempted to maintain some control over the community by establishing cultural authority. For example, Barrett Wendell, a Brahmin who served as a president of Harvard University, wrote in 1902 “it seems to me that the future of our New England must depend on the standards of culture which we maintain and preserve here. The College, the Institute, the Library, the Orchestra … are the real bases of our strength and our dignity in the years to come” (Eisinger 1980: 40). In line with this, Eisinger (1980: 40) noted that the period between 1875 and 1895 was a “frenetic time of club-founding” because the Brahmins felt the need to construct organizations that could insulate themselves from the unpleasant new order. According to DiMaggio (1982: 40), “[T]he creation of a network of private institutions that could define and monopolize high art was an essential part of this process of building cultural boundaries.” All in all, the distinction between highbrow culture and lowbrow culture emerged in Boston in the wake of the ethnoracial political transition during which the Brahmins created high culture organizations, including the MFA, that would allow them to exercise some control over their communities.

Elite as Key Resource Provider: Cognitive Institutional Pressure

According to Alexander (1996a), whereas earlier museums such as P.T. Barnum or Peale were heavily dependent on the admission fees of visitors to remain financially viable, museums during this period remained largely dependent on wealthy patrons. Until the 1960s, most art museums were founded and funded by individual philanthropists and municipal governments. While individual patrons usually provided the money and collections, city governments offered the land and buildings. Often sitting on the board of trustees, individual patrons not only wrote large checks but also frequently donated artwork from their own collections. Of the two, individual patrons still exerted a far greater influence. For example, the municipal funding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was made possible because of the pressure of wealthy individuals on the city government (Gross 2010; Tompkins 1970).

These elite patrons influenced the cognitive dimension of an institutional environment—or the "taken-for-granted assumptions of the utility and thus appropriateness of organizational practices or forms" (Hiatt, Sine, and Tolbert 2009)—by shaping art museum as an aesthetic organization for high culture that they effectively distinguished from popular culture (DiMaggio 1982). Through their involvement in the everyday operation of art museums, they introduced the aesthetic logic into the U.S. museum scene. As they became more exposed to European masterpieces, they developed a more restricted view of art, a stronger aesthetic understanding, and less emphasis on public outreach. The emergence of elite funders, who helped to change deep-rooted notions of museums and art museums, thus represented a new status order and cultural hegemony.

Despite the explosive growth of American art museums in the late nineteenth century, the aesthetic logic had not become fully institutionalized until the turn of the 20th century. For example, the Boston Brahmins blended the public logic and the aesthetic logic when they founded the MFA, although it would eventually abandon its broad social mission in favor of aestheticism and an elite clientele within 40 years (DiMaggio 1982). In addition, unlike today, authenticity and originality remained marginal during the Gilded Age of art museums for evaluating artwork. Until the early 1900s, these early art museums focused on the collection and display of the replicas of European masterpieces for didactic purposes. With the American culture remaining under the strong influence of Europeans, almost every public art museum during this period exhibited casts and reproductions of European masterpieces. The American art museums strived to display the same collections as the European museums such as the Louvre and the British Museum. Even though the Americans had begun to explore their own aesthetic tastes, it is hard to view the field of American art museums as being fully built on the aesthetic logic during the Gilded Age because they still lacked their own professional aesthetic standards.

THE RISE OF THE AESTHETIC LOGIC:
THE ART MUSEUM AS PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION, 1900-1960

The Rise of Art Professionals: Normative Institutional Pressure

***Rise of art professionals in Western Europe*.** In their study of the evaluation process in the visual arts, Wijnberg and Gemser (2000) document how the field of visual arts in Western Europe underwent a significant change in the early twentieth century. From a peer-based evaluation system, there was a shift to an expert-based one that relied increasingly on art experts, including museum curators, art dealers, and professional art critics.

In medieval times, both the entry of artists into the market and the range of acceptable styles and themes for art were largely regulated by the guilds – i.e., associations of artisans who control the practice of their craft in a particular town (White and White 1993). After the Italian Renaissance, however, the Royal Academy in France took over the role of guilds. As an association of peers, the Academy began to exert a greater influence in judging the quality of a work of art, discussing and theorizing the technical and aesthetic issues associated with their art. Among them was Charles Lebrun, the rector of the French Royal Academy, who not only considered "classical and Christian themes…the only proper subject matter" but also took it for granted that "drawing is the probity of art" (White and White 1993: 6).

Eventually, however, the role of artists within Academies became taken over by art professionals such as museum curators, art dealers, and art critics. White and White (1993) explained that this shift in control was largely due to the Academic system's inability to generate sufficient economic opportunities for the increased number of artists. The previous guild system effectively regulated the number of licensed painters and controlled sales of artworks. However, in fostering the ideology that artists are learned men, rather than artisans, the Academy did not take economic matters (e.g., number of students to be accepted) seriously. As a result, there was a massive influx of average painters into Paris, which led to the decreased power of the Academy and the increased economic hardship for painters. For example, the prestige of the annual Salon was significantly decreased because the reward had to be spread over thousands of painters.

Despite this economic hardship facing artists, the Academy did not make further efforts to diversify markets or to increase buying public. The only art auction it held, the Hotel Drouot, primarily focused on old masters and antique objects. Under these circumstances, a number of ideologically-motivated art dealers who aimed to promote particular types of art effectively introduced a variety of art markets. This was possible because they were able to recognize the dominant taste of the market. Also, they realized the growing demand for art among laypeople. Since there was much larger production of painting due to the increased number of painters, more average consumers could afford buying it. They also focused on developing the career of an individual artist by guaranteeing regular salaries and cultivating specialized niche markets for the artist. As a result, commercial galleries owned by dealers gradually took over many of the Academy's functions.

With the increase in art-appreciating lay people and the greater demand for well-written art criticism, professional art critics began to emerge as important purveyors of artistic taste and gatekeepers of the art world, including artistic careers. The first art criticism in France appeared during the 1740s (White and White 1993). Most of the writers in the eighteenth century, however, were not professional. With the notion of art as a *learned profession* at the time in France, any educated man felt himself qualified to write on the arts. The publication of specialized art journals (e.g., *l'Artiste* in France and *de Nederlandse Spectator* in the Netherlands) dramatically increased during the nineteenth century. However, the profile of art critics remained diverse in the nineteenth century. According to White and White (1993), only 14 percent of 151 occupations held by 94 prominent art critics in the nineteenth century in France were directly related to art. The rest of them include professional novelists, historians, political scientist, and philosophers. Still, they became an integral part of the art world, because prestige accrued to artists that were recognized by these professionals. Eventually, at the turn of the century, emerged the perception that "winners [of professional recognition] are distinguished from losers" (Wijnberg & Gemser, 2000: 324).

Rise of art professionals in the United States. Art professionals became prominent in the art world in the United States as well at the turn of the century. As Skramstad noted (1999: 116), "[W]orkers in the museum field have ceased to be seen as dilettantes or amateurs and are now for the most part well-educated and trained professionals" in the twentieth century. Playing a key role in this transformation was the creation of art history departments in universities. Formalizing the discipline of art history catalyzed the field's structuration and the professionalization of art connoisseurs. After the first PhD in art was awarded at Princeton University in 1908, the number of art departments gradually increased (see Figure 2.2). The increasing number of art historians with advanced degree promoted the professionalization of arts-related occupations and the development of aesthetic standards within the field of visual arts.

With the professionalization of art professionals, aesthetic standards also became more widely established within the fine arts. As university-trained art historians focused on the curatorial aspects of art museums—in particular, their history—museum curators with advanced art history degrees helped to disseminate the aesthetic logic of art museums. The increasing power and influence of aesthetic professionals was exemplified in the first funding award granted by Carnegie Corporation to Paul Sachs, a Harvard art historian who strongly advocated arts connoisseurship.

These professionals also exerted great influence on the normative dimension of the institutional environment—what Hiatt, Sine, and Tolbert term the "explicit espousals of particular organizational practices, structures, and forms by individual or collective actors who have recognized expertise or credibility" (2009), as they shaped organizational practices and structures that were geared towards disseminating the aesthetic logic. Such influence on the normative institutional environment in the early 20th century is well illustrated by the gradual disappearance of cast collections that used to occupy the museums. As advocates of original and authentic art work, the art critics banished copies and replicas of art work from art museums. For example, after appointing the renowned art critic, Roger Fry, as the curator of paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, its president, J. P. Morgan, declared that the museum would henceforth "rigorously exclude all which do not attain to acknowledged standards" (Wallach 1998: 51). Likewise, Matthew Prichard, the Assistant Director of the MFA in Boston, began to advocate for the replacement of cast collections with original artworks within the museum.

Elite as Key Resource Provider

As elite patrons were oriented to the collection and conservation of rare objects, the increase of private donations not only led to the greater prosperity of art museums in general but also diffused the aesthetic logic among art museums. Between 1910 and 1930, the amount of private gifts increased from $2.6-million to $18-million while the amount of capitalization rose from $15-million to $58-million (DiMaggio 1991).

Targeting the elites within their own small elite circles, the individual patrons of art did not put much effort into attracting a broad audience for the museums, leading the museum educators to call their attitude one of “snobby, anti-populist sentiments” (Alexander, 1996b: 97). The essay written by Harris (1999) about American art museums in the 1950s supports their claim:

> *Self-perpetuating boards of trustees, representing major business, professional, political, and collecting interests, leavened often by social pedigree, supervised programs that were financed largely through endowment, contributions, and, in a few places, by massive membership or local taxes. As in most other areas of American institutional life, the influential figures tended to be white males of Northern European descent, and the same thing was true of institutional staff, with some exceptions forced by a need for specialized skills. (Harris, 1999: 35)*

With increasing pressure from elite patrons, the art museums began to reshape their traditional mandate of attracting a wide cross section of visitors to emphasizing the importance of the acquisition and conservation of fine art collections. Noting this changing trend in the field of art museums, Skramstad (1999: 112) wrote, “[O]nce seen as a place of curiosity, wonder, and delight, “the museum” [referring to art museums] became associated with quiet galleries where artistic treasures were displayed for contemplation.”

Evolution of the Public Logic

The professionalization of art historians and curators also had the surprising effect of impacting the evolution of the public logic (Hudson 1998; Weil 1999) particularly through the formation of museum-related professional associations. For example, the Washington-based American Association of Museums (AAM) was founded in 1906. Representing every type of museum (e.g., art, history, science, maritime, zoos, etc.) in the United States, it declared its dedication to "developing standards and best practices, sharing knowledge, and advocating issues of concern to the museum community" (American Alliance of Museums 2015). The College Art Association of America (CAA) was also founded in 1911. The mandate of CAA, a professional association of artists and scholars of art, art history, and art criticism, is to promote visual arts through advocacy, intellectual engagement, and a commitment to diversity of practices and practitioners. To this end, it engaged in various activities including publishing academic journals and holding an annual conference where university art history departments interview candidates for teaching positions. Its members consist of both individuals (e.g., artists, art historians, scholars, curators, critics, collectors, educators) and institutions (e.g., departments of art and art history in colleges and universities, museums, libraries) (College Art Association 2015).

Professionals who began to be unified through these associations advocated for the museum's primary mandate as one of public service. For example, the AAM started to use its programs and activities to shape the public's expectations about museums. Instead of eliminating the public logic in the field of art museums, professionalization thus helped to bolster it (DiMaggio 1991) by *systemizing* the educational mandate of art museums. Thanks to professional associations (Weil 1999) and the greater role of museum educators (as opposed to museum curators) as self-appointed "educators" within the personnel structure of museums in the 1920s, they also began to exercise growing control over their policies.

In the face of increasingly "inward-facing" art museums, many people tried to make public service the museum community's principle concern instead. Notable figures within this resistance movement included John Cotton Dana, a dedicated librarian who proposed the visitor-oriented model of museums. Also among them was Samuel P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institution. As its secretary, Langley appointed himself as the Honorary Curator of the Institution's "Children's Room" in 1901 in order to emphasize the educational mandate of museums. Another critic of the aesthetic logic of museums was Laurence Coleman, who published a study of American museums in 1939 in which he contended that "the museum, like the library, is a *community* enterprise in its very nature" (cited in Skramstad 1999: 114, emphasis original).

During this period, a handful of art museums also attempted to become more socially conscious. For example, in their Grand Code published in 1935, the Brooklyn Museum stated their desire to shift their focus "from the museum object to the museum visitor." In 1937, the Metropolitan Museum of Art started showing portions of its collections in high schools, public libraries, and other more accessible locations. Still, despite these efforts, most art museums remained in "a self-enclosed world, clearly defined by hierarchies of prestige and privilege, visited by largely traditional audiences" up through the 1960s (Harris 1999: 38).

RISE OF THE PUBLIC LOGIC: ART MUSEUM AS MANAGERIAL ORGANIZATION, 1960-

In an essay written for the fiftieth-anniversary issue of the UNESCO magazine *Museum International*, Kenneth Hudson wrote, "[T]he most fundamental change that has affected museums during the [past] half-century…is the now almost universal conviction that they exist in order to serve the public" (Hudson 1998: 43), referring to the shift in focus from collections to visitors in the field of all museums. To explain the rise of public logic in the field of museums and the resulting co-existence of both public and aesthetic logics, in the following, I examine how institutional funders and social movements have changed the normative and cognitive institutional environment of American art museums.

Institutional Funders as Key Resource Providers: Normative Institutional Pressure

One of the most influential factors contributing to the rise of public logic in the contemporary museum community was the change in the profile of major funders for art museums from individual philanthropists to institutional funders. Institutional funders are "organizational actors" such as corporations, foundations, and federal agencies (Alexander 1996a). While the previous group of funders was mostly wealthy individuals primarily interested in art connoisseurship, the new institutional funders, especially governments and corporations, were actors who were sensitive to the general public. There are two reasons for this sensitivity. First, governments serve the general public of taxpayers. The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), for instance, explicitly states that they exist to "assist the nation's museums in their growing awareness of the desires of the American public" (Baltimore Museum of Art 1972: cited in Alexander 1996b: 104). With the government-funded nature of museums' resources, it is also inevitable that they would embrace the educational role of museums (Weil 1999). Corporations that support the arts for the sake of public relations, on the other hand, naturally support museums with exhibitions that are not too scholarly or controversial but interesting or exciting. In other words, they cater to the mass public. As Alexander noted, “the situation of corporate and government sponsorship of museum is quite a change from the status quo early in this century” (1996b: 91) and has led to the rise of public logic.

Federal funding. The 1960s witnessed a surge in institutional funding for the arts. Prior to this period, artists and art museums were considered elitist and thus primarily funded by individual patrons and not public funds (Zeigler 1994). Due to several factors, however, including “an avid interest in the arts felt among the populace” with more free time after World War II (National Endowment for the Arts 2009: 9) and the cultural competition between the Cold War rivals of USA and USSR (Harris 1999), major federal government agencies for the arts emerged between the 1960s and 70s.

For example, the Congress established the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) in 1965 as independent federal agencies in order to fund a broad range of arts programs in the United States. Formal programs in support of arts institutions, such as museums, orchestras, and opera, were also started in the early 1970s. They included the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities (FCAH), part of NEA, which supports large, international exhibitions by underwriting the insurance of art objects that are on loan from foreign countries. The creation of the NEA directly affected the increase of state art agencies as well. When the Congress established the NEA, it mandated the NEA to appropriate funds to any state that established an art agency. As a result, all fifty states had a public arts council by 1974 (National Assembly of State Art Agencies 2015). Also, the Institute of Museum Services, now known as the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), opened in 1976 to provide financial support for museum programs and exhibits.

The increase in the government support for the arts was timely as it was becoming harder for art museums to find wealthy patrons. During the Eisenhower years, the American economy remained relatively stable with little inflation. With healthy stock market performances, individual patrons made large donations to art museums. Around the 1960s, however, the Vietnam War and national economic policies caused stagflation and depressed the stock market. Due to these economic trends, individual endowments significantly declined while new collections became more expensive. As a result, museums during the Kennedy era began to look for funding from federal agencies. Noting the dramatic change in the profile of funders, Alexander (1996b) called the period prior to 1966 as the "philanthropy period" and the post-1970s as the "institutional funding period" in the history of American art museums[4].

Federal funding agencies, which generally took the "Art-For-All-Americans" approach,[5] changed the normative dimension of the institutional environment of art museum by awarding grants to museums that were committed to public outreach. For example, in the 1970s, the National Endowment for the Arts launched two grants aimed at encouraging the public to become more deeply involved in the American arts community: Expansion Arts and Challenge Grants. Expansion Arts were inaugurated in 1971 to help minority and disadvantaged arts institutions. Specifically, the NEA pledged to "[bring] the arts to communities that have little

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[4] Although Alexander (1996b) added a "transitional period" from 1968 to 1972 between the "philanthropy period" and the "institutional funding period," I consider those years to be part of the institutional funding period in this study because most influential and powerful government agencies (e.g., NEA, NEH, and IMLS) were established in 1965 resulting in the immediate growth of art museums (see Figure 2).

