



Between advocacy, compliance and commitment: A multilevel analysis of institutional logics in work environment management

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ABSTRACT

In this study we explore the development and enactment of institutional logics in the field of work environment management. We show how three historically developed logics constitute different values and practices that guide professionals' organizational action. Using both historical and contemporary qualitative data, we show how the three institutional logics are present in the field of work environment, and how the logics are enacted simultaneously by actors within four large organizations in Denmark. The study contributes to the literature on institutional logics. The logics perspective is combined with critical realism to describe the inter-relatedness between the levels of society, institutional fields, and organizations, and by elaborating the near-decomposable relations between institutional logics and orders. The study contributes to the literature on work environment management by investigating the ideational lenses through which regulations and interventions are perceived by organizational actors, and how these perceptions may lead to different organizational outcomes and outlooks in work environment management.

1. Introduction

Work environment management has evolved considerably during the last 40 years. From being a matter of preventing chemical risks and workplace accidents in the early 1970s, this management area is now also concerned with creating sustainable performance cultures and dealing with a wide array of psychosocial issues. The approach has developed from a model where the organization simply complies with an extensive list of external formal requirements, to a model that integrates work environment tasks into the organization's fundamental practices and strategies. Correspondingly, work environment professionals have moved from positions outside the companies in the regulatory wider participatory labor market structures, to positions inside the companies in professionalized staff functions, where they have gradually replaced the voluntary employee and management representatives (Seim, Limborg, & Jensen, 2015). However, work environment management is not only an organizational technical task, but also part of a wider industrial relations system whereby it is subject to political and ideological conflicts and compromises evolving over time. Thus, the field of work environment management constitutes a richly textured empirical case, which is suitable for investigating and illustrating how institutional and organizational dynamics simultaneously play out at multiple levels, including the deeply institutionalized and

stabilizing level of society, the level of the work environment field, and the more adaptive practice development at the organizational level. To explain how the management of work environment changes on these different levels we incorporate an analytical framework inspired by critical realism in general and Margaret Archer in particular (1995; 1998) into theories of institutional logics.

Researchers have long been interested in exploring the processes of rationalization and integration of work environment management, where staff managers and experts become the main actors managing work environment efforts (Hasle, Seim, & Refslund, 2016; Jain, Leka, & Zwetsloot, 2018). This mainstreaming appears in various forms. In certified management systems (Frick & Kempa, 2011; Hohnen, Hasle, Jespersen, & Madsen, 2014), in efficiency optimizing systems (Hasle, 2014, 2016), and in human resource (HR) management tools used in work environment management (Kamp & Nielsen, 2013; Kamp, 2009; Uhrenholdt Madsen & Hasle, 2017).

However, work environment is not a neutral management tool. The management of workers' health and safety touches upon core values and conflicts in modern capitalist societies and it is embedded in inherent contradictions between the need for efficiency versus the need for employees' wellbeing. Furthermore, Daudigeos, Jaumier, and Boutinot (2016) describe how company and state policies to improve the health and safety of employees have also been central in

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disciplinary regimes at modern workplaces. While work environment management is subject to overall state regulation, individual organizations still have to construct and enact their own versions. This means that work environment is developed broadly at the field level and simultaneously in every single organization. In this regard, it is not only a question of managing and organizing local procedures, but also one of labor market governance and the employers' and employees' rights, responsibilities and relations.

Work environment management has not yet been researched in depth as an organizational phenomenon, compared to studies on, for example, organizational change, HR management or organizational innovation practices (Daudigeos et al., 2016; Hasle, Limborg, & Nielsen, 2014; Zanko & Dawson, 2012). Instead, the work environment research field has been dominated by studies of a specialized and 'piecemeal' character, especially from the health sciences, psychology and ergonomics (Zanko & Dawson, 2012).

In this paper, we analyze how institutional logics in the Danish field of work environment management have evolved historically, and correspondingly how they are enacted within Danish organizations. We use the term 'work environment' although we are aware that organization- and management studies most often use the terms 'occupational health and safety' or simply 'health and safety'. However, in Scandinavia, the term work environment is used in legislation and field-level activities, where it signals a broader holistic approach, where not only specific risks and dangers are regulated, but also the context in which work is carried out (see Zanko & Dawson, 2012). This inclusive meaning of work environment addresses subjects as diverse as: the ergonomic design of workspaces, the prevention of falling accidents, the use of the right preventive equipment in toxic environments, and the promotion of managerial and organizational procedures to prevent psychosocial risks such as stress, bullying and 'burnout'. All these different issues must be dealt with in the same regulatory system. This means that a wide range of abilities and areas of expertise are expected from the organizational actors dealing with these issues on a company level.

We aim to capture the historical development of work environment management in Denmark, and how changes can be seen as differentiated institutional logics enacted within contemporary organizations. We show how the 'grand story' (the development of industrial societies in the last half century) and the 'little story' (the development of work environment practices inside the organization) are closely linked. In so doing, we address recent calls for studies that seek to analytically connect institutional processes on different analytical levels (Berg Johansen & Waldorff, 2017; Daudigeos, Boutinot, & Jaumier, 2013; Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Martin, Currie, Weaver, & Finn, 2017). We contribute to the literature on institutional logics by elaborating the interrelatedness between the levels of society, institutional field, and organization, and by revisiting and extending Thornton et al.'s original crucial point about the near-decomposable relations between institutional logics and the institutional 'orders' (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012), and by marrying the logics perspective to a fundamentally critical realist ontology to make these relations clearer (as suggested by e.g. Delbridge & Edwards, 2013 and Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2017).

As shown by Berg Johansen and Waldorff (2017), the logics perspective is a widely diffused and utilized theoretical perspective within organizational and management studies. However, the relationship between logics in the concrete contexts and the overall orders has not been the subject of any significant number of previous studies. This means that studies have been divided into two overall groups in this regard. The first group studies overall abstract orders as concrete logics within fields. In this way, orders are found on the 'actual' fields without much consideration of the specificities of the particular field, or how the overall orders emerge in specific forms within the fields. In so doing, logics and orders are thereby conflated and the resulting ideal structures that are discerned can appear somewhat generic. The

second group of studies defines logics inductively within concrete fields and some even within single organizations. Consequently, the logics lose their analytical relationship with the wider societal orders, along with what makes them institutional in the first place (Berg Johansen & Waldorff, 2017). Few studies use the distinction between orders and logics as an analytical point (see McPherson & Sauder, 2013 for an exception). The need for a distinction between analytical levels has been called for by numerous authors (Berg Johansen & Waldorff, 2017; Daudigeos et al., 2013; Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Zilber, 2016). By separating and neglecting the links between analytical levels, the institutional logics studies lack refined explanatory power, for instance, by focusing only on tangible organizations and/or organizational practices but without including the deeper level of societal orders. This is critical; therefore, in our study we incorporate a multiple analytical levels perspective from critical realism into analyses of institutional logics.

In the study, we utilize an 'event sequencing' methodology (Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005), with a basis in historical archival data sources, as well as a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with professional work environment actors in Danish organizations. Consequently, we are able to capture the historical development of institutional logics in the field of work environment management and the contemporary enactment of the logics within four Danish organizations. We interviewed 23 professional work environment specialists from four different research sites in the spring of 2015. Additionally, we collected historical data from reports, popular history, and research.

In the following section, we outline our analytical framework. Following this, we describe our methods and strategy for analysis followed by our findings. We demonstrate how the historical development of the field of work environment management and the enactment by organizational actors have led to the existence of three competing institutional logics: 'advocacy', 'compliance' and 'commitment', which, in different ways, link to two institutional orders of 'state' and 'corporation'. We finish this article by discussing our findings and offering a conclusion.

2. Theoretical framework

In this section, we describe our analytical framework, explaining how this framework helped us in our analysis of the work environment management in Denmark. In particular, we explore how the phenomenon can be explained by dynamics on multiple analytical levels, and how these are interdependent. Our most basic understanding of the world – our 'social ontology' (Archer, 1998: 194) is built around the insights of critical realism, while our concrete understanding and analyses of the multilevel processes in the field – our 'practical social theory' (Archer, 1998: 194) – is informed by the institutional logics perspective (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). By using critical realist insights as the basic framework of our understanding of the world and the institutional logics as our practical theory, we believe that the relationship between the different analytical levels in the logics approach becomes clearer for the reader, and that our analyses are bolstered.

2.1. Critical realism

Critical realism is a stream of research from the philosophy of science. Theories in this stream are uniformly concerned with staking out a middle ground between empiricism and relativism in social science. In the following, we explain the theoretical concepts of 'stratified ontology' (Fleetwood, 2005), 'mediating concepts' (Archer, 1995), and 'emergence' (Archer, 1995), and we elaborate why we consider them to be particularly well suited to the perspective of institutional logics.

