

Maintaining the Institutional Core:
A Case Study of Institutional Disruption and Repair at the New York Philharmonic Orchestra
(1842-2012)

by
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ABSTRACT

Drawing from an institutional work perspective, I focus on how institutions are maintained amidst disruption, by analyzing what aspects are held constant, and what aspects are allowed to change over time. I offer the *institutional core* as the main focus of maintenance work set alongside peripheral aspects that may be changed over time. Using a historical case study and archival analysis of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, I find a continuum of change from relative constancy to significant change in three endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, respectively. Three selected cases further our understanding of the nature of maintenance, including what is held constant and what is allowed to change, as well as how key endogenous and exogenous actors employ several key repairing and recreating mechanisms during and following periods of disruption.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Alison C. Minkus. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name: Maintaining the Institutional Core: A Case Study of Institutional Disruption and Repair at the New York Philharmonic Orchestra (1842-2012), No. Pro00042006, September 5, 2013; renewed, August 27, 2014.

Just because everything is different doesn't mean anything has changed.

- Irene Peter, American author -

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Within the institutional work perspective, a key question that dominates current dialogue concerns the nature of maintenance, or *how are institutions maintained over time?* I address this question by focusing on two aspects of institutional life. First, during times of disruption, *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change?* Second, *how do actors, both endogenous and exogenous to an institution, engage in repairing and recreating practices?*

To address what aspects of institutions are maintained, or allowed to change over time, I offer the *institutional core* as the main focus of maintenance work. In particular, I draw from Friedland's (2009) notion of *institutional substance*, or *essence*, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) institutional and organizational *character*, and related concepts of *authenticity and integrity*, and *identity* (Glynn, 2000; 2008). In particular, Friedland (2009) positions *institutional substance*, or *essence*, as the main focus of maintenance activities, though capable of sustaining some degree of institutional change over time: "belief in the objectivity of the substance affords space in which practices can change; new practices can be added and subtracted, and yet still legitimately claim to index the same substance" (Friedland, 2009, pp. 63-64). Therefore, Friedland's (2009) institutional substance is most closely related to my conceptualization of the institutional core, offering a provocative approach to maintenance amidst change.

The institutional core is also closely related to *character*, of which Selznick (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) employs individual, organizational, and institutional contexts to conceptualize how it can be shaped by history, but also how it is an integral part of an institution's arsenal to cope with change over time. To this, I also incorporate *authenticity* and *integrity*, which have made a relatively small impression on extant business literature, and have not been directly employed in the institutional work literature, but are positioned to significantly contribute to our understanding of institutional maintenance. Finally, I also integrate Glynn's (2000; 2008) conceptualization of *institutional* and *organizational identity*, which are closely related to aspects of character, authenticity, and integrity, as well as organizational reputation and image. Overall, each of these constructs reveal related and overlapping aspects that contribute to my

conceptualization of the institutional core and its involvement in maintaining institutions over time.

To investigate how institutions are maintained over time, an “implicit historical theme” (Suddaby, Foster, & Mills, 2014, p. 100) must be addressed. Therefore, I adopt a mixed method approach, employing historical case study and archival analysis to address how institutions are maintained, i.e., by focusing on what is maintained, and what is allowed to change over time. I adopt an integrated approach, i.e., maintenance is observed during times of disruption, which allows a concurrent investigation of how key endogenous and exogenous actors engage in repairing and recreating practices. I employ the empirical context of the symphony orchestra, as a long-standing, and highly institutionalized form, which is aptly positioned to offer the breadth (and depth) necessary for investigating institutional maintenance. In particular, I focus on the specific context of the New York Philharmonic, the oldest extant orchestra in America, dating from 1842.

Several sources allow triangulation of longitudinal data, including the institutionalized archives of the New York Philharmonic, known for its completeness and diversity of contents (Archives Collections, n.d.), several commissioned (Krehbiel, 1892; Huneker, 1917; Erskine, 1943) and non-commissioned biographies (Shanet, 1975; Canarina, 2010), which trace the New York Philharmonic’s activities from its inception, critical reviews of the New York Times, which follow the Philharmonic’s activities since 1851, and my personal experience as professional musician (trained as a concert pianist), and arts manager. Overall, while employing a single case does not afford comparative power, and archival records often have problematic “holes”, the depth and completeness afforded by multiple sources, as well as the considerable longevity of the New York Philharmonic, position this context as a rich case for study.

In general, I first contribute to the growing literature on institutional maintenance, one of the more under-developed branches of the institutional work literature, and I also take up the call for a more historical view within the institutional literature (Suddaby et al., 2014). Second, I offer the institutional core as the main focus of maintenance activities, amidst change in peripheral aspects of institutional life. My conceptualization draws together several perspectives, including Friedland’s (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick’s (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008)

institutional and organizational character, as well as related concepts of authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008). Finally, following Hinings and Tolbert's (2008) call to "set organizational institutionalism in [a] wider historical and social context" (p. 480), I focus on a unique and under-developed empirical context within the business literature, the symphony orchestra. This institutional setting's "artistic age" offers substantial breadth and depth to investigate how institutions are maintained amidst disruption.

In more specific terms, by adopting the notion of an institutional core, I extend our understanding of institutions and institutional work. The institutional core addresses "where" agency is possible, rather than "if" it is possible, therefore furthering our understanding of how institutions and agency co-exist (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011). As a pervasive substance, or essence, rather than a boundary-driven, core/periphery conceptualization, the institutional core informs our understanding of institutional work by integrating not only Friedland's (2009) theorization of institutional substance, or essence, but also Selznick's (1957) notion of *unity*, a characteristic that "colors and directs a wide variety of attitudes, decision, and forms of organization" (p. 139). These two perspectives have had a limited impact in institutional theory and the institutional work perspective to date, and, therefore, constitute a notable gap, and missed opportunity, within the literature. Further, my conceptualization of the institutional core extends our knowledge of several key relationships between institutions and character, authenticity and integrity, and identity. Overall, I position institutions as *uniquely endowed* with the ability to balance stability and instability, rather than entities that are *inherently stable* over time. Further, I position the institutional core as energizing and directing action or work. Finally, I also emphasize that the institutional core does require maintenance work and defence amidst disruption.

In addition to contributions to our understanding of institutions and institutional work, I also extend our understanding of maintenance during times of disruption. By adopting such an integrated view, I position maintenance as *inextricably related* to disruption, rather than a simple "consequence of change" (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). This follows and extends Selznick's (1949/1953) own conceptualization of "inherent dilemmas" (p. 69) within organizational and institutional environments. Further, I also build upon and extend earlier work of Selznick

(1949/1953) who positions such “dilemmas” in a much more positive light: “tension does not mean defeat, nor does dilemma enforce paralysis” (p. 69). This stance is supported by Glynn (2002) who also finds that “conflict can function not only to create cultural institutions but also to sustain them” (p. 84). Though not always explicitly articulated in the literature, I also emphasize that disruption, like maintenance, requires considerable *work*. Finally, I also analyze an *inanimate actor*, i.e., the repertoire, which not only extends previous empirical work focusing on a greater range of actors (Carroll, 2002; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004), but also confirms the significance and power of such actors in times of disruption.

By adopting the empirical context of the symphony orchestra, and specifically, the organizational example of the New York Philharmonic, I address several questions concerning what is maintained and what is allowed to change over time, and how key actors engage in repairing and recreating practices. Overall, four propositions concerning maintenance amidst disruption are supported. First, disruptions that target the institutional core initiate institutional maintenance work to repair the disruption, while disruptions that target peripheral or non-core elements of an institution do not initiate institutional maintenance work and allow change over time. Second, maintenance work includes supporting mechanisms (that further the institutional core), repairing mechanisms (that repair disruptions), and recreating mechanisms (that allow for change at the periphery). However, my analysis also shows that initial repairing mechanisms can be *translated* into recreating mechanisms if the disruption targets a peripheral rather than core aspect of the symphony orchestra. Third, new avenues of understanding concerning the nature of maintenance are gleaned from observing maintenance during and following times of disruption, i.e., institutional work benefits from an integrated, dynamic approach. However, my analysis also supports the investigation of periods *prior to* disruptive events, employing the power of history and hindsight. Fourth, and finally, institutional repair occurs both endogenously and exogenously. In both instances, my analysis shows that institutional repair is facilitated by actors’ “awareness, skill and reflexivity” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 219). That said, my analysis of the New York Philharmonic also showed that while these attributes are significant factors, they are not always sufficient.

In addressing what is maintained and what is allowed to change over time, I focus on three key endogenous actors within the symphony orchestra, who display a continuum of change over time. Specifically, the repertoire is a *relative constant*, and therefore is positioned proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, soloists show a balance of consistency and change, and conductors are highly changeable over time. Overall, soloists and conductors provide a significant source of change that balances the relative constancy of the repertoire.

Further, I also analyze repairing and recreating mechanisms in three case studies that focus on a single disruption in each of the actor categories, i.e. the repertoire, soloists, and conductors. Specifically, I find that these actors *reflect* their institutional core but *refract* those aspects that are peripheral. Five repairing mechanisms are observed in all three cases, i.e., 1) *maintaining ecological relationships within the institution of the symphony orchestra*; 2) *claims to history and tradition*; 3) *corrective power of both endogenous and exogenous actors of the ecology of the orchestra*; 4) *creativity-based efforts*; and finally, 5) *emotionally-charged appeals*. These mechanisms are also used as recreating mechanisms if disruptions target peripheral aspects of the symphony orchestra. To these, I observe two further mechanisms, i.e., *appeals to professionalism* and *an emphasis on communication*, which are used as a repairing and recreating mechanism respectively. In some cases, these repairing and recreating mechanisms are the main focus, and in others, they are observed alongside attributions to the institutional core, including aspects of a *Friedlandian substance, character, authenticity and integrity*, and *identity*.

Extending the work of Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), my analysis of the three cases of disruption at the New York Philharmonic shows that actors are not only aware of maintenance efforts, i.e., rules, but also particularly aware of purposes and outcomes, i.e., norms and beliefs. Further, my analysis also addresses a long-held call to “brin[g] the individual back into institutional theory” (Lawrence et al., 2011, p. 52), as many individual actors are deeply involved in enacting key repairing and recreating mechanisms in the various cases of disruption. Beyond these key findings, my analysis offers several insights concerning the nature of maintenance amidst disruption. Finally, taking into account the symphony orchestra’s highly institutionalized nature, my analysis shows that this institution has a “built-in” propensity for disruption, via

soloists, conductors, and even the repertoire; however, the repertoire, which is positioned proximate to the institutional core, governs the overall interplay of consistency and change.

In addition to these questions and findings, I also address one final question: *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?* In general, the repertoire is protected and held as a relative constant in the case of the New York Philharmonic, against a backdrop of variation and change created by soloists and conductors who respond to varying historical contexts. Therefore, is the repertoire the institutional core? The repertoire, while susceptible to disruption, *is powerful* enough to withstand the effects of highly disruptive environments. That said, an institutional work perspective is founded upon action or work, as well as on a recursive relationship between institutions and individuals. Therefore, I express the institutional core of the symphony orchestra in terms of action within key, *inextricable relationships*, such as those between composer and the repertoire, conductor and orchestra, orchestra and audience, amongst others. Overall, I position the institutional core of the symphony orchestra thus: *communicating orchestral repertoire to an audience*.

The following chapters outline my theoretical framing, research context and methodology, the nature of the symphony orchestra and its key endogenous and exogenous actors, three empirical chapters, and a final chapter dedicated to discussion and conclusions. In Chapter 2, I outline my theoretical framing, including an overview of the institutional work literature. Here, I focus on an integrated approach to maintenance amidst disruption via four main propositions. I also introduce the *institutional core*, drawing from Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) institutional and organizational character, and related concepts of institutional authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008). In Chapter 3, I introduce my empirical context, i.e., the institution of the symphony orchestra, using the specific example of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. To examine its maintenance over time, I employ a qualitative design, including historical case study and archival analysis. Via archival analysis, I also employ quantitative means to analyze key elements of the repertoire, soloists, and conductors in terms of aspects that have been maintained or changed over time.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the nature of the symphony orchestra, in terms of its institutionalization over time, as well as key endogenous and exogenous actors. In particular, I present three endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, in terms of how much change they have experienced over time, from very little, to a balance of consistency and change, to considerable amounts of change, respectively. I also include a description of key traits of three exogenous actors that are significant to the institution of the symphony orchestra. This overview is followed by Chapters 5, 6, and 7, where I present three empirical cases, based on the three key endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, along with main findings concerning the nature of consistency and change for each actor, as well as a narrative of a selected disruption. I conclude with Chapter 8, which presents a final discussion and key conclusions.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framing

In recent years, the institutional work perspective has become a lively avenue for inquiry, based on the foundational work of Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) and Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (2009) who draw together compatible strands of work to formulate a theoretical foundation and research agenda for an alternate view of institutions and the individuals that inhabit them. I join this conversation, contributing to the area of institutional maintenance, and employing the empirical context of the symphony orchestra. Specifically, I focus on the following question: *how are institutions maintained over time?* I address this question by focusing on two aspects of maintenance. First, during times of disruption, *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change?* Second, *how do actors, both endogenous and exogenous to an institution engage in repairing and recreating practices?* To answer these questions, I offer the *institutional core*, which incorporates Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick's organizational and institutional character (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008), and related concepts of authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008). In so doing, I address a related question: *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?* Also, by employing a historical case study of the New York Philharmonic, I directly address neo-institutionalism's oft noted ahistorical nature (Suddaby et al., 2014) via a much under-represented empirical context, i.e., the "arts".

Foundations: The institutional work perspective

Since the early 1970s, neo-institutionalism has developed into one of the dominant approaches in understanding organizations. A focus of this work in the 1980s concerned the question of why organizations within the same organizational field looked so similar (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Particular to this line of thought, was the "totalizing" nature of institutions (Goffman, 1961), where the possibility of human agency was difficult, if not impossible. However, this "oversocialized view" soon came under criticism (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 4) leading to foundational work within the area of institutional entrepreneurship (Eisenstadt, 1980; DiMaggio, 1988), where institutional entrepreneurs were afforded significant power to "leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform

existing ones” (Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence, 2004, p. 657). However, this approach also came under criticism for its pendulum swing in the location of the true seat of institutional power (Lawrence et al., 2009; Suddaby, 2010). According to Lawrence et al. (2009), institutional entrepreneurship “tend[ed] to overemphasize the rational and ‘heroic’ dimension of institutional entrepreneurship, while ignoring the fact that all actors, even entrepreneurs, are embedded in an institutionally defined context” (p. 5). Overall, Lawrence et al. (2009) present an alternate focus that “is based on a growing awareness of institutions as products of human action and reaction, motivated by both idiosyncratic personal interest and agendas for institutional change or preservation” (p. 6).

Partially in response to the difficulties associated with the institutional entrepreneurship literature, and sensitive to both past and present currents within institutional theory that seek to explain the role and power of individuals in institutional settings, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) introduce a new approach, *institutional work*, i.e. “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). It is an important interplay of subjects that had been taken up much earlier by Selznick (1957) who highlighted the importance of individuals in understanding institutional life: “the problem is to link the larger view to the more limited one, to see how institutional change is produced by, and in turn shapes, the interaction of individuals in day-to-day situations” (p. 4). In later work on the nature of community in a modern world, Selznick (2002) further argues that “individual persons are created, sustained, and sometimes deformed by their social worlds” (p. 43). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) argue that the same fate is true for institutions.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) build upon extant literature – albeit somewhat lean in form and development – to provide a preliminary framework and research agenda, where both “individual and collective actors” (p. 216) become important players within the institutional environment. This argument has its origins in the work of Berger and Luckmann (1967) who argued that linguistic and symbolic aspects were insufficient for a true understanding of institutions, and that institutions are “‘dead’ (that is, bereft of subjective reality) unless they are ongoingly ‘brought to life’ in actual human conduct” (p. 93). Overall, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) highlight three key foundational elements of the institutional work perspective: first, actors are characterized by

“awareness, skill and reflexivity” (p. 219); second, actors engage in “conscious action” (p. 219) as part of their efforts at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions; and third, actors and action occur “within sets of institutionalized rules” (p. 220).

In addition to this preliminary work, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) investigate how a practice approach acts as a foundation for future investigation within the institutional work perspective (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1977). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) draw from this tradition’s focus on the “situated actions of individuals and groups” (p. 218), as well as its focus on actors as “knowledgeable”, “practical”, and “creative” (p. 219). Therefore, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) offer a practice approach as being particularly useful in understanding how individuals and collective actors actively create, maintain, and disrupt institutions over time.

In their summary of extant research, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) note an overrepresentation of institutional creation via the institutional entrepreneurship literature (Eisenstadt 1980; DiMaggio 1988), and a lack of work in the areas of institutional maintenance and disruption (also Scott, 2008). Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) highlight a few key contributions in the latter two areas, citing Oliver's (1992) theorization of the process of de-institutionalization, and Zucker’s (1988) account of institutional entropy in setting the path for the investigation of institutional maintenance. While institutional maintenance and disruption have been developed in the literature since, much work remains.

Considering this established theoretical foundation, the institutional work perspective positions only certain actors as capable of institutional work. I therefore, give considerable attention to the types of actors involved in maintaining the symphony orchestra over time. Second, drawing from the practice approach, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) position institutional work as “intelligent, situated institutional action” (p. 219), which points to the importance of context, including historical context. I therefore, focus on the empirical example of the New York Philharmonic in addressing the actors, and collective actors, involved in maintaining this institution over time.

In a follow up volume, Lawrence et al. (2009) offer further insights into the theoretical underpinnings of the institutional work perspective, as well as the work of several authors who investigate institutional work both theoretically and empirically. Lawrence et al. (2009) offer a

research agenda that highlights several significant issues. First, these authors emphasize the need for further theorization on the relationships between institutions, individuals, and agency, in particular, actors' agentic capacity within institutional environments, and the significance of a practice approach. In particular, Lawrence et al. (2009) focus on the "practical actions" (p. 1) of individuals within institutions, though with the understanding that institutions impact individual behavior. Further, they also emphasize a recursive relationship between institutions and individuals (Giddens, 1984; Fairclough, 1992; Archer, 1995; Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Phillips et al., 2004; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Barley, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2009). However, in this thesis, I extend this foundation both theoretically and empirically by emphasizing several *inextricable* relationships. For example, one cannot have institutions without individuals, and individuals similarly rely on institutions for organizing their social worlds. In the same way, at the empirical level, the institution of the symphony orchestra is characterized by several inextricable relationships, between composers, the repertoire, soloists, conductors, and the orchestra itself.

Second, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) also highlight three key elements of both individual and collective actors: first, the nature of their "skill" and "reflexivity", i.e., actions, over outcomes; second, their capacity for "conscious" as well as habitual action; and third, their work within the influence of "institutionalized rules" (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 7). Later, Lawrence et al. (2009) expand their exploration of institutional work to include three salient issues in institutional theory, i.e., the nature of human "accomplishment and unintended consequences, intentionality, and effort" (p. 9).

Following this foundational work, the institutional work perspective has not only been taken up more and more by theorists within organizational theory, but also those of strategy (Ben Slimane, 2012; Tempel & Walgenbach, 2012; Perkmann & Spicer, 2008), human resource management (Dorado, 2010; Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012) and innovation (Ritvala & Kleymann, 2012). Beyond this breadth of application, Lawrence et al. (2009) further demarcate institutional work's linkage to practice, citing its potential in "generat[ing] conversations which might bridge the interest of those who study institutions and organization, and those who work in them" (p. 2). This position is supported by Dover and Lawrence (2010) who argue that while

positioned to contribute in more practical settings, the institutional work perspective is still not known, understood, or employed by managers. Therefore, the institutional work perspective balances theoretical and practical concerns, making a clear effort to link with those individuals under study.

