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Coping with managerialism: academics' responses to conflicting institutional logics in business schools

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Coping with managerialism: academics' responses to conflicting institutional logics in business schools

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Abstract: This article discusses the implications of conflicting institutional logics guiding business schools and builds a conceptual model on how such conflicts manifest in academics' identity work. Four coping strategies for conflicting institutional logics by Pache and Santos (2010) known as compromise, avoidance, defiance and manipulation are discussed in how academics have developed coping strategies to manage their identities. Various coupling strategies are identified as part of academics' identity work mechanisms in how they simultaneously accommodate and resist some of the practices and goals of conflicting institutional logics. Along with this process, academics are found not only to engage with traditional coupling processes (decoupling and selective coupling) but also with two new types of couplings, mental decoupling and manifest decoupling, which are used for developing and maintaining a dual identity to manage the conflicting demands of institutional logics.

Keywords: business school; managerialism; institutional logics; academic logic; market logic; identity work; coupling strategies; loose coupling; decoupling; selective coupling.

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1 Introduction

Institutional logics refer to any 'socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space and provide meaning to their social reality' (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p.804). Hence, institutional logics form a collective way of acting and organising within a professional field. When a professional field undergoes a process of significant change, in which the former values or the

meaning of the former collective is threatened or changed, it goes through a shift in the guiding institutional logics. A new logic may replace an old logic, or a new logic may start to influence the old logic. Higher education is an example of a professional field that has gone through significant changes in recent decades. This has moved the ethos, purpose and practices of higher education institutions, as well as the lives of academics, away from the previously held values guiding their professional field. The change in business schools (hereafter B-schools), in which the old 'academic logic' has become increasingly challenged by a new 'managerial logic', is the focus of this essay. As managerial logic has been implemented in most higher education systems throughout the world, it has had a negative impact on academics' job satisfaction and has led to increased job stress (Shin and Jung, 2014), which is a significant concern for the future of academic careers and requires significant identity work to address.

In particular, this essay aims to understand how identity work is manifested in Bschool academics' responses to the demands of the two conflicting institutional logics. To study this, two theoretical bodies of literature are utilised. The first is literature on institutional logics (e.g., Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012), to seek an understanding of why organisations and professional fields change and what kinds of conflicts the demands of institutional logics engender. Furthermore, literature on identity work (e.g., Caza et al., 2018; Kreiner et al., 2006; Watson, 2008) is important in understanding individuals' attempts to negotiate new identities under such conflicting demands. Identity work is understood here as 'mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various socialidentities which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives' (Watson, 2008, p.129). Identity work is expected to accelerate whenever the meanings of collective membership are threatened (Caza et al., 2018), which is the case when a new conflicting institutional logic enters a professional field and challenges the old logic. In such identity work, various coupling strategies are discussed to illustrate how B-school academics' manage their self and social identities. Currently, relatively little is known about how individuals develop coping strategies to negotiate tensions between personal identities and social identities (Caza et al., 2018). In exploring the identity work of B-school academics, this essay builds on recent critical empirical research on B-schools (e.g., Agyemang and Broadbent, 2015; Alvesson and Spicer, 2016; De Vita and Case, 2016; Kettunen et al., 2015; Parker, 2014; Spender, 2014; Verbos and Dykstra, 2014; Wilson and Thomas, 2012) in discussing how academics have engaged in identity work to manage their identities under conflicting demands of institutional logics.

This essay aims to contribute to the literature on institutional logics (e.g., Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012) and to critical stream of research on identity work (e.g., Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) by discussing how identity is negotiated under conflicting institutional logics, and what kind of coupling processes are involved when developing specific coping strategies. In doing so, this research introduces two new coupling processes called *mental decoupling* and *manifest decoupling* that were witnessed as part of the mechanisms through which academics negotiate their identities. Understanding how academics have responded to conflicting institutional demands is of importance to higher education management; it is also important for individual academics, as identity work has connections to individual and organisational well-being. Understanding the causes of tensions can be a starting point for improving dysfunctional identities and enabling healthier identity processes (Kreiner et al., 2006).

2 Identity work perspective

Identity work has its origins in social identity theory, which aims to explain how and when individuals perceive themselves as part of a collective (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). For decades, management scholars have studied the processes, mechanisms and complexities of the identity work of professionals and how they create, sustain and change their self-perceptions, as well as their perceptions of others, their respective organisations and their entire occupations and industries (Caza et al., 2018). Identity work typically involves negotiating an optimal balance between the similarity of one's self-concept to that of others (conformity to social identities) while also having a unique, individualised self-identity (Ashford and Mael, 1989; Brewer, 1991). Identity work is an evolving process of forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising sources of coherence and distinctiveness (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). While in principle identity work can bring about positive results by preventing identity dysfunction and building healthy identity processes for individuals and their organisations, resolve tensions and conflicts and even build stronger self-identity and group identity, in reality such processes are often complicated and can also produce negative results (Caza et al., 2018).