The concept of stratified ontology is foundational in critical realist thinking, and corresponds to the idea of multiple levels of analysis from the logics perspective (Delbridge & Edwards, 2013). The stratified

ontology divides social reality into three distinct but interrelated domains (Leca & Naccache, 2006): The ‘empirical’ is the part of social reality that actors immediately understand or can identify (e.g., the bus is not coming), the ‘actual’ domain is the part that encompasses all of social reality that could potentially be empirically identified by actors (e.g., all buses have stopped because of a strike due to salary cutbacks), and the ‘real’ domain signifies deeper hidden social structures that cannot be identified without some theorizing, but still enable and inhibit actors’ relationships and actions (e.g., external institutional and technical pressures led the city council to agree to cut back on bus drivers’ salaries). At this point, it is important to mention Fleetwood’s notion that materials, social structures, discourses, and technology can equally be considered ‘real’ if they, in some way, act to generate social action or processes. However, deeper social structures do not appear, as they are for actors and organizations. Instead, they arise through so-called ‘mediating concepts’ (Archer, 1995). These exist as ‘disjunctions’ (Archer, 1995: 149) between the deeper social structures and the experience of actors and thus transmit from one to the other. It is the mediating concepts that are being enacted and interpreted by actors, as these appear, for example, as concrete social roles (and the practices related to said roles) available in any given social situation. These mediating concepts enable or inhibit actors’ actions and understandings in social interactions. According to Archer, any mediating concept with which actors interpret and interact, has always ‘emerged’ as a result of historic social interaction and processes in the field (Archer, 1995: 151). In this way, these mediating concepts have ‘emergent properties’, i.e. they possess properties that cannot be solely explained by the deeper structures as a result of, or by, the new empirical context in which they are enacted. In this so-called ‘morphogenetic’ model of the social (Archer, 1995), social action is conditioned but not fully determined by structural conditioning from deeper levels, and furthermore social action elaborates future structural conditions.

Critical realism describes the social reality as stratified into various domains, and that social phenomena on ‘higher’ levels are rooted in ‘lower’ levels, without being fully conditioned by them. As Archer points out, critical realism needs other theories – the ‘practical social theories’ – to actually describe and understand social reality. Therefore, we use the insights of institutional logics as our practical social theory. Critical realism shows us how social reality and social action are reproduced and changed in theoretical terms. The logics perspective shows us the granular topographical details on the map provided by critical realism.

2.2. Institutional logics

Institutional logics is one of the most predominant and widely disseminated theoretical paradigms in current organizational science. Originally, Friedland and Alford (1991) pioneered the concept of ‘institutional logics’ as an analytical tool to understand how western societies were composed of different value systems of symbols and practices, and how these competing value systems could also be discerned in institutional fields and in organizations. The logics perspective has been developed by Friedland (2009, 2012, 2013) and adherents to this perspective (e.g. Mutch, 2018). Another perspective has been put forward within organizational and management studies by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012, 2017).

Friedland (2009, 2012, 2013) has contributed to our understanding of institutionalized ‘value spheres’ consisting of symbols, practices and moral norms with an institutional ‘substance’ at the center – an ‘unobservable, but essential ‘value’ anchoring an institutional logic’ (Friedland, 2013: 34). Friedland describes how these are the basis of the institutional logics within various organizational fields. It is thus the involved actors’ ‘beliefs’ in these central institutional substances (honor, the law, God, etc.) that guide the practices inspired by the substances (i.e. military, judicial or religious practices). Together, the practices and beliefs in the core substance compose an institutional

logic (Mutch, 2018). In contrast to the focus on substances, Thornton et al. (2012) pay particular attention to the interrelatedness of institutional orders and the nested lower analytical levels such as the field level and the organizational level. They describe the ‘inter-institutional system’ as consisting of a number of overall ideal type orders¹, each with its own set of values, modes of governance, legitimacy, and authority (Thornton et al., 2012: 73). In so doing, Thornton et al. show how overall orders on a societal level become concrete organizational practices mediated through institutional fields, and they inject a modularity into the logics perspective. The two approaches differ in terms of the emphasis placed on the ‘decomposability’ and modularity of the logics and orders, but they may also be combined. We use Friedland and Mutch’s logics perspective to clarify what constitutes the overall building blocks of the inter-institutional system, and how these should be understood as basic institutional substances that ‘exist’ as sedimented ideational structures in our collective social ‘imagination’ (Friedland, 2012). We combine this with Thornton and colleagues’ framework of the inter-relatedness between societal, field-level and organizations, and thus how overall abstract substances become concrete organizational procedures and policies. We believe that these two perspectives are complementary. Institutional orders are in themselves spheres of institutionalized action on the societal level such as the corporation, the state, the religion, etc. However, actors do not act in the world based on a deeply held belief in the state or in religion – they use practices such as standard operating procedures or voting based on beliefs in, for example, the power of bureaucracy and democracy or they practice the ‘believer’s baptism’ because of the particular teachings of the Baptist faith. Thus, we see the substances as described by Friedland and Mutch as the institutional matter, and Thornton and colleagues’ orders as spheres that contain related and somewhat similar substances. These ties between concrete organizational bundles of practices and values, and the overall orders and the substances they contain, are what make the logics ‘institutional’ in the first place.

The substances are thus, at the same time, ‘real’, with causal efficacy in the social world, and abstractions best perceived through theoretical ideal types. In this way, they act as the deeper levels that influence change in fields and organizations. At the center of the orders are the institutionalized substances in which social actors believe. This belief and the related practical implementations give the orders and logics causal efficacy in the social world. Corporate values, symbols and practices are easily recognized by everyone, and easily discerned from religious values and practices, or, for that matter, the practices and symbols of the state. The fact that these orders are easily recognizable is also what makes them act with ‘causal efficacy’ (Fleetwood, 2005) in the world. The symbols and practices surrounding the three logics of work environment management are therefore recognizable because of this. Nonetheless, it is, as we will demonstrate, still in the field of work environment the orders are incarnated, and become more than ideal types and abstractions in the world. In this way, we see how the orders and the ‘real’ substances are composed of ‘actual’ field-level logics of work environment, but only have any efficacy because of these field-level logics and their ‘empirical’ organizational enactments.

It is not difficult to see the parallels between critical realism and institutional logics. This is also recognized by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury in their reflections on the development of the logics perspective: “We are making the ontological claim that institutional logics are real phenomena. Institutional logics are real in the same way bureaucracy is real, social networks are real and culture is real” (Thornton et al., 2017: 511). Thus, institutional orders can be viewed as real domains

¹ The seven ideal types in Thornton et al. (2012) are: family, community, state, religion, market, professions, and corporation. They do, however, recognize that these are not a finite number, but merely the most salient types found in ‘canonical texts’ of organizational sociology (Thornton et al., 2017: 511)

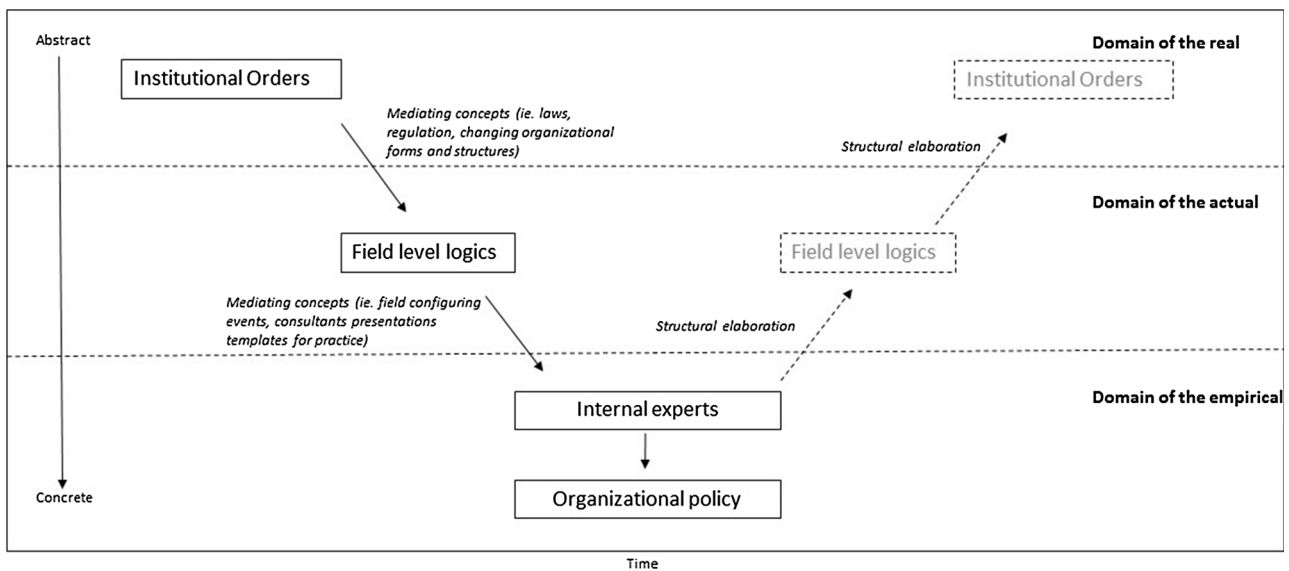


Fig. 1. Near-decomposable relationship between orders, logics and organizations.

signifying social structures on the deeper ontological domain. In our framework, we understand the very basis of the logics approach – the orders (Thornton et al., 2012) or the ‘substances’ (Friedland, 2009) as the deeper ‘real’ structures, i.e. as ideational structures that are easily recognizable because they are ‘joined in the social imagination’ (Friedland, 2012: 588), while at the same time they are abstract and lofty concepts that have to be applied in concrete settings to make sense for actors and organizations.