Focus: Maintaining institutions

I focus on maintaining institutions, the second of the three areas of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). In earlier approaches, organizational theory assumed that its object of inquiry naturally persisted over time, owning a type of *inertia* (Hannan & Freeman, 1984). Further, other theories have addressed the question of *how* organizations persist or endure over time.

Stinchcombe (1965) offers the notion of *imprinting* at the time – and within the context – of founding, in explaining the creation and persistence of particular institutional forms. However, the institutional work perspective argues that institutional maintenance is a necessary element in institutional life, i.e., “even powerful institutions require maintenance so that those institutions remain relevant and effective” (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 8).

In examining extant literature, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) highlight two key areas of institutional maintenance, including work that focuses on “ensuring adherence to rule systems” (p. 230) citing the work of Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, and King (1991), Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal, and Hunt (1998), and Schuler (1996), and “reproducing existing norms and belief systems” (p. 230), citing the work of Holm (1995), Townley (2002), Angus (1993), Townley (1997), and Zilber (2002). In particular, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) highlight a “continuum of ‘comprehensibility’” (p. 234) in describing these two types of maintenance, i.e., actors are either acutely aware of such maintenance efforts, i.e., rules, or largely unaware of their purpose or outcome, i.e., norms/beliefs.

I investigate the applicability of these two focal areas, but with a sensitivity to the particularity of maintenance activities within the specific institutional context of the symphony orchestra. Further, these two types of maintenance activities point to the actions of actors who enjoy the power of position (e.g., management). Might there be other, less conventional positions, where maintenance activities reside, both internal and external to the particular institution or member

organization? The nature of rules and norms/beliefs are, therefore, included in the theorization of the institutional core.

A particular conundrum of the institutional maintenance literature concerns the nature of maintenance. The literature often conflates concepts of reproduction, diffusion, and maintenance, including the use of such descriptors as persistence, inertia, as well as others. This problem is noted by Lawrence et al. (2009), who call for “construct definition and clarity” (p. 9). In many ways, such confusion at this point is understandable. As the area of institutional work continues to develop, construct clarity and the relationships between various constructs, will be refined over time.

Finally, Lawrence et al. (2009) also note several areas for future research including what types of actors are particularly suited for institutional work, what factors thwart or encourage that work, and what types of practices constitute institutional work. In general, I incorporate these issues in addressing maintenance within the context of the symphony orchestra, following Lawrence et al.’s (2009) focus on action over accomplishment.

Maintenance: Most recent work

In their own response to earlier work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009), Lawrence et al. (2011) reiterate the importance of developing an understanding of institutional work in relation to institutions via intentionality and effort, and further highlight the importance of such key aspects as “lived experience of organizational actors” (p. 52) and “unintended consequences” (p. 53). They also point to three new focal areas for institutional work: “bringing the individual back into institutional theory, help[ing] to re-examine the relationship between agency and institutions, and provid[ing] a bridge between critical and institutional views of organization” (Lawrence et al., 2011, p. 52). In particular, I focus on an individual member of the institution of the symphony orchestra, i.e. the New York Philharmonic, as well as key disruptions created by individuals, as well as attended to by individuals, as a means of addressing maintenance of the institutional core.

More recent work in the maintenance of institutions includes empirical work focusing on a diverse range of issues. These emergent themes include the impact of rituals and artefacts (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010; Blanc & Huault, 2014), corporate governance systems amidst regulatory reform (Adegbite & Nakajima, 2012), creative and strategic practices necessary to overcome tendencies for entropy (Dover & Lawrence, 2010), microprocesses of institutional maintenance (Lok & De Rond, 2013), and maintaining more general institutional aspects such as legitimacy (Patriotta, Gond, & Schultz, 2011).

A final consideration concerns *what* is investigated during institutional maintenance work. As asserted by Delahaye, Booth, Clark, Procter, and Rowlinson (2009), “organization theory is largely preoccupied with analysis of talk as text” (p. 29). However, Carroll (2002) notes the significant power of “rituals, symbols, and visual images” (p. 557) in organizational life throughout history. Phillips et al. (2004) further note that texts “take a variety of forms, including written documents, verbal reports, artwork, spoken words, pictures, symbols, buildings and other artefacts” (p. 636). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) also discuss the merits of a semiotic approach that focuses on the interplay between non-linguistic aspects and the institutional work perspective. Overall, I address the nature of both physical objects and artifacts, such as the compact disc and video recordings, but also ephemeral, yet potent “objects”, such as live sound and the act of performance.

Disruption: An integrated approach to institutional work

In addressing institutional work, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) formulate three areas of study, creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions. However, an important aspect of institutional work resides in the boundaries (or lack of boundaries) between these three categories. Focusing on single forms of institutional work can be complemented by taking an integrated approach, which allows the various forms of institutional work to be cast in the light of contrast. This type of approach emphasizes that one cannot know stability without knowing change, maintenance activities are defined and refined within times of disruption, and persistence is learned through resistance.

From the early work of Selznick (1949/1953), who highlighted the capacity of actors to act within institutions, and later studies of deinstitutionalization by Oliver (1991; 1992), a clear line between the various forms of institutional work is not necessarily emphasized. Later studies in institutional entrepreneurship also acknowledge interplay between creative and disruptive action. Maguire et al. (2004) cast institutional entrepreneurs as those actors that “leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones” (p. 5). Further, a more integrated or holistic approach was signaled by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). Concerning maintenance, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) emphasize that “institutional work that maintains institutions involves considerable effort, and often occurs *as a consequence of change* [emphasis added] in the organization or its environment” (p. 234). While Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) do not preclude maintenance during times of relative calm, they do impress that maintenance work is often in reaction to internal and external disruptions. Such maintenance work is much easier to see in the light of disruption: “Understanding how institutions maintain themselves, thus, must focus on understanding how actors are able to effect processes of persistence and stability in the context of upheaval and change” (p. 234). As well, while Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) argue that creation and disruption are distinct, they do not preclude their interaction over time.

The following section outlines Selznick’s approach to disruption, as well as extant work that focuses on either disruption, all three types of institutional work in tandem, or the integration of maintenance and disruption. I then offer an integrated approach to maintenance and disruption, with associated propositions.

Institutional disruption: Selznick’s early work

As noted by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), the early work of Selznick (1949/1953) not only addresses varied responses to institutional forces, but the potential for disruptive work by individual or collective actors. A survey of Selznick’s (1949/1953) work shows early hints by way of “inherent dilemmas” (p. 69), whereby “social structures are precipitants of behavior undertaken in many directions and for many purposes. Mutual adaptation establishes only an uneasy equilibrium. This in turn is continuously modified and disrupted as the consequences of action ramify in unanticipated ways” (p. 69). For Selznick (1949/1953), such dilemmas form the unique problems that face leaders, who must “find a means, through compromise, restraint, and

persuasion, to resolve tensions and escape dilemmas” (p. 69). For Selznick (1949/1953), a significant distinction is that such “tension does not mean defeat, nor does dilemma enforce paralysis” (p. 69). Therefore, actors seeking to maintain an institution over time, should not only expect such disruptions, but consider them an important part of maintenance over time.

While dilemmas and disruptions are expected, Selznick (1957) does affirm that certain aspects at the organizational level, must be maintained:

Leadership has a dual task. It must win the consent of constituent units, in order to maximize voluntary co-operation, and therefore must permit emergent interest blocs a wide degree of representation. At the same time, in order to hold the helm, it must see that a balance of power appropriate to the fulfillment of key commitments will be maintained. (pp. 63-64)

Here Selznick (1957) highlights maintaining “key commitments” (p. 64), an organizational aspect that points to the maintenance of the institutional core. Further, Selznick (1960) links the maintenance of such core aspects with organizational and institutional survival:

We are necessarily interested in social pathology, in appraising the capacity of institutions to meet, within their own terms, the requirements of self-maintenance. Self-maintenance, of course, refers to the preservation of central values and purposes as well as the bare continuity of organizational existence. (p. 276)

However, Selznick (1960) also offers a clear warning: “where values weaken, manipulability rises” (p. 308). Without attending to the institutional core, actors face the prospect of losing control, even to another institution with which it coexists. According to Selznick (1960), organizations are not immune to disruptions, such as opportunism, within a political landscape: “put as a general rule we may say: Under conditions of political combat, those who have no firm values of their own become the instruments of the values of others” (p. 308). Selznick (2002) also casts disruptive work within the act of compromise, a process that requires a firm foundation of organizational principles:

A compromise is unprincipled – indeed, is no true compromise at all – if it is mainly rhetorical or cosmetic, without promise of a constructive outcome. And if reconciliation is a relevant principle, some kinds of compromise are inescapable and desirable. Everything depends on the nature of the compromise and just how principles affect it. It is not compromise as such that should be rejected, but compromise divorced from the values that should govern its course and outcome. (pp. 37-38)

While disruption and change are possible, Selznick (2002) infers that an institutional core must ultimately govern such compromises.

Selznick's (2002) description of "responsive institutions" (p. 11) is particularly useful in understanding how organizations and institutions deal with disruptions over time, and the expectations around the complexities that they must deal with on a day-to-day basis:

Conservatives worry about institutions, especially when they are vulnerable to the corrosive pressures of a market economy and populist democracy. Communitarians recognize and resist such pressures, yet insist that institutions should be responsive. Responsive institutions defend their distinctive values and missions, yet are open to voices and interests hitherto unheard or disregarded. Responsive institutions are not rigid or complacent. They are nourished by criticism as well as by trust. (p. 11)

In particular, change – rather than rigidity – characterizes responsive institutions. Further, Selznick (2002) also ties the importance of responsiveness with integrity via the institutional example of the state:

A government is responsive when it protects its own integrity, mainly by adhering to constitutional principles, while remaining open to the claims of new interests and responsibilities, including interests hitherto unheard and responsibilities hitherto unmet. A responsive government views itself as part of a wider system of ideas and institutions, from which it draws its strength – and which demands participation. (p. 11)

Selznick (2002), therefore, suggests that while disruption is inevitable, institutions must maintain a core set of functions, structures and practices over time. Further, he suggests that we can only

identify the elements of that core empirically, by observing what can and cannot be allowed to change. Stated another way, the test of whether a function, structure or practice constitutes the institutional core is whether its disruption triggers a need for institutional repair, or allows for recreation over time:

Proposition 1A: Disruptions that target the institutional core will initiate institutional maintenance work to repair the disruption.

Proposition 1B: Disruptions that target peripheral or non-core elements of an institution will not initiate institutional maintenance work and will be allowed to change over time.

Institutional disruption: Extant literature

Theoretical, methodological and empirical work that addresses disruption follows the foundational work offered by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). Drawing from Lamont and Molnar (2002), who focus on “social and symbolic” boundaries (p. 167), Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) first cast disruption as “redefining, recategorizing, reconfiguring, abstracting, problematizing and, generally, manipulating the social and symbolic boundaries that constitute institutions” (p. 238). A focus on disruption is then taken up by Symon, Buehring, Johnson, and Cassell (2008), who focus on institutional disruptions via rhetorical strategies, in particular the “illegitimate institutionalization” (p. 1316) of quantitative research within the management literature, and “the positioning of qualitative research as legitimate resistance to this institutionalization” (p. 1316). Disruption is cast within a context of “contradictory meanings” (Symon et al., 2008, p. 1329) with discourse used in both maintenance and disruptive activities. In particular, Symon et al. (2008) focus on disruptive work of institutional members to actively change the status quo, typical of the nature of disruptive work highlighted by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006).

Earlier work around disruption also sought a new balance between macro and micro concerns as seen in Maguire and Hardy’s (2009) study of “outsider-driven” (p. 148) deinstitutionalization within the historical context of DDT use between 1962 and 1972. Taking a discourse perspective, Maguire and Hardy (2009) investigate problematizations that are later “translated” (p. 152), which not only change outsider discourses, but lead to practices disappearing, i.e.,

radical change. Practices disappear when discourses not only highlight how current practices are untenable, but also how other arrangements could be more acceptable (Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Maguire and Hardy (2009) coin the term “defensive institutional work: the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at countering disruptive institutional work” (p. 169).

In addition to these empirical examples, Dansou and Langley (2012) offer conventionalist theory, including the notion of test, as an alternate lens for addressing institutional work and institutional change. Here, tests are defined as “moments in which challenges to unfolding action may occur, and through which actors seek to confirm or readjust the conditions and principles shaping ongoing activities” (Dansou & Langley, 2012, p. 504). These authors focus on Boltanski and Thévenot’s (1999) “moments critiques (critical moments)” (p. 359), as well as the “micro-processes underlying the possible persistence or change of socially constructed legitimating systems” (Dansou & Langley, 2012, p. 505). Similar to the work of Heaphy (2013), a micro-perspective is paired with an understanding of macro processes as a means to address “how and why institutional work occurs, and the relationship between human agency (micro-actions) and institutions (macro-influences)” (p. 505). Drawing from the work of Zietsma and Lawrence (2010), Dansou and Langley (2012) also avoid linear patterns of action in the face of such “critical moments” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999, p. 359), but rather focus on collections of “experimental work and collaborative or competitive actions, leading to institutional change, persistence or ongoing institutional conflict” (Dansou & Langley, 2012, p. 508). Overall, moments of test expands our understanding of institutional work via “three key dimensions associated with actors’ questioning or reproduction of constitutive value frameworks: agency, relationality and temporality” (Dansou & Langley, 2012, p. 503).

Integrating institutional work: Extant literature

In addition to a focus on disruption, several authors further the institutional work perspective by addressing all three types of institutional work simultaneously, or by focusing on the interaction of two. Taking a logics approach to pluralistic institutional contexts, where pluralistic institutions are characterized by the “coexistence of alternate, legitimate, and potentially competing strategies within a single organization” (Jarzabkowski, Matthiesen, & Van de Ven, 2009, p. 285), Jarzabkowski et al. (2009) find that creative and disruptive action is part of regular maintenance

activities. In particular, “creation work may thus occur not only to generate a new institution but also to allow actors working within existing institutions to create ‘space’ for other, contradictory logics to coexist with their own” (Jarzabkowski et al., 2009, p. 310). Further, Hirsch and Bermiss (2009), in their investigation of the Czech Republic’s road to capitalism, find that the various types of institutional work often occur simultaneously, while Trank and Washington (2009) describe the difficulty in finding “clear boundaries” (p. 257) in their investigation of the maintenance of institutions via “legitimizing organizations” (p. 257).

Utilizing the context of the British Columbia coastal forest industry, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) focus on the simultaneous occurrence of the three types of institutional work as part of their investigation of practice work, boundary work and the interplay of the two in effecting change. Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) aim “to understand how boundary work and practice work affect each other, how they together affect institutional change and stability, and what conditions lead to shifts in a field from stability to change and from change to stability” (p. 191). They find that these various actions work recursively as part of “cycles of institutional stability, conflict, innovation, and restabilization” (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010, p. 212).

Drawing from the work of Hallett (2010), Empson, Cleaver, and Allen (2013) also focus on the simultaneous appearance of creation, maintenance and disruption, within the context of large international law firms. Investigating both the micro-foundations and micro-dynamics of institutional work, these authors focus on the institutional partnership between two professional types that make use of their relative social positions to shift from a traditional to “corporatized partnership” (Empson et al., 2013, p. 811). An additional feature of Empson et al. (2013) concerns the distributed nature of agency, as well as how actors perform institutional work in non-linear ways. In particular, these authors question why some institutions seem to form a more restrictive context while others allow and even foster institutional work (Empson et al., 2013). Further, Empson et al. (2013) also reference an ecological approach whereby institutional work is carried via “multiple actors and multiple institutions” (p. 837).

To these papers focusing on all three types of institutional work, the coexistence of maintenance and disruption in particular, is taken up by Hargrave and Van de Ven (2009), who focus on work directed for innovation, utilizing the many tensions inherent in institutional settings. In

addressing maintenance and disruption, Hargrave and Van de Ven (2009) highlight three forms of contradictions: “stability/change” (p. 124), “structure/action” (p. 124), and “internal/external” (p. 124). From these contradictions, Hargrave and Van de Ven (2009) go on to argue that stability and maintenance can be drawn from disruption: “to stabilize and maintain institutions, incumbents must disrupt disrupters and respond to changing conditions by continually revising existing arrangements” (pp. 129-130). Overall, competition and contradiction are cast as “mutually supportive” (Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2009, p. 132), while “incumbents’ and challengers’ strategies are interdependent” (Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2009, p. 132). Overall, Hargrave and Van de Ven (2009) depict a very complex context, with actors responsible for both maintaining and disrupting an institutional environment.

Finally, Heaphy (2013) investigates the maintenance of institutionalized roles in the face of “everyday breaches” (p. 1291) via the empirical context of Veterans Health Administration hospitals. Drawn from the work of ethnomethodologists, such breaches consist of day-to-day disruptions, that are typically “smaller-scale, [and] less intentional” (Heaphy, 2013, p. 1308). Heaphy’s (2013) work therefore presents a type of breach quite dissimilar to Lawrence and Suddaby’s (2006) more intentional and highly disruptive actions. In particular, maintenance work is enacted by key actors, i.e. patient advocates, who employ rules to “restore, clarify, or initiate organizational changes in rules, all to maintain institutionalized role expectations” (Heaphy, 2013, p. 1291). Heaphy (2013) also focuses on several key aspects relating to maintenance and disruption, i.e., *when* and *how* maintenance occurs, as well as *who* does the maintenance, and *why* they are in the best position to do this work. As with the work of Empson et al. (2013), Heaphy (2013) shifts the focus away from macro concerns, i.e., of the institution or organization, to micro concerns, i.e., of individuals. In particular, Heaphy (2013) determines that individuals involved in institutional work are not the typically powerful ones, but rather “lower-power actors” (p. 1311).

In sum, I argue that a single focus on one of the three types of institutional work can be complemented by a more integrated approach. In particular, it is difficult to envision maintenance work in the absence of disruption. This raises several questions. Does maintenance occur in the face of crisis, as well as times of relative calm? How does maintenance work change

after a crisis has been averted? Further, are the origins of disruptions a significant factor? Do disruptions originate internally, or do they arise from the external environment? Are the maintenance activities largely proactive or reactive?

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) point to a high level of complexity in their definition of maintenance: “institutional work aimed at maintaining institutions involves supporting, repairing, or recreating the social mechanisms that ensure compliance” (p. 230). In other words, a variety of activities are necessary to address a variety of maintenance situations, one of which may include the presence of significant disruption. Further, Lawrence et al. (2009) also describe a variety of possible proactive or reactive maneuvers: institutional work is “based on a growing awareness of institutions as products of human *action* and *reaction* [emphasis added], motivated by both idiosyncratic personal interests and agendas for institutional change or preservation” (p. 6).

Further, of the three types of institutional work, it is not so surprising that both disruptive and maintenance work are still under-studied. This signals that maintenance and disruption actually hold a special relationship within institutional action. While Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) argue that disrupting institutions “involves institutional work that is distinct from that associated with the creation of new institutions” (p. 235), they do not mention the same for maintenance and disruption, in fact, they often suggest their close connection. Unlike the literature on change that focuses on a result, disruption focuses on a process, a process built on an inherent relationship between maintenance and disruption over time.

