Coherent identities and roles? Hybrid professional managers' prioritizing of coexisting institutional logics in differing contexts

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ABSTRACT

This article explores how hybrid professional managers relate to coexisting institutional logics in their everyday work. It examines coherence between the logic that informs managers' identity and that prioritized in their role. By comparing interview data from managers in two settings, a faith-based hospital and a religious organization, this article analyses *primary* and *secondary identities* and *roles*. Findings show that experiences of coexisting logics differ according to the organizational context. Hospital managers identify with a managerial logic in both their identity and role. A professional logic informs church managers' identity, yet they prioritize a managerial logic in their role. The article proposes a model that links hybrid professional managers' identities and roles with a framework of coexisting logics proposed earlier.

1. Introduction

Coherence between self-identity and work role is often taken for granted and rarely questioned (Johansen & Gjerberg, 2009; Johansen, Olsen, Solstad, & Torsteinsen, 2015; Pache & Santos, 2013a; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 84). A few scholars, however, have challenged this assumption (Døving, Elstad, & Storvik, 2016), arguing that managers' identities and ideals need not necessarily correspond to the mundane work of their constrained roles (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2016). The phenomenon of coherence can thus benefit from further empirical scrutiny. Accordingly, this article investigates identities and roles emanating from the two distinct institutional logics of professionalism and managerialism. *Role* is an external attribute linked to positions in the social structure, whereas *identity* denotes internal perceptions of the self, consisting of "internalized meanings and expectations associated with a role" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 289). *Institutional logics* are 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). Thus, logics manifest themselves in everyday work and roles. Also, they are enacted through identities, because logics "represent frames of reference that condition actors' choices for sensemaking, the vocabulary they use to motivate actions, and their sense of self and identity" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 2).

Hybrid professional managers, hereafter called *hybrids*, constitute a particularly interesting case from the perspective of coexisting logics.

They are professionals who occupy managerial positions and lead other co-professionals (Noordegraaf, 2007). As such, they embody the dual logics of professionalism and managerialism and assumedly balance both sets of identities and roles. Professions are closed expert occupations characterized by autonomy, discretion, and trust. Professional identity is exclusive because of long-term academic training and socialization (Abbott, 1988). Collegiality and consensus-based decisions, where professional leaders are first among equals, indicate professionalism or a professional logic (Freidson, 2001). On the other hand, managerialism or a managerial logic is composed of elements from market and bureaucracy, often introduced in public and nonprofit organizations through new public management reforms. Indicators are efficiency, hierarchy marked by line management, and emphasis on economic and managerial control (Lægreid & Christensen, 2011).

However, in everyday life, the lines between professionalism and managerialism blur as most professionals work in organizations where these logics are in flux (Evetts, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2011; Waring & Currie, 2009). Professionals encounter managerialism because work specialization necessitates coordination and cooperation (Noordegraaf, 2015). Whereas earlier research emphasized the dichotomous nature of professionalism and managerialism, recent researchers have focused on how professionals and managers combine the two logics (Blomgren & Waks, 2015). Importantly, this approach reveals new insights about how professional and managerial commitments are interwoven in identities and roles. Empirical studies are needed to improve our understanding of whether professionalism and managerialism are two different phenomena, with opposing sets of tasks and responsibilities as

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well as contrary identities and preferences, or how the two logics can coexist. Assuming that coherence between one's professional and managerial identity and role is context-dependent, I find it fruitful to compare the phenomenon in two organizational contexts (Micelotta, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2017). Moreover, this study addresses a research gap by answering the call for studies based on specific organizational contexts (Hampel, Lawrence, & Tracey, 2017).

I have selected two highly professionalized and institutionalized contexts where managerial work still relates closely to profession: (1) a faith-based hospital and (2) a religious organization—a diocese within the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Norway. Hybrid professional managers occupy middle managerial levels in both organizations. These are extreme cases—areas with very rich information that are inhibited by particularly value-laden professions (Evetts, 2013; Pattison & Pill, 2004). Both these organizations are professional hierarchies (Mintzberg, 1979) that in the recent years have undergone reforms emphasising managerialism. The church's middle managers are not neutral of profession: they are ordained priests. The hospital's middle managers are physicians and nurses. The professional character of hospital work is related to medicine and nursing, and it is largely technical, with life and health at stake (Glouberman & Mintzberg, 2001). In contrast, the church is a membership organization of an ideological nature and more of a network promoting certain values and centering on religious worship (Torry, 2017). The church is an old institution but a young organization given the history of the national church being incorporated in the state. Recent changes in this regard have prompted the church to develop its own organizational features and managerial structures (Askeland, 2015). By choosing these contexts, I hope to learn how modern managers articulate and understand themselves and their work.

I support the work of Hampel et al. (2017), who highlight the need for a better understanding of how coexisting logics manifest and how actors are involved, in two ways. First, I capture hybrids' experiences of coexisting logics in two specific areas: identities and roles. This approach represents an empirical grounding in everyday managerial work that takes specific contexts into account. Second, by analyzing managers' descriptions of their work, the article aims at theorizing how managers relate to coexisting logics. I do so by conceptualizing the interrelationship between logics, identities, and roles in a novel way. I visualize key findings in a theoretical model that is transferable to hybrids in other contexts. My focal point is to determine whether the logic that managers identify with is also prioritized in their role—the phenomenon of coherence. The concept of *priority* is a sensitizing one, and it is reflected in the following factors: whether the interviewees identify more strongly as managers or professionals, their time-use, the tasks they attend to first, and how arguments are used in decision-making. The main question I ask is as follows: *How do coexisting logics affect the coherence of identities and roles in differing contexts?* This research question is aided by two sub questions: (1) *How do hybrid professional managers prioritize professional and managerial logics?* and (2) *How can identity and role be integrated in a coexisting logic framework?* The following sections review relevant literature before addressing methodological issues. Findings are presented and discussed using a comparative approach. A model is then developed on the basis of the two dimensions—identity and work role—within a coexisting logic framework.

2. Theoretical perspectives

2.1. Coexisting logics

Multiple logics coexist in society, and organizations are embedded in pluralistic institutional environments. The view that logics are historically contingent highlights the importance of the social context (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Although the logic perspective originated at a field level, we see a resurgent interest in viewing specific intra-

organizational settings through these lenses (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011). Studying multiple logics helps segment knowledge into either contradictions or overlaps that are embedded in organizational and managerial commitments and work (Kraatz & Block, 2008).

I lean on Micelotta et al. (2017, p. 15) who hold that the logics perspective functions as an integrative framework for various levels, accounting for change, behavior, actors, and identities and roles. Studying managers in a certain context facilitates a fine-grained analysis of what occurs at the intersection of different institutional logics (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013). By highlighting managers' priorities among coexisting logics, this article contributes to the literature on individual responses to institutional logics (Pache & Santos, 2013a). To provide insights into the bridging of macro and micro levels, it is important to consider how institutional logics are intractably connected to action (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 2). Logics prescribe coherent sets of guidelines for action deemed as legitimate within an organizational field. A singular logic provides a coherent set of prescriptions, while plural logics may offer different guidelines. Coexistence potentially presents challenges for actors like hybrid professional managers who are drawn between the two logics.