2.3. Near-decomposability of orders and logics

To bring the two logics perspectives together, we want to emphasize Thornton and colleagues’ central concept of ‘near-decomposability’ (Thornton et al., 2012: 59). The near-decomposability of orders and logics allows for an “analogous modularity” (Thornton et al., 2012: 60) of the system of orders and logics, which means that, while logics and orders certainly have affinities and cannot be completely separated analytically, a logic cannot only be ascertained by its associated order (s). Furthermore, this modularity explains how changes in logics can take place because of historic contingencies or the strategic symbolic manipulation of “cultural entrepreneurs” (Thornton et al., 2012: 60). In short, this near-decomposability ensures that agency and historical specificity have a place in the theoretical model, without erasing what makes these logics ‘institutional’ in the first place – the substances at the center. The conundrum, as Friedland notes, is that “*Institutional logics are specific constellations of practices, identities and objects. The more decomposable they are, the less they can be argued to exist*” (2012: 588). Extending this point, Friedland argues that what makes orders salient analytical constructs is the very fact that they are bundles of practices, theories and values that are “*joined in the social imagination*” (2012: 588).

The notion of decomposability and autonomy between the levels is important in order to understand concrete societal changes and developments in and around fields. First of all, this is because even institutional orders, as strongly institutionalized in our collective consciousness as they are, within themselves also encompass complex structures and forces that can result in conflict or confusion when enacted simultaneously. One example of these ‘intra-institutional complexities’ (Meyer & Höllerer, 2016) is described by Meyer and Höllerer in their example of how organizations experience institutional complexity from two competing logics of corporate governance forms linking to the market order (Meyer & Höllerer, 2016). Another noteworthy example is found in the world of HR management, where scholars often distinguish

between the ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ versions (Legge, 2005). Both are easily identified as logics within the corporate order, yet, at the same time, these logics present divergent prescriptions to safeguard or gain performance from employees. One could also think of Weber’s descriptions of the internal contradictions between different religious practices (Rosenberg, 2015; Weber & Whimster, 2004). Each of these examples show us that, even though orders themselves are quite firmly institutionalized in ‘social imaginations’, they still contain their own contradictions and inherent conflicts.

This becomes imperative if we follow Friedland and Alford’s original intention of not providing explanatory primacy to the societal level of analysis. To elucidate, whenever an institutional logic works in an institutional field, it is not an exact reproduction of its root order. Instead, it is embedded in the institutional orders and the values and frames they provide, but, at the same time, such a field-level logic is the result of historical field-level developments (Thornton et al., 2012). A market-inspired logic will thus look radically different depending on whether it appears in the field of book publishing (Thornton et al., 2012), yacht design (Delbridge & Edwards, 2013) or accounting (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Moreover, sometimes logics at the field level are blends, which draw on more than one order, or segregations that only draw on parts of one order. This is again recognized by Friedland, who also acknowledges that logics can be combined and transformed by actors on the ground (2013: 39), as shown in the study by Rindova et al. (2016), where the manufacturing company Alessi recombines field-level logics into organizational practices.

Our theoretical framework showing the near-decomposable relations between orders, logics and organizations is illustrated in Fig. 1.

3. Methodology

Our study is a qualitative case study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In order to empirically capture how institutional logics simultaneously transcend multiple levels, we have decided to use historical sources and contemporary accounts from organizational actors as our empirical data (Rea & Jones, 2016).

3.1. Data collection

We collected a variety of documents, such as government reports, evaluations from stakeholders, and popular history. Following this, we tracked the history of work environment management in Danish companies through an event sequencing method. This entailed looking for

Table 1
Interviews.

Informants	Job description	Company
Manager, work environment function	Managing staff work environment staff function	Hospital 1 (H1)
Consultant 1, work environment function	Full time work environment consultant	Hospital 1 (H1)
Consultant 2, work environment function	Full time work environment consultant	Hospital 1 (H1)
Consultant 3, work environment function	Full time work environment consultant	Hospital 1 (H1)
Consultant 4, work environment function	Full time work environment consultant	Hospital 1 (H1)
Consultant 5, work environment function	Full time work environment consultant	Hospital 1 (H1)
Manager, HR function	Managing HR function	Hospital 2 (H2)
Consultant 1, HR Function	HR consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Hospital 2 (H2)
Consultant 2, HR Function	HR consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Hospital 2 (H2)
Consultant 3, HR Function	HR consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Hospital 2 (H2)
Consultant 1, Risk function	Full time work environment consultant	Company 1 (C1)
Consultant 2, Risk function	Full time work environment consultant	Company 1 (C1)
Data consultant, Risk function	Data consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Company 1 (C1)
Manager, Management systems function	Managing the staff function responsible for all management systems (among them work environment management system)	Company 1 (C1)
Local site consultant 1	Consultant for local site with work environment as main responsibility	Company 1 (C1)
Local site consultant 2	Consultant for local site with work environment as main responsibility	Company 1 (C1)
Manager, safety, health and environment function	Managing staff function responsible for safety, health and external environment	Company 2 (C2)
Consultant 1	Full time health and safety consultant	Company 2 (C2)
Consultant 2	Full time health and safety consultant	Company 2 (C2)
Local safety consultant 1	Full time health and safety consultant at local site	Company 2 (C2)
Local safety consultant 2	Full time health and safety consultant at local site	Company 2 (C2)
HR consultant 1	HR consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Company 2 (C2)
HR consultant 2	HR consultant with work environment as one of various responsibilities	Company 2 (C2)

paths of ‘critical junctures’ (Dalpiaz, Rindova, & Ravasi, 2016: 352) and how these incrementally form logics of values and approaches to work environment management from the passing of the Work Environment Act of 1975 to the present. We used a snowballing technique to reveal these sources. We contacted key actors from the field of work environment, who pointed us towards reports and evaluations they deemed of importance to our research interest. Furthermore, we used the limited, but significant, academic peer-reviewed sources which have described the developments in the field to shape our initial understandings of the field’s logic formations. Finally, we performed two background interviews with one key expert with extensive experience in the field, both as a practitioner and as a researcher. These two interviews were conducted to help us reflect upon our initial understandings of the historical developments and to guide our further research process.

Furthermore, we collected data at four research sites, which, as suggested by Reay and Jones (2016), were chosen based on where we believed we would find exemplary organizational dynamics that could further our understanding and knowledge of the different logics in work environment management. The four research sites were large Danish organizations, which can be characterized as large-scale bureaucracies with specialized staff functions that manage external regulations and demands. To encapsulate the developments, we found two organizations where HR consultants have, to some extent, been integrated into the management of work environment issues, and two organizations where this was not the case. To ensure both depth and width in the data, our case sample was two private and two public organizations. We consulted organizational websites, corporate social responsibility reports and key actors from the wider work environment organizations (unions, employers’ associations and government agencies) to find appropriate research sites within the framework described above.

We conducted semi-structured interviews between November 2014 and June 2015 with 23 key informants, all of whom worked as professional specialists in the organizations, and all of whom have the work environment as either their main responsibility or as one of them (see Table 1). All interviews lasted from around 35 min to almost one hour and twenty minutes. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

These internal specialists are important actors in the way work environment is carried from field to organizations. The work environment development, which we have described in the Introduction

(Uhrenholdt Madsen & Hasle, 2017; Hasle et al., 2016; Jain et al., 2018), has led to the emergence and spread of a new occupational group within the work environment field – the internal professional specialists within larger Danish organizations. This ‘narrative of emergence’ (Mutch, 2017) shows the change from an occupational group of experts based in a semi-public consultancy role, to a group of internal professionals who are hired into staff management roles. As we describe, this change is an important part of the overall change and expansion of institutional logics within the field. In addition, this change from external to internal professionals² is important. Scott (2008) argues that professionals are “...the most influential, contemporary crafters of institutions” (Scott, 2008: 223). The internal experts in work environment are similar to Scott’s description of ‘clinical professionals’. They are the group of actors working within individual organizations, who ‘apply professional principles to the solution of problems...’ (Scott, 2008: 228). This is an exact description of the work environment experts. They are therefore also a crucial group in the process of translating the overall institutional logics from the field level and into company policies. By describing the goals and practices of these internal experts we do not only see how institutional orders and substances are transformed into concrete institutional logics on the field level, but also how the logics are concretely carried into the organizations and adapted and tailored into company policy.