This potentially symbiotic relationship aligns with a more integrative approach within the institutional work literature, but also aligns with early institutionalism’s emphasis on relationships. As stated by Lawrence et al. (2009), institutionalism has attended to “relationships among organizations and the fields in which they operate” (p. 1). This stance is later reemphasized by the institutional work perspective, which focusses on the “interplay of actors, agency, and institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 3). In particular, I contribute to this growing body of literature, especially in terms of understanding maintenance, the relationship that maintenance work has with disruption, and how this work plays out within the largely overlooked context of the arts, specifically, the symphony orchestra.

While extant literature has tended to focus on one of three types of institutional work, some research has either focused on two or even all three types. I argue that that this diversity of approach is integral to furthering our understanding of institutional work over time. In particular, maintenance and disruption, while notably under-researched, constitutes a natural dyad.

Therefore, the institutional core will be maintained via a complex and varied set of actions:

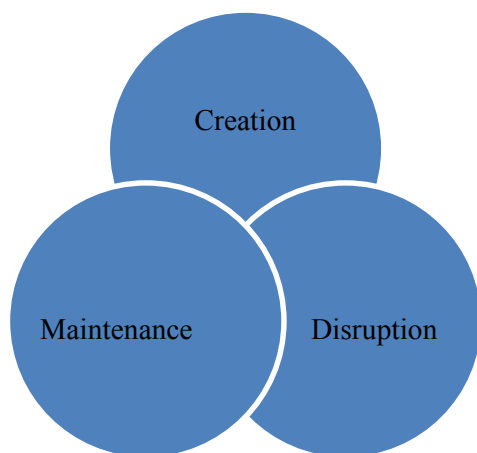
Proposition 2: Maintenance work includes supporting mechanisms (that further the institutional core), repairing mechanisms (that repair disruptions), and recreating mechanisms (that allow for change at the periphery).

An integrated model of institutional work

A strong argument exists to continue to build a complementary research stream that focuses on the interdependence of creation, maintenance and disruption activities, and in particular, between maintenance and disruptive forms. While it makes sense to peel apart creative, maintenance, and disruptive actions in the search of understanding, I argue for a complementary stream of work that embraces an integrated approach. I theorize the nature of maintenance amidst disruption, within the empirical context of the symphony orchestra.

The following diagram depicts a more dynamic approach, reflecting often “messy” institutional settings (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: An integrated model of institutional work



This model does not preclude having creation, maintenance and disruption work stand on their own. However, this model does emphasize that the three types of institutional work could be considered in dyad form or as a group working concurrently. While this model does deviate from a more deliberate, linear approach to the institutional lifecycle, i.e., birth, life, and death, it does provide the opportunity for a more nuanced approach to that lifecycle, focusing on times of transition as well as relative stasis.

In sum, these arguments lead to a third proposition that states:

Proposition 3: New avenues of understanding the nature of maintaining of institutions over time can be gleaned by observing maintenance during (and following) times of disruption, i.e., institutional work can benefit from an integrated, dynamic approach.

The nature of institutional disruption

Disruption carries a multitude of possibilities that are pertinent to the nature of maintenance. Earlier work includes Zucker's (1988) account of entropy, where disruption is set as an inherent characteristic of institutions. Fligstein (2001) makes a distinction between disruption during times of reproduction vs. times of crisis and change. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) also argue that disruption can originate from institutional actors intent on "attacking or undermining the mechanisms that lead members to comply with institutions" (p. 235). These disruptions signal the presence of internal actors unhappy with the status quo, and seeking change. To these perspectives, our understanding of disruption can be complemented by a counterpoint of several additional forms within a developing typology. Disruption could include a distinction between unintentional and intentional means, external and internal impetus, as well as other possibilities.

Having a greater range of disruption types also shifts our current view of disruptions, which tends to be characterized by a heavy negative overtone: disruption erupts when unhappy institutional members resist the confines of institutional life. However, disruption could also be cast in a more positive and proactive light. For example, external or internal disruption could motivate and focus the work of institutional actors to maintain an accepted and valued

institutional order. Disruption could also direct institutional efforts to change peripheral aspects of the institution to build a stronger institutional core.

Glynn (2002) adopts this position in her study of change at the Atlantic Symphony during a time of upheaval between management and the players:

The conflict of the strike, and the emergence of a pronounced managerialism, seemed to excite aesthetic ideology and give it expression... Interestingly, then, conflict can function not only to create cultural institutions but also to sustain them; institutional constraints may thus give rise to the creative impulse in arts organizations. (p. 84)

Therefore, if the institutional work perspective argues for individual and collective actors characterized by “awareness, skill and reflexivity” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 219), as well as “conscious action” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 219), a definitional focus on rebelling institutional actors amidst “sets of institutionalized rules” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 220) is strongly phrased for some contexts. Disruption can be cast as part of ongoing work in maintaining institutions over time.

Overall, a study of both maintenance and disruptive activities remains an under-studied realm within the institutional work literature. As stated by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), “we simply do not know much about the work done by actors to disrupt institutions” (p. 238). Many questions remain, such as those around the diversity of disruptive action, including internal or external actors, intended or unintended consequences, and their target, i.e., core or peripheral aspects.

Individual and collective work

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) focus on three key aspects of individual and collective actors who perform institutional work: “awareness, skill and reflexivity” (p. 219), “conscious action” (p. 219), and “action which is aimed at changing the institutional order of an organizational field occurs within sets of institutionalized rules” (p. 220). Within such “sets of institutionalized rules” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 220), the institutional core becomes useful in determining what change is possible during times of maintenance and disruption. In particular, the *awareness* of

key actors helps direct efforts in maintaining central aspects, while disrupting peripheral aspects. Paired with *skill*, these distinctions are understood and achieved, while highly *reflexive* individuals counter shifts in the institutional environment. Therefore, I argue that such institutionalized rules are reflective of the institutional core, which dictates what is core to an institution and its members, and directs how the institution is maintained over time, including how disruptions are dealt with on a day-to-day basis.

Proposition 4: Institutional repair can occur both endogenously (by actors inside the institution) and exogenously (by actors outside the institution but who exist in an ecological relationship with the institution). In both instances, institutional repair is facilitated by actor's awareness, skill and reflexivity.

Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) conceptualization of institutional disruption also highlights three main categorizations: "disconnecting sanctions/rewards" (p. 235), "disassociating moral foundations" (p. 236), and "undermining assumptions and beliefs" (p. 237). Especially in the second category, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) reference disruptions that target something similar to the institutional core, i.e., a moral foundation. The first and third categories could reference disruptions targeting the institutional core; however, they do not preclude aspects at the periphery. Overall, the target of these types of disruptions matters and may dictate the nature of the disruption and repair work as part of maintenance activities.

Later work by Lawrence et al. (2009) casts institutional work in terms of "accomplishment and unintended consequences, intentionality, and effort" (p. 9). In terms of *intentionality*, Lawrence et al. (2009) reference the work of Emirbayer and Mische (1998) who note three possible foci: past, present, and future (p. 12). Further, Lawrence et al. (2009), argue that "institutional work can be understood as physical or mental effort done in order to achieve an effect on an institution or institutions" (p. 15). In other words, in addition to the effort necessary for maintaining an institution, it also takes considerable effort to disrupt, so there may well be significant reasons behind both internal and externally derived disruptions.

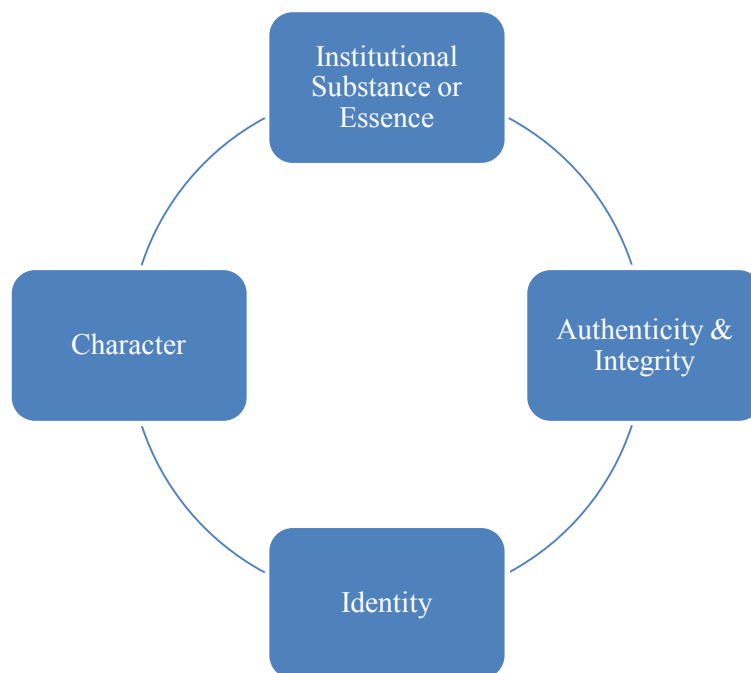
In sum, I apply these four propositions concerning the nature of maintenance amidst disruption to the context of the symphony orchestra, and the specific organizational context of the New

York Philharmonic. In particular, this powerful art institution offers the necessary history to address such aspects of maintenance and disruption over time. The following section addresses my conceptualization the institutional core, drawing from Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) institutional and organizational character, as well as related concepts of authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008).

The institutional core

In developing a theory of the maintenance of institutions, I offer the *institutional core*, i.e., as the foundational aspect of institutions maintained over time, set amidst peripheral aspects that allow for change in varying and changing contexts. The concept of the institutional core (see Figure 2) is derived from Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) organizational and institutional character, as well as related concepts of authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008).

Figure 2: Key elements of the institutional core



Friedland and institutional substance, or essence

As described previously, in developing our understanding of institutional maintenance, further clarity is necessary around what constitutes maintenance. Is change possible? If so, how much? What kind? And when? Overall, Friedland (2009) is aptly positioned to contribute, especially in terms of institutional substance, or essence.

Institutional substance and the institutional work perspective

Friedland (2009) defines *institutional substance* as “the central object of an institutional field and the principle of its unity...the foundation, or essence” (p. 56). Several questions arise when assessing how institutional substance inform the institutional work perspective. Does the work involved in creating an institution primarily lie in developing, or making clear, its institutional substance? Does institutional maintenance concern the tending of an institution’s substance? If substance is actively maintained, is change possible in peripheral aspects?

To answer such questions, some understanding of Friedland’s (2009) conception of an institution is necessary. One finding of early institutionalists was that as institutional fields develop over time, organizational actors often adopt practices that become “infused with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand” (Selznick, 1957, p. 17). While actively taken up by neo-institutionalists (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), this position is rejected by Friedland (2009):

Institutions are not, as in the original statements of institutional theory, forms of social organization invested with value beyond their practical effects, or as later work showed, with practical effects because they are legitimate net of the practicality (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). They are themselves practical regimes of valuation, in the sense that they constitute institutional objects of value. (p. 50)

Friedland’s (2009) institutions are “objects of value” (p. 50), therefore, the context of the symphony orchestra forms its own “object of value”. This perspective is also articulated by Bensman (1983) who focuses on the communication of such value within the arts, as well as its inter-connected nature within a wider social context:

The performing arts are means of communication that embody societal, cultural, and political values that are also present in the non-performing arts as well as in religion, philosophy, politics, and public opinion; but they also embody the special values and assertion of values of art as an activity itself and those of each respective performing art. (p. 15)

However, Selznick (1957) does emphasize key relationships that develop between organizations and individuals, ones that I argue are significant to the symphony orchestra.

Whenever individuals become attached to an organization or a way of doing things as persons rather than as technicians, the result is a prizing of the device for its own sake. From the standpoint of the committed person, the organization is changed from an expendable tool into a valued source of personal satisfaction. (p. 17)

Therefore, following Selznick (1957), the symphony orchestra is not an “expendable tool” (p. 17), but rather “a valued source of personal satisfaction” (p. 17).

Both perspectives have merit and draw attention to key aspects of the institutional core. Specifically, institutions are objects of considerable value beyond their technical or use value, therefore, constituting forms that are maintained over time. Further, institutions are characterized by relationships with other institutions, organizations and individuals, which develop over a significant amount of time.

Nonetheless, Friedland (2009) offers institutional substance as something that institutions, organizations and individuals *value*. Drawing from the work of Aristotle, Friedland (2009) also positions *institutional substance* as “the central object of an institutional field and the principle of its unity... the foundation, or essence, of a thing *which cannot be reduced to its accidental properties* [emphasis added] which attach to it nor to the materiality of its instances” (p. 56). Friedland (2009) argues that “accidental properties” (p. 56) are separate from an unchanging “institutional substance” (p. 56). Might institutional change therefore reside in these “accidental properties” (Friedland, 2009, p. 56)? And if so, what might they be? I argue that while the

institutional core is unchanging, change is possible in such “accidental properties”, i.e., malleable, peripheral aspects, as necessary to suit contextual needs over time.

Friedland (2009) also notes that institutional substance is often difficult to articulate, even by those who understand its value. This apparent ephemerality is repeatedly emphasized by Friedland (2009):

A substance exceeds its attributes, cannot be reduced to a thing’s materiality, and thus cannot be described, only pointed to and obsessively named. While the category of substance may be epistemologically problematic, it captures institutional reality rather well. Like Aristotle’s soul as the substance of human, an institutional substance does not exist; it is rather an *absent presence* [emphasis added] necessary to institutional life. (p. 57)

In the same light, the virtuoso violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, argued that music had a specific power to “communicate the intangible” (Menuhin, 1969, p. 153). If true, then a specific and powerful relationship exists between the institutional core and artistic action.

Friedland (2009) goes on to describe the goal of such a structure: “The telos of each institutional field is to produce, accumulate, control, distribute, manage, express, perform or access the substance” (p. 64). Further, Friedland (2009) highlights institutional substance as “the highest, most general value in a field” (p. 64) that provides a foundation that goes beyond the practical: “Every institution rests on transcendent claims, on a metaphysical foundation that cannot be reduced to the phenomenal world, even if it does not invoke a God” (p. 64). Overall, I present the institutional core via the symphony orchestra, drawing from Friedland’s (2009) conceptualization of an institutional substance, or essence, as well as “accidental properties” that change over time in response to key disruptions.

Institutional substance and action

In general, Friedland’s (2009) institutional substance strongly complements current conceptualizations of institutional work, including the recursive relationship between institution and individual, and the importance of action through practice: “all objects of institutional life are

dually constituted, both conceptually and practically, as categories that point to objects of action, and actors who engage in material practices that enact them” (p. 51). Further, Friedland (2009) offers the following analogy to describe such an institutional substance: “Institutional substance is an absent presence towards and around which practice incessantly moves, known only through this movement, not unlike the way a space is known through its architectural enclosure” (p. 63). In other words, to understand how institutions are maintained over time, practical, individual action must also be considered. However, in many ways, Friedland (2009) only alludes to many aspects in his writing, leaving space for further theorization of how institutional substance is expressed within specific contexts.

In the case of the symphony orchestra and its maintenance over time, I focus on practices and the individuals that enact them, as well as how disruptions are dealt with over time. Drawing from Friedland (2009), several key questions arise. Which individuals “speak and act” (p. 61) the symphony orchestra “into existence” (p. 61)? What practices “mak[e] the invisible substance visible” (p. 65)? Which “accidental properties” (p. 56) are changed in times of disruption? In the case of the symphony orchestra, whose product of live music is naturally ephemeral, does performing music make the inherently ephemeral, “visible” (p. 65)? Therefore, it is the counterpoint between the transcendent and the tangible – such as music and orchestral practice – that Friedland (2009) sees as the enlivening factor in institutional life: “The energy and creativity of institutional life derives not just from the indeterminacy of the ‘God’ term but from the tension between these transcendent terms and the practices, which make them immanent” (p. 65).

Institutional substance and change

A neo-institutional perspective has held institutions as resistant to change, and therefore, dealing with change, and what actors instigate change, has been a significant institutional conundrum. Further, how much change is possible, and what type of change is possible, amidst maintenance, are pertinent questions within the neo-institutional, and institutional work perspectives. However, for Friedland (2009), change is a somewhat less provocative problem, *if institutional substance is upheld*:

Belief in the objectivity of the substance affords space in which practices can change; new practices can be added and subtracted, and yet still legitimately claim to index the same substance. Categories and practices are modular, mobile, and hence recomposable. (pp. 63-64)

Further, Friedland (2009) argues that institutional substance and practice, the tangible and transcendent, naturally form agency's playground:

That open, even dialectical, relation between substance and practice – between transcendence and immanence – whose effects thinkers have a tendency to absolutize as either idealism, the influence of analytically separable values or categories, or materialism, the influence of control over the analytically separable materialities of practices – is a critical source of agency and institutional change, where actors seek to promote alternative practices to index, produce, perform an institution's central substance. (p. 65)

For Friedland (2009), institutional substance, practice, and change have the potential to work in a natural rhythm and balance. In the case of the symphony orchestra, I argue that change, or change through disruption, is central to the maintenance of the institutional core. However, what kind and how much change is possible?

In sum, Friedland (2009) notes that “the variable relation between practice and substance remain to be explored” (p. 66). Sensitive to this call, I apply Friedland's (2009) concept of institutional substance and current understandings of the institutional work perspective, to address the maintenance of institutions amidst disruption. It is a fruitful marriage of perspectives that helps raise and potentially answer several key institutional questions. Are institutions inherently stable organisms, or are they entities that are uniquely endowed with the ability to balance stability and instability over time? Is maintenance such a balancing mechanism? When balance breaks down, do institutions enter the third dimension of institutional work, i.e., institutional disruption?

For the most part, Friedland's (2009) institutional substance stands alone in the business literature; to date, no one has actively taken up this perspective. In this thesis, I integrate

Friedland's (2009) institutional substance as a significant contributor to my conceptualization of the institutional core, and in theorizing the nature of institutional maintenance amidst disruption.

Selznick and character

To Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, I also apply Selznick's conception of *institutional and organizational character*. For Selznick (1949/1953), character is cast as a fundamental and evolving aspect of organizational life: "There is a vague and ill-defined quality which, unacknowledged and often poorly understood, represents a fundamental prize in organizational controversy. This is the evolving character of the organization as a whole. What are we? What shall we become?" (p. 181).

Selznick (1949/1953) views organizational character formation over the long term, and part of the day-to-day work of organizations: "To reflect upon such long-run implication is to seek the indirect consequences of day-to-day behavior for those fundamental ideals and commitments which serve as the foundation for loyalty and effort" (p. 181). Further, Selznick (1949/1953) hints at something greater, that is, "ideals and commitments" (p. 181), which drive organizational work. By actively carrying out these "ideals and commitments" in daily activities, actors confirm both their idealistic and technical worthiness: "The institution must reflect in its day-to-day behavior the ideals to which it claims commitment. Only then will it be able to judge the consequences of decision for moral ideals as well as for technical effectiveness" (Selznick, 1960, p. 312).

The evolution of character over time is also cast by Selznick (1949/1953) as an important ingredient in an organization becoming "the receptacle of a social ideal" (p. 183). I argue that these organizational "ideals and commitments" (Selznick, 1949/1953, p. 181) point to a larger force, the institutional core. I also argue that while organizations form their character over the long term as part of their day-to-day activities, these actions are informed and shaped by the institutional core, as hinted by Selznick (1949/1953) in his description of "ideals and commitments" (p. 181).

