ON-GOING INSTITUTIONAL WORK IN A CONTEMPORARY ART MUSEUM FOR THE 21st CENTURY

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Abstract

Museums as formal institutions are facing changes in the 21st century, fueled by pressures from the knowledge society and the changing nature of leisure. Traditionally, museums have been sanctuaries of art with a central mission of collecting, preserving and presenting art and other objects of cultural value. This study investigates how one institution responds to these changes by performing institutional work.

Institutions are defined as resilient social structures that are constituted by normative, regulative and cultural-cognitive structures and practices. They provide meaning for social life and organizational work and guide and set limits for action. Institutions are resilient structures, but not immune to change. Through institutional work, actors can create, maintain and disrupt institutions. In this study, the institutional work performed in the context of a contemporary art museum is investigated. The findings show how actors theorize new concepts, utilize mimicry and construct identities through combining ideas and materials. By showing the link between ideas and material practices, the study shows how actors engage in collective entrepreneurship.

This study extends previous work on how institutional work is performed by a group of actors in a collective manner, and investigates the role of the building as a material object, drawing from theories of semiotics of the built environment. Buildings have traditionally been studied as tools for institutional change: their materiality acting as a manifestation of ideas through architectural design. As it is clear in the case of museums, the building is much more than ideas presented in material form. Buildings also shape societies by acting as a setting for experiences, enabling new kind of communication and co-creation.

Keywords  institutional work, museums, materiality, institutions, organizations
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1 Introduction

This thesis investigates institutional work within the context of the Guggenheim Helsinki museum project. The aim is to recognize how ideals, symbols and material practices are employed in an institutional work project, aimed at the creation of a novel practice in the field. As data, the research utilizes texts and designs from Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition. This introduction chapter introduces the background and motivation for the study, states the research questions and lastly, presents the structure of the research.

1.1 Background of the study

“Cultural and creative industries (CCIs) are, at the dawn of the 21st century, undergoing considerable change as a result of increased digital technologies, the economic crisis of the past several years, and considerable changes in the regulatory framework.” (European Commission 2015)

In the 21st century, many traditional institutions and organizations are forced to take on new strategies and business models as their industries are being disrupted by new innovations and new ways of living. Increasingly competitive environments and the rapid societal change are forcing even the most traditional institutions to adapt their services to meet the demands of the modern community. We are now living in an age of the knowledge economy, where the input of the industry is creativity, innovation and intellectual property, and the output often is services instead of physical products (Powell & Snellman 2004, Florida 2002). Different terms exist to describe this change in the world economy, including creative economy, popularized by Richard Florida in 2002, internet economy, and post-industrial economy. In the discourse of the new knowledge-intensive society, some researchers have theorized that the importance of the physical space will decline as work and social connections become increasingly online-based. Several studies have shown that the increasing use of technology is, in addition to the nature of work
and the ways in which people socialize, affecting leisure (Burton & Scott 2003). Physical space and materiality can never be completely demolished though, as people still live in the physical world, even if most of the activities we undertake take place in the digital world.

Museums, traditionally temples of art and other culturally valued objects are facing strong competition for people’s leisure time especially from the entertainment industries. The number of museum goers has been declined both in Finland and abroad, whilst new ways of leisure are gathering an even bigger crowd. In order to exist in the 21st century, players in more traditional industries, such as museums need to reinvent themselves and learn who their customers are and what they want. Furthermore, museums need to reconsider their role in the modern society. Traditionally, most of the Finnish art museums are state-funded, not-for-profit institutions whose main goal is to educate and protect cultural heritage. As cultural policies evolve, museums will become more and more reliable on their paying customers as the amount of subsidies decrease. Thus, new museums are designed to be more than just containers of art: they need to engage their audience in more ways than just art.

It can be argued that the institution under investigation in this thesis was the first museum institution to really innovate what a museum can be. It is indisputable that the Guggenheim Bilbao is the world’s most famous museum – and not for the art it houses, but rather for its architecture (materiality) and its central role in the regeneration of the Bilbao city from a stale old industrial city to a first class cultural destination. It has been disputed whether this kind of success can be multiplied: none of the Guggenheim branded museums that have come after Guggenheim Bilbao have managed to respond to the success of its predecessor, thought there are other examples of cultural institutions that have managed.

Though the Guggenheim Bilbao did manage to brand a museum in an unexpected way with the help of architecture, it did not change what a museum
is at its core. The same idea of an institution that collects, preserves and educates has stayed largely the same for years. Institutions are social structures, subject but resistant to change. Organizations are subject to institutional isomorphism, meaning that organizations operating in the same field are often very similar to each other (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). The more mature an organizational field is, the more homogenous the organizations become. Change in institutions can be brought about in different ways: pressures from outside, such changes in policies and economics can disrupt existing institutions while bringing up new ones. Institutional change can also be initiated from inside the institution by institutional entrepreneurs or several different actors as embedded agency. Institutional work is defined as the purposeful actions taken in aim of creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

This research was motivated by the current discussion on the potential Guggenheim Helsinki museum, a project that has received both positive and negative feedback from the public. In the project, the Guggenheim Foundation set out to envision a new kind of a museum, a museum for the 21st century.

“The project began with a clean slate and a core concept: to consider the study an opportunity to reimagine the purpose of and vision for a new museum today and in the future.”

(Guggenheim Foundation, 2011).

Inspired by this statement, this thesis studies institutional work in the context of a contemporary art museum, exploring how one organization is offering a possible future for a traditional institution operating in a world of ever-increasing knowledge and decreasing materiality. The purpose of this study is to explore the concept of a 21st century museum and the social and spatial implications caused by new lifestyles and emerging technologies. This question will be explored from an institutional work perspective, investigating the institutional project of Guggenheim Helsinki, with a focus on the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition. Utilizing two distinctive data sets, I explore the institutional work the actors perform.
1.2 Research questions

The objective of the research is to explore how institutional work is performed through the creation of ideals, symbols and material practices in the Guggenheim Helsinki project. The research will be conducted as a qualitative empirical study. The first research question is:

*What are the vision and expectations for a Guggenheim Helsinki?*

The first question will be answered through a qualitative data analysis. The data set utilized in this part of the study comprises two documents: The Concept and Development Study for a Guggenheim Helsinki, produced by the Guggenheim Foundation (2011) and the Revised Proposal for a Guggenheim Helsinki, also by the Guggenheim Foundation (2013).

The second research question will focus on the translation of ideas and the interplay of the symbolic and the material, a core dilemma in the study of institutions. The second research question is:

*How are the vision and expectations translated into material form in the finalist designs of Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition?*

The realization of these ideals and symbols as the criteria for the architectural designs will be studied in the second part of the thesis, which will also answer the second research question. The underlying assumptions are that buildings as artifacts convey meanings attached to them, and guide human action. Architects as the designers of these buildings are thus seen as important actors in the built environment, and creating physical settings for organizational work.
1.3 Structure of the study

This thesis comprises an extensive literature review and a qualitative empirical research. The literature review has been divided into two chapters. Chapter two focuses on the theoretical framework: institutional theory, institutional dynamics and the materiality of institutions. First, institutional theory as a field of study is shortly introduced and institutions and institutional change are introduced as concepts. Second, institutional dynamics is discussed. This subchapter introduces the concepts of institutional logics and institutional work and presents different approaches to the study of institutional work. The third subchapter focuses on the materiality of institutions, looking into previous studies on the material aspect of institutions and the semiotics of the built environment. The fourth subchapter presents the framing of this study, drawing on the literature presented in the chapter.

The third chapter focuses on the context of the study: museums. First, the history of the museum institution is presented. Museum architecture, the material dimensions of the institution, is at the core of this study, and thus is discussed in a separate subchapter. How museums have developed, what contemporary museums are like as well as the challenges they encounter are key topics in this chapter. In conjunction to the architecture of museums, I examine the role of architects as institutional change agents. Last, I link together chapters two and three by discussing the role of architects as institutional change agents through their work as designers of the built environment.

After the literature review, I move on to the empirical part of the thesis. Chapter four presents the research design and methods utilized in this study, along with data and the process of data collection and data analysis. Chapter five then presents the results of the study in a narrative form. Chapter six discusses the results and ties them back to the context and theoretical framework. Finally, the conclusions are presented in chapter seven.
2 Theoretical framework: institutional work and the built environment

This chapter is an introduction to the theoretical background of the thesis: institutional work and the role of the material in institutional research. Institutional work is a stream of research in the field of Institutional theory, an interdisciplinary subject comprising political science, economics and sociology. The three discourses all have a slightly different view on the subject. In this thesis, institutional theory and change will be studied from a sociological perspective, as it is perceived to best fit the context of the thesis. The first subchapter offers a concise introduction to the basic concepts of institutional theory. A historical review of the field of institutional research will be omitted from this study, for reference on this subject see for example Scott (2001) and DiMaggio & Powell (1991). The following subchapters cover, in addition to the preliminary introductory chapter, main themes relevant for this study, namely institutional dynamics, materiality in institutional work and finally the theoretical framing of this study.

2.1 Introduction to institutional theory

Institutional theory is a multidisciplinary field that studies institutions, defined as resilient social structures that provide stability and meaning to social life (Scott 2001, p. 48). It is a socially structured concept that aims to explain different phenomena of the social world we create around us. The study of institutions stretches through the academic fields of economics, political sciences and sociology. First forays into the study of institutions were made by sociologists in the early 1940’s when several academic sociologists began to take an institutional approach to the research of organizations (Scott 2001, p. 21). It was not until the 1970’s that institutional theory became a legitimated research agenda when researchers began understanding the significance that the institutional environment has on organizations and organizing. The current movement, often recognized as neo-institutionalism
or new institutionalism, has its foundations in the old institutionalism, with the time-attested main argument remaining that instead of being rational actors, human behavior is guided by a set of institutionalized myths, rules and structures that restrain and guide behavior and organizational work (Scott 2001, Powell & DiMaggio 1998 p.12).

2.1.1 The three pillars of institutions

Institutions can be studied both as a process and as a social and cultural system, the two views calling for different methods and frameworks (Scott 2001). In a seminal paper on the new institutionalism in organizational analysis, Meyer & Rowan (1977) define institutional rules as formal myths ceremonially adopted by organizations. They argue that the formal structures of these organizations reflect the institutionalized myths rather than the actual work environment, and purpose that a division should be made between the institutionalized formal structure of an organization, and its day-to-day work activities. Institutions can be examined on multiple levels, starting from the highest level of world-system to the smallest levels of organizational subsystems (Scott 2001, p. 87). The level of examination in this research is the organizational field level.

Scott (2001) defines institutions as “--- multifaceted, durable social structures, made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources”. Furthermore, institutions are social structures produced by humans that constrain action (Cloutier & Langley 2013). Scott (2001) introduced an analytical framework building on three different elements of institutions. These three elements, regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive, act as a composite structure, providing the base of any institution. The regulative pillar includes the rules and regulations that guide and sanction the way in which institutions work. The normative pillar with its values and norms constrain but also empower and enable social action. In the studies of institutional work, a cultural-cognitive focus on institutions is adopted, as the shared conceptions and common meanings, represented by the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions, are central to the research topic. The cultural-cognitive view on
institutions believes that legitimacy is achieved through adopting a common frame of reference, i.e. adopting shared meanings.