3.2. Strategy of analysis

We proceeded with an analysis of all collected data. Our end goal and purpose was to describe what Archers calls ‘a history of emergence’ (Archer, 1995: 91) of the particular ideational structures in which we are interested. Specifically, we are interested in how abstract concepts such as the law, democracy and charisma, through their relations to the orders of the state and the corporation, become organizational practices. We are interested in how ‘real’ cultural and social ideational

² There is not a single ‘profession’ of work environment specialists in Denmark with a common educational and accreditation background. Therefore, it is more accurate to describe them as an occupational community (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). However, in the context of this paper, we believe that Scott’s description of the roles of ‘clinical’ professionals are a fitting description of the roles of the internal experts as well.

Table 2
Event sequences in the field of work environment management.

	Logic of advocacy	Logic of compliance	Logic of commitment
Historical formation process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work Environment Act is passed - OHS established and expanded - First OHS conference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU Framework directive 89/391 - Critique of ‘sidecar’ position from experts - Integration into joint management systems - 2005: Exemption from labour inspections for organizations with certified work environment systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The report from the ‘methods committee’ - Demand for tools and knowledge on prevention from public organizations - Political compromise regarding management of psychosocial risks - HRM emerges in Denmark

Table 3
Coding of the logics with examples from data.

	Keywords	Examples from data
Logic of Advocacy	Motivation	Improving work environment for employees <i>It is to meet our ‘customers’ where they are. We have a big task in finding out how to give this or that work environment group the best counselling. It can easily be that we have some strategic great intentions, intentions about health promotion, but if this work environment group doesn’t know what APV means, then we have to start there. And that I think is an important role. (Consultant 1, H1)</i>
	Practices	Coalition building <i>“One of the demands to our certificate is that we as a minimum comply with legislation, and that means that I often take on a ‘B’ role [B means the employees, while A stands for the employers] because I will make demands about hey we have an area here and so on, and if we don’t regulate it in compliance with the legislation then our certificate is in danger. Therefore there are sometimes accordance between what the employees want and what I want” (Local site consultant 2, C1)</i>
		Lobbying <i>“I make an effort to build bridges between [headquarters location] and the factories” (Consultant 2, C1)</i> <i>For me, and this might sound a little ugly, but I see actually the work environment as sort of a parasite, in a good sense. We to run to where things are happening. Hygiene is important, great, we will connect with that. The Danish quality model, great we will connect with that. Because then we are successful. We should not be out there with the red flags and say work environment at all costs. Nope because we are here for the patients and therefore we can mooch of these things (Consultant 1, H1)</i>
Logic of compliance	Motivation	Compliance <i>“...but the whole management field is very dominated by theories, more than by regulation and evidence. And that looks very different for work environment field because it is regulated by law and there is an expectation that the initiatives we take is based on evidence to a larger extent”(Consultant 1, H2)</i>
	Practices	Reactive datadriven approaches <i>“On the basis of those [the data on compensation costs] we always have an overview of where the injuries and the strain happens, and then we seek them out” (Consultant 1, C1)</i> <i>“...we direct their [the local clinics] attention towards it, by annually to make these reports for their annual work environment meeting. In these reports we write about person lifting, accidents, sickness absence, health promotion, health control, and tries to include all the things we can get data on” (Consultant 4, H1)</i>
		Preventive systematic approaches <i>And as managers that [whether an audit can discover unsafe practices and processes] we are interested in. Whether we ‘walk the walk’, have this or that been tightened, whether people know what to do. And that is really the value of a certified management system, it is not the paper, it is doing it in practice (Industry 1)</i>
Logic of commitment	Motivation	Employee engagement <i>“[Engagement] is all about being ‘fired up’ and engaged in the job, and really think that one is putting in an effort. It is about thinking that one’s manager is really good and that the job is really good, but also about whether one is proud and shares [brags about] this company” (HR Consultant 2, C2)</i>
		Prevent sickness absence <i>“Our most important job as a staff function is to create this red thread, so we don’t just discuss work environment, not just wellbeing, not just sickness absence, but create these wholes so that people in the clinics don’t experience these sporadic initiatives, but that they experience them as a whole” (Consultant 4 H 2)</i>
		Creating cooperation <i>“We treat patients at this hospital, we don’t produce a good work environment. So they [the patients] are our profit, and to make sure that everything is going accordingly we need cooperation, wellbeing, high MTU scores and high levels of social capital and what not”.(Consultant 3, H2)</i> <i>“we work with the same issues, but from two different perspectives, so we also work to ensure that people are feeling better at work, so my angle is that on should be able to work together with colleagues and with one’s manager, that one can handle the assignments”(HR consultant 1, C2)</i>
	Practices	Building resilient cultures <i>“...and one of the assignments that i am working on currently, is to develop a progression of workshops that i can launch in the autumn. We will have some cross-departmental workshops that will bring everyone into play, and where the theme will be how to come from one culture to another” (HR Consultant 2, C2)</i>
	Line management competence building <i>“Of course there is a job to find out what it actually means when an employee has a special pattern of absence, and how to deal with that. So that is one type of effort, and then we have established these management teams where we plan on including sickness absence” (Hospital 2)</i>	

structures first turn into ‘actual’ concrete field-level logics with concrete practices in the institutional field, and furthermore how these institutionalized practices become ‘empirical’ experiences for concrete employees in Danish organizations when field-level practices are enacted by organizational actors. First, to capture the development of logics in the actual domain of the field, we studied the historical research of work environment management (Dyreborg, 2011; Limborg, 2001; Uhrenholdt Madsen & Hasle, 2016) that has previously categorized institutional logics or similar bundles of practice and meaning in the field. These studies led us to three distinguishable logics of practices and corresponding social meaning that influence the way the work environment is currently managed in Danish companies. Of these logics, one centers on workplace democracy and participation, another on

systems and risk management, and the final one on increased performance and employee development. We used the collected historical sources to research the history and event sequencing of each of the logics. From the initial logics, we iteratively worked ‘backwards’ in the Danish work environment history, and ‘forward’ in our qualitative interview data and fleshed out the historical events and developments that had shaped them historically, as well as the practices and goals that the logics entailed in the professionals’ daily work (Table 2).

To discern how the logics shaped the practices within organizations, we used three different analytical elements. Thornton et al. (2012), suggest that the choice of analytical elements should be based on the “most salient” analytical elements to the research context and question (Thornton et al., 2012: 59). As analytical elements of each logic, we

chose the goals and practices of work environment management in the companies. We lean on Mutch's description of practices (Mutch, 2017), and view practices as bundles of routines, rituals and other institutionalized ways of doing things. These practices link to overall institutionalized values and roles and are the result of previous rounds of morphogenesis. They are part of institutional logics which actors implement into concrete policies or procedures (Mutch, 2017). As further suggested by Mutch we investigate practices as 'nouns rather than verbs' (Mutch, 2017: 1). This means that we describe the categories of practices related to the three institutional logics, and the routines and organizational actions these practices entail. Accordingly, we describe practices as being sort of concentrated units of institutionalized meaning that have previously been encoded by other actors in the field. In so doing, we see how the historically and institutionalized logics and means-ends configurations in the field level are given local 'spins' by the actors within the companies.

The data were coded in an iterative process with both descriptive and interpretive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Generic descriptive codes were added ("interaction with management", "historical account of the specialist function", "concrete task"), as well as interpretive codes ("identity of the specialist function", "strategic task" "reactive task"). The software program Nvivo was used to systematize and code all transcribed material. Finally, we employed a pattern-coding process to investigate our interviews (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Following this, we then related each of the three logics to the institutional orders we found in the domain of the real. In this analytical step, we moved from the pattern-inducing analysis to a pattern-matching analysis (Reay & Jones, 2016). We compared the main elements of our logics and how they "...pertain to the higher institutional orders, as described by Thornton et al..." (Daudigeos et al., 2013: 333). In this manner, we ended up with three historical logics of work environment management: the logic of advocacy based on the order of the state, the logic of compliance based on both the order of the state and the corporation, and, finally, the logic of commitment based on the order of the corporation.

By using the iterative analytic strategy described above, we were able to capture the developments, conflicts and practices that characterize the management of work environment in Danish organizations through the use of the institutional logics framework (Table 3).

4. Three logics of work environment management

First, we describe the relationship between 'real' institutional substances and 'actual manifestations' of field-level logics. In so doing, we empirically illustrate the relationship between institutional orders and logics characterized by near-decomposability, as Thornton et al. (2012) theoretically put forward.