In many cases, Selznick (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) develops character in terms of individuals, and then extends these ideas to both organizations and to some extent, institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising that Selznick (2008) sees a natural complement between individual and institution:

Persons and institutions are very different in some ways, notably in specific disposition and impulses. They are similar, however, in the capacities they create and the functions they serve. Organizations have *memories* and *identities*, sustained by trained professional staffs and by established procedures. The outcome is distinctive unity or character. (p. 59)

Here, Selznick (2008) draws together many relevant aspects: first, there is a close relationship that develops between individuals and institutions; second, organizations have identities, as well as images and reputations; and third, organizations work to create their own distinctive characters. A descriptor used repeatedly by Selznick (2008) concerns “unity” (p. 59). I argue that the goal of character formation at the organizational level is ultimately shaped by the institutional core, which informs what is consistent with the institution, and what aspects can be translated, modified, or changed for purposes of organizational distinctiveness or uniqueness.

Selznick (1960) defines *organizational character* as “a product of its ingrained methods of work, its natural allies, its stake in the course of events, the predispositions of its personnel, and the labels (deserved and undeserved) which have become attached to it” (p. 56). Here, Selznick (1960) emphasizes the importance of work, a socialized view of organizational life, and labels, such as reputation and image, which are all significant to the theorization of the institutional core.

In his discussion of Marxism, Selznick (1960) also describes how ideology impacts character: “The ideology of a group is, of course, also important in shaping its character, particularly if the doctrine affects strongly the individual’s participation” (p. 59). This perspective can be applied to the maintenance of the institutional core. Such a core – or in Selznick’s (1960) terms, “ideology” – has a significant impact on the character of member organizations, and further, is an especially important driver of behaviors of member organizations, and individuals within these organizations.

Further, in Selznick's (1957; 1960) work on organizations, he emphasizes the importance of organizational character in controlling membership. In his description of Bolshevik strategy and organizations, Selznick (1960) argues that "organizations which are self-conscious about their characters – an officers' corps, an elite school, etc. – normally attempt to control composition by selection with respect to origin" (p. 60). This control is directed at "sources of corruption" (Selznick, 1960, p. 64), a parallel to my focus on *sources of disruption*. Specifically, Selznick (1957; 1960) directs our attention to how organizations repair sources of disruption.

A distinction offered by Selznick (1960) concerns the presence or absence of a well-defined character, and the quality of *uniqueness*:

Not every organization has a set character. Where goals are highly specialized and technical, where individuals and groups have only a narrow relation to the organization as a whole, few character-defining commitments may develop. But where some special mission, or a long history, results in more than a purely formal administrative structure, there emerges a quality of uniqueness that suffuses the entire organization. (p. 56)

According to Selznick (1960), the character that emerges both works to the benefit of the organization's goals, but it can also restrict those same goals. Selznick's (1960) description also points to institutions, which have long-term trajectories, and in particular, important missions. The example of the symphony orchestra, which had its beginnings in the 1600s, continues today as a unique art form. I argue that its institutional core gives form to Selznick's (1960) "quality of uniqueness that suffuses" (p. 56) its organizational members.

Selznick (1957) isolates four key elements of organizational character, which align well with the institutional core: character as a "historical product" (p. 38), "integrated product" (p. 38), "functional" (p. 38), and "dynamic" (p. 39). Selznick (1957) argues that first, character is shaped by history over time. Second, Selznick (1957) positions character as part of the "DNA" of organizations, an integral element that cannot be easily extracted or changed without significant consideration. Third, character actually has several functions, such as helping organizations cope with change. Finally, though character does have some immovable properties, character is dynamic, capable of producing "new and active forces" (Selznick, 1957, p. 40). Overall,

Selznick's (1957) approach to organizational character integrates well with Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, in that institutional substance has a foundational role in the realization of institutions, with organizational character as a dynamic or malleable realization of the substance at the organizational level.

Like Friedland (2009), Selznick (1992) also suggests a certain elusive quality in describing institutions, which he references with an apt musical example:

The spirit of a practice or institution is intrinsically elusive; it can seldom, if ever, be easily specified. But it is not ineffable or mystical. What constitutes the spirit of a law, a policy or even a musical composition cannot be wholly explicit and predetermined. It is not prior to or independent of perception, interpretation, and interaction. Hence the need for sustained and intimate experience. (p. 333)

This "elusive quality" (Selznick, 1992, p. 33) is understood via experience or action, a well-placed parallel to institutional work's focus on the actions of both individuals and groups of individuals. I also argue that such an "elusive quality" points to the institutional core.

Selznick (1949/1953) also gives particular attention to the social environment in which an organization develops its character: "The internal organizational pressures which drive toward a unified outlook and systematized behavior receive their content, or substantive reference, from the play of interest and the flow of ideas which characterize the organization's social environment" (p. 183). Selznick's (1949/1953) "substantive reference" (p. 183) is similar to Friedland's (2002) "institutional substance". Further to an organization's "unified outlook" (Selznick, 1949/1953, p. 183), Selznick (1992) also highlights the complex day-to-day workings and inter-workings of organizations within a social environment, which suggests that institutional character comes from within and outside the organization:

The character of an organization includes its culture, but something more as well. A pattern of dependency – for example, on a specific labor force, a market, or particular suppliers – may have little to do with symbolism or belief. The character of a company or a trade union owes much to the structure of the industry, the skills of employees or

members, the alliance that can be fashioned, and many other practical limits and opportunities. Attitudes and beliefs account for only part of an organization's distinctive character. (p. 321)

This conception of character confirms an institution's membership in a greater social reality, or *ecology of institutions*. An institution is the whole of itself, but also the people, organizations and institutions external to itself. This conceptualization can be applied to the context of the symphony orchestra, whose institutional core is visible not only to those internal actors, such as conductors, players and managers, but also to external ones, such as audiences, funders and other institutions, such as the state and education. To this, Selznick (1957) offers a particularly apt perspective of organizational leadership: "We shall not find any simple prescriptions for sound organizational leadership. It requires nothing less than the proper ordering of human affairs, including the establishment of social order, the determination of public interest, and the defense of critical values" (p. ix).

Overall, the institutional core is set amidst a complex social mix set to defend internal, "critical values" (Selznick, 1957, p. ix), all the while taking into account external, "public interest" (Selznick, 1957, p. ix). In the case of institutional maintenance amidst disruption, one must cast a much wider net to those instances of disruption both internal and external to the institution.

Institutionalization and organizational character

Selznick (1957) also connects organizational character formation to the process of institutionalization:

The emphasis is on the embodiment of values in an organizational structure through the elaboration of commitments – ways of acting and responding that can be changed, if at all, only at the risk of severe internal crisis... The acceptance of irreversible commitments is the process by which the character of an organization is set. (p. 40)

I argue that Selznick's (1957) "irreversible commitments" point to Friedland's (2009) institutional substance. Character is cast by Selznick (2002) as an important part of the institutionalization process, or more generally, the "institutional imperative": "[An] organization

may begin, in the minds of its founders, as coolly rational and wholly controllable instrument for achieving predetermined purposes. Over time, however, the enterprise becomes a dense network of human relations, vested interests, and customary practices” (p. 98).

According to Selznick (2002), with the process of institutionalization also comes “obligations” that can be both a blessing and a curse, but ultimately, organizational character is formed: “Most obligations are useful and empowering. They open channels, mobilize energies, and foster cooperation. They also impose costs. As this tension-laden drama unfolds, organizations become institutions. A distinctive culture or *character* [emphasis added] is created” (p. 98).

In sum, I argue that while one goal of institutionalization is the development of an organizational character (Selznick, 2002), this character is a reflection of the institutional core.

Institutions and change

Like Friedland (2009), Selznick’s (1957) conception of institutional life left room – if not held the expectation – for some form of change. In describing the nature of organizations and institutions, Selznick (1957) makes a clear distinction:

The term “organization” thus suggests a certain bareness, a lean, no-nonsense system of consciously co-ordinated activities. It refers to an *expendable tool*, a rational instrument engineered to do a job. An “institution,” on the other hand, is more nearly a natural product of social needs and pressures – a responsive, adaptive organism. (p. 5)

However, one significant question remains. While change is possible, and even expected, *how much and what kind of change is possible if an institution is maintained in recognizable form?* To begin to answer this question, I focus on the institutional core, i.e., what remains constant over time, and peripheral elements, i.e., what may change over time.

Like Friedland (2009), Selznick (1957) also takes a less aggressive and agentic stance regarding change; change is expected, but as a “natural” or “unplanned” phenomenon:

Taking account of both internal and external social forces, institutional studies emphasize the *adaptive* change and evolution of organizational forms and practices. In these studies the story is told of new patterns emerging and old ones declining, not as a result of conscious design but as natural and largely unplanned adaptation to new situations. (p. 12)

However, if interpreted somewhat differently, Selznick (1957) hints less at the power and interest of individuals to effect change, but rather the position that external and internal forces place individuals in: a position of *choice*. If the environment or context changes, what must be done to maintain an institution?

Extant literature does not include many instances of research that focuses on the relationship between institutions and character. Selznick (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) investigated this relationship the most rigorously in the past, while a few others touched on the area, albeit, in somewhat a different vein, and often not citing Selznick as inspiration. Sokal (1990) addresses institutional character as a product of a single individual's character, via the case of Clark University, Massachusetts and its founding President G. Stanley Hall. In a similar context, Kuh (1993) studies the impact of mission, philosophy, and culture, on overall institutional character, and how that character impacted individuals' behaviors within education, most specifically, universities and colleges. Therefore, Kuh (1993) aligns closely with the main theoretical question posed here, though of varying orientation and empirical context.

Beyond these few examples, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) work on institutional and organizational character has not been actively embraced by the organizational literature. However, it has great potential in helping to further theorize the institutional core, in particular, clarifying what is held constant during the maintenance process.

Authenticity and integrity

The related concepts of authenticity and integrity are positioned to complement Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, as well as Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) institutional and organizational character, in developing the institutional core. The nature of

authenticity and integrity have been developed to the greatest extent by Selznick (1992; 2002; 2008). However, overall, they again do not figure very prominently within the organization theory literature, nor the rapidly developing institutional work literature. The following discussion addresses Selznick's (1992; 2002; 2008) usage, and other references in extant literature.

Authenticity

Authenticity is developed by Selznick (1992) in his description of morality within a modern age, linking it to elements of character as well as integrity, as well as two related notions, *coherence* and *unity*. In particular, these descriptions provide a foundation of individual experience that can be applied to institutions, and organizations.

In describing moral understandings, Selznick (1992) defines *authenticity* as a “wholeness, inwardness, and self-formation in thought, feeling, and moral choice” (p. 65). In the case of institutions, authenticity reflects an institutional “wholeness” derived from the institutional core, in terms of both practical and emotional aspects of institutional life. Selznick (1992) also links authenticity to character, noting that “authenticity requires being open with oneself and others, not out of mindless candor, but in a spirit of caring and being cared for. At stake is the spontaneous expression of feeling and character” (p. 71). I argue that the institutional core is expressed via authenticity, with authenticity allowing for the expression of institutional and organizational character.

Further, in terms of individuals, Selznick (2008) closely links aspects of coherence, unity, and identity to authenticity: “the quest for coherence stems from a need for authenticity, the inner unity and well-being produced by feelings of commitment and identity” (p. 62). In the same way, the institutional core, expressed via authenticity, allows for the expression of not only character, but also general coherence and unity, or identity. These individual drives are conceptualized by Selznick (2008) as flowing from a need for *integrity*, which according to Selznick (2008), concerns not only wholeness, but “competence”:

A primary concern is the coherence and competence - the integrity - of persons, activities, and institutions. When integrity is weakened, an inner strength is lost, especially the ability to adapt to new circumstance without loss of purpose or corruption of values. (p. 125)

In sum, Selznick (1992; 2008) sees authenticity, integrity, and character as being deeply interrelated, and it is this “inner strength” (Selznick, 2008, p. 125), or institutional core that must be guarded, without loss of focus. In particular, these aspects allow individuals and institutions to change over time, *without* losing their core.

Beyond the work of Selznick (1992; 2008), extant literature has really very little to add to authenticity, and, therefore, is a notable gap, or missed opportunity, in the literature. One example is offered by Ritvala and Kleymann (2013) who argue that cluster emergence is critically tied to authenticity, and authentic leadership work. One further example is drawn from the visual art literature, where authenticity often defines the difference between an actual work by a specific artist over something that is a reprint or forgery. Pine and Gilmore (2007) offer an extension to authenticity, i.e., the authenticity of experience, something that they argue is important socially to institutions such as the museum. According to Pine and Gilmore (2007), “museums must therefore learn to understand, manage and excel at *rendering authenticity*” (p. 76). This perspective aligns well with the institutional work perspective that focuses on the importance of individuals and the need for work or effort (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009). Pine and Gilmore (2007) also isolate two aspects they see as forming authenticity: first, “being true to one’s own self” (p. 79) and “being what you say you are to others” (p. 79). Taken together these two statements point to the importance of action, clarity of goals, i.e. a well-defined institutional core, and finally, having an honesty, i.e., integrity, in action. In sum, I argue that authenticity is an element of the institutional core – its “inner strength” (Selznick, 2008, p. 125), as well as a key factor in an institution’s ability to express its core, and cope with change.

Integrity

Selznick (1992) also develops the notion of integrity, both in terms of personal and institutional morality. In Selznick's description of personal morality, he emphasizes the importance of integrity, and links it to authenticity. For Selznick (1992), individual integrity is "the centrepiece of morality and the main concern of the moral actor. In ordinary language 'integrity' suggest both honesty and coherence" (p. 212). Selznick (1992) also argues that "integrity properly denotes *both wholeness and soundness*. To have integrity is to be unmarred by distortion, deception, or other form of disharmony and inauthenticity" (p. 213). If applied to institutions, integrity, like authenticity confirms the "wholeness and soundness" (Selznick, 1992, p. 213) or institutional core, as well as marks an institution's ability to maintain itself over time. Further, integrity works in tandem with authenticity to help institutions meet their goals and avoid, or repair, disruptions caused by invasive elements.

As with authenticity, Selznick (1992) also links personal integrity to action and emotionality. Selznick (1992) argues that individual's integrity is not always easy to maintain; work is involved:

Integrity is easier to come by in some circumstances than in others. Under conditions of stress and anxiety, and in the absence of an adequate ego, psychological coherence and competence are hard to maintain... integrity is a hard-won achievement... often manifested in rudimentary, partial, and groping ways. Therefore we should not say that every persistent pattern of motivation or conduct, just because it is a pattern, has the virtue of integrity. To do so ignores the interplay of form and content – and the personal struggle entailed in that interplay. (pp. 213-214)

In addition to personal integrity, Selznick (1992) directly applies integrity to organizations and institutions as well. In his earlier work, Selznick (1957) links integrity and character, via the impact of history and time:

To the extent that they are natural communities, organizations have a history; and this history is compounded of discernible and repetitive modes of responding to internal and

external pressures. As these responses crystallize into definite patterns, a social structure emerges. The more fully developed its social structure, the more will the organization become valued for itself, not as a tool but as an institutional fulfillment of group integrity and aspiration. (p. 16)

Selznick (1957) also positions integrity as one of the main institutional concerns for actors or leaders. Leaders must concern themselves with “the defence of institutional integrity – the persistence of an organization’s distinctive values, competence, and role” (Selznick, 1957, p. 119). This “defence” (Selznick, 1957, p. 119) work complements the institutional work perspective’s focus on actors and action, and the importance of human agency. For Selznick (1992), agency is often cast under the watch of the “moral agent” within the confines of integrity:

“Agency” connotes competence, intentionality, and accountability. To be an agent is to act purposively, and to do so, on behalf of a principal or in the service of a goal or policy. To be a *moral* agent, something more is required. There must be values in play beyond technical excellence, efficiency, or effectiveness. In its usual meaning, moral agency presumes a capacity to appreciate and reason from principles that speak (in the context at hand) to fellowship and integrity. (pp. 238-239)

Further, Selznick (1957) cites the defence of integrity as being an important result of the institutionalization process: “As [institutionalization] occurs, organization management becomes institutional leadership. The latter’s main responsibility is not so much technical administrative management as the maintenance of institutional integrity” (p. 138).

Here, Selznick’s (1957) description of the defence of integrity points to the institutional core, and its importance in shaping organizations and actions:

It is the unity that emerges when a particular orientation becomes so firmly a part of group life that it colors and directs a wide variety of attitudes, decisions, and form of organization, and does so at many levels of experience. The building of integrity is part

of what we have called the “institutional embodiment of purpose” and its protection is a major function of leadership. (pp. 138-139)

Selznick (1957) also addresses the maintenance of integrity. Specifically, maintaining integrity is possible, but it again requires work: “The ability to sustain integrity is dependent on a number of general conditions, including the adequacy with which goals have been defined” (p. 120). In this case, a strong institutional core is necessary to maintain integrity. Selznick (1957) also links the “defense” (p. 119) of institutional integrity as a main objective of leadership; attempting to survive is not enough: “the leadership of any polity fails when it concentrates on sheer survival: institutional survival, properly understood, is a matter of maintaining values and distinctive identity” (p. 63). Therefore, defence work involves the tending of “values” (Selznick, 1957, p. 63), or the institutional core, as well as “distinctive identity” (Selznick, 1957, p. 63), i.e., something distinct or unique that reflects aspects that have been changed as required by shifting contexts.

Selznick (1957) also states that the integrity of an institution is susceptible to attack:

The integrity of an institution may be threatened, regardless of its own inner strength, if sufficiently great force is applied to it... institutional integrity is characteristically vulnerable when values are tenuous or insecure. This variation in the strength of values has received little scientific attention. (pp. 119-120)

I argue that the institutional core can also be threatened. All related elements, character, identity, authenticity and integrity while contributing to the “inner strength” are subject to disruption. It takes work to define and defend this core.

Finally, Selznick (1992) also shifts his focus from action to structure in the following passage, while emphasizing a balance between action and structure, values and form. In some ways, it is a useful reminder for the theorist of institutional work, to avoid a pendulum swing, i.e., to suppress form for values, and structure for action.

The idea of integrity shifts attention from conduct to structure. Our main concern is not acts or even rules but effective *organization* of person, institution, or community.

Organization for moral well-being establishes basic values, and it also mobilizes resources and nurtures relationships. The moral integrity of a family, for example, depends on values of kinship and intimacy; it also requires appropriate form of communication and patterns of mutual support. (Selznick, 1992, p. 215)

Integrity and change

As with Friedland's (2009) conception of institutional substance, or essence, and Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) conception of institutional and organizational character as well as authenticity, Selznick's (1992) conception of integrity also allows for change, but within certain parameters:

In defending institutional integrity two basic strategies have long been followed. One focuses on a jealous regard for *autonomy*; the other, a wary quest for *integration*. Autonomy safeguards values and competencies by entrusting them to their most committed agents and by insulating them from alien pressures and temptations. Integration, for its part, widens support for the institution and provides opportunities for growth and adaptation. (p. 334)

In the same way, while the institutional core requires defence, some types of change are possible, and desirable. I argue that such "growth and adaptation" (Selznick, 1992, p. 334) constitutes possible change in terms of the institutional core, which defines its "autonomy" (Selznick, 1992, p. 334), while allowing "integration" (Selznick, 1992, p. 334), or change in peripheral aspects of the institution as necessitated by context or history. Both Friedland (2009) and Selznick (1992) do not discount an institution's placement within a larger social world, i.e., an ecology of institutions and organizations, which changes over time; however, an institution must maintain its integrity within this shifting environment, an institutional balancing act that require both work and, I argue, creativity: "The challenge is to maintain institutional integrity while taking into account new problems, new forces in the environment, new demands and expectations. A responsive institution avoids insularity without embracing opportunism" (Selznick, 1992, p. 336).