Institutional pressures lead organizations to ceremonially adopt rational myths, conforming to institutionalized norms, rules and formal structures (Meyer & Rowan 1977, DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Leading to homogeneity in organizational fields, this mechanism of institutional isomorphism is a response to the structuralized environment of a mature organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Though rational myths are ceremonially adopted, there is a gap between the formal structure and the day-to-day work activities of an organization (Meyer & Rowan 1977). Conforming to formal structures and institutionalized norms offer organizations legitimacy, often with a cost of efficiency (DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Zilber 2006).

Institutions are not created from scratch: new institutions always borrow from prior and existing institutions. Institutional creation focuses on the processes through which new rules and practices arise and become legitimated (Scott 2001, p. 95). Due to the nature of institutions, the study of institutionalization and the structuration of institutions has been relatively little studied. Although institutions are seen as relatively change-resistant, they do undergo change and de-structuration. The processes of institutional creation and those of institutional change are largely the same: institutions are living organisms that change over time as previous norms, values and practices become outdated.

2.1.2 Agency in Institutional Theory

One of the biggest questions in institutional theory is the balance between structure and agency (Battilana & D'Aunno 2009). As shown previously, institutions are enduring social structures that guide human action. They are not, however, immune to change. Entrepreneurial forces that strive to create or change institutions are embedded in the existing structure. This central paradox in institutional studies is known as the embedded agency paradox (Garud et al. 2007). The recursive relationship between institutions and action (Lawrence et al. 2009) is central when talking about agency. Institutions can
be seen as the framework, providing templates, structure and regulations for action, whereas action is looking to alter the existing institutional structure. In regards to agency, the interest is on how action affects institutions. Figure 1 depicts the recursive relationship between actions and institutions, and the role of agency and structure in the form of frameworks that institutions set for action.

Figure 1. The recursive relationship between institutions & action (adapted from Lawrence et al. 2009)

Institutions are created, maintained and disrupted by actors engaging in agency. These actors are individuals, groups or even organizations, whose work from inside or outside the institution affects the prevalent institutional logics. Through institutional work, actors can change institutional order and create new norms and exemplars (Jones & Massa 2013). Agency is enabled by a set of conditions that can be divided into field-level conditions and organization-level conditions (Battilana & D’Aunno 2009). These conditions are events that distract the socially constructed consensus, sparking agency in the form of introduction of new ideas (Battilana & D’Aunno 2009). Embedded agency acknowledges that instead of single actors who would independently engage in institutional entrepreneurship, agency can be embedded inside the structures, creating a platform rather than a limiting structure (Garud et al. 2007).
Distributed agency is a phenomenon where a number of actors are involved in the process of strategic action (Garud & Karnøe 2004). In contrast to the work by institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana et al. 2009), distributed agency involves actors, artifacts, rules and routines that are distributed across time and space (Garud & Karnøe 2004). A closely related concept is that of collective entrepreneurship, where a group of actors engage in co-creation and support of novel practices (Jones & Massa 2013). When collaborating, actors from different fields draw from the institutionalized practices of their respective fields (Phillips et al. 2000). Their work is guided by the rules and norms of the fields, while simultaneously changing them. In order to change institutions, the actors engaged in collaboration must hold enough power to affect institutional isomorphism. Through collaboration, actors have the possibility to strategically influence the direction of development of an organization (Phillips et al. 2000).

In this study, the focus is on how institutions can be changed by social groups and actors inside and close to the institution in a manner of distributed agency. The next chapter introduces the concept of institutional work, which comprises the actions these individuals and groups take with the aim of changing an institution.

2.2 Understanding institutional dynamics: Institutional logics and Institutional work

The main research streams in institutional theory in the 21st century have been the study of institutional logics and the study of institutional work (Zilber 2015). Institutional work and institutional logics are frameworks for conceptualizing and analyzing institutional dynamics, highlighting different aspects of the dynamics (Zilber 2015). Although institutions are communicated through text and artifacts (more in subchapter 2.3), they require legitimation through human interaction. This duality has been studied on different levels, of which institutional logics and institutional work are presented here. In this study, I utilize theories of institutional work in
understanding how the actors in Guggenheim Helsinki project engage in collective entrepreneurship.

2.2.1 The link between institutional logics and institutional work

Institutional logics studies how institutions are built, preserved and modified through human behavior (Scott 2001, p.49). Institutional logics has been defined as “the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time, and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio 1999, p. 804). Institutional logics exist on a societal level, and thus focus on macro-level phenomena, whereas institutional work focuses more on the micro-level of institutions and organizations. With its macro-level focus, institutional logics tend to focus on higher level structure and practices with the cost of ignoring actor-level ideas and interpretations (Zilber 2015).

Institutional logics are informed by the six societal sectors of the Westerns society: the market, the corporation, the professions, the family, the religions, and the state (Thornton et al. 2005). These sectors are defined by distinctive sets of cultural symbols and material practices that influence organizational and social behavior (Thornton et al. 2005). It is important to understand that several different institutional logics exist, that they exist on multiple levels, and that competing logics can be present in an organization (Zilber 2015, Thornton & Ocasio 2008, for a study on competing logics see for example Jones & Livne-Tarandach 2008). Materials, whether tangible or not underpin and convey structures and practices and act as vehicles that let symbols and ideas travel through time (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, Thornton et al. 2013). This duality of the material and the symbolic of institutions is recognized in institutional logics, though according to Zilber (2015) and Thornton et al. (2013), this research tends to overlook the symbolic side in favor of the material. In this thesis, the theoretical framework will be based on institutional work, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section.
2.2.2 Introduction to institutional work

Institutional work was first introduced by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) in an attempt to offer a framework and research agenda for the research of agency in institutional theory. The study of institutional work focuses on the ongoing labor that is performed in the background of institutions being built, maintained and changed. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define institutional work as “the purposive action of organizations and individuals aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions”. It is a relatively new discourse that focuses specifically on actions instead of outcomes. The discourse is interested in the specific actions people and organizations take in order to create, maintain or disrupt institutions, whether the result is successful or not (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006, Zilber 2015). Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) contest their seminal paper on institutional work on a number of key studies in the field of institutional studies. The topics of these articles range from agency in institutional change (DiMaggio 1988) to deinstitutionalization (Oliver 1992) and institutional maintenance, defined as “the ways in which actors are able to create, maintain and disrupt institutions” (Oliver 1997). They set the foundations for the study of institutional work on the study of agency in institutional theory combined with sociology of practice.

Institutional work brings actors into the center of institutional dynamics (Lawrence et al. 2013). These actors are individuals, groups or even organizations, whose work form inside or outside the institution affects the prevalent institutional logics. The actors engaging in institutional work are professionals and actors associated with professions (Lawrence et al. 2013). Through institutional work, actors can change institutional order and create new norms and exemplars (Jones & Massa 2013). Institutional work highlights the need to study agency as a distributed phenomenon (Lawrence et al. 2011): distributed agency is defined as a phenomenon where a number of actors are involved in the process of strategic action (Garud et al. 2007). In contrast to the work by institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana et al. 2009), distributed agency involves actors, artifacts, rules and routines that are distributed across
time and space (Garud & Karnøe 2004), and thus needs to be studied as a combination and accumulation of individual efforts (Lawrence et al. 2011).

2.2.3 Types of institutional work

Institutional work can be divided in three main categories: creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions. Different forms of institutional work are employed in each of the categories. In this study, the focus is on the creation of institutions. Thus, the next sections will discuss types of institutional work aimed at creating institutions.

Institutional work aimed at creation of institutions can focus on either rules and boundaries or the cognitive, i.e. the shared norms and belief systems (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The latter requires co-operation between actors, as the work relies on the cultural and communal force of communities of practice, in which all actors must work together to achieve a common goal. As institutional work aimed at the creation of institutions, Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) recognize nine types of action. Advocacy, defining and vesting are work that reconstructs rules and boundaries, thus affecting the regulative element of institutions. Constructing identities, changing norms and constructing networks are types of institutional work that focus on reconfiguring actors’ belief systems. These forms of institutional work affect the cultural-cognitive element of institutions, and are thus central to this study. The last set of actions, mimicry, theorizing and education focus on abstract categories that the meaning systems are built on, reconfiguring boundaries and thus affecting the normative pillar of institutions. Mimicry can help legitimize new practices and structures and make them understandable by connecting them to the old through imitation or borrowing concepts (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

A selection of empirical studies on different types of institutional work are presented next. Zietsma & Lawrence (2010) recognize two forms of institutional work, boundary work and practice work, that actors engage in while effecting change in an organizational field. Practice work is aimed at disrupting legitimate practices, whereas boundary work looks to create, shape
and disrupt boundaries around a field (Zietsma & Lawrence 2010). In a case study on Intel Corporation, Gawer & Phillips (2013) recognize four types of institutional work: external and internal practice work, legitimacy work, and identity work. Jones & Massa (2013) studied the mechanisms through which a novel practice becomes an exemplar. In order to become a consecrated exemplar appropriate for emulation, a practice needs to gain recognition and legitimacy. Jones & Massa (2013) recognize two types of legitimation processes that actors engage in: institutional evangelizing and adaptive emulation. Institutional evangelizing, based on translation processes, emphasizes co-creation and collective entrepreneurship, where several actors work together in order to create, spread and protect novel practices. Adaptive emulation on the other hand takes place when actors conform to established practices. Throughout these processes, the actors engage in collective entrepreneurship, theorizing and constructing identities.

2.2.4 Studying institutional work

Several strategies exist for studying institutional work. Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) highlight three approaches that they believe have high potential as sources of insight in the study of institutional work. These three approaches include discourse analysis, Actor Network Theory (ANT) and semiotics. Actor Network Theory will not be utilized in this study as the notion of nonhuman actors is problematic when a cultural-cognitive approach to institutions is adopted. Semiotics will be discussed from a spatial perspective in section 2.3.2. In this section, I will focus on the discourse analysis approach, presenting different ways in which researchers have utilized language-centered approaches in the study of institutions.

Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) argue that institutional work is often language-centered, as institutions are embedded in discursive acts. Several academics have taken a language-centered approach to study institutions. A distinction can be made between two language-centered approaches: those that focus on discourse and those that focus on vocabularies.
In a recent study, Loewenstein et al. (2012) combine different approaches to study vocabulary, with the assumption that vocabulary is a constitutive of meaning and is tied to material practices. They argue that meaning is derived from vocabulary structure, comprising of word-to-word and word-to-example relationships and word frequencies. Other studies focusing on vocabularies and vocabulary strategies include Jones et al. (2011) on the emergence of the modern architecture category, Jones & Livne-Tarandach (2008) in their study of the relationship between institutional logics and framing strategies revealed through architects’ choice of keywords, and Rao et al. (2003) in a study on the changing logics of French gastronomy. Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) introduce three forms of discourse that can be studied in the context of institutional work. These include the study of rhetoric, which focuses on analyzing the impact of language, narrative analysis, with focus on structure, and lastly dialogue, constructed by multiple actors.

Phillips et al. (2004) developed a discursive model of institutionalization that highlights the importance that production and consumption of texts has on institutional processes. They argue that institutions are primarily constructed not through social actions, but through texts and documents that guide the actions. Discourse analysis is defined as the study of collections of text that provides a framework for understanding the social construction of the material world. Texts can take on a number of forms, not limited to written documents. Texts can also be communicated through spoken words, symbols, artifacts and even the built environment. Phillips et al. (2004) argue that “institutions are constituted by the structured collections of texts that exist in a particular field and that produce the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviors of actors”.