How managers relate to logics is conceptualized in different ways. Logics are described as ranging on a continuum from conflicting, competing, contradictory, and compatible to complementary (Pache & Santos, 2013b). Various concepts have been proposed to describe the cohabitation of institutional logics within organizations as well as organizational responses to conflicting demands: coexistence, hybridity, heterogeneity, ambidexterity compatibility, and centrality (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke, & Spee, 2013). Studies have described how logics replace each other (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2005), segregate (Purdy & Gray, 2009), blend (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005), or are assimilated (Murray, 2010). Scholars have also called for empirical research on the mechanisms of logic re-combination and actors' involvement (Greenwood et al., 2011; Kraatz & Block, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012, p. 118). Responding to these calls, scholars have proposed various concepts for how actors engage in the constellations of logics. Competition and cooperation have been proposed in a seminal work by Reay and Hinings (2009), while another study focuses on hybridization (McGivern, Currie, Ferlie, Fitzgerald, & Waring, 2015). Several other works (Arman, Liff, & Wikström, 2014; Bévort & Suddaby, 2016; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Pache & Santos, 2010), inlcuding this one, have departed from the micro-level and directed their attention toward the concept of *agency* within institutional logics. An illuminating example is Lindberg (2014) who studied how individual actors are carriers of logics. Such research on coexisting logics shows how actors can use elements from another logic in the pursuit of their own goals. It illustrates the agency of individuals when reconfiguring logics. These studies suggest that actors are pragmatic and seek to solve problems when combining the dimensions of different logics. For example, McPherson and Sauder (2013) illustrated how actors can "hijack" others' logics and called for further investigation of such processes. Studies suggest various concepts for how actors combine logics: mediation (Waring & Currie, 2009), hierarchization (Arman et al., 2014), sense making (Bévort & Suddaby, 2016), re-interpretation (Reay, Goodrick, Waldorff, & Casebeer, 2017), and co-optation (Andersson & Liff, 2018).

How coexisting logics affect organizations has no singular answer. Whereas Battilana and Dorado (2010) studied the negative effects of conflicting logics in organizations, another study showed that logics maintained in fruitful tension can spark innovation (Rao et al., 2005). Noordegraaf (2011) and Carvalho (2014) found that coexisting logics within the same role exhibit a complementary relation. An extensive body of literature confirms the institutional complexity of healthcare organizations (Byrkjeflot & Kragh Jespersen, 2014; Numerato, Salvatore, & Fattore, 2012). In this work, too, the interrelationships between managerial and professional logics in healthcare have been

studied in depth. However, the literature on institutional logics in religious organizations is scarce (Askeland & Schmidt, 2016). Moreover, research has neglected how coexisting logics manifest in the specific areas of identities and roles, which forms the crux of this work.

2.2. Logics manifesting in identities and roles

Logics offer a broad repertoire of identities and roles from which managers are informed. Hypothetically, hybrids may develop dual sets of professional and managerial identities and roles that may be integrated or kept in isolation. In this article, I consider contextual factors and managerial agency—the actors' ability to operate somewhat independently of the constraints of social structure (Micelotta et al., 2017). This article also explores how logics have consequences for behavior (Thornton et al., 2012) and how tasks and responsibilities emanate from each logic. This is the central link between the institutional logic perspective and role. Overall, logics manifest in routines, structures, practices, and identities. These categories provide analytical tools for exploring how hybrid professional managers both enact and are affected by logics. Identity is "a key categorical element of institutional logics" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 180). Logics are primarily related to identity: identification by institutions with collective identities such as organizations or professions. Thornton and Ocasio (2008, p.111) define collective identity as "the cognitive, normative, and emotional connection experience by members of a social group because of their perceived common status with other members of the social group." When such identities are institutionalized, distinctive logics are developed (Reay & Hinings, 2009). For example, Townley (1997) studied professional identities in universities in the United Kingdom, while Thornton and Ocasio (1999) examined the logics and shared identity of industry players. Rao et al. (2005) explored nouvelle cuisine as an identity movement, while Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006) surveyed Austrian officials' dual identities.

Logics guide action in specific situations, while identity focuses on the issue of one's self. In this article, the first key concept of *identity* denotes interrelated ways of constructing the self, including central life interest, coherence, distinctiveness, direction, positive values, and self-awareness (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 8). Thus, identity refers to various meanings attached to a person by themselves and others (Gecas, 1982). It connects different experiences and reduces fragmentation in feelings and thinking. Scholars agree that identities are multiple and mutable (Mead, 1934), yet coexist and integrate experiences into a unity—a composite of aspects rather than being monolithic. This points toward what March and Olsen (1989) describes the logic of appropriateness. Managers ask themselves three questions: what kind of situation is this, what kind of person am I, what does a person as I do in this situation? These are questions of recognition, identity, and rules, which connect the concept of identity with actions and role. Focusing on identity clarifies how the informants regard themselves as professionals and managers (Khapova, Arthur, Slay, & Smith, 2011; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006).

It has been assumed that identification with a certain logic will lead to prioritizing of that particular logic (Johansen & Gjerberg, 2009; Pache & Santos, 2013a). However, some scholars claim that managers' identification with a given logic does not indicate that this logic is prominent in their tasks (Døving et al., 2016). In pluralistic societies, one assumes multiple roles and identities. Both individuals and organizations cope with the potential stress of multiple identities using mechanisms such as compartmentalization, decoupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Pache & Santos, 2013b; Weick, 1995), and segregating (Hannan & Freeman, 1993). Scott (2014) claims that logics provide an organizing principle in the field, which in turn gives purpose, unity, and a sense of who we are: identity.

The other key concept in this study, *role,* refers to a formal position guided by work descriptions that constitute managerial functions (Simpson & Carroll, 2008). Under the functionalist notion, roles may be

understood as predetermined. Alternatively, in a symbolic interactionist way, roles highlight how actors make sense of and shape a given social position. In this article, role is an emic concept, used by the interviewees. I consider role as functionalistic, referring to the managerial position with bundles of tasks, responsibilities, and external expectations.

To sum up, coexisting logics manifest in identities and roles. If a manager identifies with a logic, it is likely that they will enact that logic (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 84). Identity concerns self-understanding and is regarded as somewhat fluid because individuals use their agency to form their identity. Roles are introduced through regulations and reforms and give shape to what a manager should be and do. This may result in a division between profession and management for the incumbent of the role. For instance, professionals have mutual loyalty based on their clinical core work, while managers are supposedly loyal to the organization. This situation raises the question of how managers actually negotiate the dual logic-based identities and roles that they assumedly integrate.

2.3. Centrality and incompatibility

To explain how coexisting logics relate to managerial priorities, I build on and extend the integrative framework of hybridized logics provided by Besharov and Smith (2014). Organizational actors, and in particular hybrid professional managers, are carriers of various logics. Logics manifest in how values and behaviors are shared or isolated within an organizational arrangement. Coexisting logics can be detected when they potentially prescribe different solutions to problems and courses of actions. As noted above, identity and roles form the core for hybrid professional managers, who I assume experience tensions between the coexisting logics. This conceptualization of hybridity highlights intra-organizational dynamics because hybridity is understood as the "extent to which multiple logics offer incompatible prescriptions ("logic incompatibility") and the extent to which these logics are central to organizational functioning ("logic centrality")" (Besharov & Smith, 2014, p. 4). When centrality is high, organizations embed multiple logics within their core organizational features, which are often reflected in the mission, values, and strategies. For instance, hospitals are well-known for high centrality, given their mission of patient care that requires integration of multiple logics into the core work (Greenwood et al., 2011). Low centrality indicates one dominating logic, while others are enacted more peripherally. When logics are compatible, "they provide consistent and reinforcing prescriptions for actions and beliefs" (Pache & Santos, 2013b, p. 7). However, if logics prescribe different ends, they may be more incompatible in the prescriptions of the means to achieve these ends (Pache & Santos, 2010). Incompatibility may also extend to coexisting professions in the organizations (Heimer, 1999). High incompatibility and high centrality may enable both innovation and conflicts (Jay, 2013). Aligning with such literature, I expect that my case hospital experiences high incompatibility and high centrality, setting the stage for tensions.