[5] For example, the National Endowment for the Arts explicitly stated its commitment to a broad audience for the arts: *"From its earliest days, the National Endowment for the Arts has sought to aid museums and visual arts organizations for their work in reaching new audiences; discover the most effective ways to involve communities with low participation rates; define roles that technology plays in providing access to the visual arts; and determine best practices in exhibition and care of art objects. The last few decades demonstrate an evolution of communities served by visual arts institutions. Through its support of exhibitions, infrastructure, and programming, the National Endowment for the Arts has been partnering with organizations across the nation, both large and small, to help them meet their needs and to find the means to best serve the American public."(The National Endowment for the Arts 2009)*

access to established arts institutions – that is, minority communities or low-income neighborhoods or rural areas" (Zeigler 1994: 34). The Challenge Grants, started in 1976, on the other hand, sought "to build audience participation, to foster cooperation among arts groups, and to encourage citizen involvement in cultural planning" (Zeigler 1994: 35). Federal programs thus greatly encouraged art museums to follow the public logic.

Although previous work on art museums has largely focused on the influence of institutional funders on artwork or exhibition contents (Alexander 1996a, 1996b), another important consequence of the institutional funders' increased influence was the increase of art museums (Weil 1999). Figure 2.1, derived from Blau's (1995) article on American art museums, shows their annual increase between the 1950s and 1980s. Especially under the leadership of Nancy Hanks, the NEA significantly increased the number of museums from 1,700 in 1965 to 1,880 in 1975, state art agencies from 12 to 55, and community art agencies from 175 to 900. Despite the dramatic decrease of government funding during the Reagan administration, art museums still considered government funding an indispensable source of their financial well-being (Alexander 1996a; Zeigler 1994).

Corporate funding. With the level of governmental assistance unable to keep pace with the growth of art museums, one of the effects of the vigorous growth of art museums during this period was the proportional decrease of governmental funding for many art museums (Weil 1999). As a result, museums began to seek alternative sources of funding mainly from the corporate sector. Constituting another major group of institutional funders for art museums, numerous corporate arts councils were established during the mid-1960s including the Arts Advisory Council of the New York Board of Trade and the National Business Committee for the Arts.

Considering their sponsorship of the arts a public relations gambit (Porter 1981), many corporations became eager to enhance their image through charitable behavior. To ensure payoff for their corporate sponsors (e.g., a wide audience), the art museums also began to assiduously pay attention to public taste. While the criteria for corporate funding were less explicit than federal funding, corporations exerted other more subtle forms of pressure by sponsoring museums that had wide public appeal (Alexander 1996a). In so doing, they encouraged the art museums to go back to the public logic.

Social Movements: Cognitive Institutional Pressure

The struggles for equality, democracy, freedom, and basic human rights came to the fore as critical social issues in the 1960s. Various social movements gained momentum during this period including the civil rights movement, the Free Speech movement, the feminist movement, and the gay rights movement. In this new social context, various art genres such as anti-art became popular and influential. Although many revolutionary art genres (e.g., Impressionism, Dadaism, Surrealism) had developed earlier from 1900 to the 1920s, the rapidly democratizing societal culture allowed innovative art genres to resonate with the broader public, challenge existing definitions of art, and blur the boundary between high and low or non-art.

Within this new historical context, art museums became often criticized as catering only to the wealthy and well-educated. For example, Metropolitan Museum of Art's 1969 exhibition, "Harlem on My Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900-1968," about the Black community in Harlem, New York, ignited controversy when the museum denied Harlem residents entrance into the exhibition planning process and excluded artwork by local Harlem artists. According to Cooks (2007: 22), the museum's curatorial decisions "defined the museum's identity as privileged, racially pure, and therefore entitled to define what art could and could not be along aesthetic and cultural lines." Other urban museums and museum associations faced similar protests and charges. For example, protesters often disrupted the annual convention of the AAM in the 1960s to oppose museum policies that were deemed inequitable and discriminating (Harris 1999).

Museums responded to these criticisms by trying to be more inclusive in their displays and membership. Specifically, museums expanded the cultural range of their collections, added community representatives to their board of trustees, decentralized the organizational structure, and more aggressively pursued minority audiences. In order to broaden the pool of visitors, museums adopted the strategic management style of corporations and hired professionals to conduct audience analysis. Prior to the 1970s, many museum professionals had sneered at the commercialized logic of the market (Harris 1999). However, with increased sensitivity to the issue of diversity, museums tried to make the art museums more inviting and match the profile of their visitors to that of the general population. These institutional pressures had the direct consequence of encouraging the rise of public logic among art museums.

The Evolution of Art Museum into Managerial Organization

Internal structure. Through an analysis of extensive data on the administrators of four kinds of arts organizations, including resident theatres, art museums, symphony orchestras, and community arts agencies, DiMaggio (1987) described the growing prominence of administrative roles and formalization of functions in American arts organizations since the mid-1960s. According to him, the evolution of American arts organizations into managerial institutions reflected the increased complexity of its external environment including diversified funders.

Previous research shows that when dependency relations are in flux (or, not yet institutionalized), organizations tend to have more administrative offices to manage these relations. This becomes their way of signaling their commitment to these relationships (Tolbert 1985). Likewise, the increased diversity in the profile of external funders imposed more complex requirements on art museums. In other words, art museums came under much pressure to follow the two logics in order to get the institutional funders and wealthy patrons onboard.

Well aware of the interest of institutional funders such as federal agencies or state arts councils in diverse audiences, museum managers began to consider education as "another line item on [museums'] NEA and NEH grant applications" (Alexander 1996b: 108). By shifting their emphasis from inwardly looking and collection-amassing focus to an audience-driven, and caregiving one (Skramstad 1999: 121), art museums began to fulfill their public-oriented mission.

Museums also became more involved in exhibitions to draw large audiences. Between 1960 and 1986, the average number of exhibitions almost doubled (Alexander 1996b). Considering the minimal role of exhibitions in museum programs and policies around the 1920s, this was a huge shift in focus. Altogether, the public logic entailed more administrative issues (e.g., management of public audience and educational programs, the putting together of exhibits, etc.) and required the art museums to strengthen their managerial functions.

Also, certain government grants required museums to strengthen their administrative functions. For example, additional mandates of the aforementioned Challenge Grants and Advancement Grants included improving the administrative structure of arts institutions. Specifically, the Challenge Grants became designed to diversify and solidify the funding sources of their recipients by requiring them to match every dollar from the federal government with three dollars from the private sector. Through this requirement, arts institutions were encouraged to build a management structure with consistent level of support from multiple sources. The Advancement Grants also encouraged the long-range development of art institutions but with a particular focus on the smaller organizations. These arts organizations were encouraged to develop managers who could attend to various administrative duties such as having “a too-narrow funding base; regular cash flow crises; insufficient money for fundraising staff, promotion, or audience development; a board without fundraising skill or access to funding sources; underpaid artists and overworked administrative staff, and a rudimentary financial system that hinders cost control and planning” (Zeigler 1994: 40).

External strategy. The increased awareness of the importance of the public also contributed to the art museum’s evolution into a managerial organization. With the public becoming an integral part of a museum’s social legitimacy and financial viability, art museums needed to take *marketing* very seriously in order to better understand the its needs and interests. In doing so, art museums gradually transformed themselves into managerial organizations that resembled corporations. A notable consequence of this transformation was a dramatic increase in revenue from public monies such as admissions, shop sales, and other auxiliary activities for visitors. Museum shops in particular became a major source of profit for museums since the 1960s by transforming a museum visit into a shopping experience (Harris 1999).

Following this trend, art museums also concentrated on blockbuster shows which attracted more corporate sponsorship. By the 1970s, art museums’ blockbuster shows had become a cultural phenomenon as well as a major leisure destination for urban dwellers. Although some criticized the art museums’ consumerist orientation, their board of trustees often managed to deflect these criticisms by using the increased revenue to support more scholarly shows and the local economy.

Looking back, it is clear that today's art museum is based on the same public logic that had emerged in the initial period (1780-1870). However, over the past two centuries, this public logic has become less civic-oriented and more commercially-minded. If today's museum directors remain educational entrepreneurs just like their antebellum period counterparts, there is now a stronger focus on the term, *entrepreneur*. Indeed, this may have been an inevitable development with the growth of mass entertainment. According to Harris, art museums have been "humbled to some extent by the competition of mass entertainment" (1999: 36). With the explosive growth of entertainment businesses, museums have been forced to compete with theme parks, professional sports events, and other recreational outlets in the so-called *experience industry*. These competitive dynamics have forced art museums to strengthen their managerial function and engage in specialized marketing strategies against commercial competitors such as Disney or Universal Studios.

Growth of Contemporary Wunderkammer. With the evolvement of museums into managerial organizations, their scholarly focus on high art also diminished to be replaced by an encyclopedic perspective. In fact, 55% of multi-category art museums, such as art and history museums that still exist today, were founded in the post-1960s[6] era.

From the perspective of institutional logics, society is an inter-institutional system consisting of multiple institutional environments possessing their own logic (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012). Scholars within this field argue that legitimacy is a relative concept dependent on institutional logics. Whether an actor's behavior is legitimate or not hinges on the institutional logic that s/he belongs to. Put differently, institutional logics define the rules of the game and what is meaningful.

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[6] Statistics are based on the sample of 324 art museums collected for this research.

The growth of encyclopedic museums over the past decades can thus be understood as a direct consequence of the rise of public logic within the museum community. As discussed in the first section, the exhibition of multi-category collections was widely popular among museums during the antebellum period when the public logic began to emerge. This act of displaying multi-category collections is consistent with the public rather than aesthetic logic. Along with the rise of public logic in the mid- and late-twentieth century, the number of encyclopedic museums also began to increase. In the following empirical chapter, I will explore how audiences representing the aesthetic or public logics (i.e., art critics vs. the general public) evaluate these multi-category museums differently.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The field of American art museums has historically experienced the rise and fall of two conflicting institutional logics. This chapter has posited that the aesthetic logic (which emphasizes the role of art museum in collecting, defining, and conserving true art for scholarly purpose) and the public logic (which emphasizes the role of art museum in encouraging the general public to participate in art appreciation for entertainment and educational purposes) are co-existent in the contemporary world of art museums. In contemporary society, most high culture domains (e.g., classical music) experience the co-existence of multiple logics (Glynn and Lounsbury 2005) that are often contradictory in terms of transgressing the boundaries between high, middle, and lowbrow culture (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Peterson and Kern, 1996). For example, Glynn and Lounsbury's (2005) study of a symphony orchestra shows how, following a musicians' strike, the emerging *market* logic threatened the purity and longstanding dominance of the *aesthetic* logic.

This chapter has also sought to provide a better understanding of how changes in the key providers of art museum resources have affected the emergence and evolution of institutional logics over time. To this end, I used the dominant institutional logics and the prevalent organizational forms of art museums (entertainment, elite, professional, and managerial) to divide the history of American art museums into four respective periods. After that, I provided a detailed historical background of each of these periods (1780-1870, 1870-1900, 1900-1960, and 1960-present) in order to show that different actors exerted influence on introducing and solidifying the rise of the aesthetic and public logics.

During the antebellum period (1780-1870), most museums were founded by individuals who wished to provide the public with opportunities for entertainment and education through the display of their personal collections. Hence, the public logic emerged at the inception of the museum scene in the United States and museums often served as a site of entertainment for the general public. After the end of Civil War in the 1870s, however, elite factions in big industrial cities began to aspire to create an American version of Louvre with their newly amassed wealth. This led to the rise of the aesthetic logic during the Gilded Age (1870-1900). Establishing a new guideline for art museums in the post-Civil War period were institutional entrepreneurs (David, Sine, and Haveman 2013; Tolbert, David, and Sine 2011) who founded large and lavish art museums like the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the MFA. At the turn of the twentieth century, the professionalization of art historians and curators and the formalization of art education have led to the institutionalization of the aesthetic logic. Art critics, often with PhD degrees in art history, set the standard for high art and stressed the need for its originality and authenticity. Art professionals (i.e., critics, curators, etc.) became art connoisseurs and institutional entrepreneurs, who played a critical role in shaping art museums and fully institutionalizing the aesthetic logic.

In the mid-1960s, due to significant changes in funding dynamics and social climate, the public logic came to compete with the aesthetic logic. No longer so reliant on individual patrons, museums started seeking funding from governments and corporations. To illustrate, the director of the Brooklyn Museum expressed two completely different sentiments towards art museums in 1962 and 1984 (Alexander 1996b: 104). While he showed great sympathy for the idea of art museum as a place for scholarly contemplation in 1962, he expressed great appreciation towards the business corporations for their support in 1984. According to Alexander,"[t]he shift shows a drastic reorientation of museums from internal matters (art-historical research, conservation) to external matters (exhibitions, audiences)."

All in all, during this period, art museums became reshaped as a managerial institution (Weil 1999). Traditionally, the metrics of success lay in internal measures (Anderson 2004; Weil 1999) such as the magnitude of resources, the excellence of staff, and the size of endowments. After adopting the social-enterprise model, however, museums increasingly measured their success on their ability to provide educational services to the public (Weil 1999). According to this model, the internal measures of success are still relevant and necessary but not sufficient. As Weil (1999: 254) stated, "responsiveness to the community – not an indiscriminate responsiveness, certainly, but a responsiveness consistent with the museum's public-service obligations and with the professional standard of its field must be understood as … a fulfillment." As such, maintaining an optimal balance between the two competing aesthetic and public logics is required for a museum's continued success in contemporary society.

Contributions to the literature of institutional logics. This study contributes to two streams of organizational sociology. First, the review of the historical contingency of the dominance of the two logics of art museum informs the literature on institutional logics theory by illuminating a particular logic's complex *process* of institutionalization. Specifically, it illustrates the involvement of various institutional agencies at different stages of institutionalization.

For example, the aesthetic logic was first introduced by the post-Civil War elite in the Gilded Age. These elite factions laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of the aesthetic logic by shifting the cognitive institutional environment of art museums. Specifically, they created and disseminated a distinction between high culture and popular culture, which involves accepting art as a legitimate specialization for museums (DiMaggio 1982). Later, professional curators and art historians fully institutionalized the aesthetic logic by altering the normative dimension of the institutional environment (e.g., collecting and curating artworks according to art historical disciplines) for art museums.

Finally, the rise of various social movements and the increase of institutional funders changed both cognitive and normative institutional environments for art museums, which ultimately led to the resurgence of the public logic. Specifically, social movements geared towards the democratization of society blurred the distinction between high culture and popular culture, altering the previous cognitive institutional environment for art museums. Also, by mandating art museums to increase outreach programs, institutional funders affected the normative institutional environment for art museums. Previous studies of cultural organizations have primarily investigated the changes in an organization with a shift in funders (e.g., Alexander 1996). However, I suggest that the changing landscape in funding dynamics may also induce a return to an older institutional logic at the field level. In relation to this, I showed the overall greater prosperity of the category-spanning museums throughout history parallel with the rise of the public logic in both the pre-art museum period and the later half of the twentieth century.

Documenting the trajectories of competing institutional logics is an important topic for the development of institutional theory. Thus far, a large body of work has examined how competing institutional logics shape organizational action or the rise of certain organizational forms (Barley and Kunda 1992; Dunn and Jones 2010; Marquis and Lounsbury 2007). However, the historical contingencies of conflicting institutional logics have been relatively under-explored. Through a historical overview of the field of U.S. art museums (1780-2010), this study sheds new light on the process of the institutional logics' evolution, thereby making a unique contribution to the literature of institutional logics.

This study suggests that even when institutional change occurs, the existing institutional practice may not be completely replaced by new ones but co-evolve with them over time. For example, by the mid-twentieth century, the aesthetic logic served as the dominant logic of action for most American art museums. That did not mean, however, that the public logic became completely effaced. The AAM, the very same group that had contributed to the institutionalization of the aesthetic logic, also helped to mobilize supporters for the public logic. Hence, while it may seem that a new institutional practice completely de-institutionalizes the incumbent practice at a certain point in time, a complete review of the field history shows countervailing forces in progress that have led to the co-evolution of both practices. This chapter finally allows us to document the trajectories of institutionalization for these two conflicting logics.