As individuals negotiate a balance between their self-identity and social identity, they may either attach themselves to or distance themselves from the prevailing collective, social identity. In other words, people either increase or decrease their identification with a collective (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Caza et al. (2018) categorised the ways in which individuals engage in identity work into four broad categories: *cognitive actions*, such as thoughts about one's self-identity and social identity; *discursive activities*, that is, how such identities are manifested and verbalised through speech; *physical actions*, such as how individuals work on their identities physically, e.g., through use of their body, artifacts and symbols; and *behavioural actions*, which manifest in actual behaviour and manner that aligns with a certain outcome of the identity in action. This last category contains strategies for how individuals build, revise and maintain their self-identities within the constraints of their social identities (Ashforth, et al., 2007; Carrim and Nkomo, 2016).

The critical stream of research on identity work (e.g., Alvesson and Willmott, 2002) presumes that individuals position themselves within certain dominant discourses in their fields (i.e. the collective), which often results in identity conflicts and individuals contesting some aspects of those discourses. Such a process often involves the use of strategies through which individuals may explicitly or implicitly question, select or reject these discourses when they value other sources of identities (Doolin, 2002). The present study thus adopts a view of identity work based on a critical theory perspective, which focuses on understanding how people respond to issues of identity formation in organisations, how they may exercise active agency in negotiating their identity and how such identity work often involves both active resistance and compliance (Caza et al., 2018). This view thus requires careful assessment of where these dominant discourses originate from and an exploration of their influence on how individuals engage in identity work (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). These issues will be discussed next through discussion of the competing institutional logics guiding B-schools that have created their own discourses and models of social identities.

3 Institutional logic perspective on identity work

The institutional logic perspective was first introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) as a new dimension of institutional theory that aims to explain change in institutional settings at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels. According to institutional logic scholars, professional organisations typically have an inherent institutional logic that defines the acceptable principles, frames of reference, practices, symbols, vocabulary and sense-making processes as well as how rationality is perceived (Thornton et al., 2012). Some organisations that operate in fragmented fields may also have inherently multiple logics guiding the field (Dunn and Jones, 2010). As organisations position themselves vis-à-vis institutional logics, the logics become manifested in institutions' mission statements, communication and strategic decisions (Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005), which then act as normative and operational guidelines for its members. Moreover, institutional logics guide and restrain organisational actors' cognitions, behaviours and actions in terms of interests, sources of power, politics and discourses (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, 2008). Thus, they form a strong social framework for negotiating individual identities and rationalising action (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

Institutional logics are most visible when organisations go through radical structural reforms and their professional fields become re-established. In such instances, one can identify two distinct institutional logics that often have conflicting principles and goals (Reay and Hinings, 2005). For example, the reform of the healthcare industry in Canada involved two distinct logics; the previously dominant 'medical professionalism', which was a decentralised model of healthcare provision, and how the new 'businesslike healthcare' institutional logic changed the previous statusquo through the implementation of a centralised model. Elsewhere, Dunn and Jones (2010) identified two coexisting institutional logics in American medical education: 'care logic', in which quality healthcare is viewed to be based on preventive care and treating patients as whole people rather than diseases, and 'science logic', which views quality healthcare as stemming from offering innovative treatments for illness. Furthermore, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) described a historical change in the higher education publishing industry where a previously dominant logic known as 'editorial logic', driven by author-editor relationships and small publishers, was replaced by a 'market logic', through which publishing has become a mega industry with a focus on market competition and efficiency.