In contrast, I assume that the church organization is low on both dimensions. Logic centrality suggests that one logic dominates key organizational arrangements and core activities, while peripheral activities shelter a weaker logic. One may assume that the church managers are clear on what they perceive as core functions, namely professional clergy work (Sirris, 2018). Accordingly, the hybrids are framed by compatible and peripheral logics: one logic is core to functioning, and the other is peripheral. Consequently, logics seldom provide contradictory prescriptions for actions. Both centrality and incompatibility are weak; therefore, logics do not really meet, blend, or hybridize. Confrontations between logics are thus rare, perhaps diminishing the scope of innovation, which, in turn, is fueled when logics are held in fruitful tension. Besharov and Smith (2014) describe this compartmentalization strategy as logic distribution in organizations, where various actors and arrangements represent distinctive logics. In the church context, the
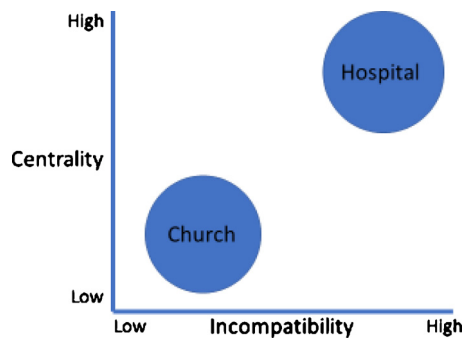
Fig. 1. Presuppositions of coexisting logic dynamics in the two organizations.

two ideal typical logics are assumedly distributed to separate arrangements. Fig. 1 visualizes the relation between logic centrality and incompatibility (Besharov & Smith, 2014) in the two case organizations. According to the literature review and the presuppositions discussed above, this pattern is partly institutionalized in the organizations as well as reproduced by managerial agency.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research setting and a comparative approach

This article reports data from a larger ethnographic research project undertaken in 2016 involving hybrid professional managers' work. The illustrative cases considered in this study include a healthcare organization and a religious organization. Both organizations have witnessed institutional changes in the past years, which may be interpreted as shifts in logics or new institutional constellations (Micelotta et al., 2017, p. 17). As a result of this development, hybrids in these organizations have had to face similar challenges of institutional change, which in turn allows for comparison. A comparison can likely reveal how different organizational contexts affect hybrids (Døving et al., 2016, p. 23). Thus, the rationale for comparison is intertwined with an awareness of the context. Comparative studies of managers or professionals are rare within the field of organizational studies (Scott, 2014) and in the sociology of professions (Molander & Terum, 2008). This comparative approach is inspired by Smets, Morris, and Greenwood (2012)), who underlined the need for such research in order to explore how field-level logics are enacted in micro-level practices in different contexts. Importantly, I do not compare all differences and similarities between the two organizations. I only focus on a certain phenomenon: priorities of logics in the identities and roles of hybrid professional managers related to coexisting logics in each organization.

Pinheiro, Geschwind, Ramirez, and Vrangbæk (2016) called for comparative studies within the domain of institutionalism. I follow their twofold argument. First, both case organizations have similar sets of structural and cultural characteristics. They may be defined as human service organizations characterized by professional and moral work (Hasenfeld, 2010). Second, both are situated in highly institutional environments, characterized by expectations and political pressure, a long history of professional autonomy, professionally based leadership, and an institutionalized role pattern (Pinheiro, Geschwind, Ramirez, & Vrangbæk, 2016). A professional logic originally dominated both organizations; that is, leadership was practiced within professions and hence criticized for a lack of organizational understanding (Askeland & Schmidt, 2016; Byrkjeflot & Kragh Jespersen, 2014). The organizations have undergone similar reforms, framed tensions between professionals and organizations as a problem, and responded to it by strengthening management (Micelotta et al., 2017). In fact, both organizations have witnessed a modernization of the profession, where traditional professions experience decreasing autonomy and are gradually understood as occupations. Professionals are placed into

management, as hybrid professional managers, (Noordegraaf, 2015) to be precise, to bridge logics. Simultaneously, the organizational ethos is empowered, as values such as transparency, responsibility, and accountability become more central. In Norwegian hospitals, unitary management was introduced by law in 2001 (Spehar & Kjekshus, 2012). Managerial positions in principle became neutral of profession and confined to clearly defined units or departments, where one formally appointed manager is responsible for budget, staff, tasks, and the daily operations.

Comparisons also presuppose differences. The two organizations differ in terms of size and number of employees, budget, technology, and hierarchies. The church is a network organization, yet in the pastoral line, it resembles a loosely coupled professional bureaucracy. The church managers reported in this study have long work experience, which is also the case for all the hospital managers. Albeit the clergy represent a classic profession, they have not been closely studied as such. The clergy have generally been regarded as eccentric in studies on professions (Abbott, 1988). The hospital has a managerial training program, and some of the interviewees had a master's degree in management. Each hospital manager has a manager group, whereas the deans are part-time managers with a part-time secretary. Budget responsibility lies not with the deans, but with the diocese administration and director. Thus, the deans do not have total responsibility and are not pure managers. With the rise in the laws regulating employment, which outline the rights and duties of both the employer and the employee, employer liability tends to affect leadership within organizations.

3.2. Sample and data collection

The data collection was planned and carried out in the form of multiple, embedded case studies (Stake, 2013), using observation and semi-structured interviews for gathering narratives about hospital and church managers' identities and roles. Case studies are suited to examining subjective phenomena bound by time, context, and activity and are ideal for studying someone in situ (Creswell, 2013). The design of the two studies was similar on key dimensions, which facilitated comparison (Eisenhardt, 1989). In both organizations, I strategically sampled managers with the help of the HR department and obtained interviewee consent before data collection.

The hospital is average sized and located in a Norwegian city. It serves as a local hospital for about 140 000 inhabitants in addition to providing specialized functions across the nation. It has 1700 employees. The hospital is diaconal and owned by a non-profit organization. There are three levels of managers: CEO, department managers, and unit managers. Unitary management was legally introduced in 2001, making these positions profession-neutral and accessible to other professionals (Mo, 2008). However, at the department and unit level, 90% of the managers are healthcare personnel (Byrkjeflot & Kragh Jespersen, 2014).

My informants consisted of four department managers (3 men and 1 woman, all medical doctors) and four unit mangers (1 man and 3 women, all nurses), and one assistant manager. At both levels, management is a full-time job, offering little room for clinical work. One department manager had a master's degree in management, whereas all the other managers had attended the hospital's leadership program. The informants represented three departments: surgery, medicine, and psychiatry. The managers were aged between 45 and 65 years and had held their positions from 4 to 16 years.