Contributions to the literature of cultural sociology. Studying the evolution of institutional logics in the field of cultural organizations also helps us to understand the changes in the forms of cultural capital. Cultural capital denotes non-financial assets that promote social mobility such as intellect, style of speech, or physical appearance (Bourdieu and Passerson 1979). Scholars have traditionally viewed the consumption of high culture such as fine arts or classical music as one indicator of cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passerson 1979). However, as the public logic became dominant in the American cultural scene, the nature of cultural capital also changed. With the rise of a highly educated middle class and the decline of traditional elite groups (Crane, 1997; Djelic & Ainamo, 1999), new cultural capitalists commonly referred to as "cultural omnivores" emerged—people who embraced highbrow culture, popular culture, and everything in between (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Peterson and Kern, 1996). As DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004: 171) noted, the U.S. public "stoutly rejects the proposition that high culture is inherently more valuable than folk or popular culture, and the most educated Americans are most united in rejecting it."

Researchers have assumed this trend of growing democratization of cultural taste as stemming from increased diversity, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Peterson and Kern, 1996). For example, Becker has argued that the emerging trend of folk art collections reflects "an ideological shift from a celebration of the essentially British past of the United States to a democratic inclusion of the art of groups whose culture had formerly been thought primitive, lacking in artistic merit, and un-American" (1982: 221). As such, the field of art museum is characterized by an ongoing interplay of conflicting institutional forces exerted by elitists who consider aesthetic excellence to be the museum's central purpose and populists who strongly advocate for the museum's educational mission. According to

Zolberg, “[t]he conflict between elitism and populism is a perennial feature of American art museums” (1984: 377).

This study has broad implications that go beyond museum studies. The tension between aesthetic purity and mass appeal exists in most cultural industries such as feature films (Zuckerman and Kim 2003), recordings (Peterson and Burger 1975), and bookselling (Miller 1995). This two-tiered structure of “mass” and “independent” markets has garnered much attention from sociologists. Many have examined the forces that hinder actors from assuming both “mass” and “indi” identities and the consequences of doing so (Philips and Zuckerman 2001; Zuckerman and Kim 2003). However, scholars have paid relatively little attention to the social contexts that promote the emergence and legitimation of these market identities. Through a review of the evolution of the field of American art museums, this study shows that various institutional agencies such as elites, professionals, and institutional funders exert countervailing forces to make a rival market identity more socially acceptable. Understanding the co-evolution of the aesthetic and public logics of art museums thus helps us to understand the complex interplay between elitism and populism among cultural organizations.

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Figure 2.1. Foundings of art museums in the U.S., 1800-2000 *(Source: Blau, 1995)*

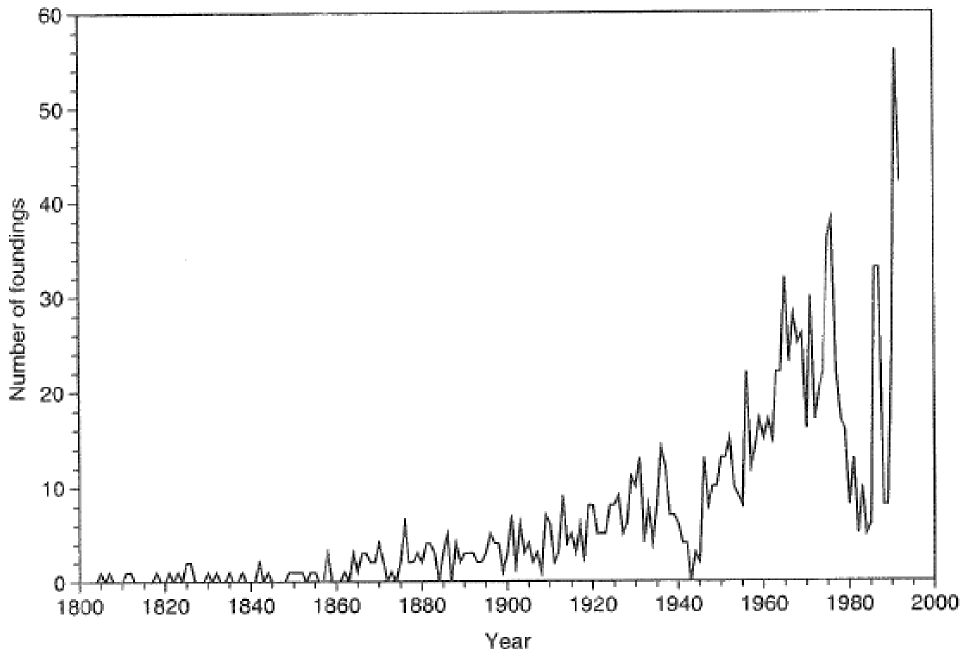

Figure 2.2. Foundings of art history departments in U.S. colleges/universities

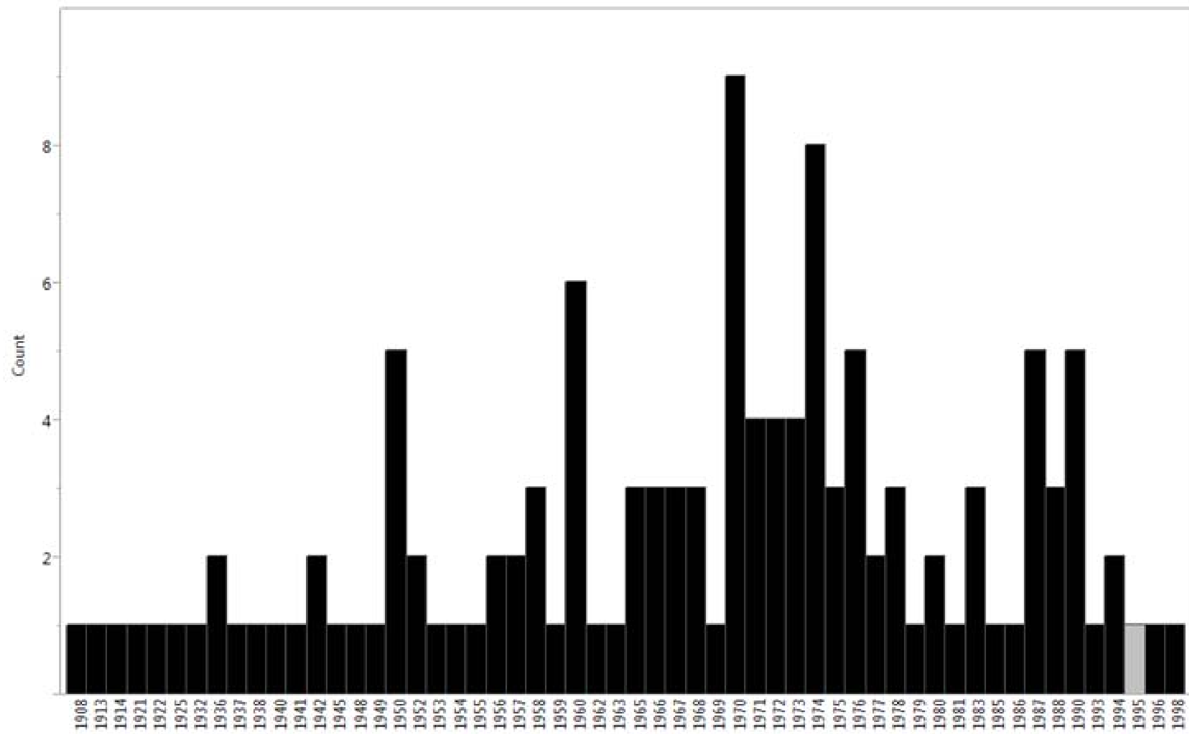

Table 2.1. Two Institutional Logics of Art Museum: Aesthetic Logic and Public Logic [7]

	Aesthetic Logic	**Public Logic**
Ideal type	Gilman model: Originated from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston	Dana model: Originated from the Museum of the Newark Library Association
Mission	Collection and conservation	Education and exhibition
Definition of art	Art-as-such • Narrowly defined • Strongly bounded	Art-for-use • Broadly defined • Weakly bounded
Primary audience	Elites	General public
Control	• Aesthetic professionals • Individual patrons (trustees)	• Administrative professionals and specialists in education and exhibition technique • Institutional funders
Strategy	• Rapid growth in collection • Through service to collectors, patrons, scholars, and educated middle class	• Rapid growth in attendance • Through service to industry, trades, and public schools

[7] Adapted from DiMaggio (1991: p.271).

Table 2.2. Evolution of U.S. Art Museums

Period	Organizational form	Evolution of the two institutional logics	Key change in institutional environments	Institutional agencies
1780-1870	Entertainment organization	Birth of the Public Logic	N/A	N/A
1870-1900	Elite organization	Birth of the Aesthetic logic	Cognitive: Distinction between high culture and popular culture	Elite patrons
1900-1960	Professional organization	Rise of the Aesthetic Logic	Normative: Collection and conservation of artworks according to art historical disciplines	Art professionals
1960-	Managerial organization	Rise of the Public Logic	Normative: Increase of outreach programs Cognitive: Blurred distinction between high culture and popular culture	Institutional funders Social movements

CHAPTER 3

CATEGORY AS A BUILDING BLOCK OF ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

Over the past three decades, the concept of organizational identity has been broadly used in organizational studies to account for various organizational dynamics (see Gioia et al. 2013 for review). For example, organizational scholars have shown that identity can serve both as a filter that organizational members use to interpret external issues (Besharov and Brickson forthcoming; Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Elsbach and Kramer 1996; Glynn 2000) and as a lens used by external audiences to evaluate organizational performance (Smith 2011). As such, identity can be a critical determinant of market outcomes (Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al. 2003).

Although there is a large and vibrant literature on organizational identity, the explosive growth of this literature has also led to charges of the concept of organizational identity being mis- and/or over-used. Since identity, by nature, is a highly abstract concept that easily resonates with people, it is easy to make intuitive appeals to it within a wide range of academic domains (Gioia et al. 2013). Related to this, Pratt (2003) has critiqued the loose definition of this term since researchers often use it in a metaphorical rather than scientific way. As he writes, “That which explains everything, explains nothing. The concept of ‘identity,’ which has the potential to explain so much, is in danger of explaining little” (2003: 162).

One of the most longstanding debates in the current literature concerns whether identity is internally defined as organizational members’ understanding of an organization (Albert and Whetten 1985; Gioia et al. 2000) or externally defined as external audiences’ understanding of an organization (Hsu and Hannan 2005; Zuckerman et al. 2003). These two research streams have flowed independently. Specifically, identity scholars viewing identity to be inherently self-referential have used different terms to denote externally-defined identity. For example, Dutton and Dukerich (1991) defined the concept of *organizational image* as “the way organizational members believe others see the organization” and juxtaposed it with the concept of organizational identity which they defined as “what organizational members believe to be its central, enduring, and distinctive character”. Tripsas (2009) used the term *external identity* to denote externally-defined organizational identity including what Dutton and Dukerich referred to as organizational image.

The main goal of this study is to argue that *organizational categories* are constitutive of both internal and external organizational identities. I define organizational categories as those dimensions that (i) constitute core, fundamental features of an organization that guide organizational action (e.g., mission, ideology, activity (product) areas, etc.). Each of these categories should (ii) consist of multiple lower-level categories and (iii) be able to classify organizations into lower-level categories based on shared characteristics on a given dimension (see Figure 3.1). In general, I define organizational identity as an organization’s location in terms of combinations of lower-level categories in each of the organizational categories to which it belongs. Categorical membership can be assigned either by self or others. In this sense, I define internal organizational identity as a set of lower-level categories *an organization* considers it belongs to and external organizational identity as a set of lower-level categories *external parties interested in the organization* consider the organization belongs to.

Viewing the notions of identity and categories as directly interwoven, external identity scholars (e.g., Hsu and Hannan 2005; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al. 2003) and some internal identity scholars (e.g., Whetten 2006) have argued that the concept of identity can be measured by membership within an industry or product category. Other internal identity scholars, meanwhile, have rejected the concept of category as a meaningful basis of identity. Specifically, Gioia et al. (2013: 174) called this category-focused approach "oversimplified and starkly impoverished" in viewing an organizational identity to be much more nuanced than belonging to a category whose attributes they considered to be known and stereotypical, thus neglecting distinctive characters of an organization.

By focusing on various combinations of categories, however, I postulate that categories can generate distinctive characteristics of an organization and thus serve as a meaningful basis for both internal and external identities. Shifting the focus from a single category to combinations of categories in conceptualizing identity has also implications for examining consequences of multiple-identity organizations. I define multiple-identity organizations as those organizations having memberships in multiple lower-level categories in any of the organizational categories (see Figure 3.2 for an example). To date, identity scholars have predominantly focused on the purity of category to account for the penalties levied upon multiple-identity organizations (e.g., Hsu 2006; Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009; Leung and Sharkely 2014; Zuckerman 1999). However, I argue that the acceptability of a combination of categories, rather than the purity of a category, determines whether multiple organizational identities are conducive to positive organizational outcomes.

Taken together, this paper has two aims. First, given the mixed views of whether the concept of category is a meaningful basis of identity, I intend to argue that categories are constitutive of internal organizational identity as well as external organizational identity by focusing on various combinations of lower-level categories in each of organizational categories. Second, I aim to account for consequences of multiple organizational identities by focusing on the acceptability of a combination of lower-level categories. Toward these ends, I review various sociological approaches to categorization in the following section. Next, I summarize the four different views of organizational identity in the current literature. Finally, I discuss how shifting the focus from a single category to a combination of categories can be useful in explaining the consequences of having multiple organizational identities.

RESEARCH ON CATEGORIES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONS

Role of Categories in Shaping Organizational Action and Audience Reaction

This study aims to theorize categorization and identity at the collective level of a group, organization, industry, etc. Yet it is important to note that the sociology of organizational categories cannot be thought of independently of social psychology which provides useful explanations for how categories shape individual action both within and outside an organization. For example, work by social identity theorists discusses the cognitive need of individuals for categories in order to properly respond to stimuli and act accordingly (Ashforth and Mael 1989; Tajfel and Turner 1986). They argue that social identification stemming from the categorization of individuals is essential for socialization as individuals experience a sense of self-worth and social belongingness from their membership within the same categories. Marketing researchers have also used the framework of categories to study the impact of categories on consumer choice in markets. For example, Urban, Hulland, and Weinberg (1993) found that consumers are likely to screen out products that deviate from accepted types.

Applying this notion to organizations, I argue that categories shape organizational action because a category carries a set of *expectations* that must be met by organizations that wish to be a member of the category (e.g., a bakery *should* sell baked goods, not electronic products).

Categories also affect audience reactions to organizational behavior. Specifically, an audience interested in a particular category may reject an organization that fails to meet the expectations imposed on the category.

Related to this, earlier organizational theories within sociological research, such as neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Zucker 1977) and organizational ecology (Hannan and Freeman 1986), have all emphasized the role of categories in regulating organizational action. And one common premise underlying most theories of category is that category systems are socially constructed by the consensual understanding of audience members as to the constitutive properties of a certain category. For example, institutional theorists have studied various phenomena associated with categories including how categories shape imitation (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), imply a range of appropriate action (Kraatz and Zajac 1996; Sutton and Dobbin 1996), and restrict variety (Powell 1991), implying categories are associated with social norms that put institutional pressure on organizations to behave in a certain way.

Organizational ecologists' notion of organizational form also implies that categories emerge as a result of the audience members' recognition of homogeneity among groups of organizations. The concept of organizational form is defined as "a blueprint for organizational action" (Hannan and Freeman 1986) and has played a prominent role in the ecologists' theorization of audience members' cognitive needs for classifying and labeling a common set of organizations (Hsu and Hannan 2005).

With this heavy focus on the relationship between external audiences and classification system, sociologists have paid much attention to how an organization's multi-category membership affects market outcomes. In early organizational studies, the impact of an organization's categorical membership on market outcomes was only implicitly addressed using the concept of legitimation from the neo-institutional and ecological perspectives. In fact, it was not until Zuckerman's (1999) work on categorical imperatives that researchers began to draw attention to category systems as cognitive schemata employed by audiences and empirically study the consequences of violating classification system by spanning categories. Zuckerman (1999) has shown that actors who fail to be viewed as a clear fit for product categories by relevant audiences risk social penalties because they threaten reigning interpretive frameworks.

Most research on this topic – penalties levied upon unclassifiable actors – builds on the assumption that membership in a category is allowed to be partial. If an organization belongs to a single category, it enjoys full membership in that category. However, if it spans multiple categories, it enjoys only a partial membership in each of those categories. To illustrate, Hannan (2010) took an example of goldfish. Goldfish, which is highly typical in the set of "pet fish," is problematic from the viewpoint of a single category because it has low typicality in the twin set of "pet" and "fish". By this logic, some organizations fit categories more neatly than others (Hsu, Hannan, and Koçak 2009).

Category as a Basis of Identity

This paper aims to argue that the concept of categories can serve as a common building block of both internal and external identities. To this end, I begin by acknowledging that organizational categories consist of various lower-level categories and serve many different roles depending on their level of operation. As Mervis and Rosch (1981) noted, there is a hierarchy in categories (e.g., basic, superordinate, or subordinate categories). And several identity scholars have postulated (Glynn 2008; Petersen and Dobbin 1997, 2006) that organizations tend to conform to higher-level categories while differentiating themselves at lower-level categories.