Selznick (1992) isolates those institutions that are particularly committed to “openness” (p. 336), which, I argue, points to the context of the symphony orchestra. To these, Selznick (1992) cautions the length to which organizations seek such “openness”:

Responsiveness is often wrongly identified with uncontrolled adaptation and capitulation to pressure... Few would argue that isolation and inflexibility are, apart from some special cases, necessary conditions of institutional integrity. The need for *controlled* adaptation is widely appreciated. If an institution is too weak (or too inept) to defend its integrity, we should call it opportunistic rather than responsive... Even institutions that have special commitment to openness must remain aware of the difference between responsiveness and opportunism. (p. 336)

Overall, I argue that the institutional core determines these limits, not only what institutional attributes must remain the same, but also those which may change over time.

At the time, Selznick (1957) makes a clear call for more research in understanding the importance of integrity, both for theoretical and practical understandings: “Institutional integrity is characteristically vulnerable *when values are tenuous or insecure*. This variation in the strength of values has received little scientific attention. Yet it commands much energy and concern in practical experience” (p. 120). Selznick (1957) goes as far as to say that “few aspects of organization are so important, yet so badly neglected by students of the subject, as this problem of institutional integrity” (p. 130).

In examining the literature, indeed much more has been said about institutional integrity than authenticity, though these descriptions come from a variety of academic orientations. Several institutional contexts have been examined including the state (Ware & Kisriev, 2001; Engelbrekt, 2011), law (Van Der Merwe, 2000; Conditt Jr., 2001; Wagner, 2003; Ntlama, 2011; Ratnapala & Crowe, 2012), education (Puyear, 1985; Conceição & Heitor, 2002), health (Iltis, 2001; Bisson, 2002), and the church (Cushman, 1981). Some of these authors name institutional integrity, but do not define it. However, within their arguments, they highlight some key properties of institutional integrity. For example, Ware & Kisriev (2001) argue that institutional integrity is a product of historical and political process, and can be destabilized over time, while Conditt Jr.

(2001) and Conceição & Heitor (2002) argue that institutional integrity is inherently valuable and should be preserved, but also susceptible to harm, threat, and loss. Iltis (2001) strongly links institutional integrity to issues pertaining to morals and ethics, and highlights the need for a clear definition of institutional integrity. A rather strong structural stance is also apparent, where institutional integrity is understood to focus on “draw[ing] distinct boundaries between institutions of various kinds” (Engelbrekt, 2011, p. 167).

Several definitions of institutional integrity have been offered in the process of its theorization. Of interest is Puyear’s (1985), where institutional integrity is defined as the “degree to which the institution is able to remain true to its basic mission” (p. 63). Extending Puyear’s (1998) more basic definition, Cushman (1981) argues that institutional integrity “may appertain to a structured social organism or organization devoted, as instrument, to certain acknowledged ends, laudable or not, and with relation to which some men and women are, as it were, prime movers and managers” (p. 52). Cushman (1981) goes on to highlight Selznick’s (1992; 2002; 2008) “coherence” and “unity”. According to Cushman (1981), institutional integrity “usually manifests itself in functional coherence and outward unity of expression” (p. 52). Here, Cushman (1981) focuses on both function and action, and later highlights the importance of structure: “any institution may possess integrity insofar as its structural order (involving governing principles) is conducive to the advancement of its own acknowledged and distinctive ends” (p. 52). Cushman (1981) cites a lack or loss of integrity when an “institution is no longer true to itself” (p. 53), a similar argument to Pine and Gilmore’s (2007), concerning authenticity within the context of museums. These few examples strongly align with the presence of the institutional core, a balance of action and structure, and integrity, as valued institutional virtue that requires work over time.

Iltis (2001) takes a similar stance, defining institutional integrity in two ways: “what an institution’s moral commitments *ought to be* and... what an institution’s commitments *are*” (p. 321). However, Iltis (2001) goes on to offer an internal-external perspective: first, a “universalist moral integrity... [that] evaluates an institution’s actions against a general standard of morality external to the institution” (p. 321), and “character moral integrity... [that is] an evaluation of an institution in light of its own commitments” (p. 321). This internal-external separation provides a

useful template for an ecological approach to institutions, as well as the more practical considerations around the empirical context of the symphony orchestra, i.e., both internal and external aspects must be addressed during times of disruption.

Finally, Wagner (2003), while not providing a definitive definition, offers some unique ideas around institutional integrity. Wagner (2003) links integrity with professionalism, as well as “personal virtue” (p. 48) and “personal character” (p. 48). Wagner’s (2003) focus on the impact of individuals aligns well with the institutional work perspective, and its call to “brin[g] the individual back into institutional theory” (Lawrence et al., 2011, p. 52). Wagner (2003) goes on to argue that institutional integrity, or “professionalism in the practice of law depends less on a code of professional conduct than on the personal character of the individual subject to it” (p. 48). Further Wagner (2003) implies that institutional integrity is not about rules, but actions, including the actions of individuals. Within the institutional work literature, one example stands out in terms of integrity. The work of Lok and de Rond (2013) offers “how different forms of institutional maintenance work can preserve the ostensive integrity of institutionalized practices” (p. 186).

On a final note, integrity is frequently referenced in the musical literature. One example, is offered by Tawa (2009), who describes Aaron Copland’s compositional perspective. Tawa (2009) emphasizes that this particular American composer “insisted that individuality and integrity could still be maintained even as a composer traveled the road to popularity” (p. 10). Tawa (2009) notes a balance between integrity – and traditional compositional styles – and individuality of the composer. Hand-and-hand, these two aspects accompany a composer in writing for a present audience.

Institutions and organizational identity

A final area that has important linkages to the institutional core includes an institutional approach to organizational identity, an area largely overlooked in the literature, though recently taken up by Glynn (2000; 2008). In earlier work, Glynn (2000) defines organizational identity as “a key intangible aspect of any institution. It affects not only how an organization defines itself, but also how strategic issues and problems, including the definition of firm capabilities and resources, are

defined and resolved” (p. 286). Drawing from the work of Dutton and Dukerich (1991), Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail (1994), and Dutton (1997), Glynn (2000) emphasizes that organizational identity is a product of organizational actors who enter a “*claim-making process* about those organizational attributes that are central, distinctive and enduring” (p. 286). In particular, Glynn (2008) highlights the following central question of identity studies: *Who are we as an organization?* In the case of this thesis, this question is reformulated as: *why are we an organization and how are we an organization?* These two questions focus on what constitutes the institutional core as well as why it exists.

Overall, I argue that the institutional core serves as the foundation of organizational identity creation, from which individual organizations are able to develop a distinctive identity within varied contexts. In particular, Glynn (2008) positions institutions as “enable[ing] organizational identity construction by supplying a set of possible legitimate identity elements with which to construct, give meaning to, and legitimize identities and identity symbols” (p. 413). I argue that these “legitimate identity elements” (Glynn, 2008, p. 413) point to the institutional core. However, I theorize the institutional core as a single institutional “element”, rather than multiple “elements”, which serves as a foundation for organizational identity.

Identity: Extant literature

In developing an institutional perspective to organizational identity work, Glynn (2008) draws from the work of Selznick (1957), who offers two central claims regarding identity. First, Selznick (1957) depicts institutionalization as a process whereby “organizations become institutions as they are infused with value” (p. 40), with organizations taking on a “distinct identity” (p. 40) as one of the most important results of this process. Second, Selznick (1957) firmly links identity and survival (or maintenance), arguing that “institutional survival, properly understood, is a matter of maintaining values and distinctive identity” (Selznick, 1957, p. 63). In particular, “maintaining values” (Selznick, 1957, p. 63) aligns with the institutional core that is maintained over time without change. “Distinctive identity” (Selznick, 1957, p. 63) points to those malleable, peripheral aspects that can undergo change to help organizations to meet the challenges of various contexts over time.

This arrangement of a sustained core, i.e., values, and changeable periphery, as part of a distinctive identity, is suggested by Selznick (1957):

There is a close relation between “infusion with value” and “self-maintenance.” As an organization acquires a self, a distinctive identity, it becomes an institution. This involves the taking on of values, ways of acting and believing that are deemed important for their own sake. From then on self-maintenance becomes more than bare organizational survival; it becomes a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of the group in the face of new problems and altered circumstances. (p. 21)

In referencing organizational identity, Selznick (1957) uses the term “character-formation” (p. 40), which seems to be used interchangeably with the notion of organizational identity.

Following Albert and Whetten (1985), Glynn (2008) also notes that within the literature, the “dominant approach models organizational identity as a claim-making *process* that centers on three core *attributes*: the central, distinctive and enduring character of the organization” (p. 416). Specifically, Albert and Whetten (1985) argue that the first attribute, a *central* character, acts “as a guide for what they [organizations] should do and how other institutions should relate to them” (267). Glynn (2008) extends this argument by suggesting that such a central character “implies an inter-organizational (and institutional) environment which enrobes the organization” (p. 421). I position such a “guide” (Albert & Whetten, 1985, p. 267) as the institutional core.

The second attribute, *distinctive* character, appears in the identity literature, as a focus on “organizational members’ perceptions of, and identification with, their organizations” (Glynn, 2008, p. 422). Further, Glynn (2008) emphasizes that distinctiveness “is not only the enhancement of the reputation or image of the organization, but also cues that enable external audiences to perceive the organization as legitimate and appropriate” (p. 422). Distinctiveness, therefore, refers to an organization’s ability to change peripheral elements to meet the demands of a variety of contexts. Within the context of the symphony orchestra, uniqueness of sound is one such distinguishing factor (e.g. the distinctive sound of the Vienna Philharmonic is often cited as being an important part of their identity; Cooper, 2014, July 30).

Further, Pedersen and Dobbin (2006) argue that an institutional propensity for conformity runs simultaneously with a search for uniqueness: “The antinomy between the central findings of neoinstitutional and organizational culture theories, we argue, reflects a wider social process in which organizations create legitimacy by adopting recognizable forms and create identity by touting their uniqueness” (p. 898). Several other authors that support this position of balance, including theoretical contributions of Brewer (1991), Gioia (1998), and Glynn and Lounsbury (2001), and key empirical papers by Porac, Thomas, Wilson, and Kanfer (1995), Lant and Baum (1995), and Leifer and White (1987).

Finally, Glynn (2008) notes the third, and most highly contested, of Albert and Whetten’s (1985) conceptualization of identity: *enduring* character. In particular, this attribute is enacted by the institutional core, but enabled through organizational work towards distinctiveness. Overall, I argue that identity, i.e., a goal or end result, is a living image that appears as institutional actors attend to the institutional core. Centrality and endurance stem from a foundational core, while distinctiveness flows from the malleability of peripheral, institutional elements.

The contributions of Albert and Whetten (1985) are followed by further work of Selznick (1992), on the nature of various social communities, which points to a counterpoint between “central”, i.e. core, and “peripheral” aspects:

A framework of shared beliefs, interests, and commitments unites a set of *varied* groups and activities. Some are central, others peripheral, but all are connected by bonds that establish a common faith or fate, a personal identity, a sense of belonging, and a supportive structure of activities and relationships. The more pathways are provided for participation in diverse ways and touching multiple interest... the richer is the experience of community. (pp. 358-359)

Here, Selznick (1992) emphasizes both central and peripheral aspects of a community, with “varied” (p. 358) aspects driving a “richer” (p. 359) community experience. In the same way, the variety afforded by peripheral aspects vs. the persistence of the institutional core, creates a “richer” (Selznick, 1992, p. 359) experience of the institution, integral to maintaining the institution over time.

A core-periphery perspective is observed several authors' accounts of the dual (or duel) role of institutions, i.e., as enabling and constraining entities, in various organizational contexts. Pedersen and Dobbin (2006) argue for conformity at some basic, foundational level, alongside expected variety: "An organization must make claims to being a recognizable member of a genus, and species, but it must also make claims to being a distinct member. The same is true for individuals" (p. 904). As described by Glynn (2008), an organization's identity – or more specifically, an organization's reflection of the institutional core – becomes "stylized" (p. 415). This duality of role is also shared by the institutional work perspective, which focuses on the recursive relationship between institutions and individuals (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009). I argue that this dual role is depicted through the focus on the institutional core, with expertly rendered experimentation at the periphery via institutional actors' day-to-day work within unique organizational contexts.

In theorizing the institutional core, clear linkages between aspects of identity, image and reputation are necessary. Within extant literature, Whetten and MacKay (2002) offer one of the clearest theorizations of these interconnections:

Broadly speaking, identity, image, and reputation are fundamental components of the self-management project – the effectiveness of which is central to the success of organizations as social actors. Within this framework, image and reputation are treated as components of a symmetrical communications process between the organization (self) and relevant stakeholders (other). (p. 400)

Whetten and MacKay (2002) theorize that organizational image is "what organizational agents want their external stakeholders to understand is most central, enduring, and distinctive about their organization" (p. 401). As a reciprocal part of this process, organizational reputation is "a particular type of feedback, received by an organization from its stakeholders, concerning the credibility of the organization's identity claims" (Whetten & MacKay, 2002, p. 401). In my conceptualization of the institutional core, these two reciprocal processes are governed by the institutional core, while allowing the necessary latitude for organizations to create distinctiveness in peripheral aspects of the institution.

One further consideration is offered by Glynn (2008), who positions the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra as an example of conflicting identities, or *hybridized identities*. Glynn (2008) argues that “complex organization like a symphony... may have a multiplicity of claims on its central character” (p. 421), i.e., the players focusing on the aesthetic dimension, while management focusing on the financial one. A follow up empirical study by Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) focuses on critics of the Atlanta Symphony, and how their critical reviews can be cast as significant “stories that reveal important insights about the nature of symphonic identity and the strategies of organizational adaptation that are employed” (p. 1052).

The institutional core is helpful in reconciling such examples of multiple or conflicting expectations around organizational identity. For example, a symphony orchestra must attend to both performing music and overcoming financial constraints of the environment. These two goals are not a modern manifestation: musically proficient players and significantly endowed funders have always been required to allow the orchestra to survive. What institutional core might both aspire to? Where do these two identities intersect as one? While the complexity of the symphony orchestra demands what Glynn (2008) describes as “cultural repertoires of meaning that organizations can appropriate to address the question of ‘who we are’” (p. 421), I argue that this complexity must attend to a single institutional core, with flexibility in the “repertoires of meaning” (p. 421) around that same core.

Overall, these early theorizations of organizational identity, and specific institutional linkages offered by Selznick (1957; 1992), lead to Glynn’s (2008) efforts to further investigate institutional understandings of identity, and especially, “how institutions enable organizational identity construction by supplying a set of possible legitimate identity elements with which to construct, give meaning to, and legitimize identities and identity symbols” (p. 413). This work lays important groundwork for my theorization of the institutional core.

An institutional approach to organizational identity

I argue that Glynn’s (2008) description of a “set of possible legitimate identity elements” (p. 413) reference the institutional core. In some respects, Glynn (2008) already points to their origin: “institutionalism and identity have meaning at their *core*” (p. 413). In other words, the

institutional core drives organizational identity creation, and holds the meaning that drives action, or what Glynn (2008) describes as performance.

In Glynn's (2008) survey of the few institutional approaches that appear in the literature, two approaches are significant. First, identity is cast "as 'essentialist' and attribute-based, i.e., reflecting some underlying or 'true' organizational character" (p. 416). Glynn (2008) offers an institutional alternative of focusing on an "organization's membership in a social category [over an] organization's essence" (p. 419). From my perspective, a "true" (Glynn, 2008, p. 416) character points to the institutional core, buffered by elements of authenticity and integrity. Second, Glynn (2008) finds that identity is also cast in the literature as a "strategic resource, being deployed to competitive advantage and functioning as a guide to firm decision-making and strategic choice" (p. 416). This approach links to Glynn's (2008) processual focus, i.e., "enactment or implementation" (p. 420) of identity, where performance is related to survival. Glynn (2008) highlights performance, but action could also include construction and (re)construction, and change. From my perspective, this focus on action is guided by the institutional core, but enacted in the day-to-day work of institutional actors. Drawing from the work of Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003), Glynn (2008) also draws particular attention to "expectations about how actors should *perform* an identity in specific situations" (p. 425). Glynn (2008) argues that when organizational identities are "put to use in practical performance, their meaning and relevance is reaffirmed as subjective experience" (p. 425). Therefore, the process of organizations putting their institutional core into action, as well as the various components of their identities, is integral to related meanings and relevance.

In both approaches, the institutional core can be conceptualized as being at the heart of both the attributes and strategic actions of organizations, both of which enable an organization – and an institution – to be maintained over time. Glynn (2008) references such a concept, organizational identity as an attribute-based concept or "core 'essence'" (p. 417), a term specifically used by Friedland (2009). Further, Glynn (2008) also references the nature of personal identity, a technique employed by Selznick, in his descriptions of organizational character and authenticity.

Overall, Glynn (2008) isolates two main contributions of extent institutional identity work: first, how institutions, or "macro-level, inter-organizational influences situate and shape

organizational identities” (p. 414); and second, how these same institutions aid organizations in “adapt[ing] their identities... to secure legitimacy” (p. 414). I argue that the institutional core forms the source of such “macro-level, inter-organizational influences” (Glynn, 2008, p. 414) and dictates what can be changed and what cannot. The constancy of the institutional core not only provides direction in identity or character formation, but also clarity around what peripheral aspects can be changed over time to strengthen the organization within changing contexts over time and place. Glynn (2008) hints at this in describing the nature of restriction: “Even though institutional structures and environments tend to sanction some kinds of meanings and elements over others, they are nonetheless complex and multi-textured in meaning, thereby making some variation in identities possible” (p. 414). Specifically, I argue that the institutional core dictates what “meanings and elements” (Glynn, 2008, p. 414) must remain constant over time, and others that may change.

Finally, Glynn (2008) provides two further arguments for an institutional approach to identity. First, Glynn (2008) describes the role of an institution as providing the “raw materials” (p. 420) from which organizational identities are constructed. This is in line with the institutional core; however, I argue the institutional core is understood as a *single* raw material or essence rather than several. Though sometimes elusive, the institutional core is ultimately a single overarching idea, value or meaning, rather than several ideas, values, or meanings. While Glynn (2008) positions several raw materials as composing an organization’s identity, therefore calling for actors to engage in “institutional bricolage” (p. 420), I argue an institution’s persistence – and member organizations’ persistence – points to a single core, which is intelligible and describable as a single meaning. It exists, but can be difficult to articulate, a foundation upon which other “meanings” reverberate.