The Church of Norway was a state church until 2012. With 69% of the country's population as members, it is still the oldest and largest nationwide member organization. The church has experienced many changes, brought about by reforms, including the deanery reform in 2004 (Askeland & Schmidt, 2016). Eleven dioceses within the Church of Norway cover every region of the country. The bishop leads the diocese and employs the deans who execute the employers' liability on behalf of

the bishop in their deanery, typically consisting of 15–25 priests. The deanery reform has converted the deans into distinct middle managers, somehow diminishing the traditional autonomy of the clergy. The reform's purpose was to facilitate better working conditions for the clergy, strengthen management through goal setting, and decrease rule-based governing. An evaluation of the reform showed a growing amount of administrative work for the deans (Stifoss-Hanssen et al., 2013). The position of a dean is not neutral of profession. Deans should be formally qualified as priests, and several informants said that typically skilled parish priests apply for the post. Deans work as parish priests for 25–50% of their time and are thus not full-time managers. They are the managers of priests and only have informal leadership over other employees in the parishes. The diocese included in this study is located in and around a larger city. Its central location ensures that the diocese does not experience any recruitment problems. This allows the deans to use their time as managers and not fill up vacant positions performing clergy work. I asked all the deans to participate when I contacted the diocese administration and the bishop, and they consented. The material includes interviews with nine deans (3 women and 6 men). They had held their position from 4 to 24 years, and they were aged between 50 and 69 years. None of them had formal degrees in management, and two had held manager positions in other lines of work.

This article reports findings from interviews with 9 hospital managers and 9 church managers to better understand how they make sense of their work and the issues they find salient. The questions were open-ended and enabled the interviewees to elaborate and provide thick descriptions. The interviews lasted on average for 57 min and were conducted in the informants' offices. They were conducted in Norwegian, audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim.

3.3. Research ethics and analysis

Ethical concerns were safeguarded by granting participants anonymity; further, they provided informed consent. The managers openly and freely discussed issues in the interviews, and I did not note any controversies. The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) approved the study. The analysis was an open-ended iterative process, moving between data and tentative theories. A preliminary analysis involved reading of the material, followed by a thematic search of similarities and differences relevant to the research question (Yin, 2009). I used the NVivo software for open coding and for inductive thematic content analysis. Both these steps were useful in identifying analytical themes. I then systematically compared the narratives and used matrixes to display the patterns between data. The patterns highlighted the commonalities within each group of managers. Instead of internal variation within each group, the analysis focused on comparing the two groups with one another. Data were coded and categorized to describe and understand how managers perceive logics and how these logics manifest in identities and roles. The analysis started with how the managers described their work and focused on tasks to determine how logics materialize in practices and consequences for behavior. Descriptions were categorized as professional if they favored clinical work, such as participating in such work, guiding and supervising others in their core work, developing the profession, knowing what is going on, and extending and gaining familiarity with the professional knowledge base. This was somewhat different in the two contexts. Managerialism was indicated by administration, budget, employer's liability, reporting, and meeting. Following Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2013), my analytical process moved from narratives to theory-informed concepts. First-order concepts consisted of emic terms emerging from data, while second-order concepts and themes were etic, which were then distilled to aggregate categories. Tables 1 and 2 exemplify the analytic steps from quotes to categories.

4. Findings

4.1. Identities

Table 1 provides an overview of the findings on the managers' identities within the frames of professional and managerial logics.

4.1.1. Hospital managers' identity

The hospital managers were univocally clear about the managerial dimension of their identity. In introducing themselves, they used role identity labels that positioned them within the organizational hierarchy, characterized by line management. They mentioned superior managers as well as the professions and number of professionals they managed: "I am the manager of this unit. Above me is the department manager and above him the CEO. I am an employer and in charge of 60 persons."
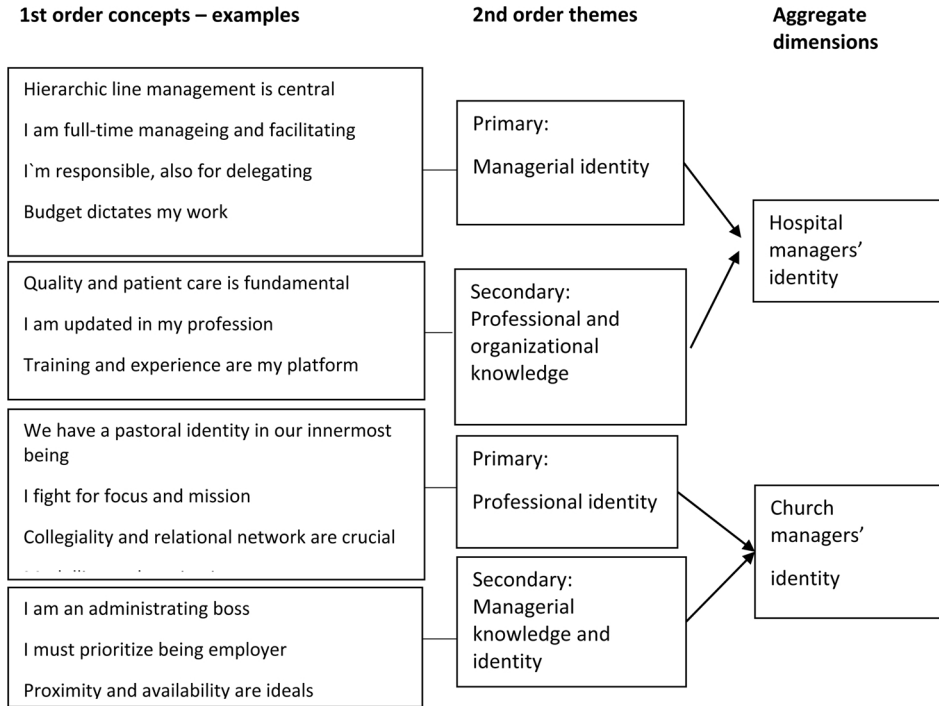
Given the multitude of systems available for control and measurement, expectations toward managers were predictable and measured by three parameters: employee surveys, budgets, and sick leave: "If these are bad, management is bad—and I am responsible." Yet, they experienced great maneuvering space. Line management was found to integrate responsibility and freedom, rather than responsibility and control. The hospital did not standardize leadership, which instead reflected the context of the unit or department and the personality of the manager. Their self-conception as managers was evident in the recurrent use of the term facilitator: "I am a technical facilitator who gets other people to do their job in the system. I am in service, available for them. They do the core work." Some argued that this label signaled a greater appreciation for the professionals and was less hierarchical and manager-follower oriented. Awareness of the hierarchical structure did not devaluate the hospital's core work, which the managers explicitly assigned to the professionals. Managers as facilitators dealt with the practicalities in serving those doing the core work. Being a hospital manager was a full-time job that in practice comprised no clinical work. The hospital managers explained the chronologically sweeping changes in management:

> I do not have any clinical practice myself. I rust in my profession. My job is to make others perform. In earlier days the medical doctor worked clinically and only part-time as a manager. Now, being a manager means understanding the budget and the overall goal for the hospital.

The managers themselves mostly worked office hours, and the employees worked shifts. The managers were concerned with being present, talking of "open doors" and "short distances." Openness toward addressing issues at an early stage is the cornerstone of good communication. An important avenue for this communication was the manager in each unit and department. Professional identity came second, even if they were health personnel with extensive experience as medical doctors or nurses. One expected that this identity would surface in the narratives. Instead, they relegated their profession to the background in two ways. First, some managers, despite their long-term positions, had not worked in clinical practice for years. None of them wished to return to clinical work and regarded their managerial positions as permanent. Second, they explained that their professional background enabled them to run the unit or department. All hospital managers talked about a professional identity, even if they foregrounded managerial identity in their current, profession-neutral position. Hypothetically, some of the managers could have done clinical work. The notion of attaining professional knowledge served to bridge the realm of pure managerialism and pure professionalism. Knowledge was not only cognitive, but also about practical experience and lived life:

> Additionally, to management, my profession is nursing with specialization. Being an informed professional. I go to conferences and

Table 1
Identities.