For example, restaurants may construct their identity around the category, "restaurant," by incorporating recognizable elements of this category (e.g., chefs, servers, dining tables, etc.) but create variations within it by making lower-level distinctions (e.g., fine dining vs. casual dining, Mexican vs. Italian, etc). In this sense, categories serve a dual role of both constraining action at higher level and enabling action at lower level. Organizations strive to become similar to the organizations belonging to the same higher-level categories (e.g., restaurant) in order to garner categorical legitimacy but differentiate themselves in terms of lower-level categories (e.g., fine dining) in order to achieve competitive advantage. As such, considering the different levels of categories may, therefore, help to alleviate the charge that category-based identities neglect unique elements of identity (Gioia et al. 2013). If the uniqueness of identity is understood as the result of a combination of lower-level categories, it becomes possible to conceptualize identity in terms of categories regardless of whether it is internally or externally defined.

It is important to note that some identity scholars taking the social actor view already recognize the central position of categories in constructing identity. For instance, Whetten and Mackey (2002: 397) defined organizational identity as "*a set of categorical identity claims (who or what we claim to be, categorically) in reference to a specified set of institutionally standardized social categories*" (emphasis added).

The ecologists' notion of identity similarly involves claims to categories of membership. Empirical research following this tradition gauges identities in terms of classification schemes within a product or industry. Examples include film genres (Hsu 2006; Hsu, Negro, and Perretti 2012), restaurant categories (Kovacs and Hannan 2010), classification for online auctions (Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009), and Standard Industrial Classification codes (Zuckerman 1999). What differentiates the ecologist view from the social actor view is the ecologists' heavy emphasis on the role of external audience reactions to an organization's claimed categories. According to this view, external audiences play the most important role in categorizing an organization and endowing it with a set of rule-like codes for evaluation. With audiences holding strong expectations for how prototypical organizations within a category should behave, categories function as social norms.

Rather than viewing identity as being mostly determined by external audiences, institutional theorists postulate identity to be a socially constructed outcome of the interaction between organizations and external environments (Navis and Glynn 2010; Kennedy 2008; Weber et al. 2008). According to this view, organizations combine categories supplied by an institutional environment in particular ways to construct their unique identity. Hence, identity formation is understood as a process in which "organizations manage competing tensions to 'fit in' and garner category legitimacy through isomorphic mechanisms of similarity, and to 'stand out' and garner competitive advantage through strategic mechanisms of differentiation" (Glynn and Navis 2013: 1129). In other words, organizational identity is understood as a *bricolage of categories*. With this view allowing for the possibility of exploring the different ways that an organization adopts various categories to construct its identity, categories are viewed as enabling rather than constraining organizational action.

MULTIPLE VIEWS OF ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

As Gioia and his colleagues (2013) have noted, there are four different views of organizational identity in the current literature: a social actor view, a social construction view, an institutional view, and a population ecology view. Below, I outline the similarities and differences of these multiple views of organizational identity.

Internally-Defined Identity

From the social actor and social construction views, identity is theorized as the members' self-understanding of an organization. Studies in these traditions assume that identity is inherently derived from an insider's interpretation of an organization. For example, the social construction view (Gioia et al. 2000) defines organizational identity as organizational members' negotiation of shared meanings about who they are.

In contrast, the social actor view (Albert and Whetten 1985; Whetten and Mackey 2002) sees an organization as a whole entity rather than a collection of individual organizational members and posits that overt claims made by an organization about what it is within society constitute a large part of its organizational identity. The social actor view originates from Albert and Whetten's (1985) theorization of organizational identity. Albert and Whetten (1985) proposed three criteria for defining organizational identity: the criterion of claimed central character, the criterion of claimed distinctiveness, and the criterion of claimed temporal continuity. Specifically, they defined an organizational identity as a set of features that are "somehow seen as the essence of the organization [by organizational members], …, that distinguish the organization from others with which it may be compared, …, [and] that exhibit some degree of sameness or continuity over time" (p.265). According to their definition, central features are manifested as values, practices, products, etc. How organizations distinguish themselves from other organizations is also an essential part of organizational identity. Finally, organizational identity is considered stable over time—a proposition that has been the most frequent target of criticism in that it fails to capture the possibility of identity change (Gioia et al. 2013).

Also contending that identity involves self-referential meaning and “inward-focused sense-making about who we are” (p. 166) is Pratt (2003). Adding to Albert and Whetten’s three criteria of identity, he (2003: 164) posed seven fundamental questions to determine whether a claimed concept is indeed identity: 1) whether it involves the cognition of individuals; 2) whether it asks questions of “who”; 3) whether it is relational; 4) whether it involves an inward-targeted sense-making; 5) whether it involves multiple conceptualizations of an entity; 6) whether it temporally refers to the past, present, or future; 7) and whether it is of concern when an entity is changing or involved in a crisis. Some of these questions parallel Albert and Whetten’s theorization of identity. For example, Pratt’s question of whether it is of concern in times of crisis is related to Albert and Whetten’s criterion of claimed central character. The former’s relational feature of identity is also connected to the latter’s criterion of claimed distinctiveness. All in all, research in this tradition has solidified the psychological foundation of identity by arguing that it is a cognitive construct primarily derived from the members’ inward-focused process of sense-making.

As mentioned above, the social actor and social construction views differ in that the latter emphasizes the members’ understandings of identity whereas the former focuses on an organization’s entity-level commitments and actions. Due to this important difference, these two views have long been regarded as conflicting. However, in their longitudinal study of identity formation in a new organization, Gioia et al. (2010) have shown that these two views are actually complementary. Traditionally, researchers had focused on the role of founders and leaders in the construction of organizational identity (Gioia and Thomas 1996; Scott and Lane 2000). However, taking a more complex approach that takes into consideration the interplay between insiders and outsiders, Gioia and colleagues (2010) have argued that both the social actor and social construction views share the fundamental understanding of organizational members as having "recursive, reciprocal relationships" with both themselves and outsider. Through such determinations of their core attributes and making such claims public, they create an organizational identity.

Externally-Defined Identity

Many sociologists have critiqued this internally-defined conception of identity for largely neglecting the role of external audiences in affecting the process of identity formation (Zuckerman 2000; Zuckerman and Kim 2003). In line with this critique, institutional theorists and population ecologists conceptualize organizational identity in terms of an organization's position within an established classification system, which renders organizations comparable to others.

Although some institutional identity scholars (e.g., Glynn 2008) maintain the view that organizational identity is internally defined, they differ from the social actor and social constructionist views in that they acknowledge the strong influence of external institutional forces (Glynn 2008; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Glynn and Navis 2013). This institutional view of identity has garnered much attention from population ecologists such as Hsu and Hannan (2005) who have based the concepts of organizational identity and organizational form on both categories and the assignment of organizations to these categories by external audiences. With this ecologists' view emphasizing the rule-like codes that organizations must follow in order to gain membership within a category, a great deal of research within this tradition has investigated the negative consequences of having an unclassifiable identity (Hsu 2006; Hsu, Hannan, and

Kocak 2009; Leung and Sharkey 2014; Negro and Leung 2013; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al. 2003).

Research, in turn, has increasingly reflected scholarly efforts to integrate the internal and external views of identity. For example, Pratt (2012) theorized that both internal and external constituencies engage in "claiming and granting" in order to create organizational identity. That is, he argued identity formation is associated with constant, mutual interactions between organizational members and outside stakeholders. In relation to the similar issue regarding whether internal or external constituencies exert more influence on identity formation, Besharov and Brickson (forthcoming) suggested that making a distinction between the content and structure of organizational identity and between the content and structure of institutional forces is essential in understanding the conditions under which organizational members are more constrained to enacting an identity based on institutional forces.

Glynn (2008) also suggested that external forces and internal identity-work are interdependent rather than conflicting. Specifically, she posits that institutions enable identities as institutions provide "a set of possible legitimate identity elements with which to construct, give meaning to, and legitimize firm identities and symbolization" (p. 414). Likewise, in their two-step process model of identity formation, Kroezen and Heugens (2012) proposed that organizations first *build* their "identity reservoir" that consists of raw identity elements supplied by various external sources (e.g., peer organizations, audiences) as well as internal sources. Next, organizations eventually *select* attributes from the reservoir to construct their identities. All in all, these approaches provide a more integrated understanding of the dialectical relationship between the internal members' understanding of a focal organization and the perception of external audiences.

Claim-Based Identity

The four different perspectives of organizational identity can also be understood in terms of whether they focus on a snapshot of identity formation frozen in time or processes of identity formation in continuous flux. In this paper, I identify the former as the "claim-based view" and the latter as the "process-oriented view." The process-oriented view of identity is an approach that focuses on the process during which an organization *combines* various categories at different levels. In this respect, the process-oriented view of identity recognizes categories in a wider scope than the claim-based view of identity which usually focuses on a snapshot of an organization's categorical membership(s) at a single level or in a single organizational category (e.g., product category, wine style, film genre, etc.).

Overall, scholars taking the social actor view focus on overt claims rather than processes as they consider organizational identity to be comprised of unique organizational features that are relatively stable. With the social actor view following Albert and Whetten's (1985) definition of organizational identity (the members' perception of the central, distinct, and enduring characteristics of an organization), it also assumes the continuity of identity over time.

Although scholars taking the population ecology view of identity do not necessarily view identity as stable, they also rely on a snapshot of identity for empirical testing. That is, they often use overt claims (e.g., product category) about a focal organization in order to measure identity rather than analyze how these claims are shaped and communicated. Taken together, both the social actor and ecologist views understand identity as an overt expression of membership in socially constructed categories such as church or bank. If there is a major difference between these two views, the social actor view contends that the identity of the organizations is constituted by their own views whereas the ecologist view assumes that it is constituted by the classification of external audiences.

Process-Oriented Identity

In contrast, the social construction view focuses on the backstage processes that shape organizational identity. For example, Gioia et al. (2010) have proposed a model of identity formation that consists of eight processes: 1) articulating a vision; 2) experiencing a void of meaning; 3) engaging in experiential contrast; 4) converging of consensual identity; 5) negotiating identity claims; 6) attaining optimal distinctiveness; 7) performing liminal actions; and 8) assimilating legitimizing feedback. Through an analysis of extensive, longitudinal data related to a new organization's identity formation, they showed that identity goes through constant revision and change in response to the reactions of external stakeholders (e.g., Elsbach and Kramer 1996).

Likewise, the process of identity formation has garnered much attention from institutional theorists (Glynn 2008; Glynn and Navis 2013; Wry, Lounsbury, and Glynn 2011). Although earlier institutional studies have primarily investigated the process of organizations coming to possess similar identity (e.g., similar organizational names) within an organizational field—focusing, in particular, on the homogenizing forces of institutions (e.g., Glynn and Abzug 2002)—institutional identity scholars have more recently looked at the differentiating, rather than homogenizing, forces of institutions. As Glynn put it (2008: 413), institutional theory offers "a process model of transformational mechanisms that explicates how macro-level, interorganizational influences situate and shape organizational identities." It also offers "a dynamic framework on organizational identity construction which explains how organizations may adapt their identities so as to align with sanctioned norms and practices so as to secure legitimacy."

This shift in focus from sameness to distinctiveness is closely related to Selznick's (1949) original idea of institutions. In his older institutional work, Selznick argued that organizations, which face multiple institutional forces, must integrate them into a coherent, distinctive identity in order to survive. Noting the close relation between institution and identity, Glynn (2008: 414) argued that organizational identity construction constitutes an "institutional bricolage" of various meanings and symbols supplied by an external environment. Using the term, "raw materials," she described the meanings and symbol that organizations appropriate to construct their identities. Elaborating on this idea, Christiansen and Lounsbury (2013) showed how Carlsberg combined different institutional elements (e.g., social responsibility and market logic) to construct its unique identity as a brewery that promotes "responsible drinking."

According to this view, organizations attempt to become similar to others by choosing membership in an established classification system and, at the same time, differentiate themselves by combining various categories. In this sense, identity construction is a way of finding optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991). Taken together, these process-oriented approaches move the issue of identity in determining organizational action beyond a discussion of norms and constraints. By focusing on the process of identity formation, change, and recombination, the process-oriented model of identity allows for the understanding of identity as enabler of organizational action.

CONSEQUENCES OF MULTIPLE ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES

Internal Organizational Identity: Reaction of Organizational Members

Organizational theorists have long held the view that organizations may have multiple identities. The notion of multiple identities has been expressed in various terms such as dual identity, hybrid identity, or multiple identities (Albert and Whetten 1985; Anteby and Wrzesniewski 2014; Corley et al. 2006; Glynn 2000; Golden-Biddle and Rao 1997; Pratt and Foreman 2000). Despite the different labels, these concepts all indicate the multiplicity of organizational identity.

For example, Albert and Whetten (1985) have conceptualized the dual identity organization as the simplest case of a hybrid organization. According to them, a hybrid organization is “an organization whose identity is composed of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together” (p. 270). A dual identity organization is a hybrid of two types and thus the simplest form of hybrid. There are two different forms of hybrid organization: holographic and ideographic (Albert and Whetten 1985).

In holographic hybrid organizations, multiple identity elements are shared by all organizational members. A youth service program that pursues the two contradictory goals of helping others and helping oneself (Anteby and Wrzesniewski 2014) is a prime example of such organizations. Since the dual goals of the program apply to all its members, multiple identities are shared by all the members of the organization. On the other hand, different identity elements are represented by various units within an ideographic hybrid organization. For example, Glynn (2000) has shown how different professional groups in the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra hold different identity claims. Specifically, the artistic identities of musicians were constantly contested by the economic identity claims of the administrators.

These studies reflect how the multiple identities of organizations are internally defined through the distinct ideologies or missions of organizational members. It is notable that most internal identity scholars have predominantly focused on the process by which organizations come to have multiple identities and the reactions of organizational members to multiple identities. For example, Glynn (2000) have illustrated how a symphony orchestra is an organization composed of multiple identity elements construed in particular ways by different professional groups (e.g., musicians and administrators) holding competing ideologies (e.g., aesthetic vs. commercial logics). Likewise, Golden-Biddle and Rao (1997: 593) have suggested that the conflicting role orientations of the board of directors of a non-profit organization (e.g., vigilant monitors vs. supportive colleagues) can lead this organization to have a "Janus-faced" identity. In their study of a youth civic organization, Anteby and Wrzesniewski (2014) have also argued that a duality of organizational goals and missions (e.g., helping others and helping oneself) can constitute multiple organizational identities.

Following Albert and Whetten's (1985) definition of organizational identity, the social actor view suggests that multiple identity organizations are defined as those where different conceptualizations by organizational members of what is central, distinctive, and enduring about an organization coexist (Pratt and Foreman 2000: 20). The major difference between hybrid and multiple identity organizations, though, lies in their differing assumptions about the relationship of various identity elements (Corley et al. 2006). Specifically, the hybrid approach assumes that different identity elements conflict with each other because they are "normally…[not] expected to go together." In contrast, the multiple identities approach presumes that these elements or types are not necessarily contradictory and can be, in fact, productively co-managed (Pratt and Foreman 2000).

The social construction approach views multiple organizational identities as the outcome of dynamic backstage processes that underlie the creation of goals and missions. This view considers organizational members as the ultimate generators of meanings within such processes (Gioia et al. 2010; Ravasi and Schultz 2006). In line with this approach, Corley (2004) has shown how divergent views of organizational identity held by members of an organization in different hierarchical positions led to the creation of multiple organizational identities during a major economic shift of a spin-off.

External Organizational Identity: Reaction of External Audience

In contrast, external identity scholars have focused on how external audiences react to organizations' spanning of established categories within various fields including film genres (Hsu 2006; Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009; Zuckerman and Kim 2003; Zuckerman et al. 2003), culinary categories (Rao, Monin, and Durand 2005), and wine styles (Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2011; Negro and Leung 2013). Viewing identity as externally constructed, studies within this research tradition have measured complex identities using classification by external audiences, such as the typecasting of actors in the film labor market (Zuckerman et al. 2003). Within this light, the notion of identity is focused on the product level. Accordingly, researchers view product identity as the central, distinct, and enduring aspects of a product as viewed by *external audience members*. In doing so, scholars have used the lens of identity to examine not only individual actors or organizations but also products embodying different identity elements, such as multi-genre films (Hsu 2006) and multi-style wines (Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2011).