Fairclough (2005) argued that analysis of discourse should be included in the study of organizing, based on the assumption that social phenomena are socially constructed in discourse. He adopts a Foucaultian sense of considering discourses as elements of social practices. Discourse can thus refer to linguistic elements such as texts as well as other semiotic elements, such as body
language and material artifacts. Fairclough (2005) argues for a dual ontology in discourse analysis, based on the critical realist view that discourse should be studied as the relations between structure and agency. Institutions can be studied as networks of social practices, which act as mediating entities between structure and events.

2.3 The role of the material in institutional work

As briefly discussed in chapter 2.1, materiality in the form of artifacts, texts or other tools and objects is a vital part of institutions. Materiality in institutional work is a research domain still in its infancy. Jones et al. (2013) analyzed how materiality has been studied and conceptualized in the research of institutional logics. Drawing from the work of Friedland (2001) and Thornton et al. (2012), Jones et al. (2013) highlight the role of the material in institutional logics by tying it to the manifestation of ideals and symbols. Material manifestation of ideas is crucial in order for the ideas to become diffused and institutionalized. The following sections discuss the studying of materiality in institutional work and the semiotics of the built environment, providing theoretical grounds for this study.

2.3.1 Studying materiality in institutional work

By definition, work is performed through the use of tools, i.e. material artifacts. Institutional work, defined as the purposeful actions taken in aim of creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006), thus involve a material dimension that should be taken into account when studying institutional work. Material tools and artifacts can range from small items, such as a personal computer, to a larger material object, such as a building complete with its surroundings. Though materiality has been recognized to be an important instance of institutions and institutional work, it was until recently largely ignored in the study of organizations and institutions (Orlikowski & Scott 2008). Some recent inquiries into the role of materiality in institutional work and the importance of objects in institutional projects are
presented next. The three studies offer different views on the study of materiality in institutional work.

In an in-depth case study on Intel Corporation, Gawer & Phillips (2013) studied institutional work that was performed as institutional logics of the field shifted. They recognize the role that the designing of artifacts, in this case computer technologies and interfaces, has as an instance of specifying and reinforcing collective identities, a form of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). At Intel, computer technologies offered a material account that was both shaped by the changing institutional logics as well as limiting and shaping them.

Jones & Massa (2013) studied the interplay of ideas, materials and identities in a study on how novel practices become consecrated exemplars. Utilizing comparative case studies, archival research methods and textual analysis, they demonstrated how actors engage in collective entrepreneurship that leads to the consecration of a novel practice through legitimacy work and identity work. Materiality is found to have a central role in the process through which novel practice become institutionalized: material artifacts act as boundary objects, channeling experience and knowledge.

Monteiro & Nicolini (2013) showed how the material elements of prizes engages in legitimacy work in institutional work. They adopt a somewhat posthumanist view, proposing an active participation of material arrangements in social phenomena. The material elements studied included for example the celebratory award, the awards ceremony, newsletters and the prize website. By employing interpretative methods, Monteiro & Nicolini recognized four types of institutional work shared by humans and material elements: mimicry, theorizing, educating, and reconfiguring normative networks.
2.3.2 Semiotics of the built environment

Similar to verbal language, the built environment is a phenomenon that relates to all of humanity (Preziosi 1979, p.1). Societies use the built environment to give structure to social reality, as well as to communicate values and meaning through its materiality. Semiotics as the science of signs and symbols studies the means by which we communicate and make sense of the world (Jackson & Carter 2007, p. 15). A symbol is a signifier that conveys meaning, while spaces communicate values and tell stories, thus conveying meaning through their built form, architecture and interiors. The built environment acts as a stage and a setting for all human communication and interaction. Thus, architectural design essentially defines social structure (Gieryn 2002). Space within buildings is defined by social interaction - built environment does not alone define the social reality of the environment, but rather sets the prerequisites for the realization of a space constructed by its users. Linking this view of architectural design to institutional theory that sees institutions as durable social structures, enables architecture to be seen as having a vital role in how institutions are defined through their material form.

On account of modernist and postmodernist design views, the semiotics of space has highlighted the duality of built form. Hillier (2002) gives buildings a two-fold meaning: they are both physical forms we perceive and spaces that we experience and move through. In a similar manner, Lagopoulos (1993) draws from an extensive pool of philosophical literature as he concludes that built form has two indivisible aspects: the material and the signifying. Gieryn (2002) utilized theories from the sociology of technology to understand and study the dual role of buildings as shaping and being shaped. This approach requires buildings to be seen as technological sociomaterial artifacts, physical things constructed by humans and shaped by their behavior. In semiotics, the subject is seen to produce the meaning of a symbol. The duality of architectural objects, among those buildings, means that architectural objects can not be fully analyzed based only on their built form, as the processes through which the objects are created is two-fold: meanings are first communicated through the design, and then reproduced by the subject (Juodinyte-Kuznetsova 2011).
Space has throughout times been used as a tool in institutional change. The well-known earliest examples are those of Taylor and Ford redesigning the manufacturing lines and the space in which industrial work was performed (Kornberger & Clegg 2004). Markus (1993) claimed that buildings can be divided into three types: those that shape people, those that produce knowledge and those that produce and exchange things. This division can be argued to have somewhat expired, as the society has evolved. Markus (1993) placed museums in the category of buildings that produce knowledge. By linking knowledge to power and giving it a high societal value, Markus explains the architectural grandeur of traditional museum buildings. Furthermore, he recognizes a new type of a museum building: a building that is a piece of art in itself, an iconic masterpiece. Yanow (1998) studied museums as organizational spaces, and the narratives and storytelling in the buildings. She recognizes that built spaces are never devoid of meaning, but rather communicate image and identities both according to and in contrast to the intent of the organizational founders.

The role of space and the built environment in organization studies has been studied mostly through the vocabulary of design and construction materials with a focus on work spaces and their role in the performance of an organization and its individuals (Yanow 1998). In the study of institutions, buildings can be studied as material objects that convey meaning through material form. For example, in a recent study on the institutional work performed in the case of Unity Temple, Jones & Massa (2013) recognize the importance of a building as a boundary object, a tool used to diffuse novel ideas through their translation into material form. In light of these considerations, semiotics can offer interesting insights into the study of buildings and their materiality in institutional theory.

2.4 Framing this study

The theories and concepts presented in this chapter comprise the framework for this study. With a base in institutional theory, the main theory supporting
this study is that of institutional work. Based on the view of buildings as material artifacts able to convey meaning, this study investigates how institutional work is performed through the translation of ideals and symbolic values into material form. Through the presentation of how ideas are translated into material form in the Guggenheim Helsinki project, the findings show how actors engage in collective entrepreneurship, theorizing a novel practice and constructing an identity for the new museum.

The context of this study is a contemporary art museum, an organization operating within the cultural industries. Cultural industries produce products and services that are valued for their meaning, in contrast to products of traditional industries that are used in a practical way (Lawrence & Phillips 2002). A challenge for actors in the cultural industries is to find ways to maintain an organization that is able to produce meaning, and to manage the symbolic value of their products long-term (Lawrence & Phillips 2002). In this study, the planning and design competition related to Guggenheim Helsinki is seen as an institutional project, where the actors involved perform institutional work in order to maintain the organization’s ability to produce meaning in the 21st century.

In the previous chapters, I show how buildings are understood as material manifestations of ideas, and how they can contribute to institutional change. Semiotics of the built environment explain how buildings and spaces can be understood as artifacts or symbols that similarly to text and image require a translation of meaning. Buildings can thus, as any other material artifact, communicate values and knowledge in a similar way as texts do. Buildings are, similar to institutions, highly resilient structures that are yet not immune to change. Buildings as significant material manifestations of ideals and symbols and architecture as the practice of designing and theorizing them thus offer an interesting context for the study of the interplay of ideas and material in institutional work.
The two research questions defined for the study approach the main subject, institutional work from different viewpoints. First, I analyze the expectations and vision, or the ideas that guide the design and planning of the new museum. This analysis draws from the theories of institutional work, showing how a group of actors theorize new futures and construct a distinctive identity for the institution. Second, I examine the material manifestation of these ideas. In the analysis, I utilize vocabularies and content analysis of text and visual images in order to expose how ideas are manifested in material form. Finally, utilizing the findings, I evaluate the types of institutional work performed in the project. The key concepts utilized in this study are institutional work, materiality and collective entrepreneurship.
3 Context of the study: museums

This chapter introduces the contextual background of the thesis and defines some key terms and concepts in the study. The chapter starts with a background section, which aims to explain the rationalities of the industry context, and then moves on to discuss the shifting logics in the museum field. Third, museum architecture and the importance of materiality to museums is discussed. Last, museums as the context for this study are discussed.

3.1 The museum institution

Traditionally museums are institutions that acquire, conserve and exhibit art. The international council of museums (ICOM) defines museums as follows:

“A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.” (ICOM 2007)

As discussed in the earlier chapter, an institution is a set of shared meanings and social constructions created by humans that guide and restrict their actions. The museum institution can thus be understood as a societal institution, that guides and restricts the actions of organizations and other actors in the museum field. The museum is not just a set of rules and guidelines that affect the structure of organizations in this organizational field. The institutional logics of museums are also defined by policies and political sense making due to their societal role of educating the community and preserving cultural heritage. Museums are institutions that exist for the society. The activities, symbols and even buildings created under the logics of this institution should thus respond to the needs of the society, as without this vital part of the institution, it would simply stop existing. The following subchapters
will focus more deeply on the history of museums, and the ways in which they have conformed to meet the needs of the society.

The traditional tasks of collecting, preserving and presenting art or other culturally valuable objects have given way to new ways of showcasing and preserving cultural heritage and educational activities. In what Pine & Gilmore (1998) have dubbed the experience economy, companies traditionally very far from industries in the experience business are moving from selling goods and services to staging experiences. Allowed by new technologies, there is not much that can not be turned into an experience for the consumer, or guest, as Pine & Gilmore have dubbed the buyer of experiences. It can be argued that cultural institutions have always been in the experience business. For most of us this is self-evident for theaters and operas, but can be harder to comprehend in the context of museums. This change that has been gradually taking place over the past decades can be studied as institutional change. The museum as an institution with its widely recognized concept and the universally shared meanings of its existence provides an excellent basis for a study on changing institutions.

Museums are sometimes excluded from the category of creative industries due to their market failure and the fact that they do not produce new products. It can be argued though that museums are in the service business, and can thus be seen as part of the industries. Increasingly in the future, museums will need to look outside their traditional tool box in order to offer engagement, interaction and the opportunity to co-create experiences with their audience.

3.2 Shifting logics in the museum field

Museums are formal institutions that are experiencing both exogenous and endogenous pressures to conform to the needs of 21st century society. This is in no way a new trend: it has been eminent since the 1970’s, when museums were dubbed as remnants of an old elitist world without connections to the modern society (McCall & Gray 2014). Kotler (2001) has contemplated the
future of museums in his study on the museum experience and museum marketing. Kotler sees museums as part of the leisure industry, and recognizes trends that will have an effect on the museum industry in the 21st century. Kotler (2001) sees museums as forming a formal part of the cultural mosaic. He believes that in the future, formal culture, such as museums, opera and theater, will be more and more intertwined with the informal culture, such as festivals, street art and citizen activism, together forming a unique cultural mosaic. Museums’ role as cultural destinations are likely to diminish in favor of cultured cities and towns, highlighting the role of museums as cultural places, and thus their materiality in the cultural mosaic.