A key notion in the logics approach is the idea that concrete ideas about practice and goals in organizations are related to, and inspired by, field-level logics on a more abstract level, which, in turn, are related to even more abstract institutional orders – institutionalized substances shared in our collective societal imagination and thus forming the overall value spheres that guide societal action. The three analytical levels can thus be conceptualized as descending in terms of abstraction, but increasing in terms of concreteness and specificity (See Fig. 1).

The development of work environment management in Denmark is a great example of this. Overall, the development mirrors a shift in regulatory practices and political winds that has been seen all across the industrialized world in the last half century – a shift from state-centered regulation and politics to regulations and politics increasingly dominated by corporate-infused values and practices (Pedersen 2010; Gunningham, 2011). The shift between two value spheres is concretized in the field of work environment management into three field-level logics.

Workers' protection and the work environment have been integral parts of the so-called 'Danish model' of industrial relations and labor

market regulations since the passing of the Work Environment Act of 1975 by the Danish Parliament. The law inscribed the regulation of work environment into a regulatory framework characterized by corporatism and a tripartite system of voluntary cooperative agreements between employers associations and trade unions, with the state acting as a mediating partner in negotiations of essential issues. The uniqueness of the Danish model and the longevity of the labor market structures have led scholars to refer to Denmark as a 'negotiated economy' (Pedersen et al., 2006), and an alternative ideal type to both the 'liberal' and the 'coordinated' models of market economies described by (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Even though work environment has been characterized by more, and tighter, legal regulation than, for example, labor market regulations on wages, which, in the Danish model, is completely independent of the state, the 'spirit' of participation and democracy has still been a pillar of the work environment management (Dyreborg, 2011). This has led to the establishment of an institutional field with employees, management, consultants, regulators, trade unions and employers' associations all playing their part in managing and regulating the work environment in Danish companies.

In the following sections, we explain the existence of three institutional logics in the field of work environment management. First, we describe the historical development of the field and the origins of the three logics of advocacy, compliance, and commitment. Following this, we describe the formation of the field-level logics, and how fundamental institutionalized 'substances' become actual institutional logics. Finally, we show how each logic is enacted at the organizational level in the accounts of our informants.

4.1. Historical developments of field-level logics of work environment management

4.1.1. The logic of advocacy

The logic of advocacy is characterized by a motivation to improve the work environment inside the organizations and to increase the awareness and activity of organizational actors. Historically speaking, this logic can be traced back to the late 1970s, when the Occupational Health Service (OHS) employed work environment professionals. The OHS was an independent institution born out of tripartite negotiations between employers, trade unions and the state, that provided work environment advice and help for Danish organizations.

Prior to the Work Environment Act of 1975, work environment management was primarily characterized by complying with detailed 'command and control' procedures that regulated what was allowed in the workplaces in terms of dangerous substances or machinery and what was not. This framework was heavily enforced by the regulating agency that ensured companies complied with the regulation by issuing fines (Dyreborg, 2011). However, with the passing of the 1975 Act, a new logic of advocacy entered the field. The Act ensured the establishment of the mandatory 'safety organizations', i.e. the local participatory structures of both management and employee representatives who should work in cooperation to ensure a productive and healthy work environment in the workplaces (Hedegaard Riis & Langaa Jensen, 2002). Furthermore, the law also laid the institutional groundwork for the OHS³, which was founded in 1980 via an agreement between the state, the trade unions and employers' associations. In the following decades the OHS developed into one of the main arenas of the discussion and development of tools and practices in the work environment management field (Limborg, 2001).

The OHS was designed by the lawmakers to be one of the "load-bearing columns" of the work environment management, and was intended to work in tandem with the local participatory safety organizations i.e. the other column (Jacobsen, 2011: 379f).

The model was carried out by professional work environment

³ Da. Bedriftssundhedstjenesten.

advisors who could counsel companies in matters of health and safety. The service employed health professionals at the very beginning of its existence, but soon after also other occupational groups (e.g. physio- and occupational therapists, engineers, chemists and social science majors) followed (Limborg & Vøxted, 2008). With the expansion of the multi-disciplinary OHS (Kabel, Hasle, & Limborg, 2007), a group of professional work environment actors outside the companies gradually emerged and became a nexus around which a field of work environment characterized by multidisciplinary, formal neutrality to both employers and employees.

The OHS was finally dissolved in 2008 by the center-right coalition government, after considerable pressure and critique from, in particular, the employers' associations. Instead, work environment specialists became increasingly employed in staff functions, and, as we will describe below, they brought the logic of advocacy beyond the company walls.

The logic of advocacy is guided by democratic participation of different groups in the work environment process, and finds its legitimacy not in the corporate hierarchy or strategy, but rather in increasing the common good for all individuals, as well as in following rules, implementing legislation and regulating business behavior. In this fashion, the logic is clearly guided by substances within the 'state' order, more specifically individual rights and democracy. The fact that these substances become part of the particular field-level logic of advocacy shows us that it has not emerged in just any state, but in a state with the tradition of tripartism and participation of labor market parties in the regulation. The abstract order of the state cannot, in itself, explain why this field-level logic is shaped the way it is. Only the specific context of the Danish labor market and its traditions for tripartism and cooperation on several levels can fully explain why professional staff specialists in large technical bureaucracies 'stand up to management' as part of their job motivation, or that it is an integral part of their tasks to lobby management and employees alike for more focus on the work environment, as our data show.

4.1.2. The logic of compliance

The logic of compliance is characterized by a motivation to manage work environment as efficiently and as streamlined as any other business area, and thereby comply with norms, rules and regulations. The logic can be traced back to three separate historical processes.

Throughout the first decades of existence, the tandem of the OHS and the safety organizations was increasingly criticized for being in a so-called 'side-car' position (Hedegaard Riis & Langaa Jensen, 2002), i.e. they were marginalized inside the companies without influence on the central strategic decisions and processes. The OHS was not an integral part of the companies, but was instead generally called upon when problems or risks were discovered, while the safety organizations did not hold the resources or the capacities to influence central processes in the management of companies. This led to an increasing interest and focus on ways of implementing preventive systems in organizations and working with the companies and safety organizations to maintain these among the OHS consultants (Limborg & Vøxted, 2008; Limborg, 2001).

Simultaneously, new types of regulation appeared that emphasized reflexivity and self-regulation in the work environment efforts of the organizations. The European Union (EU) passed the 'framework directive' (EU Framework Directive 89/391) that mandated all member states to implement risk assessment schemes in their national legislations (Walters & Jensen et al., 2000). This was formally implemented in the Danish legislation in 1992 and the systematic assessment of risks and development of action plans in relation to the work environment has been a mandatory process for all Danish companies ever since (Simmons & Stampe Øland, 1992).

Finally, larger manufacturing companies increasingly sought to integrate health and safety processes into the considerably more widespread monitoring systems and processes for external environmental

issues (Kamp & Le Blansch et al., 2000). Environmental sustainability became a main part of organizational CSR strategies, and the work environment was incorporated into these efforts (Dyrborg, 2011). This, in turn, led to the use of international standards such as OHSAS 18001 that easily could be integrated into joint management systems (JMS) in the companies (Pagell, Klassen, Johnston, Shevchenko, & Sharvani, 2015). This development was furthered by the political decision in 2005 to exempt all Danish companies who hold a work environment certification from risk-based labor inspections (Hohnen & Hasle, 2011; Rocha & Granerud, 2011). Thus, an increasing number of both public and private organizations in Denmark now hold a valid certificate (Hohnen & Hasle, 2011).

As described elsewhere (Uhrenholdt Madsen & Hasle, 2017), this makes the logic of compliance an amalgam of two historically different approaches to safety management. 1) The North American 'safety first' tradition that developed into a Tayloristic, operations-oriented and company-centered approach to managing safety and accidents in, in particular, manufacturing organizations, and with the use of systems to avoid risks (Swuste, van Gulijk, & Zwaard, 2010). 2) The continental approach of heavy state involvement and detailed command-control legislations (Abrahamsson & Johansson, 2013) that we briefly mentioned at the start of this section. In this way, we see this logic as a compliance logic 2.0, where the attention is shifted to compliance with procedural rules of self-governance, rather than with checklists of prohibited machines and materials.

The logic of compliance is thus guided by substances from within both the order of the state and the order of the corporation. The logic of compliance reflects the belief in evidence-based solutions, clear managerial systems and standard operating procedures. In this way, the logic has its roots in engineering science as the foundation for any organizational action, as the following quote from Shenhav's (1995) paper illustrates: 'Along this line, engineers argued that the manager "is to the enterprise what the skilled engineer is to the engine"' (Shenhav, 1995: 561). This belief in organizations as rational systems to be managed accordingly is one of the most influential ideas in management history, and thus also informs the logic of compliance (see Uhrenholdt & Hasle, 2017 or Swuste et al., 2010, for further historical analyses of the influence of a Tayloristic approach to work environment management in Europe). In this way, it invokes a key substance from the order of the corporation.