From this point of view, the purity of category (i.e., membership in a single lower-level category in an organizational category) is conducive to positive audience evaluations because categories are seen as cognitive devices that facilitate audience evaluations. In her seminal book, *Purity and Danger,* Douglas (1966) traced the words and meaning of dirt in different contexts in order to elucidate the ideas of purity and impurity. Specifically, she makes the argument that the punishment of transgressions is not necessarily fear-based. Rather, rituals of purity (e.g., reaction to dirt) are a positive move to order the environment. This work, which demonstrates the human tendency to perceive impurity as anomalous, provides a useful framework for organizational studies to understand multiple organizational identities.

To date, many organizational scholars adopting this view have produced work documenting the social penalties inflicted upon category-spanning actors. In his study of the relationship between coverage by stock analysts and stock price, Zuckerman (1999) applied the anthropological notion of categorical purity to the problem of category-spanning firms in order to investigate the penalties for hard-to-classify actors. He then termed "the categorical imperative" external audiences' use of common social categories for classifying organizations, and potential preferences for organizations more readily categorized by such schemas.

Since then, organizational scholars have shown that actors belonging to multiple sub-categories whose characteristics do not permit them to be easily classified into extant categories suffer social penalties (Hsu, 2006; Hsu and Hannan, 2005; Hsu, Hannan, and Koçak, 2009; Leung and Sharkey, 2014; Negro and Leung, 2013; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al., 2003). Recently, Negro and Leung (2013) confirmed that category spanning is harmful to organizations by showing that the penalty for category-spanning wines persists in both blind tasting and non-blind tasting. Leung and Sharkey (2014) also showed that the penalty for category spanning occurs even in the absence of underlying quality differences, emphasizing the role of audience's perception in discounting category-spanning products and organizations. Ever since Zuckerman's (1999) study of categorical imperative, social and economic disadvantages of category spanning have been widely tested in a variety of settings such as feature film (Hsu 2006;

Zuckerman and Kim 2003; Zuckerman et al. 2003), eBay auction (Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak, 2009), and wine (Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2011).

The evidence for Zuckerman's claim has been mainly accumulated in the ecologists' studies where various classifications such as niches, codes, genres, forms are extensively compared and studied (e.g., Hsu and Hannan, 2005). For example, in recent years, film genre has become a favorite unit of analysis for organizational scholars studying categories. While Hsu (2006) has applied Zuckerman's claim to the context of the U.S. film industry in order to demonstrate the reduced appeal of multi-genre films to audience members, Zuckerman et al. (2003) have documented a similar dynamic in the feature film labor market. In the latter study, penalties for multi-category membership are shown to reflect the difficulty of managing a multiplicity of different identities. In causing confusion and ambiguity for organizational decision makers, multiple categories hamper an organization's ability to negotiate the external environment. In showing how films classified as major films perform well in the mainstream market but flounder in the art house market, Zuckerman and Kim's (2003) finding emphasizes the trade-off between identity assignment and box office success.

Thus far, scholars have focused on the power of critics to impose these penalties (Polos, Hannan, & Carroll, 2002; Zuckerman, 1999). These researchers have extensively explored the penalties of fuzziness for such workers as securities analysts employed in mediated industries like the stock market upon which Zuckerman also made his original claim. According to Zuckerman (1999), in markets where market transactions are largely governed by the critic-seller rather than the buyer-seller interaction, critics and other third parties play a disproportionate role in shaping consumption patterns and imposing penalties on organizations for multi-category membership.

Furthermore, incorporating the perspectives of both audiences and producers within e-Bay auctions and U.S. feature film projects, Hsu et al. (2009) have examined the social and economic costs of spanning multiple categories for organizations and products. These costs follow from the audiences' inability to make sense of multiple categories and the producers' limited capacity to develop competitive products within multiple market niches. Taken together, the extant literature of multiple organizational identities and category spanning has predominantly focused on the purity of category in examining organizational outcomes. Therefore, having multiple organizational identities is considered to violate rules of conduct, and thus triggers negative reaction from critics and consumers and invites a downgrading of value.

Shift from the Purity of Category to the Combination of Categories

However, focusing on the purity of a category may be misleading because both internal and external identities always reflect combinations of categories and lower-level categories in them. As discussed earlier, categories can serve as raw materials for organizational identity to be combined in unique ways (Glynn 2008) and thus have "the generative capabilities" (Glynn and Navis 2013) that help organizations create a unique organizational identity. That is, organizations may try to resemble other organizations by first choosing a higher level category (e.g., bank) to belong to. However, they may also try to make themselves distinct from other organizations by combining various lower-level categories (e.g., investment banking vs. retail banking, etc.). Hence, what is implied in an organization's claim to uniqueness (e.g., "We are an authentic, New York-based, Japanese restaurant") is relative to other lower-level categories (e.g., "We are *not* Chicago-based" "We are *not* an Italian restaurant" "We are *not* a hospital", etc.). In this sense, organizational distinctiveness as well as organizational similarity is also embedded within a broader classification system.

This view has important implications for interpreting empirical findings about the consequences of category spanning. Specifically, considering that identities entail various combinations of categories, the real issue is whether the combinations of categories are seen as acceptable by audiences – both organizational members and external audiences – rather than whether organizations have a single category membership. I also argue that the acceptability varies across audiences depending on their aims. This view implies that organizations may attract broad audiences within multiple areas with their category spanning if the combination is in line with the interests and aims of the audiences. In fact, one of the shortcomings of many current studies is their implicit assumption of a unified set of audience for organizations within a given population. Furthermore, even among a handful of studies that have explored the consequences of category spanning based on the responses of multiple audiences, the findings remain mixed.

For example, after examining the effects of genre-spanning movies on the ratings and sizes of audience at both professional critic and consumer levels, Hsu (2006) showed that there was no major difference of effect in terms of the audience type. In contrast, within Kovacs and Hannan’s (2010) analysis of category spanning restaurants, groups of activists (those who post many reviews) were found to impose a weaker penalty than the mass audience. More recently, Pontikes (2012) has shown that the impact of category spanning is differentiated by audiences. Specifically, U.S. software organizations that span multiple categories appeal more to “market-makers”—those who create markets, such as venture capitalists--and less to “market-takers”—those who consume and evaluate the products, such as general consumers.

I suggest that the inconsistent findings within the current scholarship can be explained in terms of audience aims and interests. Most studies of penalties for multi-category membership have examined an actor's appeal to the audience heavily interested in a particular lower-level category. That is, the cost of having multiple identities has been so far defined in limited terms of a reduced *appeal* to those interested in a particular lower-level category (e.g., seafood) whose tastes are already fully developed. Deeply concerned about the purity of a category, they tend to be more hostile to the combination of the category they are interested in and other categories (e.g., steak).

However, if a majority of the audience is interested in consuming a higher level category (e.g., fine dining restaurant), the benefits of having multiple lower-level categories will outweigh their costs since only a specific group of audience will experience a reduced appeal. For example, Zuckerman and Kim (2003) have showed that films identified as "major fare" perform better than independent films in the mass market. Within an "art house" setting, however, they perform more poorly. Within a setting in which audience attraction to a product/organization at higher level contributes more to their performance than appealing to a smaller set of audience at lower micro level, targeting a broader array of taste positions (multi-category membership) will result in a greater overall performance.

As reflected in Hsu's (2006) study of U.S. feature film projects, the sheer number of consumers that an organization can potentially reach will increase as the number of film genres increases. In other words, the size of an audience that an organization can "attract" is an increasing function of the number of lower-level categories while the appeal of an organization is a decreasing function of their number. And if a wide range of consumers, who is interested in the appeal of a higher-level category (e.g., movies vs. sports) rather than each lower-level category (e.g., action films vs. dramas), chooses to experience a wide variety of lower-level categories through a single product, it is likely that spanning lower-level categories will enhance an organization's performance.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have argued that categories are constitutive of both internal and external organizational identities. While the internal view conceptualizes identity as organizational members' understanding of an organization's central and unique characteristics that have continuity over time, the external view considers identity to be determined by outsiders' claims to certain categories or organizational forms. Since scholars taking the external view consider sameness rather than distinctiveness to be a central feature of identity, scholars taking the internal view often critique the external view of categories for not taking into consideration the unique features of organizations that are meaningful for identity.

However, this study posits that, regardless of whether identity is internally or externally constructed, by focusing on various combinations of categories at many different levels, identity can still be conceptualized in terms of categories. This framework is especially useful for understanding the consequences of multiple organizational identities. In viewing category spanning as an organization's way of achieving optimal distinctiveness in identity, this framework encourages organizational researchers to explore the differing impact of category spanning depending on the aim or interest of audience (i.e., whether the primary audience is more interested in higher- or lower-level categories). In the following empirical chapter, I argue that the various aims of external audiences lead to different consequences for category spanning organizations.

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Figure 3.1. Illustration of Organizational Identity Comprised of Organizational Categories

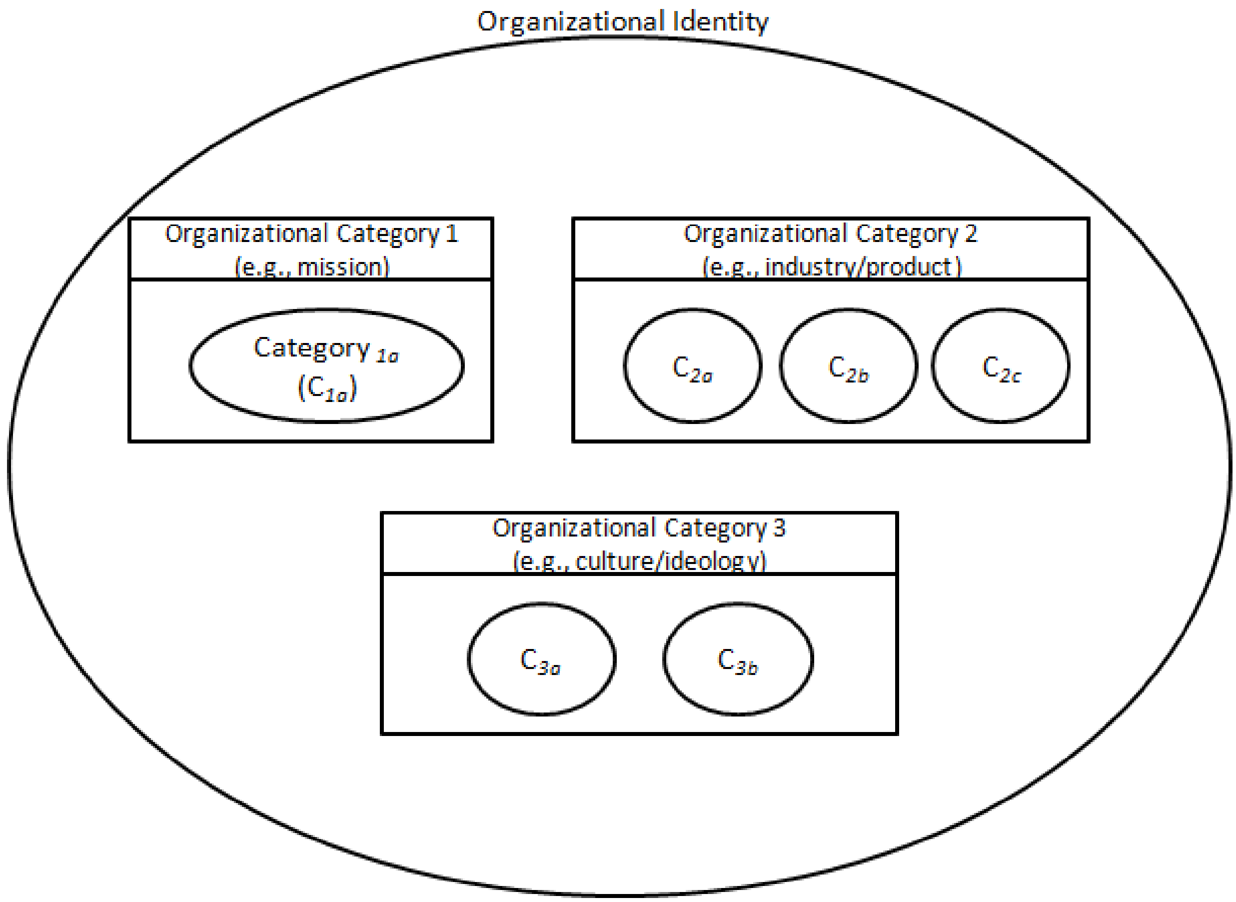
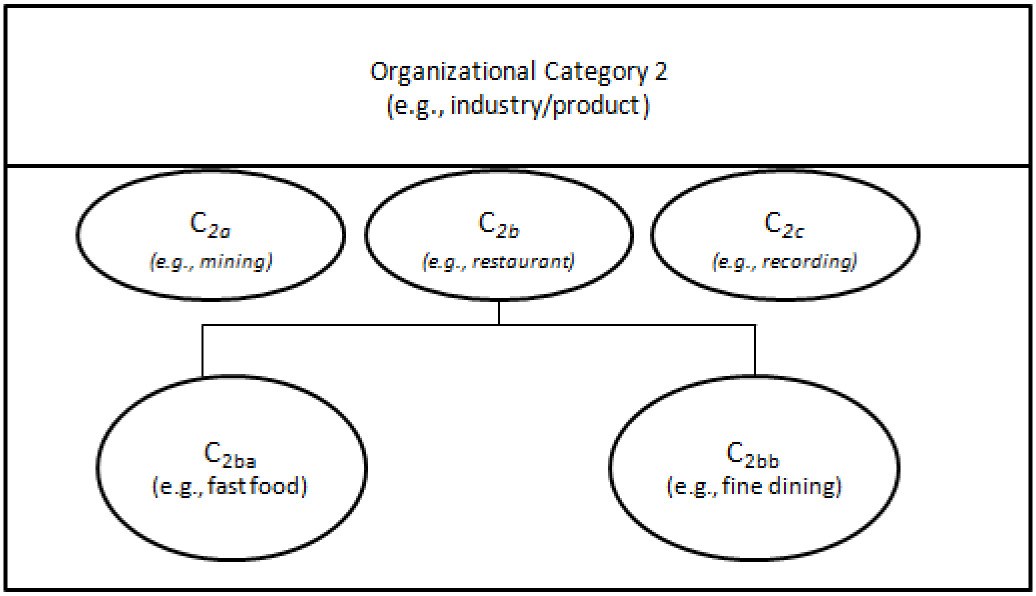


Figure 3.2. Illustration of a Multiple-Identity Organization



CHAPTER 4

Aim and Audience:

How Multiple Organizational Identities Affect

the Evaluations of External Audiences

How do external audiences react to an organization's multiple identities? To answer this question, this study defines an organizational identity as an organization's membership in social categories. Although certain scholars view organizational identity as a self-referential and internally-defined notion (Albert and Whetten 1985; Dutton and Dukerich 1991; Pratt 2003; see Gioia et al. 2013 for review), others interested in the external audiences' evaluation of organizations have argued that categories serve as an important cognitive interface between the organizations and their external audiences (Glynn 2008; Hsu and Hannan 2005; Kim and Jensen 2011; Zuckerman 1999). Thus organizational identity can be thought of as a "set of claims to a social category" (Glynn 2008: 419). Building on this research, this chapter defines the notion of multiple organizational identities as category spanning—i.e., belonging to multiple categories—and use the two terms interchangeably.

A growing body of research in identity and categorization has produced mixed findings as to whether having a simple, robust identity as opposed to an ambiguous, unclear one leads to better outcomes. For example, Zuckerman and colleagues (2003) have shown that actors with a focused, simple identity who played a particular type of character had more employment opportunities than actors who played a range of characters with complex identities. In line with this, a number of studies have documented the negative effects of products and organizational producers with ambiguous identity features (Hsu 2006; Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009; Leung and Sharkey 2014; Negro and Leung 2013). Such reactions are attributed both to common individual cognitive processes involving sorting of objects in order to expedite decision-making, and to organizational performance and quality improvements associated with specialization (Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009).

Other lines of work, however, have questioned the supposed preferences of people for a simple, clear identity and shown that multiple identities are often conducive to positive outcomes because multi-identity organizations can better reach broader sets of audience (Heaney and Rojas 2014; Kim and Jensen 2011) and are viewed as more flexible (Pontikes 2012). This chapter seeks to reconcile these apparently contradictory findings by focusing on the aims of different audiences. More specifically, I argue that their different aims lead to a preference for either a single identity or multiple identities.

Thus far, most studies showing the negative consequences of multiple identities have focused on a particular type of audience with a significant influence on consumers: market intermediaries. Market intermediaries or market mediators refer to individuals and groups with expert knowledge in certain areas who provide evaluations and recommendations of products and organizations for consumers. These intermediaries include movie critics (Hsu 2006; Kim and Jensen 2011; Pontikes 2012; Zuckerman and Kim 2003), wine experts (Negro and Leung 2013) and stock analysts (Zuckerman 1999). To date, most studies have identified the appeal of categorical purity to these intermediaries as one of the factors responsible for the penalties levied on actors with multiple identities.