New museology, as introduced by McCall & Gray (2014) is a discourse formed around the change in museum focus, or in terms of institutional theory, change in the institutional logics of museums. The new discourse highlights a visitor-oriented logic, and a transition from a focus on objects to a focus on ideas (McCall & Gray 2014). The work by McCall & Gray (2014) explicitly shows that the competing logic of new museology has not yet managed to override the logic of traditional museology. The role of museum professionals as endogenous change agents has been recognized in the study, even if it has not been communicated through the vocabulary of institutional theory. It is obvious that policy changes affecting the creative industries, especially the subsidized art and cultural forms, function as drivers of change in creative institutions. In the context of Finnish art museums, the declining public funding has forced several institutions to look for funds from outside the public sector. This hybridization trend (Schuster 1998) is inevitable in the changing economy, and will provide an interesting research opportunity. Another account for shifting logics in the museum industry has been recorded by Townley (2002), in a study on competing rationalities in institutional change. In the study, Townley shows how the introduction of rational myths, in this case business practices and performance measures, into a cultural organization was responded to by institutional agents.
Museums are slowly transforming from closed cultural productions that seek legitimation mainly from inside their own field to more open cultural institutions that not only “interpret and exhibit”, but also offer a cultural experience allowing the visitors to participate and interact with the museum (Oakes et al. 1998). Kotler (2001) distinguishes two types of cultural institutions: formal and informal. Formal cultural institutions include museums, theater and opera, whereas informal cultural institutions comprise music festivals, online exhibitions and other urban events. According to Kotler, the formal institutions are being affected by new informal institutions, with trends towards a more participatory experience and “museums as part of a cultural mosaic”.

Another strong trend that affects the museum’s institutionalized concept is the commercialization of formal cultural goods. This trend, highly catalyzed by governmental decisions and politics has turned museums to find new ways to fund their activities. In a seminal study on museums as an organizational field, DiMaggio (1991) recognized two types of institutional logics. The first logic, collecting, was a focus on collecting art and growing the collection. The second type of logic was the visitor-focused logic. In hindsight, museums powered by this logic were ahead of the competition, and have most likely traversed the challenges in the recent decades better than those competitors focused solely on the art. In today’s world, museums compete with a vast number of leisure activities. In legitimating their own existence, museums now need to look outside their own field, offering participatory experiences rather than just aesthetic and intellectual pleasure.

3.3 On museum architecture

Architects have throughout the past centuries shaped the way we think of museums. From the first purpose-built museums to the iconic museum architecture of the latter half of the century, museum architecture has been and still is, in flux. The very first museums were royal collections of art opened to the public, housed in buildings not specifically built for this purpose. First
museum buildings were built in the 19th century, and were much inspired by Greek classical architecture. This architecture enhanced the educational role of the museum, highlighting its mission to educate the people and act as a beacon of knowledge and civilization. Following this rationality, the museum buildings of the 19th and 20th century were designed as civic and social symbols, depicting the new values of a civilized nation and education.

The ideal museum building, a square divided in four wings with a central rotunda was described in the beginning of the 20th century by Frenchman Jean-Louis-Nicolas Durand (Giebelhausen 2008). Museum architecture of 19th century was very much inspired by the “ideal museum” type where the museum building was seen as a container that illustrated and embodied the art it displayed. In the early 20th century, a new form of art museums as instruments began to highlight flexibility and adaptability instead of permanence. With the example set by the Museum of Modern Art, built in New York in 1929, the “white cube” design was widely adopted in 20th century museum and gallery designs. (Giebelhausen 2008).

In 1959, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum designed by Frank Lloyd was opened in New York City. This museum became an exemplary design of 20th century museum architecture, paving the road for a new era of museum architecture, the iconic museum by a world-renowned star architect. This museum, although inarguably modernist in outlook, already challenged the white cube thinking of the early 20th century architects and designers. Followed by postmodern masterpieces, such as the Centre Pompidou by Renzo Piano and Frank Gehry’s Guggenheim Bilbao, the museum of the 20th century was carved in history as an iconic symbol of art and the freedom of expression. These buildings were as much about the building itself as about the art.

In traditional museology, museums are seen as containers of art, with their main task being collecting art and displaying it to a relevant audience. The division between high culture and pop culture in the 20th century elevated and in a way secluded the museum from a large audience, making it a space of
social distinction (Florida 2002), contrasted with indigenous street culture. In the discourse of new museology, this development is now being stopped while giving space to the museum visitor. As McCall & Gray (2014) show in their study, this new logic of the open museum has not been fully segregated yet, with issues in both policy, staff, culture etc. slowing down the process. They also showed that museum professionals act as institutional entrepreneurs, changing the processes and working towards a new museum culture.

Already in 1999, Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa highlighted the “obsessive materialism” in the then current architectural tradition, and called for an “architecture of humility” with a focus on experiences instead of images. He recognized that architecture as a social art has diminished as “work of the individual genius” has taken on more and more footing in the world. Understanding of cultural and social contexts is what sets architecture apart from temporal experiences. A multisensory experience is essential to architecture and to the experience of spaces. Architecture is more than just images, it is a set of technological, visual, functional and economical values that have been imagined into the form of a building. (Pallasmaa 1999). Florida (2003) sees the museum as a space of social distinction, in contrast with the open cultured city.

3.4 Museums as the context of this study

As containers of art and other objects of cultural value, the built museum space has an indisputable role on how a museum works. The museum institution allows for a high degree of freedom for the architects designing the museum space, thus often making museum buildings reflections of the period they were built in (Newhouse 1998). Architects have an undeniably important role in the museum institution through the design of the museum space. The museum environment and the museum space strongly affect the museum experience, and the building is often an experience and an artwork in itself.
As a large scale project for both the Guggenheim Foundation and the City of Helsinki, this project offered an excellent context for the study of institutional work. Architectural design competitions can be understood as dialogues in which architects, a jury of esteemed professionals and assigned experts envision ideas and solutions while engaging the community through their open and public format (Kreiner et al. 2011, Chupin 2011). Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition offered an extensive pool of data, which inspired the research to focus on the dialogue between the symbolic and the material. The background idea for the project has been to design a museum for the 21st century (Guggenheim Foundation 2011), combining expertise of Guggenheim and the unique strengths of Helsinki and Finland, high-tech and education. This study set out to investigate this collaboration, with focus on how the new building would manifest ideas and symbols in material form.

Guggenheim Foundation has imagined an exemplary museum of the 21st century that would “serve as a model for other institutions worldwide” and that would “Be a vital center for dialogue and engagement with critical ideas, collaborating with artists and local organizations”. The museum is envisioned as an agent of change. (Guggenheim Foundation 2013, p. 16)

“An agent of change, it will explore the latest curatorial ideas, connect the public with artists, draw new audiences and tourists, and provide civic space where local residents can gather and socialize.” (Guggenheim Foundation 2013)

As shown in this chapter, the institutional logics of cultural industries, and museums as part of these industries, have been shifting. In response to shifting logics, institutions engage in activities that can be studied utilizing the institutional work framework (Gawer & Phillips 2013). Museums are to a high degree characterized by their materiality and architecture. In the creation of a new institution, architecture can play a key role as the materiality through which the unique identity, as well as the ideas and symbolic values of the institution are communicated. The institutional project of Guggenheim
Helsinki provides thus excellent grounds for studying institutional work and the interplay between ideas and their material manifestations.
4 Research design and methods

This chapter presents the research design and methodology. First, the methodology is presented followed by the research design. Next, the data utilized in the study along with methods of data analysis are presented. The chapter is concluded with a chronological presentation of the procedure of the study.

4.1 Methodology

The research was conducted as an empirical qualitative study. A qualitative approach was selected as the aim of the study was to recognize ideas and shared meanings and their material manifestations. The units of analysis are concepts, abstractions communicated by signs that refer to common properties among phenomena (Singleton & Straits 2005, p. 17). The research utilizes a phenomenological approach. A phenomenological approach uses text as a proxy for human experiences, and focuses on individual experiences, beliefs and perceptions (Guest et al. 2009). As is characteristic for qualitative research, the data was analyzed already during the collection phase, and the data analysis guided the selection of further data collected.

The research takes a postmodern view, examining how reality is experienced and constructed by a group of actors. As is characteristic for studies on institutional work, it follows critical realism, a view that sees human behavior as being influenced by structure and agency (Clark 2008). Critical realism makes an important distinction between real, independently existing objects of scientific knowledge and socioculturally produced concepts through which we aim to understand them (Clark 2008, Fairclough 2005). Social structures and human agency are seen as separate but interdependent (Benton 2004).

Combining different data sets and a dual approach in the analysis phase were adopted as methods of triangulation in order to increase the validity of the research through different measures.
4.2 Research design

A grounded theory approach is adopted in this study. Grounded theory aims at theory building from data, and is defined by its key concepts: theoretical sampling and constant comparison (Suddaby 2006). Data collection and analysis were performed in an iterative and interactive process, and the data collection was guided by the emerging theories (Locke 2001, p. 58.). In order to increase the validity of the research, I investigated the phenomenon utilizing two sets of data that were analyzed using different methods.

First, I performed an **inductive thematic analysis** in order to find shared ideas, goals and expectations that are guiding the design and development of the new Guggenheim Helsinki museum. The process was data-driven as there were no pre-determined themes or categories, but rather the categories were allowed to arise from the data. The analysis resulted in four key themes that express the main ideas and expectations that guide the design of the Guggenheim Helsinki. Second, utilizing methods of **content analysis**, I analyzed the top six design proposal (finalists), presented as text and images, in order to recognize how the ideas are enacted as symbols, and materialized in the designs. I present the findings in a narrative form, comparing and contrasting different solutions for the material manifestation of the ideas. Third, I evaluate the findings in light of the theoretical framework of institutional work.

4.3 Data

There are two data sources that are utilized in this study. In order to find out the ideas and expectations that guide design process of the Guggenheim Helsinki, I analyze two documents prepared by the Guggenheim foundation: the 2011 Concept and Development Study for a Guggenheim Helsinki and the Revised Proposal from 2013. Together, these documents form data set A1. Additionally, the research utilizes the open data of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition. The competition was an open, anonymous and international design competition, organized during a one-year period between June 2014 and June 2015. The competition received altogether 1715
submissions from architects, designers and students around the world. Six finalist designs were selected to participate in the stage two of the competition. By analyzing written narratives, concept boards and images prepared by the design competition finalists, I link the ideas and expectations to the proposed materiality of the new museum. Table 1 presents the data utilized in this study.

**Table 1. Data utilized in the study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data set</th>
<th>Data type</th>
<th>Amount of documents</th>
<th>Purpose of document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Written document</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Concept and Development study for a Guggenheim Helsinki, Guggenheim Helsinki Revised Proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Written documents, concept boards, images</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Design competition stage 2 submissions (finalist submissions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data set A1 consists of two documents that were prepared by the Salomon R. Guggenheim Foundation in order to communicate the concept for and feasibility of a possible Guggenheim Museum in Helsinki. The first document, Concept and Development Study for a Guggenheim Helsinki (2011), was said to be “driven by the opportunity to rethink the role of a museum in today’s society---“. The second document, Guggenheim Helsinki Revised Proposal (2013), presents revised ideas for the potential Guggenheim Helsinki. These documents were selected as they were the most comprehensive sources of information in regards to the Guggenheim Helsinki project. These documents communicate the ideals that the new museum is to manifest, as well as the vision and mission for the museum. Together, the documents form data set A1. The documents were obtained from the Guggenheim Helsinki webpage (guggenheimhki.fi) in April 2015.

Data set A2, comprising of the materials prepared by the finalists for the stage two of the design competition were analyzed in order to answer the second
research question. The materials included concept boards consisting of text and images, visual representations of the designs and narrative booklets. These documents were obtained through the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition website designguggenheimhki.org. The documents were obtained in October 2015.