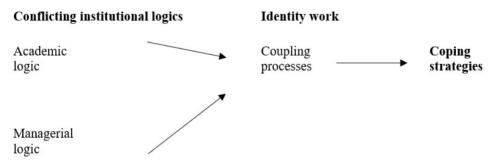
Previous research shows how conflicting institutional logics affect individuals' identities in various settings, such as in the context of social enterprises (Pache and Santos, 2013a), banking industry (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007), accounting firms (Bévort and Suddaby, 2016; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006) and healthcare organisations (Reay and Hinings, 2009). In sum, these studies show a range of approaches in how individuals have integrated elements of a new institutional logic into their identity and how such identity work has manifested in various outcomes, ranging from compliance and compromise strategies to different forms of resistance. Identity work can indeed result in a variety of outcomes because individuals often have some level of agency when it comes to choosing their identities (Caza et al., 2018). As the institutional logics are not totalising sources of power, individuals can exploit ambiguity and contradictions inherent in the institutional logics in a way that serves their individual

interests the best (Bévort and Suddaby, 2016; Knights and McCabe, 2000; Lok, 2010). Some authors are more skeptical of the role of active agency, as they view that agency is nevertheless influenced by interpersonal relationships and constraints within their organisational setting (Costas and Kärreman, 2016; Marlow and McAdam, 2015).

3.1 Responding to conflicting institutional logics: Identity work through coupling strategies

When power relations in the dominant institutional logics guiding the field change, actors must re-establish their identities and practices accordingly (Reay and Hinings, 2009). When the demands of institutional logics are in conflict, conflict with one's former identity is also triggered. In such a scenario, individuals engage in identity work through which certain coping strategies are developed. The term coping strategy refers to a position an individual adopts as a result of identity work where some of the demands of the conflicting logics are simultaneously complied with and resisted. Various coping strategies are developed as a result of different types of coupling processes that individuals use in their identity work. Coupling processes are understood as 'complex, contradictory, shifting and discursive outcomes of a set of narratives that is generated by individuals in their working practices...the way in which individuals interpret and understand their circumstances ... bound up with the sense they have of themselves [identity]' (Knights and McCabe, 2000, p.423). In other words, coupling processes are mechanisms through which individuals and organisations manage conflict and power struggles (Hallett and Ventresca, 2006) as they negotiate identities. Thus, this study proposes a model in which coupling processes provide a macro-micro link for understanding how individuals engage in identity work to develop coping strategies under the demands of conflicting institutional logics, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Framework for developing coping strategies under conflicting institutional logics through coupling processes



According to the framework, when a professional field is influenced by two competing and conflicting institutional logics, actors are found to engage in coupling mechanisms through which they negotiate their new identities and responses to the conflicting demands of the logics. This usually involves high levels of ambiguity as people (or organisations) may recognise and even publicly support a new logic, but in reality the

old logic continues to exist and guide their behaviour (Townley, 2002). This gap between symbolic conformity and actual behaviour indicates a *decoupling* strategy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), as the new template of organising and its power are resisted in practice but supported ceremonially. In identity work literature, such a process is understood as part of finding an 'optimal balance' of identity in which one can conform to the collective identity only partly (e.g. superficially or ceremonially) but still maintain one's original, independent identity on a deeper level (Caza et al., 2018). This signals that such practices are not actually supported as they are not implemented and thus they do not pose a threat to one's identity (Beekun and Glick, 2001; Lutz, 1982). Individuals may also engage in a *selective coupling* process in which they strategically pick certain elements of competing institutional logics that best suit their interests to adhere to (Pache and Santos, 2013b). In reality, conflicting institutional logics enable new kinds of dynamic coupling processes to emerge, about which relatively little is currently known in higher education research (Elken and Vukasovic, 2019).

The resultant coping strategies are not fixed end states but they may involve for instance discursive or non-discursive forms of action, micro-politics or infra-politics through which the social identity can be continuously challenged (Mumby et al., 2017; Thomas and Davies, 2005). Perhaps the most comprehensive typology developed for discussing coping strategies under conflicting institutional logics was developed by Pache and Santos (2010) that introduced four coping strategies, each of which signal different levels of adherence and resistance. These strategies are the following: compromise (an attempt to balance the competing expectations of institutional demands), avoidance (an attempt to preclude the necessity to conform to institutional pressures or to circumvent the conditions that make conformity necessary), defiance (explicit rejection of some of the institutional demands that cause contradictions to preserve a degree of autonomy for themselves within the constraints of the competing logic) and manipulation (an active attempt to alter the content of institutional requirements, which involve overt contestation of institutional demands to influence their promoters, or to signal opportunistic behaviour to take advantage of the situation).

Pache and Santos (2010) explained that the likelihood of adopting a certain strategy is defined by the nature of the institutional conflict (conflicts over means or goals), the degree of internal representation of conflicting demands (absence, single or multiple) and the distribution of power (balanced versus unbalanced power among actors favouring a certain institutional logic). They also note that in some instances, when both competing institutional logics have an equal level of internal support, the outcome of the power struggle is likely to result into an organisational paralysis or breakup, which means the discontinuance of cognitive legitimacy, and that ultimately such organisations are likely to cease. The typology and likelihood of different response strategies by and Pache and Santos (2010) are presented in Table 1, and they serve as an analytical tool for discussing academics' identity work and the kinds of coping mechanisms they have developed in the remaining part of this paper.