1st order concepts – examples	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Hierarchic line management is central I am full-time manageing and facilitating I`m responsible, also for delegating Budget dictates my work	Primary: Managerial identity	Hospital managers' identity
Quality and patient care is fundamental I am updated in my profession Training and experience are my platform	Secondary: Professional and organizational knowledge	
We have a pastoral identity in our innermost being I fight for focus and mission Collegiality and relational network are crucial	Primary: Professional identity	Church managers' identity
I am an administrating boss I must prioritize being employer Proximity and availability are ideals	Secondary: Managerial knowledge and identity	

discuss. However, I do not do clinical work myself. I do not need to; I have many years' experience. Within my profession, I am just as updated as those I lead.

The following statement was rare: "My identity is that of a doctor and surgeon. A great loss in becoming a department manager is less contact with patients." It was common to find professional identity and various competencies in the manager group, safeguarding different perspectives. As such, professional expertise was institutionalized and accessible to the manager. Professional knowledge was a necessity:
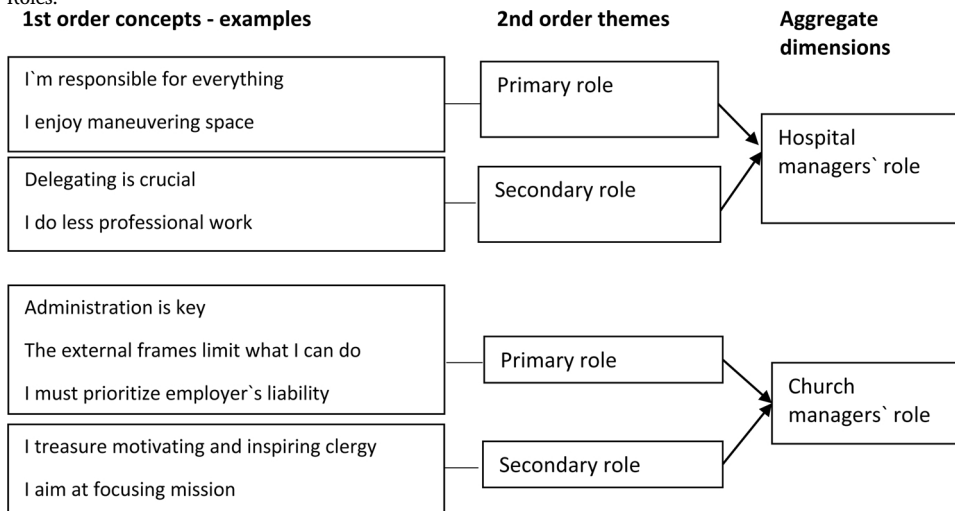
Having experience from their work, I can discuss with authority. I have had their life. A manager cannot lead anything. Dealing with strong professions, you must know what is going on and understand it, participate in the discussions to get information when deciding.

The managers stated that neither pure managerialism nor pure professionalism would suffice as the sole perspective for a hospital manager. The managers, even those not working clinically, remained informed about their professions. They spoke about the benefits of having a manager interested in professional issues: "Having health personnel in the top management is important; they know what daily work is." The informants principally believed that qualification as health personnel was not strictly necessary. However, in practice, it was a great asset for all parties. One of the department managers had grown to like management very much and identified as "coordinator, team manager, manager, coach. I find no conflict being a professional and manager, rather a synergy."

Central to the managers' narratives about their identity was their relation with their employees: the professionals. Although the former section focused on managers as facilitators, administrative tasks did not account for much of their workdays. They worked so that the specialists could perform. The idea of protecting professionals gained prominence

Table 2
Roles.

1st order concepts - examples	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
I`m responsible for everything I enjoy maneuvering space	Primary role	Hospital managers` role
Delegating is crucial I do less professional work	Secondary role	
Administration is key The external frames limit what I can do I must prioritize employer`s liability	Primary role	Church managers` role
I treasure motivating and inspiring clergy I aim at focusing mission	Secondary role	

during the times of reform to prevent employees from becoming insecure. It also enabled them to develop professionally; for instance, the professionals were typically eager to attend courses. However, in many cases seminars or meetings on professional issues were not prioritized if the daily work of the unit suffered. Thus, instead of canceling a surgery, the managers postponed joint study meetings. This sparked conflict in the units, and professionals viewed this as a test of their manager's loyalty. The managers explained the situation by citing problems of under-staffing and lack of time. They conceptualized problems with employees in terms of lack of quality in professional work. The managers corrected professionals only occasionally. Doing so was time consuming and demanding for the manager. In cases of unresolvable conflict, employees lost their job.

4.1.2. Church managers' identity

Findings on the deans' identity situated well on a continuum ranging from professional to managerial, though typically highlighting the first:

A good dean must have a pastoral identity in his innermost being. That means faith in God, and practice as a priest, knowing it; it is part of your identity. A pastoral manager maintains the distinctiveness of the church, opposed to administration. Managers are carriers of visions in our organization. As priests, we have an authenticity and commitment to the mission of the church.

There were some stepping-stones in between; professional knowledge, facilitating, and helping. With professional identity and employer identity at the far ends of the continuum, there were some interesting points in the middle pointing to the value of organizing and structure. Whether deans in fact identified as an employer was somewhat uncertain. Saying they did, seem to indicate that they performed employer's duties and responsibilities. One dean used an administrative system to identify with the clergy, plan, and register work hours. He tended to identify as an employer more than the other deans did, arguing that: "I am also a bureaucrat, who ensures that people are equally treated." This is a rare instance of valorizing administration and connecting it to justice. Given that the deanery was a geographic area with priests working in different locations in their parishes, the dean did not see them every day. Contact was established via meetings, and additional communication occurred when needed or wanted. This meant that the dean practiced leadership from a distance, while the local clergy practiced self-leadership.

Within a professional logic, the manager was regarded as a first among equals. The deans identified and were identified by the clergy as priests. None of the deans claimed that they ought to be the best skilled theologian in the deanery. Given the collegial idea of primus inter pares, this was slightly surprising. Many of the deans had been well functioning parish priests, willing to pay the pay the price of becoming deans, that is, assuming administrative workload. The deans instead framed themselves as qualified and updated conversation partners in theology and the functions of a priest. All the informants spoke about the increasing amount of administrative work and the importance of structure and defined routines. Questions about church order often initiated this communication. It was clear that the deans wanted to be available, almost 24/7. Through e-mail and cell phones, they tried to respond instantly.

The deans expressed it clearly: "We are first priests, then managers and thirdly employers doing administration and bureaucracy." The deans identified as priests because of their professional training and experience. Even if occupying a managerial position for many years, this professional identity remained intact and was practiced. Because the position was not a full-time job, it allowed them to perform the same tasks that they did before becoming deans. When reflecting on manager identity, the informants typically said: "I view myself as a discussion partner for the priests", which implied an equal conversation partner, signaling dialogue, reciprocity, and equal standing. Equality

between deans and priests was cherished, as a matter of guidance rather than governance. This was not a choice or coincidence but explained by theology: "Our vow of ordination makes our relationship with the priests collegial. They may guide me regarding my pastoral identity and how I am as a priest." This affected the degree of control a dean may exhibit over the clergy. Being a dean was, according to some informants, not only a question of competence but also skills. By its very definition, it requires a pastoral identity of faith and work experience as a priest. The deans were clear about the unique standing of the church, "which is not like any other firm." Being a professional in a church was about faith and internal commitments and convictions. This meant that professional and managerial identity had to somehow correlate with faith. To a certain extent, some deans called themselves colleagues of their employees when doing clergy work. Even if the term colleague was not frequently used, the notion of collegiality was striking. The deans still regarded the priests as managers. Within a collegial paradigm, the deans actively sought to strengthen their priests and support their autonomy.