However, other scholars have shown the elicitation of positive reactions from audiences who are not market intermediaries within multiple-identity organizations. For example, Kim and

Jensen (2011) found a preference among the general public for opera companies with unclear identities. They were able to attract more season-ticket holders than their counterparts with a focused identity by interspersing conventional and unconventional operas. This allowed them to attract season-ticket holders who favored conventional operas, as well as ones who appreciated unconventional operas, or both types. Along the same line, Pontikes (2012) showed that independent venture capitalists were more likely to fund software firms with ambiguous rather than clear labels.

In this chapter, I argue that professional market mediators are particularly averse to organizations with multiple identities because of the evaluative nature of their work which entails a strong need to select a narrow set of organizations for comparison. Conversely, I suggest that consumers are generally more receptive than market mediators towards multiple-identity organizations because their purpose is to find an object of *consumption* rather than *evaluation*. They are, therefore, more receptive to a broad set of organizations for consideration.

Finally, this chapter examines the dynamics between these two groups of audiences. In mediated markets, the quality of outputs is inherently difficult to evaluate. Thus, I expect third-party mediators to have a strong impact on the direct consumers' transaction with these markets. Here, it is important to note that specialists' recommendations do not influence direct consumers equally since they have varying levels of engagement with a particular category. Highly engaged consumers, also known as vanguard audiences such as connoisseurs or activists (Kocak, Hannan, and Hsu 2013), are more attentive than casual audiences to expert recommendations. With pure organizations more likely to have highly engaged consumers as their primary audience, I expect the impact of market mediators' evaluations on consumer demand to be stronger for pure than multiple-identity organizations.

To test these arguments, I used data on U.S. art museums from 1999-2010. In particular, I examined the relationship between the museums' self-classifications as either pure or mixed (e.g., art and history museum, art and science museum, etc.) and the two outcome measures of the likelihood of receiving a professional review of exhibits and attendance.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Research on the Effects of Multiple Identities on Organizational Outcomes

Negative effects. The impact of culturally-based notions of organizational "types" on the formal structures and market outcomes of organizations has been recognized by researchers since the late 1970s (see Negro, Kocak and Hsu, 2010). However, the first explicit examination of the consequences of the organizations' failure to fit within these cultural types is identified with Zuckerman's (1999) now-classic study of financial analysts' coverage of firms and their stock market returns.

Zuckerman posited that analysts specializing in a particular industry generally focus their attention on those firms that are clearly classified as part of that industry and ignore others that are not so readily classified. His argument is partly based on cognitive models of decision-making used by marketing researchers. For example, Urban, Hulland, and Weinberg (1993) found that products deviating from accepted types are likely to be viewed as incomparable to other offerings and screened out of consideration by consumers. Applying this logic to stock analysts, Zuckerman suggested (1999: 1398) that in markets that are importantly mediated by third-party critics (generally markets where product quality is very hard to gauge *prima facie*), the "failure to gain reviews by the critics who specialize in a product's intended category reflects confusion over the product’s identity and that such illegitimacy should depress demand.” Using the analysts’ reports and firms’ financial performance from 1985-94 as data, he found that “mismatched” firms (those who declared themselves as part of a particular industry in their SEC filings but were not covered by industry specialists—i.e., those for which specialists did not offer an earnings forecast) experienced significantly lower than expected stock prices—which was in line with his expectations.

Indeed, how social categories shape organizations is an intriguing question that has provided further impetus for other studies (Hsu, 2006; Hsu and Hannan, 2005; Hsu, Hannan, and Koçak, 2009; Leung and Sharkey, 2014; Negro and Leung, 2013; Zuckerman et al., 2003). Most continued Zuckerman’s focus on third-party evaluators as key audiences for organizations by exploring the reaction of these audiences to multiple organizational identities and the consequences of these ambiguous identities on organizational outcomes. Cultural industries, such as movie production, served as the setting for many studies in this tradition. Third-party mediators (e.g., film critics) are likely to be especially influential in such industries, since the quality of a performance is hard to gauge beforehand and a prior performance by any given producer is an unreliable predictor of a future one.

Positive effects. On the other hand, a growing body of work has recently advanced the literature on categorical imperatives by focusing on the circumstances within which an ambiguous identity is not necessarily detrimental to organizational outcomes. One such perspective focuses on the strategic flexibility of actors with multiple identities. From a strategic standpoint, multiple identities may signal the flexibility of actors to external audiences, which, according to Albert and Whetten (1985), provides adaptive advantages under environmental complexity.

Along similar lines, sociological research has shown that organizations with multiple identities can serve as brokers between cliques (Heaney and Rojas 2014) by using different sets of their identity to appeal to different audiences (Padgett and Ansell 1993). Not only that, by using these same sets to differentiate themselves from their competitors, they are often seen as more innovative than organizations with simple identities (Hsu, Negro, and Perretti 2012; Pontikes 2012; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2005).

Multiple audiences. Findings from some studies that provide support for the claim that third-party mediators respond negatively to multiple identities also suggest that some consumers have distinct preferences for multiple identities, net of critics' recommendations. Zuckerman's early work (1999) suggests that diversified firms with industry-spanning business units were especially likely to be disadvantaged by a fuzzy identity (1999: 1420). Not only did he not provide systematic data to support this point, he also made the interesting discovery that greater levels of diversification were consistent predictors of higher-than-expected financial returns, net of the effect of the stock analysts' coverage (1999: 1425-1427). Hence, his data suggest both potentially positive and negative effects of multiple identities.

Hsu's (2006) study of the film industry provides another example of a work that suggests both positive and negative effects for category-spanning. The study consisted of examining the relationship between the number and degree of overlap among the genres (e.g., western, action, romantic comedy) used by key film data bases to categorize new films and the film ratings by both professional and lay critics. While films with larger niches (spanning more genres) received a larger number of total reviews than those with smaller niches, the ratings assigned to these films from both professional and non-professional evaluators were significantly lower.

Despite these critics' more negative reviews, however, Hsu (2006: 437) noted how the "niche width does not have a significant impact on…[the] total U.S. box office gross." Likewise, the number of individuals who rated a film on IMBD, the major data base that she used to measure the film viewers, was also reported to be unaffected by the niche width. Thus, the negative reactions of critics to genre-spanning did not appear to be determinative of a film's overall financial success or of the propensity of at least part of the film-going audience to view it.

Similarly, a study by Zuckerman and Kim (2003), also set in the movie industry, suggests differences in the responses of reviewers and typical film-goers to mass-appeal films, usually spanning a broad range of genres, and art films, spanning a narrow range. In line with other work suggesting the preference of critics for categorical clarity, they found that mass-appeal films received more negative ratings from critics than art films. Their results also indicated that films that were reviewed more often and more favorably characterized enjoyed greater box office success. Net of reviewer effects, though, the results also indicated that art films—which, as noted above, are less likely to be category-spanning—had lower cumulative box office grosses (2003: 54). In other words, category-spanning, mass-appeal films were more popular with general audiences than art films despite the reviewers' more favorable evaluation of the latter.

Hence, Zuckerman and Kim (2003) and Hsu's studies (2006), like Zuckerman's (1999) early work, provide support for the claim that third-party mediators are apt to respond negatively to complex identities and that these responses have significant economic consequences. But data from all three studies also indicate that even in markets characterized by a high level of uncertainty, where mediators' effects are expected to be the strongest, a significant number of direct consumers exercise their preferences independent of the critics' recommendations.

To explain these differing results, I propose that the disadvantage associated with multiple identities depends on the ultimate aim of the audience. Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak's (2009) study of eBay auction sellers lends indirect support for this claim. They found that category-spanning auction sellers were more strongly penalized by bidders who possessed category-focused identities. Specifically, auction sellers with a history of category spanning were much less likely to sell their items to bidders who—as signaled by their username such as "elvis fan"—strongly identified themselves with the categories. In this respect, I predict that an audience whose aim does not require a significant commitment to a particular category will be more lenient towards multiple-identity organizations.

The differences in the reactions of different audiences to multiple identities were explored more directly in Pontikes' (2012) recent research on software companies. Using companies' self-depictions in press releases to code firms in terms of the degree to which they were associated with "fuzzy labels," Pontikes (2012) found that firms with fuzzy labels tended to have lower overall sales revenues. She, in turn, took these lower sale revenues as indicating the consumers' negative evaluation of such firms. However, firms with fuzzy labels also had significantly higher levels of investment from venture capitalists (2012: 101). She attributed the different reactions of these two audiences to their distinctive interests. Venture capitalists are interested in firms with greater flexibility in developing new products, and growth potential. As they viewed category-spanning firms as more flexible and more innovative, they were more likely to invest in these companies. In contrast, consumers were more interested in easily identifying firms that will meet their need for a specific product or solution. Thus, they were more likely to seek firms with simple and clear identities.

Despite the substantial contribution of this study, the relationship between unclear market identities and audience evaluations still remains vague. Pontikes' study (2012) accounts for the differences in the audience reactions to ambiguous labels by distinguishing market-makers such as venture capitalists (those who aim to change the existing classification system) from market-takers such as critics and consumers (those who use the existing classification to find or evaluate a product). However, this framework still begs the question of whether and how those market-takers who rely on established social categories to make sense of the offerings, will respond differently to an ambiguous organizational identity. Taken as a whole, a finer-grained analysis of why audiences react to multiple organizational identities differently is needed in order to elucidate the impact of multiple identities on organizations. Within this chapter, I posit that the effects of a clear or ambiguous identity will vary according to the audience aim.

Hypothesis 1: Evaluation-oriented critics

Professional art critics with a specialized knowledge in art constitute a major evaluative audience for art museums. Often referred to as connoisseurs, they serve as gatekeepers for the purity of cultural genres (Glynn and Lounsbury 2005). I expect that this particular audience is apt to ignore the exhibits of multiple-identity art museums because critics find the combination of art and non-art categories such as history or science to be irrelevant to their task of evaluating *art* work. Prior to evaluation, critics go through the step of choosing a set of candidates by eliminating those who do not meet their minimum criteria of eligibility. When examining art exhibits, art critics will find exhibits at multiple-identity art museums to be peripheral to their task, because art museums with additional membership in non-art categories do not represent the prototypical art category in which the art critics specialize.

In line with this argument, scholars have suggested that multiple-identity organizations/products are apt to be ignored by external audiences who use established categories to make sense of the offerings and to identify other similar ones for comparison. When actors span categories, audiences have difficulty making sense of them and view their poor fit into a single category as lack of commitment (Hsu, Hannan, and Kocak 2009; Leung and Sharkey 2014; Negro and Leung 2013; Zuckerman 1999). Because art critics may interpret the multiple identities of an art museum in such a way, I expect them to screen out or simply ignore the collections and exhibits of multiple-identity museums.

H1. Exhibitions in multiple-identity art museums are less likely than exhibitions in pure art museums to be covered by professional art critics.

Hypothesis 2: Leisure-oriented consumers

Unlike third-party evaluators, the public's aim is leisure-oriented. For the purpose of this article, the term "leisure" denotes a broad range of non-evaluative aims such as experiential learning, cultural education, and entertainment. According to Weil (1999), with the public increasingly viewing museum-going as a leisure experience, museums now compete with other sources of mass entertainment for audience patronage and attention (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004; Harris, 1999).

Since the major aim of the public museum-goer is to get a quality leisure experience, visitors will not necessarily view multiple-identity art museums as threatening to social boundaries. Lacking a preference for categorical purity, they are more likely to accept the porous boundaries between art and other museum categories such as history or science. For this reason, art museums with multiple organizational identities are unlikely to repel the public. If anything, they are more likely to attract museum-goers who seek a variety of leisure experiences.

The leisure-focused aim of the public audience is consistent with the characteristics of museum-goers revealed in the studies of art museum visitors. Who visits art museums? Extant work shows that the habit of art museum visiting is positively correlated with socio-economic status and educational attainment (Kawashima 1998). This is probably because of the resources of the wealthy and well-educated to engage in leisure activities. In addition, according to DiMaggio (1996), art museum visitors are more open to other forms of culture and lifestyle than comparable non-visitors. For example, they have more favorable attitudes towards multiculturalism and popular culture than non-visitors. They are also more approving of lowbrow culture than non-visitors. Finally, they are more likely to agree with the statement that "excellence is as likely to be found in folk or commercial culture as in the high arts" (DiMaggio 1996: 173). Based on studies that show that the art museum visitors' enthusiasm for high culture does not involve the disparagement of other cultural forms, I expect them to be appreciative, rather than dismissive, of art and non-art combinations.

H2. Multiple-identity art museums attract more visitors than pure art museums.

Hypotheses 3: Role of Critics in Shaping Consumer Demand

Third-party evaluators' opinions can be powerful in shaping market outcomes. As Zuckerman demonstrated in his classic study of the categorical imperative (1999), firms that failed to receive coverage by stock analysts suffered lowered stock prices. In his comparative study of two industries, Hirsch (1975) also showed the vital role of external gatekeepers in organizational success. One of the factors for the greater success of pharmaceutical manufacturers than phonograph record companies was their control of major market mediators such as the *American Medical Association* (AMA). While the pharmaceutical manufacturers' co-optation of the AMA enabled them to create a context conducive to the promotion of new drugs, the recording industry's failure to co-opt professional gatekeepers such as radio station personnel soon made their products obsolete.

Sociologists argue that the influence of third-party evaluators on market outcomes is particularly critical in cultural markets due to the average consumer's difficulty in evaluating cultural objects (Hirsch 1972, 2000; Litman 1983; Shrum 1991; Wijnberg and Gemser 2000). The concept of cultural mediation considers the consumption of cultural objects to be a complex process involving market mediators such as critics (Becker 1982; Griswold 1986; Shrum 1991). Often called gatekeepers (Hirsch 1972) or tastemakers (Lynes 1949), art critics have been shown to shape the experience of cultural consumers. For example, Shrum (1991) showed how increasing the number of critics' reviews resulted in an increased attendance for the performing arts. This effect was stronger than the modality of the reviews, suggesting that the positive effect of reviews—like general advertising—follows mostly from visibility than evaluation. In other words, audiences were more likely to respond to *whether* the production was noticed by reviewers than *what* the reviewers said about it. Based on this cultural mediation argument, I expect the art critics' reviews to increase the number of art museum visitors.

H3. Professional art critics' reviews have a positive effect on the attendance rates of art museums.

Hypotheses 4: Highly Engaged Consumers vs. Casual Consumers

It is important to note that the level of engagement with a particular category varies among the consumers (Kocak, Hannan, and Hsu 2014). Previous research distinguished between vanguard audience members such as serious art collectors who are highly engaged in a market and the passive lay audience (Fine 2004). Vanguard audience members also include critics (Glynn and Lounsbury 2005; Shrum 1991), activists (Rao, Monin, and Durnad 2003; Weber, Heinz, and DeSoucey 2008), enthusiasts (Kovacs and Hannan 2010), and highly engaged consumers (Kocak, Hannan, and Hsu 2014; Schneiberg and Berk 2010) who have been shown to exert great influence in creating and disseminating labels, meanings, and categories for the products. Research also showed highly engaged consumers to be more attuned than other audiences to the opinions of vanguard audiences (Kocak, Hannan, and Hsu 2014). Hence, these members of the vanguard audience are more likely than the casual audience to rely on the art critics' evaluations.

Due to this varied level of engagement in art categories among the museum-goers, I do not expect all consumer demand to be equally affected by the art critics' recommendations. Shrum's (1991) research on the relationship between reviewer evaluations and audience attendance provides a useful starting point for testing this claim. Using data on performing arts shows and critics' reviews from the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, he found that positive reviews significantly increased the attendance of highbrow genres including theatre, opera, mime, dance, orchestral, recitals, and poetry but had no effect in popular genres including comedy, musical, revue, cabaret, folk, jazz, rock, and children. Although this dichotomization into highbrow and popular types was his subjective assessment, he argued that his classification was not in conflict with the existing list of genres in fine art and popular art (e.g., Zolberg 1990: 144). All in all, this work shows that some consumers are more influenced by third party mediator evaluations than others.

Building on these findings, I hypothesize that the positive influence of the critics' reviews of art exhibits on consumer demand for art museums will be less strong for multiple-identity museums because of their low vanguard audience-base (i.e., they have fewer serious art fans as their primary consumers). In contrast to the vanguard audience, the causal audience is less likely to pay attention to the critics' reviews. In a similar vein, Gans (1974) has argued that publics with little interest in highbrow culture are less likely to be interested in professional reviews since they are unwilling to learn *how to* respond to cultural objects.