4.1.3. The logic of commitment

The logic of commitment is characterized by a motivation to increase employee performance and motivation through an improved individual work environment. Historically, the logic is the result of three parallel developments in the Danish labor market that took place during the 1990s: 1) An emerging consciousness of psychosocial work environment issues and risks (Limborg & Vøxted, 2008). 2) The insistence from employers and regulators that psycho-social issues should be treated as the prerogative of management rather than the joint safety committees. 3) The emergence of HR management as a distinct field of management in Danish companies (Holt Larsen, 2009).

Even though psychosocial risk factors were formally part of the early legislative formulations, these factors were largely ignored by both regulative and organizational actors during the 1970s and 1980s (Rasmussen, Hansen, & Nielsen, 2011). This is due to the complex and multi-causal character of psychosocial issues that makes them harder for the authorities to inspect and for organizations to detect (Jespersen, Hohnen, & Hasle, 2016). Furthermore, the scope of what legally constituted a psychosocial work environment risk was also greatly delimited because of resistance from, in particular, employers' associations, who made the case that issues around the psycho-social work environment were intimately related to the management of the companies, and therefore that detailed regulation on the issues would impinge upon employers' right to manage work inside the companies (Rasmussen et al., 2011).

However, gradually, the issues became unavoidable for all actors in the field of work environment. This was a result of pressure from within the work environment field, especially from actors working in and with the public sector (Limborg & Vøxted, 2008). However, it was also from trade unions, and companies that recognized the business value in being known by the public for a good psycho-social work environment (Limborg & Vøxted, 2008). With the publication of a highly cited whitepaper regarding ways of regulating the psycho-social work environment (Arbejdsministeriet, 1995), and successive amendments of the legal framework, psycho-social risks and issues took a central place in both regulation and company efforts (Rasmussen et al., 2011).

Concurrently, the OHS also became aware of the need to develop tools and methods to combat psychosocial strains. This meant that they increasingly employed psychologists and other professionals who could advise organizations concerning these risks and issues (Kabel et al., 2007; Limborg, 2001). These developments, together with the fact that many psycho-social issues were, in fact, issues of management, led to the entrance of a new player in the work environment field: the HR department in the organizations.

In a parallel development, in many companies the traditional 'personnel departments' were transformed into HR departments. With this transformation, a new conception of employees as strategic resources to be developed and protected gradually superseded the transactive view of employees as being merely a costly but productive factor (Holt Larsen, 2009). Furthermore, HR departments were more sensitive to companies' external reputations and legitimacy than their personnel predecessors, and therefore more attentive to issues of social sustainability and wellbeing (Ehnert, 2009; Holt Larsen, 2014). As a result, the agenda of wellbeing became increasingly important to HR strategies in Danish companies, and thus to the departments in charge of carrying them out.

Issues of wellbeing and psychosocial work environment issues have always been closely connected (Rasmussen et al., 2011), and therefore HR departments increasingly played a role in the work environment issues in the companies from the 'wellbeing position' (Møller Christiansen & Limborg, 2005).

The logic of commitment is rooted in modern forms of employee management (as, e.g., described in Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007), i.e. focused on creating commitment and engagement towards the workplace from individual employees, and thereby enhancing organizational performance. Consequently, work environment issues from this logic are whatever is creating barriers for engagement and commitment and, by extension, for increasing performance of the employees. The logic of commitment is guided by the order of the corporation. This is, however, not by the belief in scientific evidence and bureaucracy, but rather by the belief in 'leadership' and managerial 'inspiration', which are clearly also part of the corporate order. One can see 'charismatic' authority in its Weberian sense as the substance in the center of the logic (Swedberg, 2005). The practices that surround these substances are thus not primarily found in the Taylorists' rational planning toolboxes, but instead from practices within organizational psychology and human resource management such as motivation, individual competence-building and group development strategies. These ideational roots of this approach to work environment management are explored further elsewhere (see Uhrenholdt Madsen & Hasle, 2017).

4.2. Enactment of the institutional logics at the organizational level

In the following section, we describe how each of the institutional logics is enacted at the organizational level by work environment staff specialists.

4.2.1. The logic of advocacy

The logic of advocacy is characterized by the motivation to improve the work environment inside the organizations by increasing the organizational awareness and activity.

"Well, they see me as pretty impartial. They know that I work for the management, but they come to me with special issues they want help with and so on" (Local site consultant 1, C1).

The above quote highlights how the logic of advocacy is enacted in the case companies, and especially how this logic is rooted in the ethics of impartiality. In the same vein, another consultant explains the motivation for the informants' own daily work:

My calling in this is that I find it valuable every single day to help those employees who are working hard out there on the sites, (...) it is hard, it is raw and all that, so one needs to be able to stand up to management, to see it from all angles. (Consultant 2, C1).

Two important values of the logic of advocacy can be identified in the quote above, namely that the cause of work environment is the primary reason for the job, or 'calling' as the informant terms it, and that the role of the work environment professionals is found relatively outside the normal organizational hierarchy, i.e. that it is the job of a staff professional to 'stand up to management'.

This 'pure' motivation is seen throughout the accounts. Another example comes from a specialist from a production site:

"No I try to see it this way. I don't want the employees to get hurt, and neither do they [the employees] and that is what I work for. And then sometimes I am after the employees, because they don't use the proper safety equipment, and sometimes I am after the management, because they haven't provided something. This way I help employees to get some things for example, and I help management by solving problems, so I am kind of on both sides. (Local safety consultant C2)

The quote underlines the fact that the adherents of the logic of advocacy to a lesser degree see themselves as traditional staff professionals who have their natural place in the company hierarchy, and more as agents or internal activists for the cause of work environment.

In line with this, we have found numerous examples of actor accounts proposing that they fill out roles in-between management and employees. One example is the account below:

"One of the demands to our certificate is that we, as a minimum, comply with legislation, and that means that I often take on a 'B' role [B means the employees, while A stands for the employers] because I will make demands and say: 'hey' we have an area here and so on, and if we don't regulate it in compliance with the legislation, then our certificate is in danger. Therefore, there is sometimes accordance between what the employees want and what I want" (Local site consultant 2, C1)

This logic is enacted in two specific practices around the organizations, which are intended to ensure that the work environment is looked after in the company both among management as well as employees.

Coalition building relates to the efforts to create a coalition of organizational actors around the work environment cause:

"It is worth a lot to be a part of a house where, if you have a good idea, you can call lots of different friends out there and invite them to join the project." (Consultant 1, H1).

This practice can be observed in many accounts across the different research settings, all of which emphasize how they try to involve actors from across the organization, as well as across the hierarchical divides between employees and management functions.

Another practice is lobbying. This is noticeable in different accounts showing signs of local struggles to incorporate the work environment into the decisions of various organizational processes such as machine repair, the construction of new production lines, or quality optimization processes.

The practice of lobbying is reported by a safety professional persuading the local management to adopt a new safety practice:

"So then I persuaded the local director that we should do this [safety project], and initially the site director was a little, you know, skeptical, and, you know, 'what good does that do?' and like that. But my experience from previous courses was that they were much more receptive if I got some numbers and drew some graphs, and they are engineers the whole lot of them, so if I could draw a graph they understood everything perfectly." (Local safety consultant 1, C2).

Overall, the logic of advocacy prescribes the more autonomous role of activists or advocates of the work environment, who enact the practices of lobbying and coalition building to more than the role of classic staff managers firmly rooted in the companies' hierarchical structures. Thereby the logic is an example how abstract 'real' substances such as democracy are enacted within organizations and thus how the substance is experienced empirically by employees and internal specialists.

4.2.2. Logic of compliance

Where the logic of advocacy presents the work environment as a political issue in the companies, and therefore the organizational actors' cooperation and participation in the process as the motivation of the professional specialists, the logic of compliance prescribes the practices of data management and systematic risk management to achieve these ends.

In the quote below, the informant describes the reasons for the adoption of a work environment management system based on an international standard:

"Well, it makes sure that we comply with legislation, and ensures that we don't just react to accidents, but that we have this structured and systematic approach that makes sure we are ahead of the curve (...) so very much to work structured and make sure that it is not this ad hoc approach we have" (Staff function manager, C2).

A safe and risk-free work environment can be achieved by the right system and bureaucratic structure, and furthermore by ensuring that compliance with the standards and commands of the law is the yardstick against which the safety performance is measured.