Glynn (2008) encourages future research around the notion of institutional bricolage, especially around understanding these “wider models in the institutional field from which organizational identities are constructed” (p. 424). Glynn (2008) divides these models into two types: those of “local environments” (p. 424) vs. “distal or universal environments (p. 424). In some regards, the institutional core suggests such a division: what is the foundational constant for an institution and its members, i.e., the universal truth, and what local attributes are malleable and changeable by

institutional actors in their day-to-day work of maintaining an institution? For Glynn (2008), “the process of identity construction becomes the process of institutional bricolage, where organizations incorporate cultural meanings, values, sentiments and rules into their identity claims” (p. 424). In particular, the institutional core guides such a process of identity construction, with the various collected meanings and values having some flexibility as context dictates. Glynn (2008) also addresses some implications of a bricolage approach. Specifically, “when organizations appropriate institutional elements from different – and especially oppositional categories – they can erode the boundaries that compartmentalize these elements and thus blunt distinctiveness” (Glynn, 2008, p. 424). An alternate view is offered by an ecological approach to institutions, where institutions work in a very symbiotic way. Common institutional elements provide the *institutional glue* that binds these larger, complex institutional configurations.

Glynn (2008) also focuses on institutions and the nature of boundaries, i.e., a central character “implicates a set of institutional categories and boundaries from which this character draws meaning” (p. 422). This perspective can be complemented by one that offers a more organic, or three-dimensional approach to the institutional core. Rather than a central core with a fixed boundary between it and more malleable aspects, I cast the institutional core as a pervasive essence that impacts all aspects of an institution, and its organizational members. This perspective is suggested by Selznick (1957), in his description of the defence of integrity, where “unity” (p. 139), or in the case of this research, the institutional core, “becomes so firmly a part of group life that it *colors and directs* [emphasis added] a wide variety of attitudes, decisions, and forms of organization” (p. 139). In this way, the institutional core “colors” (Selznick, 1957, p. 139) all aspects of an institution to some extent; however, within this intricate network, variety could exist as part of so-called peripheral aspects, as enacted by intuitive individuals within unique contexts.

Conclusion

In sum, I offer the institutional core as the focus of institutional maintenance work. I argue that the institutional core forms the basis of institutions and member organizations, with peripheral aspects found within the institutional environment providing opportunities for experimentation,

adaptation and change. The institutional core directly informs an organization's character and identity-creation activities, and related aspects of integrity and authenticity, as well as energizes and directs action or work. Therefore, the institutional core governs both attributes and actions at the organizational level, while making clear what must be maintained over time, and what may change. The institutional core does allow for distinctive elements or variation, but within limits.

Second, within my view, institutions do constrain and enable. This aspect is foundational within the institutional work perspective that views institutions and individuals, i.e., organizations or even individual actors, within a generative and recursive relationship (Lawrence et al., 2009). From my perspective, the institutional core is, in part, a constraint, i.e., it is the immovable aspect of an institution that gives it life. However, this core also enables and directs an institution and its organizational members to draw from the institutional environment for experimentation, adaptation and change. While the institutional core provides the sustenance for maintaining the institution over time, peripheral aspects can be used creatively by individuals to cope with changing environments.

Therefore, the institutional core, is conceptualized as a single, potent and motivating institutional substance that is at the heart of the institutional maintenance over time. Five elements – institutional substance, or essence (Friedland, 2009), institutional and organizational character (Selznick, 1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008), authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008) inform this conceptualization. In particular, I argue that institutions are driven by a single institutional core, rather than several cores. Further, I do not take a boundary-focused approach, but rather position the institutional core as a pervasive essence that impacts all aspects of an institution, as well as its member organizations. Finally, I argue that institutions must be understood as being members of a higher-level of interaction, or an ecology of institutions that share similar attributes that act as an institutional glue for both collaboration and contestation.

Chapter 3: Research Context and Methodology

I focus on *how institutions are maintained over time* via the empirical context of the symphony orchestra, specifically the New York Philharmonic. As the oldest extant orchestra in America, it constitutes a high-profile, contemporary example of a symphony orchestra. Historically, the symphony orchestra has been an influential arts institution since its beginnings in mid-17th century Europe (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004). Today, the symphony orchestra persists in North America and beyond, as a vehicle of artistic expression for instrumentalists, soloists, and conductors, a significant artistic ingredient for today's cities, and oft a symbol of nationalistic pride. That said, many symphony orchestras struggle with rising operational costs, declining audience numbers, and the variability of funder commitment. The late 20th and early 21st centuries have seen several American orchestras disappear, with several others wavering on the brink of closure. In light of these major disruptions, the nature of institutional maintenance over time is of both theoretical and practical significance.

To address this overarching theoretical question, I offer the *institutional core*, drawing from Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, Selznick's (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) institutional and organizational character, and related concepts of authenticity and integrity, and identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008). I offer the institutional core as the "main ingredient" that is maintained amidst disruption, as expressed via four key propositions.

In the first stage, my general analytic strategy determines *what elements of the symphony orchestra have been maintained, and what elements have changed over time*. In doing so I draw from the work of Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004), who provide a framework of key orchestral elements, as well as several commissioned and non-commissioned biographies of the New York Philharmonic. These biographies, along with reviews of the New York Times and other media sources, also provide several key disruptions that have occurred during the history of the New York Philharmonic since its inception in 1842.

In the second stage, via a mixed method design, I determine *how actors, both endogenous and exogenous to the symphony orchestra, engage in repairing and recreating practices*. During this process, I remain sensitive to themes that emerge during data collection and analysis. Finally, I

also focus on the institutional core, and its applicability to the process of maintaining institutions over time, i.e. *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?*

General outline

I employ a qualitative research design (Creswell, 2013; Creswell, 2014) to develop and extend our understanding of how institutions are maintained over time. Maintenance is a theoretical question that is characterized by significant complexity, and therefore well-suited to a qualitative approach. I employ a natural setting (Creswell, 2014), i.e., the New York Philharmonic, in addressing my main theoretical questions, via a mixed methods approach, utilizing both case study and archival analysis. Via archival analysis, I also employ a quantitative component that allows an investigation of key elements of three endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists and conductors, in terms of what has been maintained, and what has changed over time.

I collect data from multiple sources, including the institutionalized archives of the New York Philharmonic, commissioned and non-commissioned biographies of the New York Philharmonic, and New York Times reviews, which have continuously traced the Philharmonic's activities since 1851. In particular, I focus on maintenance as a process that occurs over a significant length of time, i.e., not just a few years, or even a few decades, but rather over an almost 175 year period.

I also draw from the work of Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004), who outline the creation and consolidation of the orchestra in Europe. These authors emphasize that the birth of the orchestra was first and foremost *a process* that occurred over the years 1650 to 1815, culminating in an institutional form that was distinct from others that preceded it and of the time (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004). In detailing this process, Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004) highlight five key elements: etymology, taxonomy, organology, orchestration and social history. These five key elements form a basic foundation for the various aspects of the symphony orchestra that I address when investigating what has been maintained and what has changed over time.

Overall, the process of data collection focuses on my direct involvement with key archival documents. During data collection, I first put primary importance on participant meanings, over

my preliminary theoretical propositions. However, through the process of data collection and data analysis, I interpret these data considering both my own and the participants' perspectives (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, my overall findings constitute a blend and balance of my interpretation, the interpretations of the participants, views held within extant literature, and themes that emerge from these data (Creswell, 2013).

As expected in qualitative methods, the design that I employ is set, but not immovable. My initial plans have a fluidity over time, which is necessary for both case study method and archival analysis (Stake, 1995). When using the case study in particular, questions often evolve over time, including those of the researcher, i.e., “etic”, and those flowing from the context, i.e., “emic” (Stake, 1995). In general, I take both a qualitative and constructivist stance (Creswell, 2013), in that my analysis favors multiple perspectives rather than one set answer (Stake, 1995), which reflects a close “engagement” with participants via key historical texts, and incorporates my own views considering my background in music.

On my role as researcher and ethical considerations

In addressing my role and impact in the research process, I bring attention to my particular experience in the arts, i.e., as professional musician (trained as a concert pianist), and arts manager. My background has served me well in unlocking important findings over the course of the proposed study. While a former experience in music could present problematic bias, this bias is limited as my profession was as pianist rather than orchestral musician. I am still an active musician, sensitive to issues in artistic life, and, therefore, have a nuanced understanding of various data. Ultimately my experience shapes my overall findings and provides grounds for great opportunity. The University of Alberta granted Research Ethics Board approval; however, the nature of the research questions and the focus on historical texts did not lead to sensitive ethical issues.

Qualitative design: Case study analysis and archival analysis

I employ a mixed method design, using case study design (Stake, 1995, 2006; Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2013), in conjunction with archival analysis to address the main theoretical question of

this study. In particular, this approach allows the investigation and analysis of “complicated research questions” (Yin, 2009, p. 63), as well as the “collect[ion of] a richer and stronger array of evidence” (Yin, 2009, p. 63).

The Single Case Study

Following Yin (2009), the empirical context of the New York Philharmonic is an example of a *critical case*, which helps build and extend our understanding of institutional maintenance. As well, since the symphony orchestra is somewhat a unique context within the business literature, it also serves as a *revelatory case*. Further, as I take a historical stance in addressing institutional maintenance, via the New York Philharmonic’s trajectory over an almost 175 year period, this case study also serves as an example of Yin’s (2009) *longitudinal case*. Overall, I follow Yin’s (2009) single, embedded case study design, i.e., a single case that addresses multiple units of analysis.

In defining my approach to case study analysis, I begin with Creswell’s (2013) definition:

Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case themes. The unit of analysis in the case study might be multiple cases (a multisite study) or a single case (a within-site study). (p. 97)

I move past Creswell’s (2013) focus on “contemporary” (p. 97), to a historicized view of maintenance, which includes both contemporary and historical viewpoints. This stance is supported by Yin (2009), who also positions case study as best suited for present-day contexts, but does integrate the use of history and related documents and artifacts. I argue that maintenance, especially institutional maintenance, is not an event captured purely by contemporary data. It is a process that occurs over a considerable amount of time and, therefore, requires additional data to sufficiently capture the process. Historical data is critical to the overall research design and subsequent data collection and analysis.

The maintenance of institutions over time presents a case of considerable complexity. Following Yin (2009), the case study acts as a particularly useful instrument in addressing “complex social phenomena” (p. 4), via initial theoretical propositions, multiple data sources, and triangulation of data. Yin (2009) further offers four different applications of case study research, i.e., to explain, describe, illustrate and enlighten. Following this trajectory, I employ the example of the New York Philharmonic to reach these general analytical goals in answering the main research question: *how are institutions maintained over time?* Further, this context is employed to answer the related question of *how actors, both endogenous and exogenous to an institution, engage in repairing and recreating practices*, as well as a culminating question: *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?*

Finally, the case study of the New York Philharmonic fits the profile of an *explanatory* type (Yin, 2009), in that I focus on the *how* and *why* behind institutional maintenance at the New York Philharmonic. Further, in providing a greater understanding of the maintenance process, this case study is also of *instrumental* type, following Stake (1995), i.e., “the purpose of the case study is to go beyond the case” (Stake, 2006, p. 8), providing the context to further theoretical understanding.

The single case study: Key components

Following Yin (2009), the main components of my case study design consist of the following: questions (also highlighted by Stake, 1995), propositions, units of analysis, logic linking data to propositions, and criteria for interpretation of findings. By employing case study in conjunction with archival analysis and a sensitivity to historical concerns, I collect, analyze, and interpret data from multiple sources to answer these questions, all the while remaining open to emergent themes during data collection and analysis. I address these propositions at organizational and institutional levels, i.e., via the individual member organization, the New York Philharmonic, and the institution of the symphony orchestra.

Theoretically, our understanding of the maintenance of institutions is still ongoing. There is merit in seeking a deep understanding of contexts, including single contexts, as part of the ongoing theoretical development of this area. Case study method provides that kind of depth:

“To study a case, we carefully examine its functioning and activities, but the first objective of a case study is to understand the case... Early on, we need to find out how the case gets things done” (Stake, 2006, p. 2). Further, part of that depth involves the study of maintenance over a considerable amount of time, another dimension addressed by case study method: “the case is dynamic... It has stages of life – only one of which may be observed, but the sense of history and future are part of the picture” (Stake, 2006, p. 3). Case study method also places importance on context (Stake, 2006), including historical, cultural, physical, political, and aesthetic contexts. Further, case study method’s emphasis on a variety of contexts aids in the definition of secondary source materials (Stake, 2006) as well as “interrelations” (Stake, 2006, p. 12).

Finally, in addressing the maintenance of institutions over time, historical considerations cannot be dismissed, for as Suddaby et al. (2014) assert, the study of institutional maintenance engages scholars in “an implicit historical theme” (p. 3). My general intent – understanding the maintenance of institutions over time – is difficult if not impossible, if the actors, events, processes and influences over history (and including the present) are not addressed as a whole. Hargadon & Douglas (2001) assert that the historical case study “provide[s] a perspective that covers the decades often necessary to observe an innovation’s emergence and stabilization” (p. 480). In the same way, a historical case study offers the breadth and depth necessary to investigate the maintenance of institutions, while maintaining the rigor necessary for theory development.

The single case study: Noted “tensions”

The single case study has provoked misgivings in the literature; however, its power has also been affirmed in appropriate applications. For instance, while the single case study does not provide the comparative power of a multi-case study, it has been effectively used in multiple disciplines, from political science (Lipset, Trow, & Coleman, 1956; Allison, 1971) – the nature of power in organizations and the explanation of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, respectively; to sociology (Johnson, 2007) – organizational imprinting and the founding of the Paris Opera; to business (Schein, 2003) – why businesses succeed or fail.

The single case study has served as a useful methodological tool in developing theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Ragin & Becker, 1992; Yin, 2009), and generally, as a “systematic research tool” (Yin, 1981, p. 58). Rojas (2010) highlights its strengths when “studying difficult-to-observe processes that would require interviews, field site visits, and internal organizational documents to construct a credible account” (p. 1267). Further, Eisenhardt (1989) focuses on its strengths of “novelty, testability, and empirical validity, which arise from the intimate linkage with empirical evidence” (p. 548), as well as it being “particularly well-suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate” (pp. 548-9).

Kieser (1994) also notes two important tensions that require resolution. First, there are concerns with generalization over the unique. According to Kieser (1994), “historians stress the uniqueness of organizations, while organization theorists stress the general dimensions of organizations” (p. 612). This potential problem is compensated by what is gained by adopting the historical case method. Following Geertz (1973), Hargadon and Douglas (2001) argue that

The purpose of such an analysis is not to develop a set of general rules that apply across all cases but, instead, to look at the concrete details and actions of a particular situation to understand the larger systems of meaning reflect in them. (p. 480)

The goal may not be the same, but the goal is no less important overall.

Second, concerns arise over the relative importance of creating grand theories. According to Kieser (1994), “sociologists...favor grand theories...while historians fundamentally distrust grand theories” (p. 612). However, though business historians favor facts over theory, historical methods do not necessarily preclude the possibility of theoretical gains. Overall, I employ historical methods in a context that demands historical sensitivity, i.e., institutional maintenance as an inherently historical process.

One final tension concerns the nature of archival data itself (Bryman, 1989; Ventresca & Mohr, 2002; Rojas, 2010). According to Rojas (2010), organizational archives often present many advantages, but many problems as well, including holes in data over time and the presence of a single institutionalized view. However, these and other problems can be combatted in part by

drawing from a wealth of information from a variety of sources (Pettigrew, 1997; Hargadon & Douglas, 2001; Brunninge, 2009; Rojas, 2010). Drawing from the work of Pettigrew (1990), Brunninge (2009) argues for the value of the case study: “the generated data are not only rich in mere volume, but also stem from multiple sources, include contextual aspects and represent an extended period of time” (p. 14).

Overall, the New York Philharmonic is a well-positioned case study to address institutional maintenance over time. First, it is known to have one of the largest and most complete institutional archives in the world, one that details the organization’s activities from its inception in 1842 to the current day. Second, the New York Philharmonic is also one of the more visible and well-known orchestras in the world. As such, a wealth of archival data is available for study, offering “historically grounded descriptive material” (Leblebici et al., 1991, p. 333) necessary to determine the nature of the maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time.

Archival analysis

Archival analysis was chosen to complement what case study can offer. To the “how” and “why” that is the focus of case study, archival analysis offers a complementary set of interests, including the “who”, “what”, “where”, “how many”, and “how much” (Yin, 2009). First, archival analysis is an important part of addressing the main theoretical question. Understanding how institutions are maintained over time amidst disruption, must be captured over a considerable time period. Since the New York Philharmonic has a wealth of archival information from its inception in 1842, archival analysis is essential in taking full advantage of this information. As well, an understanding of how institutions are maintained over time must also include those actors involved in both maintaining and disrupting those institutions.

Second, archival analysis also offers the opportunity for quantitative analysis (Yin, 2009) concerning key elements that have been maintained, or changed over time. In the case of the New York Philharmonic, this includes such aspects as the nature of the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, three key actors whose trajectories show inter-related yet very different expressions over time, in terms of their level of consistency as a group vs. their level of change. Therefore, a

mix of quantitative and qualitative measures are employed, i.e., frequency as well as presence and absence of key elements.

In sum, I employ a mixed method approach that involves case study and archival analysis as part of the overall research design to answer the main theoretical question: *how are institutions maintained over time?* I focus on times of disruption, and therefore also question: *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change?* Related to these questions, I also focus on “the how”: *how do actors, both endogenous and exogenous to an institution engage in repairing and recreating practices?* Overall, considering a focus on the institutional core, a related and final question of this research is thus: *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?*

Empirical context

As noted by Creswell (2013), the site for investigation is an important decision, and once set, directs the investigation of such aspects as actors, events, and processes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The New York Philharmonic was chosen as the *main site* for the following three reasons. First, as the process of maintenance is something that occurs over a significant amount of time, the New York Philharmonic is well-placed as oldest extant orchestra in the United States and North America, first established in New York City in 1842. Second, the Philharmonic also houses one of the most significant and complete archives in the symphonic world, thus offering an important site for data collection. Finally, while both the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonics have a similarly long history (established in 1882 and 1842 respectively), the New York Philharmonic offers the advantage of having an archives in the English language, as well as a long history of being referenced in English-speaking media and other literatures. As argued by Yin (2009) this preliminary step helps to improve the chances of collecting quality data.

The *main actors* include the New York Philharmonic, key commissioned and non-commissioned biographers, and reviewers from the New York Times, and other related organizations, i.e., “individuals who have commonly experienced the action or process” (Creswell, 2013, p. 154). Finally, the *event* and *process* under investigation includes the various actions that key actors have taken over time in maintaining the New York Philharmonic amidst disruption.

The New York Philharmonic Orchestra

While orchestral activity was apparent in America at a much earlier date, in places such as Philadelphia and Boston (Butterworth, 1998), New York established “the first professional orchestra to have survived to the present day” (p. 7). The New York Philharmonic was founded on April 23, 1842 as the Philharmonic Society of New York, making it the oldest orchestra in the USA, and one of the oldest orchestras in the world (History: Overview, n.d.). First led by American-born Ureli Corelli Hill, the Philharmonic Society’s inaugural season featured its first performance on December 7, 1842. It is important to note that several of the Philharmonic’s European contemporaries were also coming into being at this time, including the Vienna Philharmonic on March 28, 1842 (Hellsberg, n.d.), and the Berlin Philharmonic in 1882 (History of the Berliner Philharmoniker, n.d.). Therefore, the Philharmonic Society of New York participated in the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra that culminated in latter 19th to early 20th centuries.