They were generally comfortable giving guidance or instructions, distinguishing between the frames of clergy work that they could and did strongly influence and those where each priest was an autonomous professional. The autonomy of the priests had a substantial impact on the deans as managers, as it was their point of departure for exercising leadership. I scarcely registered any attempts from the deans to interfere in such a way: "I wish very strongly that the priests are independent. The dean is too far away to know what ought to be done in their parishes." The dean could initiate conversations and raise issues, but did not decide strategies, which are formulated in every parish by the council and the vicar. Ontologically, the deanery appeared second grade, serving as an instrument that was relevant and useful for the parish and the priests. This instrumental function of the dean was also commented upon: "The dean is needed as long as he is useful and relevant, and helping the priests in their work." Autonomy meant a distanced manager. The deans' point of departure was the expectations of priests and their autonomy. The deans arranged their leadership accordingly. Management was in this context a matter of facilitation—of what worked and agreed with the followers.

4.2. Roles

Table 2 show examples of quotes and categories related to roles of both groups of managers.

4.2.1. Hospital managers' roles

Examining the role of hospital managers involved exploring expectations and responsibilities. When talking about their core tasks and workweeks, they spoke of "total responsibility":

I have a total responsibility for budgets, personal, professional and daily work. Every unit manager has a delegated responsibility, yet I am involved all the way. The department manager wants us to stick to the budget and not quarrel too much. If I delegate economy, I lose control of the budget. The mantra of the CEO is that one has responsibility for more than one is responsible. I cannot only fight for my own department; instead, we must view the hospital as a total.

This totality led to hectic workdays for them, and they referred to their work as the "oil in the machinery, making things work in practice and distributing the work." Delegation was a relief. A manager group was needed if the functions were delegated to several persons. Further, the delegation was not always based on interests or preferences. One of the unit managers said: "I cannot delegate more administrative work; instead I prioritize an extra position as a nurse." This also meant that the unit manager was the only person not working in the clinic, while the rest of the manager group did so part-time. In general, managers delegated professional issues. Every unit had nurses working up to half time with procedures, training, and seminars, supporting and guiding

the other nurses. Quality was strengthened and would lead to constant improvement, since these nurses supported the manager and were experienced role models. Work was mundane and prosaic, with a focus on staffing and daily business, and ad hoc issues were resolved via strategizing.

Some of the managers wanted to be in the clinic but had little time. This distanced them, but they made an effort to stay close and work on the relations: "I use lots of time caring and talking with employees." This indicated that the managers both protect and challenge the professionals. None of the managers delegated their budget control tasks. Contact with the superiors occurred daily and in regular meetings. In addition, within the units, the managers had established a structure for meetings consisting of information and discussions. In addition to total responsibility for a unit or a department, the managers felt responsible for the overall hospital. The department managers had joint meetings with the CEO and his staff every second week, where all participants were called "hospital managers." There were generally few statements about the struggles between professions. Possible conflicts were solved through communication and conscious cooperation on a general level.

4.2.2. Church managers' roles

The tasks of the deans were described in their work description. However, the document identified only the main areas of work and did not detail how the work was to be done or the various aspects that were to be emphasized. All the informants mentioned the freedom and maneuvering space they had to use their interests and personalizing their role. The group of deans consisted of markedly different persons, doing their jobs differently. One of the deans emphasized, "I do not get a pattern for how to be a dean, no recipe." The deans were responsible for a range of tasks. They had a professional responsibility for the clergy based on theology and church order:

I see to that there is a deepening of theology and thought. My third area is to focus on the mission and main task of the church. I have an overall pastoral and strategic responsibility for all parishes, priests and employees in the deanery. My role is to motivate and inspire the priests.

Deans were responsible as employers for the frames of work, which is regulated by Norwegian law. Being a pastoral manager required ensuring that the clergy did what they promised when they were ordained. Serving as a role model was a salient motivating factor for all the deans. A matter of concern for those who desired a local presence and good knowledge of the parishes and work situation of the priests was the lack of time. Some of the deans visited the church staff regularly and preached once a semester in each church. They also felt it a part of their manager role to guide the priests. The strategic part of the role involved reminding the priests and parishes of the mission of the church. However, the deans did not decide the strategies; they rather initiated dialogue and asked questions. The deans derived their motivation from performing clergy work, and they remarked about the drastic changes in their work profile over the last years, which had turned them into administrators.

Time use was discussed in all interviews, and the deans were not happy about the development. They felt that something was lost. All the deans agreed that to lead the priests, the deans should be present and available to them. The ideal was one of proximity. Guidance and conversations presupposed trust and time. However, the administrative work they performed in the office seemed to contradict what they should in fact be doing. One dean expressed concern over "losing the theologian within me." He had made attempts to safeguard this aspect by preaching regularly during Sunday services. Deans expressed fear over becoming administrators, and a metaphor they used was "to be eaten up by bureaucracy." To some extent, they delegated prosaic administrative tasks to their executive officers, usually not a priest in a part-time job doing secretarial work. The deans most willingly delegated these tasks. Even if they could be relieved of some administrative

work, they did not want to abandon being managers. This issue was a dilemma for the church managers, and they explicitly contrasted administration with core work:

A clever dean has relational competence; administrative and theological competence is secondary. Administrative order is salient. Our tasks range from the very prosaic—see that all are working, helping to organizing their work hours and holidays. The external frames. In addition, how we perform the work. Employer's liability for the priests is a large part of my work.

The increase in administration workload stemmed from the professionalizing of work life within the Church of Norway. With the enforcement of the Work Environment Law, priests' rights and duties as employees are now closely regulated, like in the rest of society and of course in healthcare. The dean, as an employer of the priests, should ensure that staffing is optimal and that parishes have a priest. Some of the deans noted that increased administrative workload also had a positive effect; it encouraged proximity with the priests and their work.

5. Discussion

5.1. Distinguishing and prioritizing logics

The findings on identities and roles showed that managers negotiate coexisting logics in their everyday work. The first question I address is *How do hybrid professional managers prioritize professional and managerial logics?* A central finding is how managers distinguish clearly between professionalism and managerialism and yet claim to incorporate both. I found that managerial narratives are remarkably similar in portraying this dual commitment. None of the managers wanted to or could abdicate from any of the two coexisting logics, neither in terms of identities nor roles. These findings are consistent with and complement the work of Smets and Jarzabkowski (2013) who underline that managers resolve tensions, provide solutions to problems, "get the job done," and succeed in their mundane and pragmatic work. In doing so, hybrids draw on both professional and managerial competencies and commitments manifested in their dual identities and roles.

However, the interviewed managers also seem proficient in ranking issues according to their saliency. In both contexts, I identified strikingly similar strategies of *logics prioritizing*, by which hybrid professional managers unlock the dichotomy of professionalism and managerialism. Importantly, prioritizing did not represent a problem for the managers. In fact, it came naturally to them toward solving their job challenges. This finding aligns with that of Blomgren and Waks (2015): hybrids accommodate both logics and integrate both professional and managerial concerns to function in their complex jobs. However, other studies (Larsen & Slåtten, 2014; Møller, 2009) have reported a dichotomous distinction, suggesting that managers are *either* professionally *or* managerially oriented. The specification offered in my study, though, is supported by the identity theory, which suggests that identities are arranged hierarchically according to their salience (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Arman et al. (2014) shared similar results by conceptualizing this as logics hierarchization. A key insight of this study is that hybrid professional middle managers experience managerial and professional logics as strategies of prioritizing. This conceptualization indicates a more nuanced notion of hybridity and includes agency.