In addition, even if a causal audience is aware of critics' reviews, it may be less driven by them than vanguard members because these experts are not seen as an important source of information. According to Shrum (1991), in order to predict the relationship between reviews and the size of the audience, an assumption must be made. That is, the reviewers' tastes must be similar to the consumers'. As he noted,

> [I]f reviewers' tastes are at odds with popular preferences because they are oversophisticated or idiosyncratic, then there should be no effect of reviews on size of audience: following reviewers' recommendations will be unrelated to enjoyment of artwork, so consumers must employ other decision criteria (p. 353).

With casual art fans less likely to share the highly developed aesthetic taste typically found in the reviews of fine art critics, they are apt to collect and compare information from a wide range of experts and not just from the highbrow elite. For this reason, I suggest that while the recommendations of professional art critics may increase the demand of direct consumers and art museums in general, this influence is likely stronger for pure art museums, which, following the categorical imperative, fit most neatly into the conventional categories used by mediators.

H4. The positive effect of professional art critics' reviews on rates of attendance is stronger for pure art museums than multiple-identity art museums.

METHODS

Data

Archives. To test the hypotheses, I constructed a longitudinal dataset of U.S. art museums for a 12-year period from 1999 to 2010 using three different archival sources: the *Official Museum Directory* (*OMD*), the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), and two art periodicals. First, I relied on the *OMD*, which is published annually by the American Association of Museums (AAM),[8] the most influential professional association in the museum field (DiMaggio, 1991), to collect nonfinancial information about the museums. Publishing the results of a questionnaire sent every year according to each of its listings, OMD is a one-of-a-kind reference for museum operations.

Drawing on the broad range of information provided by this data source, I relied on its classification scheme consisting of the following fourteen categories to code the art museums's multiple identities: art / children's museums / college and university museums / company museums / exhibit areas / general museums / history / libraries having collections of books / libraries having collections other than books / national and state agencies, councils, and commissions / nature centers / park museums and visitor centers / science / and specialized.

[8] It changed its name to American Alliance of Museums in 2012.

Museums are allowed by OMD to choose more than one category from this classification scheme that remained the same during the observation period (1999–2010). The directory also provided quantitative information about the museums including their attendance, number of employees, number of exhibitions, admission fee, and membership fee.

Second, I obtained financial information from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service dataset digitized by the NCCS, which has downloaded and cleaned the IRS data every six months since 1995. With its complete listing of all registered charitable organizations, the NCCS dataset is considered the most comprehensive and reliable source of information on nonprofit finance (e.g., Hwang & Powell, 2009). From this dataset, I extracted a variety of financial variables such as donations, membership dues, program revenue, and total revenue.

Finally, I used the two art-specific periodicals (*Art Forum* and *Art News*) to collect information on professional recognition. To choose a valid source of professional art critics' reviews of art museum exhibitions, I consulted five executive-level personnel of four art museums with varying sizes[9]. Specifically, I asked them the following question: *What do you consider to be the most reliable and prestigious "national-level magazines/journals for art museum and/or art exhibition-related articles?" They could be either in print or online. Please list up to three.* While their responses showed minor variance, *Art Forum* and *Art News* remained consistently mentioned by all the interviewees; hence, I chose them as an important, general source of exhibition reviews.

[9] This consultation was part of the follow-up interviews to the initial exploratory interviews that are explained further in the following paragraph. Only five of eight individuals responded to the follow-up interview questions. The affiliation and position of these individuals are as follows: Director of Communications at the Museum of Modern Art New York, Senior Deputy Director of Exhibitions and Collections at the Museum of Modern Art New York, Director of Library and Museum Services at the Morgan Library & Museum, Executive Director of Everson Museum of Art, and Executive Director of Rockwell Museum of Western Art.

Interviews. I also conducted unstructured, exploratory interviews with museum executives to develop a better understanding of the art museum field. Eight executive-level individuals from six art museums in the Northeast region of the United States agreed to participate in the interviews. Three of the museums were large, nationally-known art museums located in New York City. One of the three museums was a multiple-identity art museum. The other three were local art museums, located in Upstate New York. It was a convenience sample, chosen non-randomly on the basis of geographical proximity to the research site and the willingness of executives to participate in the interviews. The number of interviews totaled 14 and included follow-up e-mail interviews. The face-to-face interviews typically lasted 45 to 60 minutes and were conducted on site.

The majority of the interviewees were executive directors and the rest directors of key departments (e.g., communication, education, museum services, collections and exhibitions). Most questions were open-ended to allow the respondents to bring up any issue related to the "evaluation of art museums." For example, every interview began with the question: "What criteria do you use to evaluate museum quality?" The questions were also tailored to the respondents' areas of expertise. For example, the interview with the director of collections and exhibitions focused on special exhibitions. During the interview with the director of communications, I focused mainly on public relations issues such as when the press release goes out and how the museum pitches stories to the press. Three interviews were recorded and extensive notes taken for the rest.

Sampling

Drawing on the *OMD* index, which provides a comprehensive list of museums by category, I created a random sample of art museums. If a museum belonged to multiple categories, then it is represented multiple times within those categories. For example, the Key West Museum of Art and History was listed in the categories of both “art museums and galleries” and “history museums.” To ensure that the category of “art” was a major part of organizational identity, I started my research with the museums classified under the category of “art museums and galleries.”

I first listed all museums that ever appeared in the OMD index under the category “art museums and galleries” in any of the annual publications of the OMD from 1999 to 2010, which totaled 2,017. Then, I excluded 61 museums (2.9%) that appeared fewer than five times during the observation period, given the use of a time-series regression. Considering that the observation lasted 12 years and that most variables except the dependent variable are 1-year lagged, I used five years, which is approximately a half of the observation period (11 years) as a cutoff point. This exclusion yielded a sample of 1,956 museums. Due to time and financial constraints, a random sample of 652 museums was drawn. To create a random sample of the museums that were alphabetically sorted in the index, every third museum was chosen.

Subsequently, using the categorical description provided in the body of the directory, I double-checked whether a museum had at least a partial membership in the category of “art museum.” The body gave detailed information of each museum, including its categorical identity. For example, the Key West Museum of Art and History was included in the sample because of its description as an “art and history museum” in the body of the directory. However, there were 49 cases where the categorical description in the body did not match the category of “art museums and galleries.” To illustrate, the Museum of Jurassic Technology was identified as a “natural history museum” in the body of the directory but included in the “art museums and galleries” category in the index. These cases were deemed irrelevant to the category of art museums and thus excluded from the sample. In addition, 279 university-affiliated museums were excluded because they were not considered independent entities and did not have their financial information included in the NCCS dataset. As a result, the sample included 3,408 museum-year observations consisting of 324 art museums.

Measures

Critics’ review. I used the critics’ reviews of special art exhibitions published in *Art News* and *Art Forum* as a measure of their evaluation of art exhibits. Art exhibits are a major output of museums geared towards art professionals and public (Alexander 1996c). By displaying objects within these “art” exhibitions, the curators act as gatekeepers who define and validate art and shape high art world trends (Alexander 1996c; Becker 1982; Hirsch 1972).

Each issue of *Art News* and *Art Forum* contained approximately 20 pages of detailed reviews of recent special art exhibitions in art museums and galleries across the United States. On average, each issue typically featured 30 exhibitions in its review section. Compared to critique-based reviews common in cultural industries such as the film industry, all these reviews presented detailed descriptions of exhibitions and artists in a very positive manner. Museum insiders, in turn, regarded an entry in these review sections as highly honorable since they had to meet the extremely selective criteria of professional critics to be featured in these magazines with their limited space. Thus, being featured in the review section of either the *Art Forum* or *Art News* can be considered a positive form of evaluation from a professional audience.

Consumer demand. While the consumer demand for art museums was measured by the annual number of visitors, I used the log-transformed value of attendance for the analysis in order to correct the skewed distribution of this variable.

Multiple identities. To measure multiple identities, I generated a dummy variable where I used 1 to code a museum that was cross-classified and 0 otherwise. That is, I regarded the museums with both art and non–art categories as a multiple-identity art museum. About a quarter of the museums in the sample (27%) classified themselves using two or more categories including art. The distribution of non–art categories within which the art museums were cross-classified is provided in Table 4.1. Art museums appeared to span only five of the nine non–art categories that were available: children's museums, general museums, history museums, libraries, and science museums. "History" was the most typical category paired with art. More than half of the multiple-identity art museums (54%) characterized themselves as an art and history museum.

Control variables. The study also controlled for diverse factors that could potentially affect the likelihood of getting reviewed by the critics and the rates of attendance. First, for the analysis of the professional art critics' reviews, I controlled for organizational age, the size (number of employees), the level of resources (assets), and two dichotomous indicators of location (New York City/Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs). With the number of exhibitions reflecting a museum's scholarly capacity for putting an array of artworks together, I also controlled for the number of art exhibitions held in a given year. The number of exhibitions has a significant impact on the critics' perception of art museums. As a way of controlling for the possible effect of visibility in the art field, I also included an indicator for inter-museum loans (whether a museum participated in inter-museum loans or not) and the number of publications.

Likewise, I also controlled for age, size (the number of employees), resources (assets), location (NYC/MSAs), the number of exhibitions, and inter-museum loan for the analysis of attendance. Because membership holders tend to visit museums more frequently (Anderson, 2004; Glynn, Bhattacharya, and Rao 1996), the number of members was included in the model. Also, since additional facilities may attract more people, I controlled for the existence of museum shops and research libraries attached to the art collections. With visiting a museum in part an economic decision, I controlled for the admission fee. Because well-performing organizations have abundant resources to improve the quality of the museum, two types of revenue (donations and earned income) were controlled for. Lastly, after noting the celebrity-like status of some museum directors like Jeffrey Deitch of the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art and Philippe De Montebello of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I included the executive-level employees' salary to control for their effect on the public's perception of an art museum.

Analytic Strategy

Certain caveats are in order when considering the use of panel data to test the hypotheses. Because multiple observations are drawn from the same organization, it is likely that repeated observations of one organization are positively correlated. In accounting for all the stable characteristics of an organization, whether observed or unobserved, fixed effects methods are an effective way to control for unobserved heterogeneity. However, if predictors are time invariant within individual organizations, fixed effect methods will not produce reliable estimates. That is because an individual-specific error term is perfectly collinear with a column vector of variables that describes the time-invariant individual organizations.

Since the main predictor in this study, i.e., multiple identities, shows no variation within a museum, I tested the hypotheses using time-series Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE; also known as population-averaged estimation model), which is a method widely used for panel data. This particular method is renowned for its ability to control for autocorrelation, to specify the best-fitting distribution, and to produce efficient estimates of the coefficients by taking over-time correlations into account when producing the estimates (Hubbard et al. 2010). All independent and control variables are 1-year lagged to prevent the problem of reverse causality.

RESULTS

Analysis of Critics' Review

For the analysis of critics' reviews, I had to resolve the issue of some cases reporting zero exhibits in a given year. If a museum has no special exhibit within a given year, it is impossible to receive a review since the reviews are of special exhibits and not of museums. To deal with this issue, I excluded all cases that had zero special exhibits from the data for the analysis of critics' reviews. This applied to approximately 24% of pure art museums (56 out of 236) and 33% of multiple-identity art museums (29 out of 88) during the observation years (1999-2010). This also meant that 1,972 out of 3,408 observations were dropped from the sample. The results are reported in the first two columns of Table 4.3. The first column shows the results of the baseline model that only includes control variables. Art museums are more likely to get noticed by art critics if they have more employees and are located in New York City. The second column shows that category spanning lowers the chance of getting reviewed by art critics, as predicted in Hypothesis 1.

As an alternative to excluding all cases with no special exhibits, I applied the Heckman selection procedure (Heckman 1979) to the full sample and developed a model for estimating the likelihood of a museum having an exhibit. I created a selection variable based on the coefficients from that estimated model that represents the likelihood of having an exhibit. Specifically, I included two indicators of popular locations (New York City, Metropolitan Statistical Areas), the number of employees, and inter-museum loan in the GEE logistic regression that predicts exhibits/no exhibits. Then I included the associated coefficients of these four variables in constructing the variable that served as a selection measure. This selection variable was included in the full model for the analysis of critics' reviews as a control variable.

The last two columns of Table 4.3 report the results of this analysis. The third column shows the baseline model. The number of exhibits and the size of assets have positive influence on attracting critics' attention. In the subsequent model, I added the indicator of multiple identities to test Hypothesis 1. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the fourth column demonstrates that multiple identities have a negative impact on the professional audience's evaluation. That is, a museum's exhibition is less likely to be covered by art critics if a museum belongs to both art and non-art categories.

Analysis of Attendance

Next, I ran the analyses to test Hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 concerning the effects of multiple identities and the critics' reviews on the rate of attendance. The results are reported in Table 4.4. Model 1 is a baseline model that includes only control variables. In Model 2, I added an indicator of multiple identities to test Hypothesis 2. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, self-claimed multiple identities increased the attendance figure. That is, multiple-identity art museums attracted more visitors than pure art museums. Since market mediators' recommendations tend to shape consumers' demand, I hypothesized that receiving critics' reviews would increase attendance. In both Models 2 and 3, the critics' reviews had a strong positive influence on the rate of attendance.

Hypothesis 4 addressed the moderating effect of multiple identities on the relationship between critics' reviews and consumers' demand. I tested this hypothesis by including the interacting term of self-claimed multiple identities and the professional critics' reviews in Model 3. As shown in Model 3, the coefficient of the interaction term is negative and significant suggesting that art critics' reviews may *decrease* attendance for category-spanning art museums.

At first this finding was surprising given the accumulated evidence for the positive influence of critical reviews on consumer demand in the extant literature (Shrum 1991; Zuckerman 1999). However, the differing nature of vanguard audience (e.g., art critics, serious art fans) and casual audience offers two possible explanations for why reviews did not yield the expected effect for multiple-identity art museums. First, in an effort to get noticed by art critics, museums may spend less time developing exhibits with broader appeal. If those shows get reviewed, casual audience may respond negatively to them, even if they were unaware of the reviews. Second, assuming that most visitors of multiple-identity art museums have an extremely leisure-oriented taste and prefer diversity to specialty in museum collections, they may interpret the art experts' museum reviews as a sign that the museum has become less diverse. That is, assuming that casual audience prefers impurity to purity, the audience may question the claimed *impurity* of multiple-identity art museums that have been validated by the vanguard audience (e.g., art critics) valuing categorical purity. Consequently, casual audience may find such art museums unattractive.

Robustness Checks

To address the concern that the self-claimed indicator of multiple identities is only reflective of internal aspects of organizational identity, I constructed another measure of organizational identity using museum name. Identity scholars have regarded organizational name as a symbolic form of organizational identity (Boddewyn 1967; Glynn and Abzug 2002; Olins 1989). Name is appropriate for investigating the effects of identity on audience evaluations as it is easily communicated to external audiences. To this end, I developed a coding scheme that captured four different naming patterns: reference to multiple identities ("art" and something else), reference to a pure identity ("art" only), reference only to non-art categories, and no categorical identity. Ten percent of art museums in the sample appeared to reveal their multiple identities in names. More than 50% of art museums that I identified as multiple-identity organizations using the museum's self-classification system did not reveal any categorical identity in their names or made reference to only art in their names. The distribution of four different name types and their corresponding proportions are summarized in Table 4.5 with representative examples of each name type. Table 4.2 shows that name-based multiple identities are highly correlated with self-claimed multiple identities (0.50).

I ran the same sets of analyses for all four hypotheses replacing the self-claimed indicator of multiple identities with the name-based one. Results of the analysis of critics' reviews are reported in Table 4.6. As seen in columns 2 and 4, name-based multiple identities significantly lowered a museum's chance of receiving reviews from art critics. It is notable that name-based multiple-identities have a larger negative impact on the likelihood of reviews from art critics than self-claimed multiple identities. Since a name is highly visible and readily communicated to an external audience, multiple identities reflected in name may easily trigger rejection from critics. Critics may also use name as a screening criterion when they cognitively process information about an exhibition and museum.

Table 4.7 shows the results of the analysis of attendance. As shown in Model 2, multiple-identity art museums are likely to attract more visitors than pure art museums if they reveal their multiple identities in names, consistent with Hypothesis 2. The effects of reviews are consistently positive and significant across all models, as expected in Hypothesis 3. Model 3 demonstrates the interaction of name-based multiple identities and reviews is negative and marginally significant, lending support for Hypothesis 4. Taken as a whole, consistent findings across different indicators of multiple identities lend strong support for all four hypotheses.

DISCUSSION

A central objective of this study was to provide insight into how different audiences react differently to organizations with multiple identities. I suggested that professional and public audiences have different aims and thus adopt different lenses to view multiple-identity art museums. Therefore, whether organizations with multiple identities receive favorable or hostile reactions from their audience is contingent on the purpose of audience.