Until 1909, the Philharmonic was managed as a cooperative: “musicians acted as shareholders or owners of the orchestra and selected the conductor, promoted concerts, and scheduled the season” (Wagner, 2006, p. 11). However, following several challenging years, the Philharmonic Society was restructured in corporate form, largely following the influence of Mary Sheldon, wife of George R. Sheldon, former President of the United States Trust Company and treasurer of the Republican National Committee (Wagner, 2006). By February 1909, the German-born composer, Gustav Mahler, was announced as the new conductor (Wagner, 2006), and a Guarantors Committee, with Sheldon as Chairman, took over the main administration of the organization (Shanet, 1975). The Philharmonic Society’s future was now directed and supported by the likes of J.P. Morgan, Joseph Pulitzer, and John D. Rockefeller.

Under the guidance of Mahler, and the financial support that the Guarantors Committee afforded, the Philharmonic Society began to develop its “world-wide reputation” (Mahler & Roman, 1989, p. 244), and grew as a valuable civic and national institution (Shanet, 1975). During a time of consolidation, the Philharmonic Society merged with several other orchestras based in New York, including the National Symphony Orchestra, the City Symphony Orchestra, and Symphony Society (Shanet, 1975). Following the merger with the Symphony Society in 1928,

the new “Philharmonic-Symphony Society became for all practical purposes the official orchestra of the City of New York and the focus of the city’s orchestral activity” (Shanet, 1975, p. 256). Its growth depended upon a strong administrative body that included a “number of intelligent and conscientious administrators with talent and experience in running large organizations” (Shanet, 1975, p. 235). Concert-goers up to the 1956-57 season saw the title, *Philharmonic-Symphony Society* prominently displayed on the front page of programs; however, beginning in the 1957-58 season, the title, *The New York Philharmonic*, took its place. Its relationship with New York City was complete.

Throughout its history, the New York Philharmonic has been led by a long line of distinguished conductors, and composer-conductors, i.e., those conductors who are also composers. Up until the late 19th century, the New York Philharmonic often had several active conductors in each season, but into the 20th, it was led by a principal conductor, with others appearing as guests, or in several other subsidiary capacities, within the regular season. The post of principal conductor is an important one (Frank, 2002), and at the Philharmonic, it became “one of the most highly prized in the musical world” (New York Philharmonic Orchestra, n.d., para. 1). Since July 19, 2007, Alan Gilbert, who made his debut with the Philharmonic in 2001, has held this position, and is distinguished, in part, as the first native New Yorker to assume this role (Canarina, 2010).

From its inception, the New York Philharmonic has acted as champion of new music (History: Overview, n.d.), focusing its efforts on commissions, including world, North American, or USA premieres. This self-described “pioneering tradition” (History: Overview, n.d., para. 2), is complemented by an array of world-renowned conductors, composer-conductors, as well as by a well-defined partnership with technological developments, from early phonograph recordings with Columbia Records in the 1910s (Shanet, 1975), to radio broadcasts beginning in 1922 (History: Overview, n.d.), to its first national radio broadcast made on the CBS network in 1937, and several television shows. Most recently, the New York Philharmonic now offers online digital content, and holds the distinction as “the first major American orchestra to offer downloadable concerts, recorded live” (History: Overview, n.d., para. 5).

The New York Philharmonic’s long history has been captured in its institutionalized archives based in New York City. The importance of this collection is seen, in part, in the creation of a

new presentation space, the Bruno Walter Gallery, which was set up in Avery Fisher Hall in the 1993-1994 Season, to display various items drawn from the archives (Canarina, 2010). Beyond these archives, the history of the New York Philharmonic has also been detailed in the press. From its inception, the Philharmonic's activities have been covered by several media sources: first, the New York Herald and New York Tribune (from the Philharmonic's inception in 1842), and the New-York Daily Times (from 1851). However, the New York Times (formerly the New-York Daily Times, and later, the New-York Times) has a particularly long, and uninterrupted history of chronicling the Philharmonic's activities, with all media sources often "shap[ing] public opinion and attitudes" (Mahler & Roman, 1989, p. xxiii).

Beyond its role as an early member of the institution of the symphony orchestra, the New York Philharmonic has also been defined by its role in the arts scene in New York City, but also by its activities within the United States and around the world via its touring activities. At home, the orchestra played an important role in New York City's rise in the mid-20th century as the "cultural capital of the world" (Bernstein & Haws, 2008, p. x) and was often employed by the US government as a targeted "'cultural offensive' during time of political difficulty" (Bernstein & Haws, 2008, p. 118). A particularly public example was a trip to Northern Korea in 2008, when the Philharmonic gave the first performance of an American orchestra in Pyongyang (History: Overview, n.d.). Recently, the New York Philharmonic's global presence was furthered through its association with Credit Suisse, its first and exclusive global sponsor (History: Overview, n.d.).

From its earliest times, the Philharmonic also filled an educational role. For example, in the 1850s, it opened rehearsals to audience members, a tradition still held today (Shanet, 1975). Under conductor Josef Stransky, the Philharmonic offered the first Young People's Concert in January, 1914 (Shanet, 1975). The New York Philharmonic also began a series in 2005 "for children from ages three to five" (Canarina, 2010, p. 377), called the Very Young People's Concerts.

For the 2014-2015 season, Alan Gilbert serves as the Philharmonic's Music Director, with Christopher Rouse as the Marie-Josée Kravis Composer-in-Residence, violinist Lisa Batiashvili, as the Mary and James G. Wallach Artist-in-Residence, and pianist Inon Barnatan, as Artist-in-

Association, a position created in 2014 to provide a long-term association with an emerging artist. The administrative team is led by Oscar S. Schafer, Chairman of the Board of Directors, and Matthew VanBesien, President and Executive Director. Since 2009, actor Alec Baldwin, holds the rather “visible” post of Radio Host for the nationally broadcast radio series, *The New York Philharmonic This Week*, and was later elected to the Board of Directors in December 2010.

Data analysis

To answer the question of *how institutions are maintained over time*, I employ case study method in conjunction with archival analysis. Data collection and analysis were concurrent activities, in association with the development of key propositions concerning the nature of maintenance amidst disruption offered in Chapter 2. These propositions reflect key themes that emerged from the literature, as well as from my own personal experience as professional musician and arts manager.

Case study method

Case study design (Stake, 1995, 2006; Yin, 2009) was chosen for its highly detailed description of the empirical context. This descriptive data provides emergent themes that form a counterpoint to specific information about actors, including quantitative analysis of their trajectories over time. Case study also helps create a chronology of key events, as well as isolate “patterns of unanticipated as well as expected relationships” (Stake, 1995, p. 41).

Following Yin (2009), I use two general strategies from the case study method. First, I have developed four key propositions regarding maintenance amidst disruption, which I have drawn from the literature and my past experience. Second, I developed a case description to highlight key thematic areas reflected in the propositions, as well as others that emerged over time which either complemented or ran counter to my initial propositions, i.e., something that Yin (2009, p. 133) describes as a *rival explanation* analytic strategy. As with archival analysis, the case study method especially focuses on the importance of interpretation (Stake, 1995).

Data analysis: A focus on structure and practice

Prior research on institutional work suggests two main categories, i.e., structure and practices (Lawrence et al., 2009). This division reflects a long-running tension in the literature between two divergent perspectives, one concerning key structures within the external environment that restrict – if not halt – human agency, and the other, concerning highly agentic actors that have the will and ability to shape their environments (Battilana & D’Aunno, 2009). My general analytic approach addresses both structural and practical aspects of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, in terms of what has stayed the same, and what has changed over time. I therefore focus on both the “*the what*” behind maintenance as well as “*the how*”. In doing so, I address four propositions regarding the nature of maintenance amidst disruption, drawing from selected elements offered by the framework of Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Structures and practices

Type	Element	Examples	Source
Structures	Taxonomy	Instrumentation, repertoire	Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004 Appendix B
	Organology	Instrument types, orchestra size	
	Orchestration	Instrument technology, combinations	
Practices	Social History	Social role, patronage systems	Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004 Appendix B
	Performance Practices	Rehearsal, ornamentation	

Data validity, reliability, and generalizability

The accuracy and consistency of data collection, organization, and analysis is addressed via the following methods general to qualitative research (Creswell, 2013), and specific to both the case study method, and related archival analysis. In particular, I address this study’s validity via the following strategies (Yin, 2009). For construct validity, case study and archival analysis benefits from multiple data sources, which I employ in developing themes and interpretations, using the process of data triangulation. External validity is addressed via the use of theory, as this is a

single case study. Internal validity is addressed via explanation building as well as addressing any counter explanations that appear over time.

Concerning reliability, the case study approach is defined by a well-organized and documented series of steps to increase the reliability of the overall research process. According to Yin (2009), case studies have been much criticized for their lack of rigor, and therefore, must show a “rigorous methodological path” (p. 3), from the literature review, to research questions, to procedures. In the same way, archival analysis is approached using a complementary, historical rigor.

Generalizability is a potential area of concern when using a single case for the empirical context. In Johnson’s (2007) study of the Paris Opera, a single case study “is not meant to yield results that are wholly generalizable... instead, it provides rich historical and sociological materials through which to develop and articulate theoretical approaches contributing to improved social scientific explanation” (p. 122). More specifically, Yin (2009) makes the distinction that case studies “are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (p. 15). Therefore, I focus on what Yin (2009) refers to as *analytic generalization* rather than the typical statistical generalization. In understanding the process of institutional maintenance, I employ the case of the New York Philharmonic to specifically “expand and generalize theories” (Yin, 2009, p. 15) to meet generalizability expectations.

Data sources

I draw data from three main archival sources: the New York Philharmonic Archives, commissioned and non-commissioned biographies of the New York Philharmonic, and reviews of the New York Times and other related media sources (see Appendix A). I employ archival data sources to gather data pertinent to the main theoretical question and preliminary propositions, as well as information in developing the institutional core. Part of this process includes an investigation of what elements of the orchestra have remained constant over time, and what elements have undergone significant change during times of disruption. These data are also analyzed in terms of four propositions regarding the nature of maintenance amidst disruption, as well as both historical and present day views of the New York Philharmonic.

The New York Philharmonic archives

The New York Philharmonic Archives maintains the key texts of the New York Philharmonic since its inception in 1842 and has the distinction of being “one of the oldest and most important orchestral research collections in the world” (Archives Collections, n.d., para. 1). Its significance is based on the completeness and diversity of its contents, which allows researchers to approach the orchestra over a considerable time period, by aural, visual, and written means. While some “holes” are apparent during the years of transition from a player-run cooperative to the current-day corporate model, i.e., in the early part of the 20th century, the collection is sufficient to provide a very detailed narrative of the Philharmonic. Further, the archives offer a source of information regarding the maintenance of not only the New York Philharmonic, but American orchestras in general during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Commissioned and non-commissioned biographies

Several commissioned (Krehbiel, 1892; Huneker, 1917; Erskine, 1943) and non-commissioned (Shanet, 1975; Canarina, 2010) biographies have been written on the New York Philharmonic. While the commissioned biographies were written at the request of the Philharmonic, and therefore reflect one perspective of the organization, these texts are particularly important as the authors enjoyed a proximity to key actors of the time. Further, the non-commissioned biographies complement the commissioned texts in several key ways. First, Shanet (1975) details the history of the New York Philharmonic from its inception in 1842 and includes extensive discussion on the social context within which the Philharmonic functioned (Shanet, 1975). This history, therefore, becomes an important resource in examining the Philharmonic as an actor within American culture from 1842 to the 1970s. Second, Shanet (1975) approaches the context of the New York Philharmonic not solely as a historian, but as an insider, i.e., as a New Yorker by birth, cellist and musicologist, former assistant to New York Philharmonic conductor, Leonard Bernstein, and even guest conductor of the New York Philharmonic in 1959 and 1960. A strong, inside-outside view is also offered by Canarina (2010), who builds on the work of Shanet (1975) by detailing the history of the orchestra from the 1950s to 2009. As former assistant conductor to Leonard Bernstein, Canarina (2010) exposes the views of many actors at the Philharmonic, benefiting from a well-developed relationship with key administrators, as well

as in-house archivists. Canarina (2010) also addresses multiple perspectives within the orchestra, from administration, to conductors, to players, as well as the many other external actors linked with the orchestra.

New York Times reviews and other texts

I also draw from media accounts of the New York Times, a single, unique source that has continuously traced the Philharmonic's activities since 1851. To address earlier accounts of the New York Philharmonic, I also draw from texts of the New York Herald and New-York Daily Tribune, amongst others.

Framework: Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004)

In addressing the various elements of the orchestra that have either changed or remained constant over time, a determination of what is, and what is not, an orchestra is necessary (Zaslaw 1988). Therefore, I draw from a framework offered by Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004) that offers five key elements for consideration: etymology, taxonomy, organology, orchestration, and social history (see Appendix B). While the etymology of the orchestra is an important consideration, and is addressed generally in assessing what is, and what is not an orchestra, I focus here on the remaining four elements: taxonomy, organology, orchestration, and social history.

Taxonomy

In assessing maintenance over time, I first use a taxonomic approach, which distinguishes symphony orchestras from other art forms based on groups of performers. Baroque orchestras of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, as distinguished from pre-orchestral ensembles, can be characterized by seven elements: violin based, part doubling, standardized instrumentation and repertory, 16-foot base, i.e., the presence of deep or low sounds in the ensemble, keyboard continuo, unity and discipline, and administrative structures (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004, pp. 20-21). Later, orchestras of the 18th and early 19th centuries welcomed new additions: wind instruments, leadership, specialization, placement, and nomenclature, i.e., a systematic terminology, along with one trait that tended to disappear in the late 18th century, the keyboard (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004). However, as one approaches the institutionalized symphony orchestra as it appears today,

changes became more minor, for as Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004) affirm, “the more firmly the orchestra established itself as an institution, the more it conserved its old traits and resisted change” (p. 22). Overall, the various types of orchestras that have existed over history are characterized by unique orchestral configurations that can be assessed over time. While a taxonomic approach does not fully capture what an orchestra is, and is not (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004), it does offer tangible and traceable traits, which become useful points of comparison.

Organology

In conjunction with a taxonomic approach, I also address organology, i.e., the types of instruments, as well as the size and balance of the orchestra as a whole (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004). Much information survives from the 17th and 18th centuries, up to the present day. While problems do exist in these rosters – for example, rosters sometime depict a full complement rather than actual numbers for specific performances – they are useful in “trac[ing] changes over time and also...compar[ing] contemporary orchestras with one another” (Spitzer & Zaslaw, 2004, p. 28). Over the history of the symphony orchestra, the first instruments were created during the period extending from 1650 to 1700 (Barclay, 2003), and by the period extending from 1700 to 1780, symphony orchestras began to take on a somewhat predicible form:

It was in the eighteenth century that the orchestra really began to come together as a homogeneous body. This cohesion had implications for the balance between instruments, not only in playing style and technique, but also in technical development. However with a few notable exceptions, the existing instruments saw adaptation and alteration to suit changing musical fashions, but underwent no major structural changes. The first flush of development was followed inevitably by a plateau of systematic refinement and exploitation. (Barclay, 2003, p. 29)

Following this period of consolidation, the symphony orchestra underwent another period of change in terms of the “design, construction and manufacture of instruments” (Barclay, 2003, p. 31). Some orchestral instruments were redesigned, while others were introduced for the first time, in part due to a social period of industrialization and revolution (Barclay, 2003). However,

after about 1840, the orchestra underwent little change, though some variation did continue into the 20th century:

The first part of the nineteenth century had seen the maximum development and proliferation of orchestra instrumentation... variations continued to be made, [but] it remains true that from this time [i.e., the early 19th century] a certain stasis was setting in... From a technical point of view, though, few fundamental changes have been made to any instrument of the orchestra for a century and a half... there is certainly a recognition that the established pattern functions extremely well, and that no profound change of technical direction is desirable, necessary, or even possible. (Barclay, 2003, pp. 36-37)

Overall, the development of the organology of the symphony orchestra was essentially complete by the early 19th century; however, this process proceeded via a typical ecological trajectory, “in fits and starts; those destined to be successful spread and colonized, other were born and died in swift succession” (Barclay, 2003, p. 41).

Orchestration

A third element concerns orchestration, i.e., “the story of how the instruments function musically” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 28). Orchestration addresses the types of instruments used based on specific musical periods (e.g., baroque, classical, etc.) and the key technological changes that occurred during these periods, but it also assesses how the various instruments combine and recombine in particular sections (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004). Further, orchestration illustrates certain meanings of the orchestra. For example, orchestras of the 17th and 18th century focused on the meaningful use of orchestra effects (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004), associating them with particular musical contexts or musical instruments. However, over time, these effects were simply associated with the orchestra itself, i.e., they signified to listeners: “This is orchestral music” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 467). These extramusical associations led to general understandings around music expression (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 483), and by the late 18th and early 19th century, a theory of orchestration: “The emergence of a theory of orchestration at

the end of the eighteenth century marked a final stage of the recognition of the orchestra as a distinct and distinctive institution” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 439).

Social history

Finally, I also survey a wide range of social configurations, including musicians’ careers, systems of patronage, as well as roles and meanings of the orchestra (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004). In general, social conditions were first shaped by courts and aristocratic households in the 17th century, and then later in the 18th century, by concert halls and middle class patronage (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004). During this time, the orchestra emerged as a form that functioned in various social settings, including international settings, and overall, as “a social institution in its own right” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 34).

Performance practice

I also address one further element: performance practice, i.e., the manner of playing an instrument as well as the rules and norms around activities, such as rehearsals (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004). In particular, the role of orchestral player emerged during the 18th century (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004): “There was no such thing as a "concert or orchestra player,"... [but by the late 18th century] concert or orchestra players had become a distinct kind of musician, with their own performance practices” (p. 371).

Further, theoretical texts also emerged at this time that created a new space to offer “the ideas that people need[ed] to have for the orchestra to maintain and reproduce itself as an institution” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 393). Overall, orchestras in Europe were now beginning to think and act as a group, as “a single institution” (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 397). The process of internationalization and institutionalization transformed the role of orchestral player to one that had clear expectations:

A player trained in one orchestra ought to be able to play in any orchestra; an instrument used in one orchestra should be usable in any orchestra; a piece written for one orchestra should be playable in principle by all orchestras. (Spitzer & Zaslav, 2004, p. 397)

In sum, Spitzer and Zaslav (2004) offer a particularly detailed framework that provides a broad foundation of various orchestral elements. These elements followed a general trajectory over time from the late 17th, early 18th century to an institutionalized and internationalized form around the later 19th and early 20th century. Overall, these elements provide a starting point for assessing what elements of the orchestra have stayed the same, and what elements have changed either minimally or rather dramatically over time.

Data collection and recording

To address the main theoretical question of this study, several data have been collected from multiple sources, and housed on a password protected computer or in a locked storage space. These texts have been collected with a sensitivity to context, as expected in both case study method and archival analysis (Yin, 2009).

In general, I follow Yin (2009) in basic principles around data collection, using multiple data sources to aid in accuracy and construct validity, and employing a database to improve reliability. This database includes notes, texts, tabular materials, i.e., quantitative data, including counts, and narratives (Yin, 2009, pp. 120-121).

Consistency, change, and selected disruptions

Overall, I adopt an institutional lens in interpreting these data. Focusing on the nature of maintenance amidst disruption, I test my propositions via three main endogenous actors drawn from the empirical context of the New York Philharmonic, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors. I selected these three main actors based on an overall assessment of exogenous and endogenous actors of the symphony orchestra, as reflected in both the musicological and business literatures. I then analyze both *consistency and change* concerning these three actors, from the time of inception of the New York Philharmonic, i.e., 1842, to the present, and as reflected in the main data sources, i.e., New York Philharmonic archives, commissioned and non-commissioned biographies, and critical reviews of the New York Times (amongst others), as well as via my own experience as professional musician and arts manager.