If we look closer, we can see how the logic of compliance is enacted into two particular practices. First of all, this is by extensively monitoring data to discern possible risks and thus prevent accidents and injuries. One example relates to the fairly extensive use of statistics and data in the work environment management:

"Well, I update these statistics and send them out to the local directors all the time, and then consultant one gets a copy and consultant one is visiting all sites continuously, and then we can try to have a friendly talk about the problems." (Data consultant, C1).

We also identify 'data reliance' in many accounts as a part of the professional work. In the following quote a work environment specialist explains how the local clinics and wards are informed in order to comply with law regulation and the management system:

"...we direct their [the local clinics] attention towards it, by making annual reports for their work environment meeting. In these reports we write about person lifting, accidents, sickness absence, health promotion, health control, and try to include all the things we can get data on" (Consultant 4, H1)

This account also points to the other practice in the logic of compliance, namely preventive systematic efforts that guide both employees and management to safe and risk-free practices at work.

All case companies either had obtained the OHSAS 18001 certificate on the work environment system or were in the process of obtaining it. As described in the following quotes, the reasoning for having a standardized work environment system is closely related to the overall assumptions and beliefs of the logic of compliance. The reasons and implicit assumptions for certifying the work environment processes are outlined by the environmental manager:

"And this is what we, as management, are interested in. Whether we 'walk the walk', has this thing been improved, do employees know what they have to do, and so on. And that is really the value of any management system, not the paper, but that we do it in practice." (Manager, management systems function C1).

Again, as described above, this evidences the idea that the systematic effort is intended to offer guidelines for employee and management behavior and thereby improve the work environment through internal behavioral regulations.

In one organization the work environment manager seeks to

incorporate the standard into the quality standard that Danish Hospitals must follow:

"It is about resources, because people use a lot of resources on the quality standard and certification. But it has a great pedagogical impact, when they see the two models [quality standard and work environment standard] and how the colors [lay-out and design] and so on are the same" (Staff function manager, H1)

The systematic prevention efforts can also be seen in the resolution of single issues. In one company, they use preventive systems in the prevention efforts towards repetitive strain injuries (RSI) by implementing an ergonomic rotation design into their production facilities, and in their procurement of new machines:

"We have had this system made for mapping out repetitive work (...) we have a number of things we can measure, things like reaching distance, room for movement, and so on, and then we rate our workstations after these things, and how good workstations are in terms of repetitive work, and then we map it out systematically on all our sites..." (Consultant, C2).

Overall, the logic of compliance is principally concerned with compliance to external demands and systems. Where the logic of advocacy primarily sees the work environment as an ethical issue concerning the rights of employees, the logic of compliance perceives it as an issue of organizational compliance with the law. Therefore, the logic of compliance prescribes practices rooted in the substances of bureaucracy and organizational hierarchy as the way to ensure the aforementioned compliance. Consequently, the practices are data management and the use of systematic risk management systems.

4.2.3. Logic of commitment

While the logics of advocacy and compliance have both emerged from inside the field of the work environment itself, the logic of commitment has its roots in the field of HR management, i.e. its end is to create commitment and engagement towards the workplace from individual employees, and thereby enhance organizational performance.

As expected, the logic of commitment was especially outspoken in the organizations where HR consultants played a role in the management of the work environment.

Many accounts from the commitment logic divide work environment issues into two different categories: one of traditional work environment issues such as toxic chemicals, physical problems or problems with the buildings or machinery, and another category of issues of wellbeing and organizational culture. Whereas the former can be solved instrumentally, the latter category is hyper-complex and requires different strategic tools and efforts to be employed. An example is the description below from an HR manager:

"Yes, we have the overall responsibility for it [the physical work environment] (...) It just has to be okay, there is a system for how we deal with these issues, and much of the issues are solved in this way (...) The psychosocial work environment is extremely complex because there are so many factors at play (...) Then I sit there as a manager and say, 'Hmmm it is hyper-complex and there is no quick fix.'" (HR Manager, H2).

As the name, and the quote above, suggest, the logic of commitment is not merely about complying with external demands or improving the work environment for its own sake, as is the case with the two previously mentioned logics. On the contrary, it also relates to committing and engaging the employees through a better work environment:

"If you can lower sickness absence, there are more healthy people at work, and then you can produce more for the same amount of money" (Manager Staff Function, H2).

One company has a strategy they call sustainable performance that, according to one HR consultant, has caused considerable excitement among the HR consultants. This is the case because it means, as she claims, that they have to figure out how to fuse the performance culture in the company with the culture of wellbeing in order to make the performance sustainable in the long term:

"...because how can we have this performance culture, and at the same time make sure that it is sustainable and that one does not get sick because of

it.” (HR Consultant 1, C2).

In regard to ensuring this sustainable performance, the logic of commitment prescribes two related practices: one about developing and supporting management capabilities in relation to well-being efforts, and another concerning creating resilient employee cultures to withstand the pressures and risks, often in combined efforts.

In one company, this is apparent in both the policies and strategies they have in place to combat stress. The company has implemented an online toolbox to deal with stress among employees. Consequently, managers and colleagues experienced that employees can seek the most effective tips and tricks if suffering from stress. Furthermore, the HR department offers courses for line managers on how to spot an employee who suffers from stress, and, finally, they support and coach the line managers to hold continuous dialogs with employees with stress. An HR consultant sums up the assumptions behind the organization’s manager-driven approach to stress in the following quote:

“...you have to look at whether the individual is thriving or not (...) sometimes people are stressed out by having too much to do, other times by having too little. It is not always easy to know what is going on. It can be caused by many different reasons.” (HR Consultant 1, C2).

The problems are individual; therefore, the solutions must also be individual. Since the root causes of work environment problems such as stress and burn-out are primarily issues between the employee and the manager, risk management systems are redundant. Instead, a considerable amount of effort is directed at creating cultures and environments that facilitate both performance and wellbeing. In one company, an organization-wide strategy based on the management concept of ‘social capital’ was implemented.

An example of this is the implementation of an organization-wide strategy based on the management concept of ‘social capital’:

Informant: Well, when I started I had one and a half years where I travelled around with my... you know...

Interviewer: Travelling circus?

Yeah (laughing) Travelling circus. I was almost Mr/Mrs Social Capital and visited a whole lot of local clinics” (Consultant 1, H2).

Another colleague also describes this so-called ‘social capital’ strategy:

“Well, we work a lot with brown paper, these big pieces of paper, and then you know, it leads to great discussions. Now we are talking about four-hour sessions, so one cannot necessarily build up trust in that short time, but one can feel that some seeds are planted for good cooperation.” (Consultant 3, H2).

The practices in the logic of commitment are generally focused on enhancing individual and social competencies of both management and employees, as well as creating and nourishing an organizational culture of support and well-being. This entails competencies for the former about leadership that creates cooperation, social capital and job satisfaction, and competencies for the latter that increase individual resilience to the psychological pressures and physical strains of modern working life.

5. Concluding discussion

In the following section, we discuss how our findings contribute to the theoretical development of the perspective of institutional logics, generate practical implications for the empirical field, and finally how they point towards new avenues for research.

The story we have presented here is not the simple story that the professionalization of organizational work environment management has eroded participation and workplace democracy and led to a narrower focus on performance and rationalized systems thinking. Neither, for that matter, is it the story that workplace health and safety promotion is only a question of ‘silent’ control and discipline from managers towards employees. Instead, the story we present in this paper is that the institutionalization of the work environment management in workplaces is filled with contradictions and complexities, and that work

environment management in organizations is not one single element, but rather a series of contestations and more or less stable combinations of rationales. It is the story that the values of efficiency, workplace democracy, commitment and compliance all matter in the management of today’s work environment and therefore present organizational actors with the challenging task of interpreting and enacting multiple logics into their everyday organizational practices. The field of work environment management is not characterized by one dominant logic, which defines the practices and values of the actors, but rather by three logics which co-exist in the field and offer competing and sometimes contradictory prescriptions of practice to actors in organizations. These are: 1) the logic of advocacy, with an emphasis on the employee rights and making the work environment as an organizational priority, 2) the logic of compliance, with a systematic and participatory-oriented approach, and finally 3) the logic of commitment, focusing on HR tools and engagement. Each are carried into the organizations through their related mediating practices by staff specialists: the logic of advocacy through lobbying and coalition building practices, the logic of compliance through data registration and systematic approaches to risk assessment, and the logic of commitment through the practices of building organizational culture, individual coping skills and the resilience of employees and management.

As described, the institutional logics perspective emphasizes that societal change and action can – and should – be explained at multiple levels simultaneously. However, the research has, in general, divided itself into macro- and micro-oriented studies. While both lines of research have obviously produced interesting and thought-provoking work in their own right, this division in analytical levels has resulted in some confusion regarding what constitutes logics and orders, and how the relationship between these concepts and the actors enacting them is to be conceptualized. This is evident in the fact that the concept of near-decomposability between the different levels, while theorized by Thornton et al. (2012) in their reformulation, has not been furthered by any subsequent studies. Moreover, even more critically, by separating analytical levels, the studies of, for example, organizations and organizational practices lack the explanatory power provided by the level of societal orders. Therefore, our study expands the perspective of institutional logics by using the concept of near-decomposability analytically in our empirical setting, providing an illuminating example on the nested relationship between the different levels of analysis.