4.4 Data analysis

This subchapter presents the tools and steps of the data analysis. Using a chronological approach, the sections move from the inductive thematic analysis through the steps of the grounded theory approach.

4.4.1 Recognizing ideas: a thematic analysis

In order to recognize ideas that have guided the architects’ design work, I examined two documents (data set A1) prepared by the Guggenheim Foundation prior to the competition. The first of these documents, the Concept and Development Study for a Guggenheim Helsinki (2011) was commissioned by the city of Helsinki in order to examine the possibility of a Guggenheim museum in Helsinki. The document consists of financial reports, mission and vision statements and case studies from other museums in the Nordics. The second document, Guggenheim Helsinki Revised Proposal (2013) was prepared by the foundation after project was turned down by the City Council. The Revised Proposal presents updated financials, as well as a more focused vision of the future museum.

By examining and contrasting data set A1, I aim to answer the first research question: *What are the vision and expectations for a Guggenheim Helsinki?*

The focus on the analysis was on statements that would answer the questions *what Guggenheim Helsinki is, who it is for and what is novel about the new museum*. As the documents included much information irrelevant for this study, I performed theoretical sampling, recognizing and marking interesting
concepts in the level of sentences or paragraphs for further analysis. I performed constant comparison between the pieces of data in order to correctly classify and code the phenomena. I utilized three different levels of coding in the analysis: open, axial, and selective coding, following the classification of Strauss & Corbin (1990).

I performed open coding on the reduced data, recognizing concepts that would help answer the research question. The purpose of open coding is to go through the raw data and recognize meaningful high-level concepts arising therefrom (Strauss & Corbin 2008). The aim of the preliminary stage was to recognize key that would explain how the future museum is utilized, and what is its role in the city and urban fabric, and its role as a 21st century cultural institution. Examples of first-order codes include “focus on artistic process”, “acting as a community hub” and “environmentally conscious approach”. Altogether 112 first-order codes emerged from the open coding phase.

Next, I performed axial coding in order to identify relations between the first-order codes and to group them under higher-order themes. Here, the first-order concepts were further analyzed, merging similar and duplicate concepts and recognizing relationships between the concepts. Eight code groups emerged from the axial coding phase. Last, I analyzed the code groups further and combined them under four key themes based on their similarities and relationships to each other. A simplified model of the data structure, with a limited selection of first-order codes is presented in Figure 2.
Figure 2. Example of data structure
4.4.2 Ideas as material manifestations: content analysis

In order to answer the second research question, I analyzed the six finalist designs of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design competition in order to find how the ideas and expectations were presented in material form and communicating through the architectural designs for the building. The material used in the analysis were the Narrative Booklets (available at designguggenheim.org), concept boards and other publicly available material prepared by the Design Competition Finalists. These materials comprise data set A2.

With the guidance of the themes and keywords recognized in the thematic analysis of data set A1, I analyzed the finalist designs in order to find ways in which ideas grouped under the key themes were materialized in the architects' presentations. First, I read through each Narrative Booklet in order to get an overview of the different designs. Next, utilizing the keywords linked with themes, I analyzed the Narrative Booklets for solutions that communicate the ideas and expectations found in the previous analysis. I contrasted text and images in order to perform a thorough investigation of how ideas and symbols were presented in material form.

4.5 Procedure of study

This study was performed as part of a larger research project of the Guggenheim Helsinki. When the data collection started, the research questions were not yet defined. The research questions were defined after investigating the open data from the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition. The full competition data, comprising of images, design descriptions and concept boards was made available online. The design descriptions were downloaded from a cloud storage in PDF file format on the 28th of April, 2015. One file was not available on the server, bringing the total number of documents to 1714. First, I analyzed the 1714 submissions for Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition to find common themes among the
competition entries. I then uploaded the documents, A4-format PDF documents with a 150-word summary of the design concept, to ATLAS.ti, a quantitative analysis software. Using the Auto Coding feature, all descriptions were first analyzed for common themes. At this point, the research questions were still undefined.

Starting with large amount of data helped to understand the questions at hand and also gave a wide understanding of the project and the type of data that was available. As a number of recurring themes began to emerge from the pool of data, I decided the research questions and moved my focus from all design descriptions to the documents presented in chapter 4.3: the two studies published by the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and materials prepared by the design competition finalists for the stage two of the design competition. The comprehensive data would have allowed for a much wider study, but due to the scope of a master’s thesis I adopted a narrower and well-defined focus.

After defining the research questions, I planned the research design. The context of a design competition for a new contemporary art museum offered excellent grounds for the study of institutional work as the interplay of ideas, symbols and materials. First, I examined the ideas and expectations guiding the design of the new museum through the analysis of data set A1. After the key themes emerged, I determined the second data set, A2, and analyzed it for the material manifestations of the ideas. I analyzed the findings utilizing the theoretical lens of institutional work, identifying the types of institutional work that was performed in the project.
5 Empirical findings

This study looks at how the architects participating in the Guggenheim Helsinki design competition employ and translate ideas offered by other project stakeholders into their own institutional context. The findings shed light on on-going institutional work, focusing on the first step of a project that is to continue for several years in the future. The grounded theory method adopted in this research revealed four key themes that the architects have focused on in their designs. The research questions will be answered in a narrative form, with the different themes presented in their respective subchapters. Quotes and images from the design submission will be utilized to further demonstrate and exemplify the findings. The findings will be further discussed and theorized in the context of the study in the following chapter.

5.1 Ideas and expectations for the new museum

In order to answer the first research question, I analyzed two documents central to the project. These documents, Concept and Development Study (2011) and Revised Proposal (2013) were both prepared by the Guggenheim Foundation, in collaboration with key professional groups. I analyzed the documents for themes, four of which emerged from a rigorous process of coding. Next, the findings of this analysis are presented in a narrative form. The findings are discussed in further detail in chapter six.

5.1.1 Development of ideas

The Concept and Development Study for a Guggenheim Helsinki was published in 2011, prepared by the Salomon R. Guggenheim Foundation in collaboration with the city of Helsinki. Prepared as a feasibility study, it analyzes how a new Guggenheim Museum could benefit Helsinki and Finland in four aspects: culturally, educationally, socially and economically. According to the Foreword by the Director of the Guggenheim Foundation, Richard Armstrong, this project is unique for the Foundation in that its starting point is not the architectural identity of the museum, but rather the context of the
new museum: its mission, vision and programming. This statement ratifies that the analysis of these documents provides excellent grounds for understanding what the ideas and expectations that guide the material design of the new museum are.

The Concept and Development Study thoroughly analyzes the current cultural landscape, and highlights the advantages that a museum under a big institution such as Guggenheim could bring to the city and the state. The study suggests that there is a need for a museum with an international focus in Helsinki, and that the new institution would not compete with the existing actors, but rather have a positive impact on the entire field through increased tourism and an updated cultural image with the help of the renowned Guggenheim brand. The new Guggenheim Helsinki museum is offered a role as a testing laboratory within the Guggenheim affiliate structure. According to director Armstrong (p. 4), the team was set out to “seek unconventional solutions and explore bold new ideas”.

The study focuses on the mutual pros that the new museum would bring along, and the uniqueness that arises from the combination of a northern European culture and an American art institution. The study suggests that the goal of the new museum has since the start been to be a groundbreaking cultural institution that would unconditionally look for “unprecedented ways of experiencing art and visual culture” (Guggenheim Foundation 2011). How this would be done is left largely open, with only hints towards the high technological knowhow of Finland combined with an innovative approach. The first proposal is bold and focuses on the advantages that the foundation assumes would be profitable for Finland. These include increased tourism and global awareness, as well as contribution to the master plan of Helsinki. Additionally, the study includes a look into the museum field in the Nordics, and lists learnings that highlight the importance of creating an urban public space, as this is seen to be vital to the success of the project. Interviews with Louisiana Museum in Denmark and Astrup Fearnley in Oslo both mention this
“accessible public forum” and “urban gathering place”. In May 2012, the proposal was rejected by the Helsinki City Board.

The Guggenheim Helsinki Revised Proposal was introduced in late 2013. It was accompanied by a comprehensive public agenda consisting of events, talks, art exhibitions and most notably, the open and public design competition for the architecture of the museum. The revised proposal takes a more incremental approach to the museum, defining its mission and vision and goals. The first study, prepared as a feasibility study, focused on more abstract ideas and comparative analysis of the art sphere the revised proposal gives the reader an overview of the plan for the new museum. Whereas the first study imagines the new Guggenheim Helsinki museum as a social gathering place with focus on social programming as a non-collecting institution, the revised proposal has found more depth in the mission. Though still imagined as a social “town green”, the museum now also has an artistic focus as a cultural exchange platform and an educational authority. This central mission has its roots in Guggenheim’s founding legacy: “the idea that social behavior could evolve through contact with art” (Guggenheim Foundation 2011, p. 74).

“In brief, a Guggenheim Helsinki would be a premier destination: a central gathering place or “town green” for the city and a must-see destination for locals and foreigners alike” (Guggenheim Foundation 2011, 2013)

5.1.2. Key themes

Through a content analysis of data set A1, four key themes were recognized as the guiding design principles for the Guggenheim museum. For each theme, a description was crafted in order to more clearly explain how that theme presents ideas that would act as guiding principles. The key words selected for each theme were found through an analysis of data set A2, and show how ideas were translated between the actors engaged in collective entrepreneurship. The key themes, along with an explanation to help understand the logic of the
categorization and listing of key words for each theme are presented in table 2.

*Table 2. Ideas and expectations for the project categorized under key themes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
<th>Key words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratizing art</td>
<td>Accessible, bringing public closer to artists, educational activities and programs</td>
<td>education, sharing, platform, inviting, open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscious architecture</td>
<td>Architecture important because of Guggenheim’s track record, important to highlight Finnish legacy, focus on ecological and sustainable building and design practices</td>
<td>ethical, ecological, advanced, openness, accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and connected museum</td>
<td>Museum as a town green, central gathering place, museum as an inclusive public space, museum linked to the city grid</td>
<td>public, open space, inclusive, urban grid, city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovative museum</td>
<td>Finding new ways of displaying and consuming visual arts, process focus, new technologies</td>
<td>Innovation, technology, media</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first theme, dubbed as “Democratizing art” stems from Guggenheim’s original mission statement (see p. 42). This goal relates to the open and accessible nature of the new museum, as well as the vast educational activities and programming that has been planned to take place in the museum. The new museum would have a focus on the artistic process, which in this context would link to the educational activities and social programming that the Guggenheim aims to offer to students, families and the wider international audience. Cross-generational programming brings the artistic process close to the public by offering opportunities to create, discuss and view art (Guggenheim Foundation
The democratic museum is open to all, accessible and interactive rather than a static container of art.

The second theme “Conscious architecture” is a reference to what Guggenheim is best known for among the wider public. Architecture and design will play a key role in the new building, not only in the architectural design of the building but also inside it: it has been decided that the new museum should focus on design and architecture. Furthermore, this theme includes much of the Finnish legacy that will be visible in the building. From the preferred wood material to “Nordic ideas of accessibility and openness” (Guggenheim Foundation 2011) the new Guggenheim museum will be unlike its precedents, a conscious and sensible museum fitting the Nordic mentality.