Further, the findings revealed that logics prioritizing manifests in managers' identities and roles and varies according to their organizational contexts. To clarify and explain this point, I recapitulate some main findings. For the hospital managers, their primary identity cohered with their primary role, and both aligned with a managerial logic. Temporality is the contextual feature that explains this difference between the two managerial groups. The process of institutionalized managerialism had advanced further in the hospital than in the church. It is likely that the law on unitary management enacted in 2001, advancing the principle of profession-neutral management, had been

implemented in the case hospital by time of this study, whereas earlier studies may have noted conflicts and debates (Mo, 2008). Additionally, the case hospital had a managerial program, unlike the diocese where the deans experienced tensions brought about by managerial reforms. The church managers sought to improve their organization by nurturing professionalism. The institutionalization process of managerialism had not progressed significantly in the church. The deans prioritized tasks and responsibilities emanating from a managerial logic. This variation between the two groups can be attributed to the character of work and the contexts of each group of hybrid professional managers. These findings underpin the importance of the organizational setting, as emphasized by Døving et al. (2016). Thus, contextual differences frame how managers variously manifest coexisting logics in their identities and roles.

Managers' prioritizing of logics showed variations across professions and within the same profession. While this article focused on group-level comparison, variations within each group were also noted to some degree. Interestingly, a strengthened managerial identity as identified in this study is opposed to that of previous studies, which showed that a professional identity is very dear to healthcare managers (Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Spehar, Frich, & Kjekshus, 2012). The managers in my case hospital were health personnel, even if they believed that their jobs could hypothetically be performed neutral of profession. McGivern et al. (2015, p. 19) reported that healthcare managers choose different strategies:

Incidental hybrids, professionals temporarily in hybrid roles, use hybrid roles to represent, protect and maintain professionalism. Willing hybrids developed authentic hybrid identity (…) provided a foundation for challenging and disrupting traditional professionalism.

In contrast, my findings showed that hospital managers both protect and challenge professionals, independent of their stance on hybrid identity. The distinction between incidental and willing hybrids does not find support in my data, as the managers were in permanent positions and did not aspire to return to clinical work. Typically, hybrid managers are portrayed as buffering colleagues who are only temporarily in managerial positions (McGivern et al., 2015; Preston & Price, 2012). In my study, the role of the hospital managers is connected closely to their identities.

Within the church context, the deans did not identify profoundly as managers; they only performed managerial tasks. This duality—where managers primarily identified as professionals and secondarily as managers—is a striking characteristic. The deans could separate between being professional leaders and being organizational managers. This finding resonates with the evaluation of the deanery reform (Stifoss-Hanssen et al., 2013). Askeland and Schmidt (2016, p. 111) also noted that the deans conceptualize their work in two distinct ways: theologically and functionally. My analysis of the church managers' tasks and time use revealed that the managerial aspect accounted for the majority of their tasks. They complained about increased administrative workload depriving them of time for clergy work or following up with their priests. Thus, a managerial logic characterized their role. The work situation of the deans did not fully accommodate their primary identity as professional managers. In other words, their identity and values did not cohere with their role, tasks, and responsibilities. Other research finds similar variations (Døving et al., 2016, p. 25). In summary, the comparative approach of this study shows that hybrid professional managers prioritize logics depending on their context.

5.2. Identities and roles within coexisting logics

By employing the coexisting logics framework (Besharov & Smith, 2014), I highlight central findings that go beyond individual preferences and relate to a systemic level. The second question guiding this study is *How can identity and role be integrated in a coexisting logic framework?*

Findings showed that the two logics are compartmentalized and manifested in different arrangements and are unequally distributed among actors within the two case organizations. Professionalism and managerialism did not cohere for the church managers. Glynn and Abzug (2002) explained that separation may be strengthened by physical distance or geographical locations, which is the case with the deans. When separated, each logic has distinctive representatives. In the hospital, the manager groups surrounding the managers and the very structure of the hospital prevented such isolation of logics. Generally, when logics are separated in different practices and identities, actors are more aware of the particularity and value of each logic. Actors interpret issues through the lens of the logics they carry and enact these logics through their own behavior. According to Besharov and Smith, "differentiation involves distinguishing or separating multiple demands from one another, while integration involves seeking synergies or bringing demands together into a unified whole" (2014, p. 15). The relation between these two is complementary and marked by cooperation; conflicts are less disruptive.

The theoretical notion about separation is exemplified in the sequential work of the church managers. Tasks clearly originating in a distinct logic are separated from one another. Studies of clergy work have shown that relations and traditional tasks are treasured in church leadership, as opposed to administrative tasks (Sirris, 2018). Thus, the demands are buffered instead of conflicting each other. Besharov and Smith (2014, p. 13) note that "when incompatibility is low, actors do not experience contradictions between demands." Further, the separation of logics manifested in incompatible activities may be an expression of differing power and status. This coheres with the perceptions of what constitutes core work for professionals and what does not—often indicated by jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988).

My findings reflect Besharov and Smith's (2014) notions of differentiation (evident in the case of the church managers) and integration (seen in the case of the hospital managers). In the hospital, unitary management institutionalizes the integration of logics. The accounts of the hospital managers reflect a situation where logic incompatibility and centrality are high. This sets the scene for complexity and potential conflict. I find this reflected in the emphasis on discussions in the managerial groups and openness toward different views and perspectives. The complexity of coordination and the demands on cooperation put the logics in dialogue. From the perspective of Besharov and Smith (2014, p. 54), the hospital managers' commitments to logics are incompatible and central. This stance is typical of healthcare organizations (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Both logics are central to the functioning of the organization, yet they provide contradictory prescriptions for actions. Institutional forces pushing the church managers into management increase the employer's liability. Their anchors to professionalism are a relation network, part-time connection with professional work, mono-professional leadership, and collegiality. For the hospital managers, managing is rooted in hierarchy, full-time positions, multi-professional functions, and total responsibility. They are anchored in professionalism through professional knowledge and values.

The functions of middle managers in both contexts have increased, which mirrors a general societal change of increased legislation and regulation of rights and duties at work. This development has more implications for an employer, and it represents a strengthening of the legal pillar of the institution of management. Governance integrated into managerialism is regulated by formal guidelines and thus more transparent than professional considerations. Organizational responsibilities are more defined and obligatory than professional issues (Scott, 2014).

In the hospital, the hybrids challenge professionalism and identify primarily as managers. The hospital managers are primarily committed to their organizational identity and work role, and this relation is one of integration, where they aspire to merge conflicting demands into a unified whole. The hospital is more hierarchical, centralized, and

characterized by higher speed and complexity. The clergy, on the other hand, seem more resistant to managerialism and organizational control than the health professionals. Thus, the diocese is a more distributed and decentralized network organization with a low pace. Occupational professionalism thrives, and the mandate of the collegium situating the manager exists to safeguard professionalism. Although church managers occupy managerial positions, they tend to identify as professionals. Driven by normative and disciplinary convictions, they describe their work roles in a mundane fashion as facilitators for other professionals performing work within the organization. The relation between their identity and work role is thus marked by differentiation and separation, and hence disintegration.

Overall, my findings show how actors do not adhere to any given logic in full but are eclectic (Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006). This insight resonates with the dynamics of coexisting logics and managerial practices in my research contexts, subject to organizational and professional differences. In the following section, on the basis of the above discussion, I propose a theoretical model that illustrates how identity and role may be integrated with a coexisting logics framework.