The following chapter examines the origins of the two institutional logics that have historically guided B-schools, how these logics have formed the social identities of B-schools academics and how academics have responded to the conflicting demands of institutional logics by developing individual coping mechanisms.

 Table 1
 Conditions and likelihood of the resistance strategies

Conditions and likelihood of the resistance strategy (Pache and Santos 2010)	Compro- mise	Avoi- dance	Defi- ance	Manipu- lation
When facing conflicting demands focusing on means and in the <i>absence of internal representation</i> of these demands.	X	X		
When facing conflicting demands focusing on means where <i>one side of the demands is internally represented.</i>		X	X	
When facing conflicting demands focusing on means where at least two sides of the demands are internally represented.	X*			X**
When facing conflicting demands focusing on goals and in the <i>absence of internal representation</i> of these demands.		X	X	
When facing conflicting demands focusing on <i>goals</i> where only <i>one side of the demands is internally represented.</i>		X	X	X
When facing conflicting demands focusing on <i>goals</i> where at least <i>two sides of the demands are internally represented</i> .				X***

4 Sources of institutional logics in B-schools: academic logic and managerial logic

4.1 Academic logic

Traditionally, most higher education systems throughout the world were established on the principles of 'academic logic'. In academic logic, the purpose of higher education was linked to Humboldtian values in serving the needs of their respective nation states by educating various kinds of professionals and intellectuals (Donoghue, 2008). The nature of education was typically non-profit, and non-business like. Academics used to have considerable decision-making power within their respective disciplines that manifested, e.g., in deciding on the appointments of administrators, faculty members and committees and in the control over instruction, the curricula and examinations (Gerber, 2014; Kerr, 2001: Locke, 1985). Furthermore, academics used to have rather stable jobs with tenure system in place in many institutions, and academics had a considerable level of academic freedom in their work, which was exercised in their teaching and research (Donoghue, 2008). The academics were a key defining feature of what a university was. While academics enjoyed considerable level of power, they were also supported by administration when it came to decisions on other matters, such as long-range planning. budgeting and appointing top administrative personnel (Gerber, 2014). In sum, under academic logic, academics' identities were based on the following: collegiality, professionalism, shared decision-making and administrative duties, exercise of autonomy over their most important professional functions, teaching and research (Clegg, 2008), security of tenure, emphasis on equality issues in the allocation of work and loyalty to the subject discipline (Henkel, 1997).

4.2 Managerial logic

The first signs of a slow change in the institutional logics guiding universities and B-schools took place in the 1970s, as social and professional institutions particularly in the USA and UK began to struggle because of budgetary problems and the increasing calls to view higher education as a private good (Washburn, 2008). This paradigm shift initiated a set of reforms that resulted in a commercialisation and privatisation twist in the provision of higher education which views higher education as a commodity and students as customers (e.g., Juusola, 2015). It also initiated the birth of the 'managerial logic', which focuses on making such institutions more efficient and business-like by controlling and managing the work of university staff through a new type of governance. This change has brought the principles of New Public Management, performance measurements and centralised decision making similar to the corporate world to the governance logic of public sector institutions (Deem and Brehony, 2005; Ginsberg, 2011; Olssen and Peters, 2005).

For B-schools and universities, this meant becoming managed by increasing numbers of new managerial authorities tasked to monitor and measure performance by seeking more cost-efficient practices, managing faculty and students with fewer resources, modernising institutional governance, and increasing productivity (Gerber, 2014; Ginsberg, 2011; Khurana, 2007; Parker, 2014). Such new forms of governance and adoption of performance measurements were claimed to improve institutional efficiency, transparency and customer orientation, which were considered lacking in the traditional shared governance model of academic logic (Gerber, 2014; Wedlin, 2011). This attempted to bring more organised forms of management (tighter coupling) into institutions that were claimed to be ineffective as loosely coupled organisations (Lutz, 1982). In practice, managerial logic has shifted the role of academics from the centre of their institutions into a periphery as academics have less of a decision-making role in their institutions even on their core activities of teaching and research (Alvesson and Spicer, 2016; Clarke et al., 2012). Part of this new control mechanisms is also initiated externally, such as through the UK Research Excellence Framework (REF) and similar research quality metrics.