Third, a theme that could be part of the first theme of democratizing art, the “Social and connected museum” includes ideas of an open and inclusive museum. This theme was decided to be separated on its own, as the idea of a social museum also stretches beyond the ideas of a democratic museum. Where as the theme “Democratizing art” focuses on how the new museum and the Guggenheim Foundation enable art creation and experience to people, this theme focuses on the possibilities that a new public museum building would offer to the public as a space and a new location in the city grid, expanding it and connecting existing areas. It highlights the connection the new museum would have to existing public spaces, and stresses the importance of designing a museum that is inherently part of the city fabric.

Last, “Innovative museum” features ideas of a museum that would introduce new ways of displaying and collecting art as well as utilizing new technologies to highlight visitor experience. This theme stems from Guggenheims motivation to establish an affiliate in Finland. In the studies, the Finnish technological knowhow in both information technology and sustainable building practices and high level of education is believed to offer the Foundation competitive advantage in defining what a 21st century museum would be like. The museum is envisioned a testing laboratory and innovation
center, developing new approaches to the consumption and advancement of visual culture that could then be adopted by other institutions.

The next chapter will add another dimension to these ideas and themes, as we analyze the finalist designs for symbols and design strategies where the recognized guiding ideas are demonstrated. Through these analyses, the second research question will be answered in a narrative form.

5.2 Ideas translated into material form

This chapter looks into how the key themes presented in the previous chapter are materialized in the finalist designs. This is investigated through an analysis of the architects’ drawings and texts. The materials utilized in the analysis were made publicly available during the course of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition, making it possible to investigate on-going institutional work. Table 3 lists the finalist designs by their identification codes and proposal names. The designs will be referenced to by their identification code.

Table 3. Finalists of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification code</th>
<th>Name of proposal</th>
<th>Design studio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GH-04380895</td>
<td>Art in the City</td>
<td>Moreau Kusunoki Architectes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH-1128435973</td>
<td>Two-in-one museum</td>
<td>agps architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH-121371443</td>
<td>Quiet Animal</td>
<td>Asif Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH-5059206475</td>
<td>47 Rooms</td>
<td>Fake industries Architectural Agonism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH-5631681770</td>
<td>Guggenheim Commons</td>
<td>SMAR Architecture Studio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH-76091181</td>
<td>Helsinki Five</td>
<td>HaasCookZemmrich STUDIO2050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.1 Democratizing art: architecture as an enabler

The theme “Democratizing art” focuses on the role of architecture as an enabler. As a democratizer of art, the new building strives to bring the public closer to artists and art, as well as to offer vast educational activities and programming as part of Guggenheim’s key mission of being a social educator. In this chapter, we examine how the finalist designs emulate the ideas of democracy, accessibility and openness in material form.

“The museum should be thought of as a place where anyone may go, overcoming the notion of an unreachable masterwork” (GH-76091181)

Many architects have abandoned the traditional museum structure, with a small open area and an art sanctuary with a highly restricted access. The museum is seen as a passing-through place, a natural part of the city. Programming and the artistic process is permeated through the building, and open areas encourage interaction and engagement in dialogue.

GH-76091181 comprises five shingle-clad towers that together comprise the museum building. The towers facilitate the galleries, cafe, administrative spaces as well as spaces used for additional programming. The middle space between the five towers forms an agora, an open space that acts as a starting and ending point for the visitor experience. From this point, the visitor can choose between different routes, each forming a different experience of the museum. The agora as a void symbolizes the thrill of seeking and finding, the excitement that the experiencing of art can provide. The agora enables the visitor to find her own way through the museum, instead of following a predetermined path through the exhibitions. Democracy of different user groups is thought of in terms of the visitor experience. See Figure 3 for examples on routes for different user groups.
By not having a predetermined route through the museum, the guest is free to find his or her own way through the building and its functions. From the outside, the building seems like a traditional museum building, even iconic as a structure that clearly sets itself apart from its surroundings. The museum foregoes the traditional setup of a “grand horizontal space”, and favors the vertical dimension, creating new connections between different parts of the museum programming and the different spaces in the building.

“Tomorrow’s museum has to be thought in terms of horizontality, openness, flexibility and public engagement”

(GH-04380895)

GH-04380895, Art in the City, takes a similar approach by utilizing smaller, fragmented spaces instead of large white halls that the traditional museum and gallery architecture has favored. The museum is seen as a “shared ecosystem” rather than a place for display. Galleries are focused around a central boulevard that runs all through the building. Dubbed as the in-between space, an anti-hierarchical space that offers an open setting for social activities. The design highlights participation by bringing the educational and programming activities in the center of the building: the multipurpose hall is glazed on all four sides, bringing the activities in full view to those who pass the museum.
GH-5631681770, Guggenheim Commons aims to bring art closer to the public by creating a binary museum that would inhabit both a traditional gallery as well as a public space for creation of street art created by the public. During the six warm months of the year, the museum extends outside the building to facilitate the vibrant urban culture of Helsinki. During the colder months, Guggenheim Commons will offer a place for urban culture within its walls. In this proposal, art is democratized by inviting the public to create it themselves, and bringing gallery art to the streets closer to people. The focus is on co-creation and conversation, and to create a new public platform for the enjoyment and creation of art and culture.

Similar to GH-5931681770, GH-1128435973 proposes a museum that is an open museum. The building is designed as a binary museum: it has two parts, one for the exhibitions and the other acting as an incubator. It is imagined that together these two parts will form a new public building that both is and is not a museum. In this proposal “the incubator” is truly an open public space: the ferry passenger terminal would remain in the building that would be extended to house to act as a social infrastructure in the middle of the city. The binary designs of GH-5931681770 and GH-1128435973 imagine the museum as a lab, a testing ground for new participatory practices. This design takes into account the dual response that the museum has gotten from the public: it is imagined that the museum should be as well for the art enthusiast as for the regular citizen, being formal and informal at the same time. See Figures 4 and 5 for examples of these designs.
GH-5059206475 consists of, as its name suggests, 47 separate rooms with controlled climates. The design focuses on the interior rather than the exterior, foregoing iconic architecture in favor of visitor experience. The museum’s identity is on the inside rather than the outside, inviting the visitor in to experience the museum. The design sets itself apart from the other finalists by having a predetermined route through the museum: the rooms follow one
another in a traditional order: the entry followed by a gift shop, main hall, exhibition spaces, auditoriums and education areas. The museum concept does not limit itself to the assigned Eteläranta area. GH-5059206475 proposes to open Guggenheim Pop-ups all around the city, bringing art into the everyday lives of the citizens of Helsinki.

5.2.2 Conscious architecture and traditional Nordic ideals

This theme focuses on the building itself: its architecture and surroundings. It examines how the designers use different materials in order to convey the ideals presented in the documents that guide the design process. Conscious architecture is here defined as a turn away from what Guggenheim is known for in terms of architecture. The buildings are true to Nordic ideals and the Nordic architectural legacy. Furthermore, wood and other traditional and natural materials are selected as a preferred material. As is conventional for Finnish architecture, the exteriors are kept simple and clean, whilst the innovations can be found in the materials and building structures. Also in many designs, the focus is put on the inside, as Helsinki is “a city of interiors”.

Traditional and local materials were utilized in most finalists, in accordance with the vision of the Guggenheim Foundation. Helsinki Five, constituted by five beacon-like towers, is clad in wood shingles, a traditional material in Finnish vernacular architecture. Combined with the statuesque form of the towers, the museum complex is constituted as a combination of traditional Finnish architecture and iconic architecture that the Guggenheim museums are known for. Art in the City, the winning proposal by Moreau Kusunoki Architectes also chose wood in the outside cladding of the building. The wood material here combines tradition with technology: charring timber is an old traditional technique from Japan not common in Europe, but that could be industrialized with the help of Finnish wood engineering knowhow. Another similarity is the tower. It is subdued enough to fit the Helsinki skyline but also distinctive enough to act as an iconic feature, marking the status of the building and acting as a nod to the Guggenheim legacy (see Figure 6).
“In fulfilling its mandate to serve the public, which has been asked to finance the undertaking, the project aims to make do with less, pursuing an ‘economy of means’ for building the museum” (GH-5631681770)

In three out of six finalist designs, the old ferry terminal building, Makasiiniterminaali is reused. This idea of mining the city takes advantage of the energy stored in the current buildings while making room for new cultural production and urban social infrastructure. The first of these designs, GH-5059206475 or 47 rooms consists of, as its name suggests, 47 separate rooms with controlled climates. The design focuses on the interior rather than the exterior, foregoing iconic architecture in favor of visitor experience. This is seen also as a strategic shift for the Guggenheim Foundation by bringing focus to the city rather than to external qualities of yet another iconic museum. In this way, the design brings the artistic content and the city context to the center. Focusing on the interior, the design utilizes technology to create controlled climates inside the building, mimicking the atmospheric conditions of Helsinki. The focus on the interior and the content is also visible on the outside, as the museum has an almost temporary appearance. The design takes cues from the surrounding harbor area, and extends the museum to the outside by utilizing technologies to display art also on the exterior of the building.
Proposal GH-1128435973 has a similar approach: Two-in-one museum aims to honor the history of the harbor site through the intentionally rough and industrial design. The museum acts as a mediator between the city and the harbor, allowing the dual logics to co-exist on its turf. Overall, the architecture of the museum highlights sensibility and consciousness to the environment and to the social context in which the museum is embedded. The binary construction of GH-1128435973 is visible in Figure 7.

![Figure 7. Façade of GH-1128435973 (agps architecture 2015b)](image)

Proposal GH-121371443 distinguishes itself from the rest of the finalists by suggesting a design that is closer to the iconic designs that Guggenheim has preferred in the past. The design draws inspiration from the surrounding old Helsinki city center blocks, named after animals. The proposal aims to create an extension of the city in a natural way by creating a new city block that is inspired by the site’s history. The materials selected are timber and glass, creating a simple and straightforward structure that is enhanced by a light-infusing glass membrane letting the city into the museum and vice versa (See Figure 8).
Many of the designs have taken into account the history of the area, avoiding designs that would be thought of as too grand or modern for the old harbor, and all six designs include references to vernacular architecture. The material choices are natural and fitting for the city, and purposefully take a step away from the traditional Guggenheim style. The conscious museum lets the programming take priority over the architectural grandeur.

5.2.3 Social and connected museum

Following the 21st century tendency of building new urban public spaces in the city, many architects look to build a living room for the citizens and a public space within the museum. Abandoning the iconic and institutional view of the museum as a container and temple of art, the new museum is as much for the city dwellers as it is for the tourists. The notion of a social museum extends well beyond the walls of the museum building. A social museum should accommodate more than just art and exhibitions, it should be an open space in the city, a public place where everyone is welcome and that is a part of the daily life of the citizens. Social spaces, such as shopping malls, cafes and parks are an integral part of a city’s identity. Traditionally, a museum has been an exclusive space, a cultural sanctuary of sort. A modern museum looks to open up the exhibition spaces and to link the museum to the city and to its inhabitants.

**Figure 8. Combination of wood and glass in the structure of GH-121371443 (Asif Khan 2015)**
In proposal GH-76091181, Helsinki Five, much of the social spaces have been situated outside the museum building. The museum extends into the city through the social and open spaces outside the museum, designed for gatherings and large public events. Long benches and steps in the waterfront invite city dwellers to spend time in the museum quarter, regenerating the area as a vital part of the city center. Outdoor activities such as skateboarding and ice skating are encouraged. The proposal puts much focus on the area around the museum building, linking the museum area to both the Tähtitorninvuori park and the Market Square area (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. The outdoor spaces of GH-76091181 (HaasCookZemmrich STUDIO 2050, 2015)

Another example on the connectedness of the museum is visible in the design GH-121371443, the quiet animal. Having no front or back, the museum is open into all directions, with three entrances on different sides of the building. The design aims to make the harbor area more accessible by connecting it to the rest of the city.