5.3. Coherent identities and roles within the coexisting logics framework

The overall research question guiding this article is *How do coexisting logics affect the coherence of identities and roles in differing contexts?* In both the studied contexts, the patterns of coherence are different. I accordingly visualize the managers' identities and roles as shown in Fig. 2, which is an extension of Fig. 1.

This model integrates two systems. First, it extends the coexisting logic framework by the ideal types of pure professionalism, pure managerialism, and the notion of complete hybridization, which denotes an amalgamation of the two. Second, the quadrant depicts two dimensions: identity and role. As is evident in the findings, these are not either-or dimensions, but degrees on a continuum. Coherence along these two orientations are conceptualized as primary and secondary. Hybrid professional managers are positioned as constrained and creative actors performing and making sense of their identities and roles, according to this study's empirical data. These internal dynamics are situated within the coexisting logic framework, which is manifested in the institutional constraints limiting the agency of middle managers. In

the corners of pure professionalism and pure managerialism, both centrality and incompatibility are low as the dominating logic obviates coexistence. The two other corners of the quadrant contain some unlikely ideal-types: manager doing professional work, and a professional doing management. These possibilities are marked by tensions, as both incompatibility and centrality are high. However, these options are peripheral to hybridity and irrelevant to the managers in this study.

Lastly, the concept of hybridity is a key theoretical insight in this article for understanding how coexisting logics relate. Removed from the ideal types of professionalism and managerialism, complete hybridization denotes the intersection of the two continua. As the model shows, this is a hypothetical point of theoretical interest, which hardly exists in practice (Noordegraaf, 2015). The term hybridity—which implies the coming together of two opposites that normally do not blend—has been criticized by Noordegraaf (2015) for being overused and underspecified by scholars. Hybridity very often uncritically refers to mere coexistence even when the outcome is not a hybrid or novel in the strict sense. Hybridization, in my view, is best understood as configurations of how logics actually manifest. Logics are ideal types at the discursive level, but they may not be so in real life. A core finding of this study is that the managers in each organization display various inclinations toward professionalism and managerialism. A "perfect" integrated hybridization does not exist. Integration denotes too smooth a relation between the two logics, which is not empirically supported. Rather, I conceptualize hybridization as a continuum: from pure managerialism and pure professionalism to a pure hybrid. The exact combination of logics must by studied in context. In doing so, scholars would benefit from delimiting the scope of research and defining precisely the unit and the phenomena and attributes that are hybridized or blended.

6. Conclusion

This study expands the knowledge on how hybrid professional managers relate to coexisting institutional logics. Scholars seldom question if managers' self-understandings equate with the actual contents of their work. I find that hybrids are drawn between both logics and have a dual set of identities and roles emanating from both professionalism and managerialism. It contributes to the literature in two ways. First, it offers empirical insights into institutionalized logics in
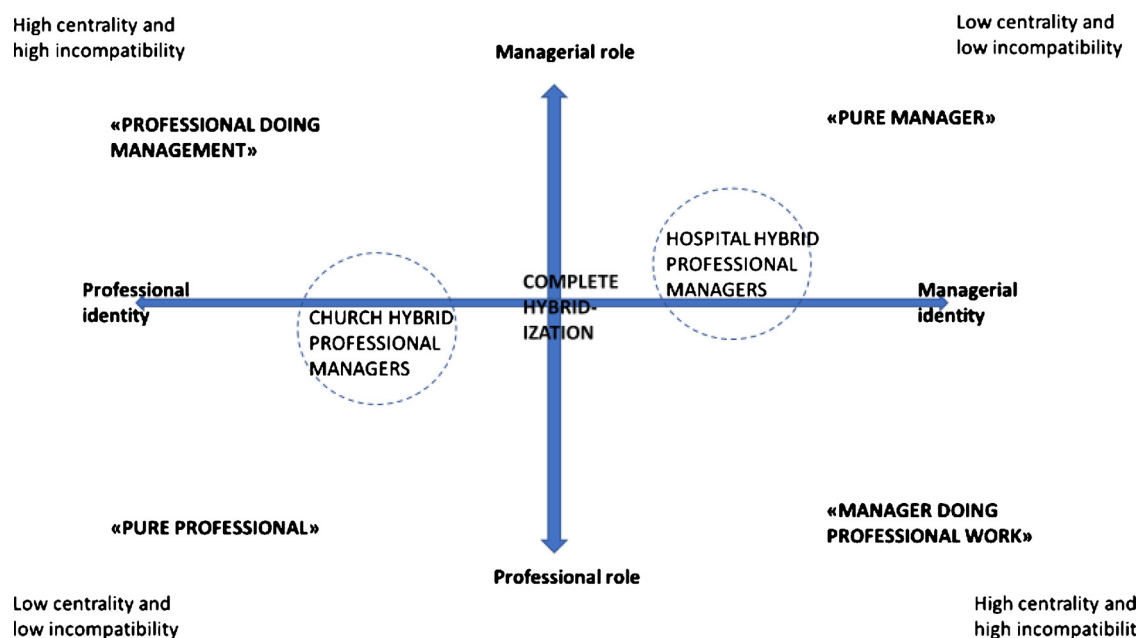

Fig. 2. A contextual model of hybrid professional managers' identities and roles.

two contexts. In both cases, I found that hybrids prioritize the managerial role. Hybrid professional managers cannot avoid performing core managerial tasks, despite identifying as professionals. In short, employer liability trumps profession. Further, the phenomenon of coherence is contextually conditioned. Between the faith-based hospital and the religious organization, the process of institutionalizing managerialism has progressed further in the healthcare sector, with hospital managers fully embracing their managerial identity. This finding is somewhat different from studies where hospital managers have emphasised their professional identity. The overall trend is that management has become more absorbing, and hybrid professional managers in practice distance themselves from the professional dimension of their work, which is safeguarded by delegating it to others. This is a contested process, and the interviewee data exhibits different individual stances within each category of managers.

Second, this article conceptualizes the idea of *prioritizing* among coexisting logics on two dimensions. I provide a theoretical framework of hybrid professional managers' responses to professional and managerial logics in their identities and roles. According to the framework by Besharov and Smith (2014), coexisting logics in the hospital are characterized by high centrality and high incompatibility, whereas, in the religious organization, they display low centrality and low incompatibility. It appears that in organizations with two central logics, like the hospital, hybridizing is more likely. If one logic is low in centrality, such as the managerial logic in the church, logics are not likely to meet. The cost of this distance is the phenomenon experienced by the deans: a disintegration in identity and role.

One of the limitations of the study is that the number of coexisting logics has been limited to two, in order to ensure analytical clarity. This ideal typical approach sidelines some rich material showcasing a range of individual differences within each context. It offers no normative answer to how managers should relate logics. To increase our knowledge of coexisting logics in the work of managers, further research could compare professionals within various organizational contexts, either by using identity and role or by exploring other characteristics. The theoretical model of this study could be tested quantitatively by surveying larger populations. Following organizations over time can provide robust longitudinal data. If the perspective of professional and managerial work were to be taken seriously, as suggested by Barley and Kunda (2001), it would be useful to connect the institutional logics perspective with practice theory. Observational material on how managers in situ relate coexisting logics to their everyday work can broaden the methodical approach and provide direct access to the manifestations and relation of logics. Whereas many studies have examined healthcare organizations and professions, researchers have paid little attention to religious organizations and their professions. Civic organizations constitute an area for future research as they are situated in the interstices of different institutional realms and inhabited by several interacting logics.

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