The immediate practices by concrete actors take place in the empirical domain. Here, the actors enact and reinterpret values and practices that exist in the wider institutional field of work environment. This field encompasses all actors who, in some way, participate and have participated in work environment management in Denmark, inside and outside the actual organizations throughout its history. These are all processes and interactions that we, in theory, have opportunities to investigate empirically. Here, the specific historical processes described in our analyses have led to the emergence of three institutional logics that are enacted by actors inside the organizations. Nonetheless, as we have shown, these are not just any logics, but rather instantiations of the institutional orders of the state and the corporation. These orders are situated at the deepest ontological domain – the domain of the real. In this regard, the institutional orders exist as spheres of institutionally related substances in our collective imaginations. Our point here is that these are overly abstract and too pure to appear in real-life fields or contexts. Furthermore, positioned at the domain of the real, the orders promote societal stability and inertia.

Critical realism is thereby our ‘social ontology’ (Archer, 1998). This means that it is, as we describe in our theoretical section, a meta-theory that explains foundational ties and mechanisms between social entities in the world. However, in itself, critical realism does not explain the content and particularities of said mechanisms and ties. These are explained by the ‘practical social theories’ (PSF) (Archer, 1998). Institutional theory is a particularly well-suited example of a PSF when it comes to explaining the formation and institutionalization of ideas into

organizational practices.

The three field-level logics are thus the result of a shift from the order of the state to the order of the corporation in the Danish work environment field. In this way, the abstract institutional substances are transformed on two levels before actually becoming incarnated in organizational practice, i.e. the transformation of the institutional orders into emergent field-level logics, and the second, and more tangible, transformation, the enactment into concrete practices on the organizational level. In this way the overall dynamic between the order of the state and the corporation is mediated to the field of work environment through shifts in governance mode and concrete regulation in Denmark. On the field level this shift results in increased complexity in the field and in the existence of three divergent field-level logics of work environment management. These field-level logics again are transmitted to organizational actors through practice templates (i.e. ‘OHSAS18001-standard’ or ‘Management with social capital’), presentations from ‘experts’ at field configuring events such as the annual ‘work environment conference’, or prescriptions from authorities and visiting consultants. Thereby the field-level logics are enacted in concrete organizational settings as concrete practices in organizations.

We believe that an important future extension of the research we present here is to explore how the field-level logics are affected and shaped by the interactions and agency of actors (Abdelnour, Hasselbladh, & Kallinikos, 2017). Specifically, that agents, through their interpretations and interactions, not only shape how logics are enacted at an organizational level, but also how these enactments become part of the structuring of the logics in the field, a process Archer terms ‘structural elaboration’ (Archer, 1995). We believe that additional research is needed in order to explain the processes of how local practices and interpretations are diffused in the field and modify field-level logics in interaction with institutional orders. As suggested but not further explored in this paper, Archer’s ‘morphogenetic approach’ could be a fruitful road to explore for future studies of this phenomenon.

This extension of our research, and especially our focus on internal professionals’ accounts, are also in line with the recent developments of ‘communicative institutionalism’. This stream of research analyses the ways in which institutional logics are communicated in specific settings (Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers, & Vaara, 2015; Lammers, 2011). In our case, the internal work environment specialists, the so-called ‘clinical professionals’ (Scott, 2008), become central actors in the institutional processes as they act as boundary spanners between the wider field of work environment management and the concrete realities of Danish organizations. As such it is an important group of actors – both in terms of understanding institutional processes within institutional fields as well as understanding their roles in new governance models (i.e. Gilad, 2010) that increasingly relies on internal reflexive capacities and thus ‘sociological citizens’ within organizations (Silbey, 2011).

Through this paper, we have shown how the concept of near-decomposability in the inter-institutional system is key if we are to understand how institutional logics mediate values from the abstract level of institutional orders to concrete organizations and actors. Our argument is that the logics perspective should always include multiple layers and levels of analysis in order to be utilized to its full potential. This also means that research should recognize the nearly-decomposed character of institutional dynamics on the levels of society, field and organization. Without these insights, the research utilizing the perspective can appear somewhat atomistic, only describing the development of institutional values on one of the abovementioned levels, without the links to the other two. We are therefore hopeful that our contributions will lead to increased attention being paid to the multi-level character of institutional processes with regard to logics, and we believe that in order to understand the relationship between the levels, our framework of near-decomposability and critical realist concepts can be a tool.

Finally, our study has practical implications. For many years,

research relating to work environment management has pointed to the fact that knowledge on exposure and risks and on measures of improvement for said risks has steadily increased (Hasle et al., 2014; Zanko & Dawson, 2012). However, there is still a lack of knowledge that illuminates how organizations receive and implement policies and new practices. We believe that our study presents valuable knowledge, as this can help explain the different lenses through which organizational staff specialists explore new policies or strategies, and thus help explain the divergence in implementation and choices in regard to responding to new regulations and other field-level pressures (Hasle et al., 2014). In the literature on work environment and health and safety management, it is often described how the tangible health and safety effects of regulation, interventions and policies in organizations are rare, and that diffusion and spreading of these practices from one context to another will frequently result in weak or no effects at all (Cox, Taris, & Nielsen, 2010; Hasle et al., 2014). By analyzing the logics behind practices, frameworks and lenses through which specialists understand the work environment, we can better understand the causes of failures in implementation, the troubles of governance, and the poverty of results.

This final point also underlines the fact that, even though, on the surface, work environment management has a lucid and clear meaning to most organizational actors, the concept has numerous different values, meanings, means, and ends related to it, sometimes contradicting each other on fundamental questions. For example, when the psychosocial work environment is seen through a lens of compliance logic, there is a tendency to primarily concentrate efforts on events and issues with cause-effect relationships similar to physical risks and accidents (Helbo et al. 2016a; Helbo et al. 2016b; Hohnen et al. 2013). In other words, the psychosocial work environment becomes a question of what has a clear cause-effect, such as psychosocial reactions to violence or other ‘events’ and can thus be assessed, prevented and solved. ‘Wild’ problems such as long-term stress, workplace cultures of distrust and bullying, or lack of social support, simply cannot be assessed as easily. Studies show that practices of compliance logic such as certified management systems may have difficulties in addressing problems such as these. Alternatively, the logic of advocacy can result in a continuation of work environment management as its own column in the organization, which is not properly integrated into the systems and decisions of the central layers. Consequently, problems that have to be solved through changes in the fundamental organizational structures and relationships cannot be dealt with in an appropriate manner.

Our findings represent a challenge to regulators and the social parties responsible for the work environment efforts in Denmark. The challenge is to include the knowledge of different perspectives and lenses in new policies and regulations, to make sure that the novel policy is commensurable with logics in the field, or at least open to the possibility that actors interpret new policies through different lenses than intended from the lawmaker side. A similar argument has been put forward by other scholars of work environment management, who have called for increasing reflexivity and ‘orchestration’ of different types of policies and interventions in the work environment arena (Hasle, Limborg, Grøn, & Refslund, 2017).

Organizations are forced to operate in complex institutional environments. They have to simultaneously satisfy various shareholders, legislators, customers and societal stakeholders. As a consequence of this, institutional scholars have increasingly conceptualized institutional environments as consisting of multiple different fields with often contradictory institutional demands that organizations must navigate to succeed (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Kraatz & Block et al., 2008; Pache & Santos, 2010). This complexity can be seen as a struggle between different groups inside companies. In recent years, many studies have highlighted the role of organizational subgroups in the translation of institutional projects from external fields into their organizations. This is, for instance, seen in studies on HR consultants (Lindström, 2016) or healthcare administrators (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016). However, as

we have shown in this paper, these fields themselves (i.e. the work environment field) are not in agreement and unison, but are often characterized by multiple actors and competing institutional logics with a multiplicity of meanings, practices and organizing principles.

Therefore, it is also clear that further research is required that builds upon the insights we have presented in this paper. First, we need greater knowledge on how the three institutional logics co-exist inside the companies. Research has previously shown that institutional logics can co-exist in either competitive (conflictual) or cooperative constellations (Goodrick & Reay, 2011). Therefore, does the presence of different institutional logics result in increased internal strife and conflict between actors enacting various logics, or are different logics enacted in cooperative relationships? In relation to this, we also propose future research that investigates the internal structuring of the work environment and the staff specialists responsible. Do organizations with an increased functional specialization of work environment tasks in different staff functions experience an increased institutional complexity of logics in relation to organizations where one staff function deals with all work environment-related issues?

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