The findings of this study suggest that the claim of previous research on categorical imperatives that category-spanning organizations suffer social and economic penalties (Hsu 2006; Hsu, Hannan, and Koçak 2009; Zuckerman 1999; Zuckerman et al. 2003) can be relaxed when taking the aim of audience into consideration. Having said that, my goal is not to generalize that direct consumers are always more lenient toward multiple-identity products/organizations than market mediators as the aim of direct consumers may vary by empirical context.

Sociologists and management scholars have focused on how different audiences hold different expectations in cultural fields (Alexander 1996b; Cattani, Ferriani, and Allison 2014; Kim and Jensen 2011; Kim and Jensen 2014; Wijnberg and Gemser 2000). As most direct consumers approach cultural goods as a source of entertainment, they have a leisure-oriented aim which leads them to choose popular and easy-to-understand products. For example, Kim and Jensen (2011) found that a greater interspersion of conventional and unconventional operas leads to higher season-ticket sales but less coverage by critics since interspersion also makes unconventional repertoires less salient. As such, consumers in cultural industries often lack preference for specific categories as their consumption is largely for entertainment/leisure purposes.

However, for technical goods or services in the labor market, direct consumers and employers often have a clear idea of what they want and thus can easily sort out what they consider to be irrelevant to their need. For example, Pontikes (2012) suggested that an ambiguous identity was considered innovative by investors but confusing for critics and direct consumers. In this study, I contend that ambiguous identity itself is neutral—neither innovative nor confusing—but leads to different consequences depending on the aim of the audience. Within Pontikes' study (2012) of the software industry, it is reasonable to assume that both direct consumers and critics know what they want and can readily evaluate the candidates using a set of objective criteria. Investors, on the contrary, do not necessarily want products or experiences in particular categories as long as the expected returns are high.

I also developed a finer-grained mechanism of categorical imperatives by examining how market mediators shape the direct consumers' demand. In general, the findings support the original categorical imperative conjecture that failure to receive coverage by market specialists lowers public demand. That is, the public is apt to be influenced by market specialists' evaluations. Going beyond the original conjecture, however, I refined the argument by showing that direct consumers choosing multiple-identity products/organizations are negatively influenced by such evaluations. I explained this by assuming the primary audience for multiple-identity art museums to be causal consumers who prefer diversity to specialty rather than vanguard consumers who are highly engaged in a single category. The current data do not allow for the testing of this assumption and I acknowledge this as a key limitation of this study. Getting information on the actual composition of visitors of pure and multiple-identity museums will allow for a more rigorous investigation of this argument. Nonetheless, these findings provide a useful starting point for investigating the relationship between the level of engagement and cultural capital. As shown in Shrum's (1991) study, the effects of critics' reviews on attendance are limited to highbrow genres. This suggests that pure art museums are more likely to be perceived as a highbrow cultural institution by consumers and critics. Future research on this complicated web of organizational identity, cultural capital, and audience heterogeneity is warranted.

The proposed framework also begs the question of what level of categories of organizations affects the evaluations of external audiences. Organizations draw their identity elements from both micro- and macro-level environments (Glynn 2008; Pedersen and Dobbin 2006). That is, while organizations may choose to conform to the more macro-level of social classification (e.g., banking institution), they may distinguish from other organizations within the same macro categories (e.g., Bank of America, Citizens Bank, etc.). This study suggests that the aim of audience may lead the audience to focus on and draw meaning from a particular level of categories.

That is, this study indicates that audiences may subjectively find identity cues that are consistent with their aims. Art critics are specialists and thus institutional boundaries between art and non-art are salient to them. So is the micro distinction between art and science. By contrast, the boundaries separating museums from other types of cultural organizations (e.g., movie theatre, theme parks, etc.) may be more salient and important to direct consumers given their leisure-oriented purpose. In other words, non-specialists construct organizational identity at a more macro level and micro-categories are much fuzzier to them. This is an important and interesting topic of future research.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have sought to build a better understanding of the effects of multiple organizational identities on various organizational outcomes such as an external audience's evaluation in the context of U.S. art museums. Through longitudinal analyses of archival data and field interviews, I illustrated that different audiences (e.g., market mediators and direct consumers) react to multiple organizational identities in different ways. Specifically, this study presents three core findings that help us to understand the effects of multiple identities on organizational outcomes. First, market intermediaries tend to reject exhibits in multiple-identity art museums because the evaluative nature of their work drives them to focus on a narrow set of candidates. Second, direct consumers favor art museums possessing multiple identities as they are on a lookout for a broad set of candidates that can meet their desire for gratifying leisure activities. Third, while market mediators' recommendations increase consumer demand in general, consumers for multiple-identity museums are negatively influenced by mediators' recommendations as they are apt to view the critics' reviews as a signal of the organization's increased commitment to a particular identity, which may be understood as going against their preference for diverse identities. Taken as a whole, the effects of having multiple identities depend on audience preference.

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Table 4.1. Distribution of Identity Types by Self-Classification

Identity type	Proportion	Non-art category
Single (art only)	75%	
Multiple (art & non-art)	25%	History: 54% General:17% Science: 12% Children: 10% Library: 7%

Table 4.2. Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix

		Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	MI_self-label	0.27	0.44	0.00	1.00	1.00						
2	MI_name	0.09	0.29	0.00	1.00	0.50	1.00					
3	Review	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	-0.11	-0.07	1.00				
4	Attendance (ln)	10.51	1.50	5.02	15.66	-0.03	-0.04	0.35	1.00			
5	Assets (ln)	14.69	2.35	0.00	21.99	-0.09	0.00	0.41	0.62	1.00		
6	Total revenue (ln)	13.69	1.93	8.43	20.91	-0.10	-0.07	0.46	0.74	0.83	1.00	
7	Donations (ln)	12.83	2.68	0.00	20.75	-0.06	-0.03	0.39	0.66	0.72	0.89	1.00
8	Earned income (ln)	12.58	2.06	0.00	19.77	-0.11	-0.07	0.44	0.71	0.80	0.92	0.73
9	Age (ln)	50.58	33.61	1.00	185.00	-0.13	-0.07	0.13	0.20	0.31	0.31	0.20
10	Employees (ln)	2.49	1.47	0.00	7.84	0.01	-0.01	0.41	0.77	0.70	0.81	0.71
11	Exhibits (ln)	0.81	1.04	0.00	4.34	-0.18	-0.09	0.37	0.35	0.37	0.41	0.34
12	NYC	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	-0.06	0.03	0.38	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.22
13	MSA	0.59	0.49	0.00	1.00	-0.02	-0.01	0.17	0.35	0.29	0.36	0.34
14	Member (ln)	0.34	0.05	0.17	0.77	0.06	-0.02	-0.14	-0.30	-0.38	-0.40	-0.31
15	Inter-mus loan	0.16	0.36	0.00	1.00	-0.17	-0.13	0.17	0.30	0.30	0.34	0.29

16	Library	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.11	0.04	0.13	0.23	0.18	0.16
17	Admission fee	3.15	3.66	0.00	30.00	0.13	0.01	0.33	0.48	0.46	0.53	0.49
18	Museum shop	0.54	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.07	0.03	0.16	0.21	0.25	0.29	0.27
19	Exec salary (ln)	7.55	5.61	0.00	16.08	-0.09	-0.03	0.23	0.30	0.41	0.51	0.49
20	Publications	3.47	3.75	0.00	39.00	0.01	0.05	0.16	0.21	0.29	0.27	0.19

Table 4.2. (continued).

		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
8	Earned income (ln)	1.00												
9	Age (ln)	0.35	1.00											
10	Employees (ln)	0.79	0.30	1.00										
11	Exhibits (ln)	0.39	0.14	0.34	1.00									
12	NYC	0.25	0.13	0.22	0.22	1.00								
13	MSA	0.31	0.08	0.31	0.30	0.18	1.00							
14	Member (ln)	-0.44	-0.20	-0.31	-0.15	0.07	-0.07	1.00						
15	Inter-mus loan	0.33	0.25	0.35	0.15	0.10	0.15	-0.22	1.00					
16	Library	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.08	0.00	0.02	-0.08	0.22	1.00				
17	Admission fee	0.49	0.12	0.57	0.27	0.19	0.12	-0.13	0.21	0.14	1.00			
18	Museum shop	0.27	0.00	0.29	0.10	0.07	0.09	-0.14	0.14	0.13	0.24	1.00		
19	Exec salary (ln)	0.46	0.15	0.36	0.23	0.09	0.17	-0.17	0.11	0.04	0.26	0.17	1.00	
20	Publications	0.27	0.15	0.23	0.16	-0.01	0.09	-0.14	0.20	0.17	0.10	0.10	0.13	1.00

Table 4.3. GEE Population Averaged Estimation of Art Critics' Review

	Reduced	Reduced sample	Full sample	Full sample
Age	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Employees	0.46*	0.51**	-5.50	-4.68
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(7.06)	(7.05)
NYC	2.57***	2.53***	-4.86	-4.08
	(0.51)	(0.53)	(8.36)	(8.34)
MSA	-0.31	-0.46	-13.28	-11.60
	(0.56)	(0.58)	(15.80)	(15.77)
Exhibits	-0.01	-0.18	0.31*	0.22
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Inter-mus loan	0.22	0.04	-4.66	-4.40
	(0.40)	(0.42)	(5.16)	(5.15)
Publications	0.03	0.03	0.05†	0.05
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Attendance	0.30	0.37	-0.01	0.05
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Assets	0.13	0.13	0.18*	0.16
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Heckman selection			25.73	22.83
			(28.66)	(28.59)
MI		-1.68*		-1.54**
		(0.73)		(0.57)

All predictors are lagged one year. Standard errors are in parentheses.

*p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 4.4. GEE Population Averaged Estimation of Attendance

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Attendance $_{t-1}$	0.96***	0.96***	0.96***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Employees	0.02†	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
NYC	-0.00	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
MSA	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Exhibits	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Library	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Member	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Admission fee	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Museum shop	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Total revenue	0.02*	0.02*	0.02**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Exec salary	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Assets	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Review		0.09***	0.11***
		(0.03)	(0.03)
MI		0.04**	0.04**
		(0.01)	(0.01)
MI x review			-0.18*
			(0.08)

All predictors are lagged one year. Standard errors are in parentheses.

*p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 4.5. Distribution of Identity Types by Name and Examples

Identity type	Proportion	Examples
Multiple	10%	Key West Museum of Art and History Mary Brogan Museum of Arts and Sciences
Single (Art only)	67%	The Institute of Contemporary Art The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Single (Non-art only)	2%	Boston Public Library Ossining Historical Society
No category	21%	Cape Ann Museum Phippen Museum

Table 4.6. Supplementary Analysis: GEE Population Averaged Estimation of Art Critics' Review (Multiple Identities Based on Name)

	Reduced sample	Reduced sample	Full sample	Full sample
Age	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Employees	0.46*	0.52**	-5.50	-6.90
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(7.06)	(7.48)
NYC	2.57***	2.72***	-4.86	-6.49
	(0.51)	(0.49)	(8.36)	(8.85)
MSA	-0.31	-0.51	-13.28	-16.69
	(0.56)	(0.54)	(15.80)	(16.74)
Exhibits	-0.01	0.01	0.31*	0.34**
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Inter-museum loan	0.22	0.04	-4.66	-5.87
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(5.16)	(5.47)
Publication	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Attendance	0.30	(0.30)	-0.01	-0.05
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Assets	0.13	0.16	0.18	0.22*
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Heckman selection			25.73	31.65
			(28.66)	(30.38)
MI		-2.04*		-2.42**
		(0.96)		(0.93)

All predictors are lagged one year. Standard errors are in parentheses.

*p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Table 4.7. Supplementary Analysis: GEE Population Averaged Estimation of Attendance (Multiple Identities Based on Name)

	Attendance		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Attendance	0.96***	0.96***	0.96***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Age	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Employees	0.02*	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
NYC	0.00	-0.04	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
MSA	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Exhibits	0.00	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Library	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Member	-0.07	-0.00	0.00
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Admission fee	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Museum shop	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Total revenue	0.02*	0.02*	0.02**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Exec salary	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Assets	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Review		0.09**	0.10***
		(0.03)	(0.03)
MI		0.05*	0.06*
		(0.02)	(0.02)
MI x review			-0.27†
			(0.16)

All predictors are lagged one year. Standard errors are in parentheses.

† p<.10; *p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The dissertation has shown that external audiences with different aims (e.g., evaluation-oriented critics and leisure-oriented public) react to multiple-identity organizations in different ways in the context of American art museums. Analyses of the longitudinal dataset of U.S. art museums from 1999 to 2010 reveal three core findings. First, professional art critics are less likely to review exhibits of multiple-identity art museums due to the evaluative nature of their work. Second, the general public is more likely to visit multiple-identity art museums. Third, the attendance for pure art museums is likely to increase with critics' reviews while the attendance for multiple-identity art museums is likely to decrease because audiences for multiple-identity art museums are less attuned to the recommendations by those specializing in a single category.

Given the mixed findings as to how multiple identities affect organizational outcomes in the extant literature of organizational identity, the dissertation provides a useful point of integration for diverging explanations for consequences of multiple organizational identities. Findings suggest that the different aims of market mediators and direct consumers lead to the use of different lenses to make sense of multiple-identity organizations.

Surely, it is challenging to provide a complete answer to the question of when and how multiple-identity organizations elicit positive responses from external audiences. Given the extent of potential variables and their complex associations, the findings are likely to be influenced in some other manners, which are yet to be uncovered through further research. Related to this, one of the most valuable future research topics would be to examine the underlying conditions in which organizations come to have multiple identities.

The first chapter of the dissertation provides a useful point of departure for this issue. In the first part of the dissertation, I provided a historical background of the field of American art museums from the institutional logics perspective. The field of American art museums has historically experienced the rise and fall of two conflicting institutional logics – i.e., the aesthetic logic which emphasizes the role of art museum in collecting, defining, and conserving true art for scholarly purpose and the public logic which emphasizes the role of art museum in encouraging the general public to participate in art appreciation for entertainment and educational purposes. I posited that multiple-identity art museums originated from the public logic and pure-identity art museums from the aesthetic logic. In this qualitative study, I argued that changes in the key resource providers of art museum have affected the emergence and evolution of particular institutional logics over time, and proposed that different actors exerted influence on the prevalence of pure-identity and multiple-identity art museums in different time periods. Based on this, it would be theoretically valuable to construct a dataset that may allow the examination of whether the prevalence of multiple institutional logics are associate with multiple organizational identities.

In the second part of the dissertation, I reviewed different theoretical views of organizational identity and defined the concept of identity as an organization's location in terms of combinations of various social categories. An important issue raised in this chapter is whether a discrepancy between an internally-defined identity and an externally-defined identity exists and how much of the discrepancy is negligible to external audiences. For example, is an internally-shaped identity of an organization meaningfully communicated to its external audience? At least, findings from the third chapter suggest that it is so in the field of art museums. External audiences including art critics and the general public reacted to the museums that identify themselves as pure art museums and to the museums that identify themselves as multiple-identity art museums in different ways.

Related to this, another interesting future research avenue would be to examine whether organizations that have internally-defined multiple identities seek to fully reveal their multiple identities to external audiences, or to disguise some of their multiple identities from external audiences, through various naming strategies. Organizational name and organizational identity are closely tied to each other (Glynn and Abzug 2002), since identity elements are often listed in the organization's name (e.g., Life technologies, Starbucks coffee). Phillips and Kim (2009) showed organizations are likely to use pseudonyms when they offer products that are inconsistent to their internal identity. Similarly, multiple-identity art museums may also use deceptive names (e.g., either those names signaling a pure identity or non-categorical names that do not reveal any of its categories) if they seek to be approved by art connoisseurs. Taken together, the issue of how organizations deal with the discrepancy between internal and external identities warrants more discussion in future studies.

Practitioners as well as researchers are keenly interested in examining the impact of multiple organizational identities on organizational outcomes. And yet, conflicting views exist. For example, Alexander (1996: 96) quoted the remark that the director of Cleveland Museum of Art made in 1965 that "[I]f I insist on the museum being all things to all people, then I insist upon something I cannot afford in matters of quality and excellence—the package deal, the all-purpose pill, an art supermarket, …, a place of humming activity whether primarily concerned with the visual arts or not." Evidently, his remark is based on the assumption that having multiple organizational identities would require sacrificing quality, ultimately leading to negative organizational outcomes. However, some museum professionals have a different opinion. For example, a recent article published in the Official Museum Directory (American Association of Museums 2010: 4) states that "[T]hese opportunities abound but require us to be more attuned to different audience segments and more creative in experimenting with and adapting program and events", encouraging museums to expand boundaries to reach more audiences. Therefore, studying the consequences of multiple identities in the field of art museums not only advances the literature of identity but also helps museum practitioners craft strategies to promote organizational success.

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