On the inside of the museum, the concept of a social museum is materialized in open spaces and programming that is designed for the community instead of the individual. In proposal GH-5631681770, part of the museum is designed as an open “chameleonic space” for artists and citizens, adapting to their needs.
and thus breaking the traditional museum infrastructure. The museum is shaped by its users, rather than the other way around. The design mimics the active urban culture situated in the streets of Helsinki, and looks to redefine public space.

A toned down version of this idea is present in the fragmented composition of GH-04380895 that enables programming outside the museum’s opening hours. The tower, hosting the restaurant, the multipurpose hall and the auditorium are placed in conjunction with each other, enabling the creation of a large public square where events can be organized when other parts of the museum is closed. A similar idea of separating the museum spaces with the social spaces is visible in proposal GH-1128435973, the Two-in-one-museum. The first floor of Art in the city is an open public space, with a pedestrian boardwalk cutting through the building. This space is imagined as a participatory platform for citizens, a space with no limitations that would encourage creation and participation (see Figure 10).

![Figure 10. The social square (Moreau Kusunoki Architectes 2015)](image)

The social museum is linked to the city grid and becomes a part of the urban fabric. It is an open public space that overcomes the notion of a private arts
institution through innovative social programming. The surroundings are as important part of the museum as are the halls that house art: both the climatic and the cultural seasonality of Finland and Helsinki are taken into account in the designs. The notion of a social museum extends outside the museum’s walls: as in Guggenheim’s vision, the museum is often linked to the adjacent Tähtitorninvuori Park, as well as the waterfront and the old market area. Helsinki is a green city, and many architects have included nature in a close connection to the proposed museum. Connections to the park, waterfront and the city center bring the museum into the social context of the city, allowing life to flow through the building. The research and development projects of the Guggenheim Foundation highlight the transformational and generative role of the museum in the context of the city and the urban grid. The museum is seen as an extension of the city, with a crucial role in linking different parts of the urban fabric to each other. As the location is an old harbor site, the museum is also seen as an opportunity to revive the area through this cultural institution. Expanding on this idea, the museum was sometimes seen as a beacon or a lighthouse, inviting in tourists arriving from the sea, and in a larger context, putting Helsinki on the global map.

5.2.4. Innovative museum

One of the main motivations of the Guggenheim Foundation to establish an affiliate museum in Finland was the high level of education and technological knowhow in the country. This theme explores how these properties are leveraged in the designs, both in terms of visitor experience and structural design. The new museum is envisioned as a laboratory, pushing the boundaries of presentation of consumption of arts through the creative use of technology and media. Acting as an innovation center, the educational programming combined with technological innovations offer unprecedented museum experiences.

As an example of structural innovation, GH-5059206475 utilizes technology both inside and outside the museum. Consisting of 47 rooms, each with its own microclimate, the museum is a “thermal onion”, where the transition through
the different climatic conditions become the identity of the museum. This proposal rejects the strict climatic conditions that usually prevail in museum in order to reinvent what the identity of a Guggenheim museum could be. Through breaking the institutionalized conception of strictly controlled climatic conditions, the museum offers room for curatorial innovation and new art practices.

The notion of the museum as pushing boundaries of presentation is prevalent in many of the designs. In the simplest form, the museum combines tradition with novel practices by adopting a binary structure. Some designs also look to other cultural institutions for ideas novel in the high culture context. Most notably, GH-5631681770 extends the urban fabric into the museum, welcoming open air activities and urban street culture into the public space of the museum. Also GH-1128435973 reserves one part of the museum for furthering innovative practices that expand what the art institution can do. This space is a participatory venue, curated by the public.

A combination of new materials and forms are used to define what a new museum in material form could be. From a technological point of view, traditional wood is used together with novel materials to create interesting material combinations that also have a functional role. The role of the innovator in terms of the programming is given to the public. Even though innovative technologies for visual presentation and visitor experience were recognized among key concepts that would have guided the design for the new museum, they did not materialize fully in the finalist designs. This is most likely due to the fact that they are not easily presented in the scale of architectural designs, and that they can be incorporated in the museum design later when it is being built.

5.3 Institutional work in the Guggenheim Helsinki project

Actors engage in institutional work in order to maintain, create or disrupt institutions. In the Guggenheim Helsinki project, three different types of
institutional work were performed in the process of envisioning what a new contemporary art museum for the 21st century would be like. The forms of institutional work performed in the project are illustrated in Figure 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Form of institutional work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a</td>
<td>Theorizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contemporary art museum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopting practices from other industries, linking new ideas to institutionalized practices</td>
<td>Mimicry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defining the museum’s place in the institutional context and the urban fabric of the city</td>
<td>Constructing Identities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 11. Types of institutional work performed in the project**

Engaging in collective entrepreneurship, the actors theorized new concepts and practices for the new museum, as is shown through the key themes that merged from the data. The new concepts were then further theorized by the architects taking part in the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition, while also providing additional ones, drawing from their own institutional context. The theorized ideas and practices were translated by the architects, each pr Second, the actors also engaged in mimicry, adopting practices from other cultural industries and combining institutionalized ideas of what a museum is with novel practices, as in the example of the binary museum: a traditional exhibition space combined with a flexible and open space for civic engagement. Another example of mimicry as a form of institutional work is visible in the ways in which the ideas and architectural designs borrow from other fields and industries. Third, the actors constructed identities as they reimagined the relationship between the museum institution and actors around it, and designed a museum fit for the urban context. The new museum redefines the
relationships between itself and the city, its inhabitants and both the local and global artistic communities. These findings are presented together with supporting quotes in Appendix I.

There were both similarities and differences in the ways in which architects interpreted and translated the ideas and expectations. While the overall goal was to redefine what a museum could be, to “develop a museum for the future” (Guggenheim Foundation 2013), some of the finalist designs were surprisingly modest and traditional in their approaches. The democratization of art was present in the finalist designs as an idea of a more open museum: one that does not guide action and experience in a similar way that traditional museums do. The designs had a free form, with several different routes available for the visitors to craft their own art experiences. Furthermore, in many designs the museum was opened up to the outside either by a transparent construction or by utilizing exterior spaces as exhibition space, bringing art into the life of even those who do not enter the building.

There was a high degree of versatility especially in how the finalist designs interpreted the notion of a “Social museum”, others opening up a large part of the museum for social engagement and co-creation, while others only reserved the café or restaurant and main entry hall for the wider community. All of the finalist designs had clearly linked the museum into the city grid, though there were differences in how the museum’s exterior spaces were utilized.

The theme most focused on the architects’ input, “Conscious architecture”, was clearly visible in all of the designs. The notion of designing a building that is sustainable both environmentally and design-wise was interpreted through the use of traditional and ecological materials, combined with newest building technologies. All of the designs took a step away from the iconic architecture that the Guggenheim museums have traditionally come to present, rather focusing on the appropriateness of the building in its environmental and city context. As already concluded earlier, the “Innovative museum” was not clearly presented in the designs in the form of visual technologies and multi media.
Rather, the innovativeness was visible in the ways in which the museum was imagined as a social and open space, abandoning the construction and flow of a traditional museum building in favor of a flexible space that the users themselves construct. Table 4 offers a summary of the ideas and their material representations in the finalist designs.

**Table 4. Translation of ideas into material forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
<th>Material form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Democratizing art            | Accessible, bringing public closer to artists, educational activities and programs | • Binary structure  
                            |                                              | • Place for creation  
                            |                                              | • No predetermined routes  |
| Conscious architecture       | Architecture important because of Guggenheim’s track record, important to highlight Finnish legacy, focus on ecological and sustainable building and design practices | • Traditional materials  
                            |                                              | • Utilizing the old ferry terminal  
                            |                                              | • Focus on the interior  
                            |                                              | • Non-iconic architecture  |
| Social and connected museum | Museum as a town green, central gathering place, museum as an inclusive public space, museum linked to the city grid | • Extending the museum beyond its walls  
                            |                                              | • Vast social and public space  
                            |                                              | • Open into many directions  |
| Innovative museum           | Finding new ways of displaying and consuming visual arts, process focus, new technologies | • Spaces designed for testing new practices and technologies  
                            |                                              | • Structural innovation  
                            |                                              | • Novel materials and material combinations  |

As a conclusion, the findings show how institutional work was performed in a manner of collective entrepreneurship in the Guggenheim Helsinki project. Three types of institutional work were recognized in the study of the interplay of ideas and materials in an institutional project. The important role of buildings as material manifestations of ideas was presented through the
comparative analysis. The different material forms that the ideas translate into highlight the link between semiotics and institutional work by showing how meaning is produced differently by different recipients. The findings will be further discussed and linked back to the theoretical frame in the following chapter.
6 Discussion

In thesis, I investigated how an institution responds to the changing logics of its organizational field and environment by engaging in institutional work. The findings show how different professional groups engage in collective entrepreneurship in order to reimagine an institution. Based on theories on institutional work and semiotics of the built environment, I aimed to answer two research questions:

*What are the vision and expectations for a Guggenheim Helsinki?*

*How are the vision and expectations translated into material form in the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition?*

In this chapter, the findings will be discussed and linked with the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2. Furthermore, this chapter introduces some scenarios for the future of the museum institution, as well as topics for future research.

6.1 A museum for the 21st century

The vision and expectations were found to be condensed under four key themes or concepts: “Democratizing art”, “Conscious architecture”, “Social and connected museum” and “Innovative museum”. These four concepts together form the identity for the new museum, as envisioned by the professionals of the Guggenheim Foundation and other actors closely related to the project. They also answer the first research question. In the second part of the study, I added another dimension to these themes constructed from ideas. I analyzed the six finalist designs of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition in order to recognize the ways in which these ideas and symbolic structures were in material form in the architectural design of the building. Here, the museum building was treated as a material artifact (see chapter 2.4)
In the Guggenheim Helsinki project, a new kind of democratic museum is envisioned as an inviting, open space that invites to co-create and roam its premises. The museum itself should be both an experience and a natural part of daily life, as is highlighted by the binary designs. The values of openness, connectedness and accessibility are materialized through the use of transparent, porous and genuine materials, such as glass and wood. Unlike traditional museums, the new kind of a democratic museum should be a place for discovery and creation, as symbolized through the undetermined routes and binary structures.

The 21st century museum aims not to be an iconic masterpiece of architecture, but rather an exemplar of sustainable architectural practices, highlighting ecological values. The architecture should pay homage to the context the building is in, and the museum should be integrated in the urban fabric of the city, making it a premiere destination for tourists and a natural part of the daily life of the city dweller. The building would be aware of the urban culture, adapting its programming to the identity of the city. It gives space to cultural activities of all sorts, promoting creativity, co-creation and active citizenship. The 21st century museum is thus no longer a container of art, but rather a vibrant public space that exists in the cultural context of the city.

6.2 Institutional work in the Guggenheim Helsinki project

The findings show how institutional work is performed by a group of actors, institutional entrepreneurs who in this case come both from inside and outside the institution itself. In this study, I recognized three types of institutional work: theorizing, mimicry and constructing identities, following the categorization by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006). In this project, the documents and designs acted as boundary objects, diffusing and dispersing knowledge and ideas across groups and maintaining coherence across social worlds (Jones et al. 2013, Star & Griesemer 1989). The semiotics of the built environment was one of theoretical considerations in this study. The findings highlight, through the multiple material forms that the ideas are translated.
into, the important role of the subject who produces the meaning. It shows how multiple meanings are produced in the process of collective entrepreneurship through the different productions of meaning.