Furthermore, as universities are encouraged to 'do more with less,' class size and student-to-teacher ratio have increased, thus reducing quality teaching and learning to managing student volumes, which distorts the traditional function of education aimed at the intellectual development of students further away (Harris, 2005). At the same time, other traditional faculty activities, such as administration, knowledge exchange and service to the profession and the university, have become secondary faculty activities under managerial regimes because of the lesser direct connections with physical and reputational gains for the institution or individual academics (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Tuchman, 2009; Washburn, 2008).

Furthermore, managerial logic legitimised new forms of non-coercive governance, namely, international accreditation bodies and global rankings, which have become rule-like features in higher education governance and in measuring institutions' value in the market (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012, 2014; Peters, 2013; Wedlin, 2011). As perceived performance, which is reflected by the evaluation of these external bodies, affects the funding streams and pecking order of institutions in the national and global education markets, it has resulted in a costly hyper-competition among B-schools, triggering a perceived need for even more management control and tighter budgets (Starkey and

Tiratsoo, 2007). For academics, this situation means the further decrease in autonomy over their own work and its meaning, which has further implications on how they construct their identities. These sources of tensions between the logics are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2	Sources of	conflicting	institutional	demands

Sources of conflict	Academic logic	Managerial logic
Values	Humboldtian ideals, serving the public good	Market values, serving the private good.
External governance and power	State	Market, state, accreditation and ranking agencies.
Internal governance and power	Loosely coupled systems with shared decision-making by academic administrators and academics	More tightly coupled systems with increasing top-down management by professionals and governance boards and centralisation of power.
Function of academic research	Curiosity driven, serving the profession	Market- and competition-driven, dictated by the regime of excellence and subject to management control systems.
Function of teaching	Intellectual development (education)	Teaching is reduced to managing student volumes, focus on efficiency.

As discussed in this chapter, B-schools operate in a field that is influenced by two competing logics which have rather conflicting demands. In such a scenario, the literature on identity work and institutional logics assume that individuals are likely to show different forms and levels of conformance and resistance in their responses. How such identity work manifests in B-school academic's responses to conflicting institutional logics will be explored in the following section.

5 Business school academics' responses to conflicting institutional logics

The previously introduced typology by Pache and Santos (2010) is discussed next in how B-school academics have responded into conflicting institutional logics. The four coping mechanisms discussed below consider the different types of coupling processes, what motives adopting or resisting certain aspects of the logics and how this process has developed new kinds of identities.

5.1 Compromise

As discussed earlier in the literature review, a compromise strategy refers to an attempt to achieve partial conformity with conflicting institutional demands. Therefore, the compromise strategy in B-school academics' identity work shows acceptance and balancing of demands of both academic logic and managerial logic. Such a response is common because of the importance of certain practices and values being taken for granted in the era of the increasing scope of managerial logic. Agyemang and Broadbent (2015) and Clarke et al. (2012) shown indirectly how the compromise strategy is enacted in B-schools by most academics through their conformance to the demands of managerialism and its accountability practices and performance assessments, which have

become institutionalised parts of most B-schools in the Western world (e.g., the UK REF). Under such powerful coercive and normative forces, which grant cognitive legitimacy to such managerial practices, resistance has become difficult (Alakavuklar et al., 2017). Knights and Clarke (2013) explained that academics are also pressured to conform to such demands if they aim to secure their jobs in an era of ever-increasing uncertainty in academic careers, as research publications in high-ranking journals define one's career prospects. In this sense, academics also have an inherent motive in enacting the compromise strategy in research assessments because no extant alternative is available (see e.g., Thorpe and Rawlinson, 2014).

However, the compromise strategy may involve mild, but not active, resistance against the means of managerialism. This resistance can take place, e.g., through voicing concerns about research assessments but not objecting to their ultimate goals or about how the wider purpose of research has changed fundamentally. In other words, one is using discursive mode of identity work activities (Caza et al., 2018) for achieving a partial truce that aims to balance some of the conflicting demands of institutional logics. However, eventually, as managerial logic becomes more dominant, academics' identities will become further detached from the academic logic through the compromise strategy, as the compromise contributes to the slow subjugation of academics' identities to managerialism (Alvesson and Spicer, 2016; De Vita and Case, 2016). As academics silence themselves or turn a blind eye to the underlying goals of managerial logic, they lose the essence of their role as public intellectuals, thus contributing to the normative forces guiding their field toward the values of managerialism. Furthermore, as the nature of scholarship built over decades becomes detached from professionalism within the scholarly community and serving the profession, it further alienates academics from the original purpose of their work (Alakavuklar et al., 2017), thus subjugating academics to mere producers of the needed products.