This study was focused on on-going institutional work, and took thus a different approach to the topic than many previous inquiries. By studying institutional work that is still on-going, much of the findings can only be theorized, as their true novelty and transformative power can only be proven in hindsight when historical data is available. The process of institutional work continues if and when the project moves on to the next phase, pending a decision from the Helsinki City Council.

Before the creation process is finished and historical data is available, this study could be expanded and its findings further validated by comparing the ideas and material manifestations to existing solutions in recently designed museum buildings. Furthermore, a longitudinal study of the same organization, the Guggenheim museum could provide valuable insights into how an organization in the cultural industries navigates changes in institutional logics by constantly engaging in institutional work.

As Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) suggested, institutional work can be divided in three categories: work aimed at the creation of institutions, institutional maintenance work and disruptive institutional work. Institutional work as a field of study is focuses rather on the actions than the accomplishments (Lawrence et al. 2009). Institutional work may lead to a shift in institutional logics, but it may very well not do so. A different study is whether the institutional work performed in this project will lead to shifts in institutional logics, changing the way the museum institution is understood. Even if this institutional work project turns out not to be disruptive, it is equally interesting to analyze the possible maintenance effects it may have on the institutions.
6.3 Managerial implications

The ways in which the physical surroundings can affect an institution and the changes happening within it is something that should be recognized. As most of the material surrounding the Guggenheim Helsinki project, including the designs that partook in the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition, have been made publicly available online, other museum institutions have the unique opportunity to enjoy the fruits of the labor of thousands of professionals as they envision exhilarating futures for the museum institution. The findings also shed light on the changing environment that museum institutions are embedded in, highlighting the need for change and giving suggestions to what the museum’s role would be in the future.

In case the Guggenheim Helsinki museum is built in the following years, this study can offer the museum professionals and the museum organization insights into the design process of the institution, professional identities and organizational identity. Furthermore, it gives insights into how buildings matter for organizations and institutions, and urges thus organizational actors to more closely think about the spaces and buildings they work and live in. A building that acts as a collective identity marker spurs actors to engage in institutional maintenance work (Jones et al. 2011). In the case of buildings as collective identity markers it is important to understand the semiotic qualities of material objects: the process through which buildings as semiotic objects produce meaning is dependent on the receiver. Thus, the building can be altered by the users, producing meaning of the material object in ways that the designers did not anticipate.

6.4 Evaluation of the study

In this study, I utilized qualitative research methods, engaging in thematic analysis and content analysis in order to identify ideas, expectations and their material manifestations in the Guggenheim Helsinki project. As with all studies, this study has a number of limitations.
First, the study of materiality was limited to the finalist designs of the Guggenheim Helsinki Design Competition. Utilizing instead all of the competition data, and contrasting the finalists with all submissions could provide interesting knowledge on whether the materialization of ideas in the finalist submissions was more prominent than in the rest of the designs. Second, the data was limited to documents, texts and images that communicated only the conclusions of the actors. The research could be extended by collecting more different types of data, among them interview data in order to reveal tacit ideas and meanings and the thought processes behind the creation of ideas and their material manifestations.

Third, as the study was focused on on-going institutional work, a logical way to expand the study and our understanding of the processes through which institutions are created would be to study the very beginning of the project. What were the motivations for this undertaking, how the ideas were defined, and what kind of institutional entrepreneurship was performed in the organization in order to get the ideas diffused and accepted in the wider organization. Guggenheim Helsinki project is not the first projects of this caliber that the Guggenheim has engaged in, but it is the one that has gotten furthest in the recent years. Comparing this project with the unsuccessful projects could offer insights into what differentiates successful and unsuccessful institutional work.

6.5 Future research

If the Guggenheim Helsinki museum was to be built, this research could be extended in a number of ways. First, the material construction and the design of the physical building could provide interesting data on how well the Guggenheim Foundation has succeeded in their vision to build an exemplar 21st century museum. As institutional work is often studied using historical data, this study could be expanded in the following decades to study whether the project offered new institutional practices for museums built in the 21st century. Moreover, an ethnographic study on the ways the space is being used
and how visitors interact with the building would expand on the material aspect of this study by focusing on the user. Buildings, similar to institutions, regulate behavior but are also shaped by it. Buildings can be argued to be meaningless without the user, who essentially defines the building’s identity. The museum is therefore just a container until it is filled with art, programming and an engaged audience.

Utilizing the study of buildings as tools in institutional work, interesting insights could be garnered by investigating other types of buildings. Museum buildings are distinct in the degree of freedom in their design, and thus have excellent grounds of becoming a collective identity marker, provided that the ideals of the community are materialized in the building. Studying buildings constructed in a more utilitarian purpose would offer interesting possibilities for a comparative analysis on how ideas can be materialized in different types of buildings. The context of an architectural design competition is interesting in that it offers the possibility to compare and contrast different materialized forms of ideas.

This study offered a look into how semiotics of the built environment can be linked to the study of institutions. This perspective could be expanded for example by studying the differences and links between the linguistic messages in form of texts and coded and non-coded iconic messages in form of images (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006). The well-documented project and the timing of it offer multiple possibilities for research both now and in the future. Museums together with the rest of the cultural industries are in flux, and organizations are working hard to maintain their relevance in the changing society. This project and the vast material available of it should be further studied as an example of institutional work in the cultural industries.
7 Conclusions

In light of the findings of this research, it is clear that the museum is an institution in the winds of change. As the attendance numbers decrease and the number of new institutions is increasing, museums need to find a way to both increase visitor numbers and stay ahead of the competition. In this study, I examined how institutional work was performed in the project of planning and designing a new contemporary art museum. As one of the most renowned museum brands in the world, the Guggenheim offered an excellent context for this study. The Guggenheim museum network spreads across three continents and four countries, with affiliates in the United States, Spain and Italy and one under construction in the United Arab Emirates. As the foundation looks to further expand their international network, they have since 2011 been in the process of planning a Guggenheim museum in Finland. This project provided excellent grounds for studying institutional work.

Utilizing qualitative research methods, I performed thematic and content analyses in order to investigate how institutional work was performed in the Guggenheim Helsinki project. The findings shed light on the ideas and expectations that guide the design of a 21st century art museum. Furthermore, I showed how these ideas and expectations are presented in material form in the architects’ designs. By revealing the link between the ideas and their material presentation, I showed how actors engage in collective entrepreneurship, theorizing new concepts and practices, utilizing mimicry and constructing identities for the potential Guggenheim Helsinki museum.

In this study, I approached materiality from a semiotics perspective, offering new insights for the study of buildings as material artifacts and their role in institutional work. The semiotics perspective on built environment considers buildings as material artifacts with a dual role communicating ideals through their material form and shaping society through experiences. Furthermore, architectural semiotics acknowledge the dual process through which buildings as material objects are created: first through the construction and then
through the changes that the daily use of the space entail. The link between semiotics and materiality in institutional work is intriguing, and deserves more attention from scholars. Buildings have traditionally been studied as tools for institutional change: their materiality acting as a manifestation of ideas through architectural design. As is clear in the case of museums, the building is much more than ideas presented in material form. Buildings also shape societies by acting as a setting for experiences, enabling new kind of communication and co-creation.
REFERENCES


Appendix I Forms of institutional work performed in the project, illustrated through activities and quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustrative quotes</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Form of institutional work</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The museum would be a premiere destination: a central gathering place or “town green” for city residents of all ages and a must-see destination for foreigners&quot; (Revised Proposal 2013)</td>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a contemporary art museum</td>
<td>Theorizing</td>
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<td>&quot;Discoveries and observations made during the process of developing the study revealed that any new museum, especially one meant to redefine what a museum could be in the future, would need to be a profoundly social space—a place of meaningful engagement with art but also with others, including peers, artists, tourists, and locals&quot; (Concept &amp; Development Study 2013)</td>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a contemporary art museum</td>
<td>Theorizing</td>
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<td>&quot;Tomorrow's museum has to be thought of in terms of flexibility and public engagement, 'solid, monolithic and vertical museums are probably buildings of the past'&quot; (GH-04380895)</td>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a contemporary art museum</td>
<td>Theorizing</td>
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<td>&quot;--museums for modern and contemporary art should build their identity on a constant exchange with their immediate and more distant surroundings--&quot;(GH-76091181)</td>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a contemporary art museum</td>
<td>Theorizing</td>
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<td>&quot;Museums have to change from institutions where information was directed in only one way: towards the viewer into institutions that are increasingly creating conversations with the user&quot; (GH-5631681770)</td>
<td>Naming and narrating new concepts and practices for a contemporary art museum</td>
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<td>Illustrative quotes</td>
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<td>&quot;Like an unresolved conflict, the desire of permanence of Museums and the changing nature of of the Street Art have been incompatible. But what if this problem could be solved through a binary architecture that blends the aura of monumentality with the spectacle of transformation?&quot; (GH-5631681770)</td>
<td>Adopting new practices from other industries</td>
<td>Mimicry</td>
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<td>&quot;Strong formal features were the strategy to both fit in, &amp; differentiate from the museum. Helsinki is an opportunity to continue this tradition of radical contextualism while shifting away from objecthood in favour of atmospheric conditions&quot; (GH-505920647)</td>
<td>Linking new ideas to institutionalized practices</td>
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<td>&quot;The museum and its visitors will have the chance to help define the new model of museums going forward by combining elements of a traditional exhibition hall with a strong emphasis on creative process and acting as a catalyst for social change, drawing an important and sizable audience from all over the world&quot; (Concept and Development Study 2011)</td>
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<td>&quot;47 Rooms extends the logic through which Helsinki’s population already tempers their more intimate public spaces. Imitating the logic of the Sauna, each room’s final climatic conditions include certain degree of negotiation between the institution and its visitors.&quot; GH-1128435973</td>
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<td>&quot;As the study team maintained from the beginning, a Guggenheim Helsinki presents a rare opportunity to rethink what a museum could be in the 21st century and beyond&quot; (Concept &amp; Development Study 2011)</td>
<td>Defining the museum's place in the institutional context</td>
<td>Constructing identities</td>
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<td>Illustrative quotes</td>
<td>Activities</td>
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<td>&quot;A Guggenheim Helsinki would serve as a cultural beacon by convening and collaborating with other museums; presenting internationally acclaimed exhibitions; featuring Finnish art within the Guggenheim’s international program; acting as a primary destination for tourists; and welcoming the public into a new gathering space&quot; (Revised Proposal 2013)</td>
<td>Defining the museum's place in the institutional context</td>
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<td>&quot;The museum would serve as a model for other institutions worldwide by integrating innovations in technology through Finland’s advanced networks and highly educated population&quot; (Revised Proposal 2013)</td>
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<td>Constructing identities</td>
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<td>&quot;The building is designed with multiple entrances, and no back or front. The idea is that it is able to connect with its neighbors and create a new public space&quot; (GH-121371443)</td>
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<td>&quot;The museum building would become a symbol of the new Helsinki—an iconic presence indicative of Finland’s distinct reputation with regard to art, architecture, and design&quot; (Revised Proposal 2013)</td>
<td>Defining the museum's place in the urban fabric of the city</td>
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<td>&quot;Promoting an interface between the city and art production, the project explores the concept of a &quot;two-in-one-museum&quot; that fosters connections between the everyday and art&quot; (GH-1128435973)</td>
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