The compromise strategy is a likely response in B-schools in the context of Scandinavian countries, for example, which have not yet been fully exposed to managerial logic (see Kettunen, 2013). The compromise strategy may also be a more likely response among more senior academics, who have originally built their identities around the academic logic and who are protected by their tenure status against some of the demands of managerial logic. In such cases, conformance may only be symbolic and ceremonial compliance (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) to managerial accountability expectations rather than an actual attempt to adhere to managerial logic. From the identity work perspective, the compromise strategy involves developing a hybrid identity through decoupling (acknowledging but not implementing certain aspects of the conflicting logics) or decoupling of the certain elements from both logics to create a coherent sense of self as an academic confirming to demands of both logics.

5.2 Avoidance

The avoidance strategy is witnessed in the efforts of the B-school faculty to preclude the necessity of conforming to certain institutional pressures. It involves overt and covert responses and sometimes even exiting the organisation to avoid conflicting demands over one's identity. The covert avoidance strategy has been discussed in the works of Clarke et al. (2012) and Knights and Clarke (2013), who explain how faculty members develop different identities that help in justifying and coping with the ambivalence of jobs that they simultaneously love and loath (see also Alakavuklar et al., 2017). The careful

reading of these studies suggests that academics build a façade through which they can *mentally decouple* themselves from the demands of managerialism while complying with such demands. Mental decoupling is observable, for example, in the use of sarcasm and irony by faculty [see, e.g., De Vita and Case (2016) and their analogy of the managerial organisational culture in B-schools through Ghoshal's 'smell of the place' metaphor]. Mental decoupling operates at the individual level as a response to conflicting institutional demands, and it is motivated by a need for dis-identifying and distancing oneself from the managerial logic by presenting oneself as the 'other' to maintain a desirable sense of self. Hence, it creates a dual identity.

A more radical avoidance strategy can take place when some of the demands of managerial logic are regarded fully incompatible with one's professional identity in the long run (Pache and Santos, 2010). In such a scenario, academics may exit their organisations or even their entire profession (Kalfa et al., 2017). Verbos and Dykstra (2014) revealed how excessively managerial organisational cultures in B-schools have resulted in the attrition of female faculty members, as the managerialist culture places even more demanding expectations on them compared with their male counterparts. This finding suggests not only the existence of double standards in academic careers but also the incompatibility of women's identities with the demands of managerialism, which devalues traditional feminine leadership skills such as tolerance, coaching and support in comparison with the more masculine values highlighting competition, aggressiveness and the 'sink-or-swim' type of mentality (Thomas and Davies, 2005).

The avoidance strategy is a likely a response in B-schools that have swiftly adhered to the demands of managerial logic, making it the dominant logic guiding the school (see e.g., Parker, 2014). However, resistance, whether covert or overt, suggests disempowered and defeated identity work through use of individual infrapolitics which involves symbolic and material resistance but which lacks the true means or motives for resistance through open declaration and obstruction (Scott, 1990).

5.3 Defiance

The defiance strategy operates through the explicit rejection of at least one of the institutional demands to remove the source of contradiction. It involves more active resistance, dismissing, ignoring and overtly challenging institutional demands (Pache and Santos, 2010). The defiance strategy is sometimes used when the tensions experienced are simply too high to be treated with a more passive avoidance strategy (ibid). In B-schools, the defiance strategy is evident in the recent critical publications on managerialism particularly by Critical Management Scholars (CMS) (e.g., Alvesson and Spicer, 2016; Klikauer, 2015; Parker, 2014), who aggressively attack managerial logic. The motive of this response is to provoke collective discussions to challenge managerialism in B-schools that are claimed to be driven by academic logic and its values but in practice are increasingly driven by managerial logic. The defiance strategy aims to contest some of the means or goals of managerial logic that are considered incompatible with one's academic identity and collective identity but, unlike the avoidance strategy, signal politically motivated identity work that aims to engage with collective infra-politics to mobilise against the conflicting demands. This response signals a new type of coupling called the manifest decoupling of identities. Manifest decoupling aims to keep one's identity intact from the pressures from the conflicting institutional logic by politically mobilising against it and using the old logic is as a symbolic resource in constructing one's boundaries and identity positions to attack the managerial logic.

However, the effectiveness of the defiance strategy as a means to oppose a strong institutional logic is unlikely because its proponents also have critical mass. When challenging the increasingly institutionalised aspects of managerial logic, these academics may be perceived by their colleagues as being difficult or simply being nostalgic of the 'old days' which no longer exist (Anderson, 2008). This situation, in turn, makes collective infra-politics difficult to materialise in practice, and resistance may be reduced to a more individual attempt to challenge the status quo. Therefore, although the identities attached to the defiance strategy show significant levels of insurrection, they may simultaneously involve feelings of bitterness and victimisation because of failure of preserve one's core values. This failure of the defiance strategy to fundamentally challenge managerial logic further signals its legitimacy as a new, contemporary institutional logic in higher education.

5.4 Manipulation

Manipulation refers to an active, purposeful, and opportunistic attempt to alter the concepts underpinning conflicting institutional demands (Oliver, 1991). These attempts have been observed in B-schools where, e.g., CMS scholars have expressed the aim to 'change the rules of the game from within'. Thus, it involves using the tools of managerialism in its attempts to beat it. For example, CMS scholars have attempted to comply with the demands of 'research excellence' by producing critical research about managerial logic and publishing them in high-ranking outlets to maximise their scope of influence (Butler and Spoelstra, 2012). Whether such attempts materialise in any actual change is debatable, and these attempts spread awareness on managerialism to challenge it to protect academics' collective identity as professionals.

Manipulation strategy is typically enacted and motivated by opportunistic individual gains, which have been increasingly observed in B-schools during the past decades. Practices such as faculty careering and gaming have been found to result in negative behaviours, such as narcissism, egotism and arrogance among academics (Alvesson and Spicer, 2016; Butler and Spoelstra, 2012; Knight and Clarke, 2013; Mingers and Willmott, 2013). This behaviour has been documented particularly among early career academics, who have started to treat publications as tools for curriculum vitae polishing instead of conducting research for the altruistic pursuit of knowledge and to contribute to the knowledge economy and the profession (Bristow et al., 2017; Clarke and Knights, 2015; Parker, 2014). Although the manipulation strategy can be understood as a coping mechanism that aligns one's identity with the expectations of managerial logic and aims to harvest from its new possibilities, from a broader perspective, this response signals a more fundamental identity shift among academics compared with the previously discussed response strategies because it involves the purposeful and opportunistic selective coupling (Pache and Santos, 2013b) of elements from the competing logics that are considered beneficial for oneself. In such process, identity formation becomes further separated from the academic logic, and the resultant dual identity is reduced to maximising individual interests. In doing so, as noted by Butler and Spoelstra (2012), academics paradoxically abet the authority of managerialism rather than resist it by engaging in such a behaviour, thus legitimising managerialism as anauthentic and desirable logic of action and basis of identity. Such behaviour can potentially cause a wider shift in which the values of the academic logic are eroded and it may enable managerial logic to become a single institutional logic within B-schools where most academics adopt such identity. That would change the ethos of B-schools and their role within their societies away from its roots, reducing B-schools' role similar to for-profit corporations serving the needs of limited set of constituents.

6 Concluding discussion

This essay contributes to the literature on institutional logics, identity work and to critical research on neoliberal and managerial universities by identifying a set of coupling strategies used in developing coping strategies as part of identity work to accommodate the pressures of conflicting institutional logics. The identity work of B-school academics was discussed in the context of conflicting institutional logics guiding B-schools. This study built a conceptual model (presented in Figure 1) for how such conflicts result in certain coping strategies as part of academics' identity work. Four coping strategies for conflicting institutional logics by Pache and Santos (2010) - compromise, avoidance, defiance and manipulation - were discussed with regard to how academics have aimed to manage their identities. Various coupling processes were identified as part of academics' identity work mechanisms with regard to how they simultaneously accommodate and resist some of the practices of conflicting institutional logics. Along with this process, academics have been found not only to engage with traditional coupling processes (decoupling and selective coupling), but also with two new types of coupling – mental decoupling and manifest decoupling – which are used for developing and maintaining dual identification to cope with the conflicting demands of institutional logics. The coping mechanisms of academics for conflicting institutional demands are summarised in Table 3.

 Table 3
 B-school academics' coping strategies to conflicting institutional logics

	Compromise	Avoidance	Defiance	Manipulation
Definition (Pache and Santos, 2010)	Achieving a partial conformity with demands from both institutional logics.	Attempt to preclude the necessity to conform to institutional pressures or to circumvent the conditions that make conformity necessary.	Explicit rejection of at least one of the institutional demands in an attempt to actively remove the source of contradiction.	Active attempt to alter the content of institutional requirements and to influence their promoters.
Likelihood of the resistance strategy	When both logics are internally represented but their power is balanced or when an institution is driven mainly by one dominant logic (academic logic).	When an institution is driven primarily by one dominant logic (managerial logic).	When an institution claims rhetorically to be driven by the values of academic logic, but in practice is driven increasingly by managerial logic.	When both logics are internally represented or when an institution is driven only by one dominant logic (managerial logic).

 Table 3
 B-school academics' coping strategies to conflicting institutional logics (continued)

	Compromise	Avoidance	Defiance	Manipulation
Object of resistance	Means of reaching the goals of managerialism.	Means of reaching the goals of managerialism and also the explicit goals.	Means of reaching the goals of managerialism and also the explicit goals.	Means of reaching the goals of managerialism and also the explicit goals.
Type, motive and form of resistance	Subtle, latent resistance without open declaration or obstruction. No actual resistance, conformance to 'living with the unavoidable'.	Symbolic or material resistance through individual infra-politics without collective mobilisation. Protection of self- and role identity.	Active symbolic or material resistance of managerial logic through collective infra-politics that involves mobilising against the conflicting institutional demands to protect academics' former sources of collective identity.	Active symbolic or material resistance aimed to change the status quo or to benefit from the ambiguity of the conflicting demands of institutional logics.
Outcome of identity work	Hybridisation of identity	Dual identity by separating individual identity from social identity	Dual identity by adopting a critical self-identity to target conflicting social identity.	Opportunistic individual identity.
Identity work through a selected coupling strategy	De-coupling of identity; Re-constituting identity along with some demands of both logics through decoupling that do not conflict while ignoring others.	Mental decoupling of identities; detaching one's identity from some of the demands of the conflicting institutional logic to preserve and protect one's personal beliefs and values.	Manifest decoupling of identities; aims to keep one's identity intact from the pressures from the conflicting institutional logic.	Selective coupling; aims to selectively conform and resist certain practice and identity implications of the conflicting institutional logic to protect one's identity or to benefit from it.

Understanding the causes of tensions stemming from conflicting institutional logics can be a starting point for improving dysfunctional identities and enabling healthier identity processes (Kreiner et al., 2006). The mechanisms and coping strategies discussed here offer such a tool for managers and academics in B-schools to critically understand their identity work and what, when and how resistance and conformance takes place. The discussed coping strategies bring new insights also to identity work literature, which predicts that individuals engage in identity work to find an 'optimal balance' or 'optimal distinctiveness' in identity where one is neither too different nor too similar or dependent in relation to a certain social identity (Kreiner et al., 2006). Such viewpoint does not consider whether individuals can also negotiate a given social identity or the process how it is negotiated (Ashforth, 2000). Coupling processes discussed as part of identity work are helpful in understanding the role of more active agency, through which individuals have aimed to confront the dominant social power of managerial logic and change it either through collective mobilisation or from within. Thus, identity work outcomes are not always linked to finding an optimal balance or optimal distinctiveness, but challenge

the existence of institutional logic or some of its means, ensuring continuity of a different set of values and organisational practices. The two new types of coupling identified in this essay were found to be ways to negotiate social identities, and they are enacted when traditional coupling strategies are not sufficient for negotiating a coherent sense of self. Therefore, such coupling processes are key mechanisms through which academics develop dual identifications.

To conclude, academics' responses to managerial logic and the coping mechanisms exercised in its translation and reproduction revealed that pure resistance to managerialism is inevitably unviable because the subjects could not exist outside the institutional logics that constitute them. Although managerial logic is undeniably already a legitimised institutional logic guiding our profession to a certain extent, its critical examination should be continued to prevent compromising the traditional values of higher education and the subjugation of academics' traditional identities. The four coping strategies are not the only possible ones, but the ones identified in recent critical research on B-schools under managerialism. Further research could identify more nuanced approaches by studying different academics' responses in different contexts. Furthermore, as encounters with conflicting institutional logics are always experienced differently by people depending on, e.g., their gender, age and role within the organisation, managerialism should be studied from multiple perspectives, preferably through comparative and longitudinal studies, to understand its implications for different employee groups. Whereas recent research has addressed young academics' encounters with managerialism (Bristow et al., 2017) and those of women (Verbos and Dykstra, 2014), future research could explore the experiences of other faculty groups, such as expatriate faculty, minority groups, or faculty working in the commercial higher education sector, to understand their challenges and nuances in their coping mechanisms for conflicting institutional logics. This understanding will help to comprehend how the aspects of both institutional logics can be maintained to buffer the academia from a fullblown takeover by managerial logic.

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