I also analyze *three cases of disruption*, each focusing on one of the three endogenous actors, i.e., pianist Glenn Gould's interpretive disruption of the repertoire (the repertoire), violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" (soloists), and conductor Leonard Bernstein's disruption of time (conductors). I chose these three cases following an analysis of disruptions at the New York Philharmonic, largely drawn from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies. While the entire set of disruptions provided several possible thematic areas for analysis, I chose these three based on the following criteria: these cases 1) represented examples of disruption that targeted (or involved) one of the three main endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors; 2) were supported by data drawn from multiple sources; and 3) afforded a particularly detailed account of a complex set of actions concerning the disruptive event.

In analyzing consistency and change over time of the three selected endogenous actors, I include a quantitative component that primarily draws from data of the New York Philharmonic archives. In the case of *the repertoire*, I consulted previous studies (Mueller, 1973; Hart, 1973; Dowd, Liddle, Lupo, & Borden, 2002; Glynn, 2002; Kremp, 2010) in conjunction with specific data drawn from the New York Philharmonic archives in 20-year increments, from the New York Philharmonic's first season, i.e., 1842-1843, to the 2012-2013 season. I use 20-year increments to allow for a significant period of time to be analyzed, with sufficient detail to observe general consistencies and change over time, but also for practical reasons, considering the length of time it would have taken to conduct a complete analysis of each season since inception, i.e. 1842-3 to 2014-5. One limitation of the use of 20-year increments is that this approach does rule out the possibility of analyzing specific conductors' influence over time. However, as I wish to focus on more general trends and key points of maintenance or change, a focus on the potential interrelationships between conductor and repertoire are beyond the scope of this particular study, though of interest for future research. Further, the 20-year approach invariably includes the 1942-3 season, the 100th anniversary year of the New York Philharmonic, which is notable for its large number of programs and performances. While this year is exceptional, it has been retained to provide consistency in the overall process of analyzing these data over time.

In particular, and as employed in earlier studies, I analyze traditionally measured aspects, such as composers represented over time, as well as their nationality. However, I also analyze further aspects such as the incidence of the compositional form, i.e., the symphony, and the number of programs and performances offered during each season in terms of all programs vs. subscription-only programs. Further, I also analyze consistency and change in specific *contextual* aspects integral to the presentation of orchestral music, such as day, time, and month of performance, location, and incidence of the intermission.

Some significant exclusions, however, warrant mention. First, while the complete data set of the New York Philharmonic Archives also includes programs of the New York Symphony, an orchestra that merged with the New York Philharmonic in 1928, I exclude these programs, as my focus is specifically on the New York Philharmonic. Second, I also exclude programs that consisted of entirely chamber music or other non-orchestral music, as my focus is not only on the New York Philharmonic, but also it acting in the capacity of a symphony orchestra, rather than as a small group selected from members of the orchestra. Third, while the data set could have included only works written for the symphony orchestra alone, I rather take a more inclusive view. Specifically, I include repertoire that features the symphony orchestra alone, but also set against (or in conjunction with) key soloists, such as the concerto or staged performance of an opera or oratorio. In particular, I include these forms as they *require* a symphony orchestra for their realization. In this way, I preference an *inextricable relationship* between orchestra and soloist. Overall, this data provides the necessary breadth to track consistencies and change over time, as well as a balance of typical measures that have been used in previous studies, with further contextual measures and associated performance practices. This group of measures afford a much more nuanced view of consistencies over time, in comparison to earlier studies.

In the case of *soloists*, measures of consistency and change also involve a quantitative component that analyzes data drawn in 20-year increments from the New York Philharmonic archives, but supported by qualitative data drawn, in particular, from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies. As was the case in the analysis of the repertoire, I only analyze soloists featured in programs of the New York Philharmonic, i.e. soloists featured in programs of the New York Symphony are again excluded. However, chamber music works, i.e., non-

orchestral, excluded from the data set for repertoire, have been retained to analyze all soloist influences. Overall, I analyze the inclusion of soloists in performances over time at the New York Philharmonic, as well as types of instruments and combinations of instruments employed by these soloists. Further, I employ data that captures whether a single performer (e.g., a violinist) or a group of performers (e.g., a group of singers) are featured in a soloistic capacity.

Finally, I analyze consistency and change in *conductors* over time, drawing quantitative data from the New York Philharmonic archives and qualitative data from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies, as well as other business and musicological sources. In particular, I employ Shanet's (1975) typology of conductors, which largely references conductors of the New York Philharmonic, to assess key consistencies and changes over time. I further support this qualitative analysis with quantitative data drawn from the New York Philharmonic archives, also in 20-year increments, focusing on the number of conductors used in each program, as well as how many conductors appeared over an entire season, including the distinction between all programs, or subscription-only programs. As with the analysis of the repertoire, I exclude conductors of the New York Symphony, along with chamber and other non-orchestral performances, as the focus remains on the New York Philharmonic as orchestral body.

To the analysis of consistency and change over time, I also analyze three *cases of disruption*, including the repertoire, soloists, and conductors. First, I analyze Gould's interpretive disruption of *the repertoire*, including multiple sources of qualitative data drawn from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies, reviews of the New York Times, and my own experience as professional musician and arts manager. One further data source unique to this case is a recording of pianist Glenn Gould's second performance of April 6, 1962, as well as conductor, Leonard Bernstein's "disclaimer" issued prior to Gould's performance, and Gould's 1993 interview with radio commentator for the New York Philharmonic, James Fassett (Brahms, Gould, Bernstein, & Fassett, 1998).

Disruption concerning *soloists* focuses on violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour". Here, I analyze data that was largely drawn from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies to first outline the general nature of the influence and impact of "fashion" and "glamour" at the New York Philharmonic since its inception in 1842. I then

analyze data drawn from the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies, reviews of the New York Times, as well as my own experience as professional musician and arts manager. In particular, Mutter's own views – via interviews in the New York Times, amongst other sources – become important sources of data for this particular case.

Finally, I analyze the disruptive influence of *conductors* via the case of Bernstein's disruption of time. I again include the commissioned, and non-commissioned biographies, reviews of the New York Times, and my own experience as professional musician and arts manager. However, in this case, I also analyze further quantitative data drawn from the New York Philharmonic archives, including the number of times Bernstein appeared with the New York Philharmonic per season, from his first season in 1958-1959, and yearly data to his 1963-1964 season. Thereafter, I also analyze quantitative data concerning the number of times future conductors appeared with the New York Philharmonic, in 20-year increments, from Zubin Mehta's tenure in 1982-1983, Lorin Maazel's in 2002-2003, and finally Alan Gilbert's in 2012-2013. In all instances, I utilize quantitative data to determine the percentage of time each conductor spent with the New York Philharmonic per season considering all programs and subscription-only programs. As well, the overall season, in number of weeks, as well as the gaps that conductors took away from the New York Philharmonic, is used to calculate an overall percentage of time that the conductors spent with the Philharmonic.

Chapter 4: The Symphony Orchestra

This chapter outlines the historical context of the evolution of the symphony orchestra. The following history demonstrates three key points. First, the symphony orchestra is highly institutionalized, with a long history that has produced a definable template of what a symphony orchestra should look like and a clear pattern of global diffusion. Second, the institution of the symphony orchestra is part of an overall ecology of institutions characterized by a complex interaction of key endogenous actors and critical supportive exogenous institutions. In addition to the body of musicians that make up the orchestra (or orchestral players), key endogenous actors include a group of actors in defined roles, including conductors, soloists, and the repertoire. Key exogenous actors include critics, audiences, and individuals involved in governance and patronage. Third, some of these key actors are afforded considerable scope to change, while others are not. In this overview, I demonstrate that the repertoire is a relative constant over time, while soloists have shown a balance of consistency and change, and conductors have changed dramatically over the history of the institution.

I empirically analyze these three categories of change in detail in this thesis, i.e., the repertoire (Chapter 5), soloists (Chapter 6), and conductors (Chapter 7). However, the following chapter provides a broad overview of the complex elements of consistency and change that have come to define the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

The evolution of the orchestra

The orchestra draws from the same term used to describe a specific space, i.e., the amphitheater's ground level, in ancient Greece and Rome (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d.). Its "birth" in the early 17th century instigated a long trajectory, with recognizable symphony orchestras appearing by the early 18th century (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 5). During this time, and continuing into the 19th century, the various sections or components of the orchestra (e.g., the string and woodwind sections) were coming together to create a standardized orchestral form. Some local variations continued to persist during this time; however, these differences were eventually absorbed by the fully institutionalized form of the symphony orchestra (Carter & Levi, 2003c).

The earliest orchestras and Baroque forms (16th and 17th centuries)

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the term *orchestra* was adopted by larger ensembles accompanying the ballet, opera, church services, as well as other dances and entertainments (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). The institution of the symphony orchestra reflected the wants and needs of very powerful institutions, including the state and church. The early orchestral groups primarily used stringed instruments, along with a keyboard instrument, and other wind instruments used for “effects” (Montagu, n.d., para. 3). These groups of instruments were variable and put together to suit the purposes of the event, in primarily an accompanying role (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). From 1600 onward, these types of orchestras are also referenced as Baroque orchestras (Montagu, n.d.), a period of musical style beginning around 1600 and extending to around 1750. As the 17th century progressed, newly designed instruments were adopted (e.g., horn), others were discarded (e.g., the viol), and the group increased significantly in size. One of the more famous early orchestras was the court orchestra of Louis XIII of France, the *Vingt-Quatre Violons du Roi* (Montagu, n.d.; Holoman 2012). Similar court orchestras were developing around Europe, including those in England, Italy, Sweden, and Germany (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.).

Notable conductors of this time included Jean-Baptiste Lully of the *Vingt-Quatre Violons du Roi* in France, who was known for many innovations in orchestra practice (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). One such practice is the *premier coup d’archet*, which referred to instrumentalists’ ability to play the first note of a work at exactly the same time. Another notable leader-composer during the late 17th and early 18th centuries was Arcangelo Corelli, who from 1680 to 1712 led many important groups in Rome (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). Again, Corelli was noted for his “innovations” (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d., para. 9), such as the practice of orchestral discipline. These conductors were also involved in a growing repertoire that was “disseminated and imitated throughout Europe” (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d., para. 11).

The institutionalization of the orchestra during this time saw the early beginnings of instrumental standardization, musicians as specialists of a single instrument, and the orchestra functioning as a “single group” (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d., para. 12). Orchestras were also shifting from an accompanying function to a center of attention, and were, by the mid-18th century, named as

orchestras, and generally “recognizable as an institution in most parts of Europe” (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d., para. 12).

Next steps: The Classical orchestra (mid-18th to mid-19th century)

The Classical orchestra was a product of two important institutions during the 18th century: the state and highly influential families. The overall structure of the orchestra was somewhat standardized at the time (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.); however as the 18th century progressed, new instruments continued to be added, such as the oboe (Montagu, n.d.), and some occasional instruments, such as the clarinet, became regular members (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). To this, several changes in instrumental design further improved the quality of the orchestral sound (Carter & Levi, 2003c). New music continued to be created by such well-known composers as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. This repertoire eventually took a significant place in the standard repertoire of the orchestra. Important orchestras of this period included those of Prince Nikolaus Esterházy of Hungary, and the Mannheim orchestra, established in 1720 (Holoman, 2012).

One significant change during the time of the Classical orchestra concerns leadership.

Leadership from the concertmaster position shifted from a mix of the first violin position and keyboard instrument (e.g., the harpsichord) to primarily from the first violin position (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). Further, the specialized role of conductor as we know it today, i.e., an individual set in front of the orchestra, was already present at the time of Lully, where a *batteur de mesure*, or early conductor using a baton, led ensembles such as the *Opéra* and *Concert Spirituel* (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). However, this form only became standard practice by the latter part of the 19th century (Carter & Levi, 2003c).

A final set of changes during the time of the Classical orchestra was observed in the type of venue that such groups were performing, as well as the locus of control. Few halls were dedicated to orchestral music in the early 18th century; however, by 1800, as performances were opened to the public, there was a greater variety in the types of venues and contexts, as well as a parallel growth in new orchestral foundings (Carter & Levi, 2003c). Further, state and family control was gradually being taken over by a growing public audience. Overall, the Classical

orchestra had become, by the mid-19th century, “synonymous with musical activity in metropolitan centres where it was supported by a mixture of civic initiative and individual entrepreneurial skill” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 10).

A maturing form: The Romantic orchestra (mid-19th to early 20th century)

The institutionalization of the symphony orchestra, i.e., standardization of repertoire, size, and instrumentation, was mostly achieved by the mid-19th century (Montagu, n.d.); however, increased instrument diversity and orchestra size, as well as improvements in instrumental design, continued during this time (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d.). This process was linked to the concert venue, which was now being planned and built according to the size and scope of the orchestra (Holoman, 2012; Carter & Levi, 2003c). The orchestra’s shift from accompanying role continued, such that it was now considered “a single virtuoso body, indeed one for which ‘concertos’ might be written” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 7).

Conductors were first generally adopted in Germany by the early 19th century, somewhat later in England, and not till the mid- to late 19th century in Italy. At first, the conductor was merely a means to organize the players, but later, conductors began to take on a larger leadership role as “performers and interpreters, with the entire orchestra as their instrument” (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d., para. 23). Permanent orchestras were now led by increasingly powerful and glamorized conductors, such as Theodor Thomas, conductor of the New York Philharmonic from 1871-1891, and subject to a significant power via critical reviews in the press (Shanet, 1975).

Orchestras were now highly visible artistic forms performing for a growing public audience, and supported by related education and professional institutions including conservatories, associations and unions (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d.). This period saw further diffusion of the orchestral form, further standardization of the repertoire, and the founding of such important orchestras as the London Philharmonic (1813), the New York and Vienna Philharmonics (1842), and the Berlin Philharmonic (1887), as well as the spread of this form to North and South America. A listing of key orchestra foundings is found in Appendix C. Overall, this period was characterized by tremendous growth (Holoman, 2012).

The culmination: The symphony orchestra (early 20th century to today)

During the 20th century, instrumentation largely remained constant (see Appendix D); newly created instruments for the most part appeared as guests rather than regular counterparts (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). Keyboards, usually the piano, appeared more frequently, but usually as part of the one section that has grown through new instrument acquisition in the 20th century: the percussion (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). Beyond these additions, improvements in instrumental design allowed the orchestra to produce more sound, while performance practice now included the use of vibrato in the string and wind sections, along with other techniques (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). This standardization also extended to the “sound” of orchestras. Sound was a typical distinguishing factor for both conductors and their orchestras during the early 20th century; however, by the mid-20th century, this distinctiveness was starting to change to a much more unified sound, regardless of country or region (Philip, 2003).

Over the 20th century, orchestras continued to significantly increase in number, a trend particularly visible in the United States, and are now accessible via technological means, i.e., CDs, DVDs, and online formats (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). Further, several orchestras were created during this time in conjunction with national broadcasting companies, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC), and as part of further diffusion to Asia, including foundings of Tokyo Symphony Orchestra in 1951, the Central Philharmonic Orchestra of Beijing in 1956, and the Seoul Philharmonic in 1957 (Holoman, 2012). Here, as in the West, conservatories are the prime educator of players, and repertoire typically has followed the standard (Western) repertoire, with the addition of typical local instruments (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). That said, the orchestral world is not a closed one: players from all around the globe typically vie for positions in orchestras, within the hiring practices of each. Tenures at a specific orchestra can be long: playing in an orchestra can be a lifelong commitment. Further, the 20th century has also seen the inclusion of women amongst the ranks of players, beyond earlier inclusion as harpists (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.).

One particular reaction to the culmination of the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra was the appearance of the *chamber orchestra* in the early 20th century, which focused on Baroque repertoire of the 18th century or new works of the 20th century, and *early music* or

period-instrument orchestras, which appeared in the 1970s, focusing not only on the music of the 17th and 18th centuries, and even later of the Romantic period (19th century), but also the instruments and playing techniques typical to that period of time (Carter & Levi, 2003c).

Overall, after such a period of growth, the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century is often characterized as a time of crisis for the symphony orchestra (Holoman 2012). While some argue orchestras have navigated the various pitfalls of a 21st century remarkably well, others mark their eventual demise. While such questions seem to be positioned as modern phenomenon, they are rather evident throughout the history of the symphony orchestra, as articulated by Holoman (2012):

The questions are as old as the institution itself: how and even whether to advance the repertoire, how to enable artist musicians to achieve the social equality their gifts and long investment demand, how to weather competition from within and without. How, for that matter to adapt to sea change in the world order. Who's listening, and why?
(Holoman, 2012, p. 2)

In this thesis, I use the context of the symphony orchestra to investigate the main research question, i.e., *how has the symphony orchestra been maintained over time?* However, this question is answered within a clear articulation of the symphony orchestra in its institutionalized form.

What is a symphony orchestra?

The main object of inquiry is the symphony orchestra. The focus is on full-sized, *professional orchestras* vs. the various other types that fill the orchestral landscape in America, such as smaller university, private and public high school, summer camp, conservatory, and youth orchestras (Piston & Woodworth, 1967). Of the four types of orchestras offered by Thompson & Rudolf (1967), including major, metropolitan, urban, and community, the focus is on the “*major*” type, which appear “mostly in the larger cities... [and] that engag[e] their musicians, all professionals, on a full-time basis for a certain number of weeks per year. That length of employment will at least total twenty-two weeks of the year” (p. 57). According to a 2013 report

of the American Symphony Orchestras League, there were over 1800 orchestras in the United States, with approximately 350-400 professional orchestras paying their musicians as professional players (American Symphony Orchestra League, 2013, October). The New York Philharmonic, used as the main empirical context, is part of the so-called *Big Five*, including orchestras of Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Cleveland (Canarina, 2010). While this term has been criticized as being outdated (Oestreich, 2013, June 14), with arguments made by various organizations for a *Big Six* or *Big Seven*, the term does continue in limited usage (Oestreich, 2013, June 14).

I also incorporate Spitzer and Zaslav's (n.d.) definition that states: a symphony orchestra is understood "in a specific and historical sense, as a characteristically European institution that arose in the 17th and 18th centuries and subsequently spread to other parts of the world as part of Western cultural influence" (para. 1). To this I also integrate Allmendinger and Hackman's (1996) definition that positions symphony orchestras as "ensembles whose primary mission is public performance of those orchestral works generally considered to fall within the standard symphonic repertoire and whose members are compensated nontrivially for their services" (p. 340). I also conceptualize the symphony orchestra as having the creation of live music as a main focus (Bensman 1983), within a highly complex ecology of institutions, organizations, and individuals. With such a focus, this art form is distinguished not only by its interaction with audiences, but also with time, or context (Bensman, 1983). Further, live performances take on a somewhat ephemeral quality, which has been in part complemented by the development of new mechanisms that extend the duration of the performance, including sound and video recordings, and web-based content. Further, if individual and collective memories are taken into consideration, as well as the critical review, live performance can shift from a purely ephemeral experience to one that is very long-lasting.

Overall, the institution of the symphony orchestra presents a complex interaction of several endogenous actors and exogenous related actors and institutions. Significant relationships amongst these support an ecological perspective of the institution of the symphony orchestra when addressing maintenance over time. The following section addresses these exogenous and endogenous actors.

Exogenous actors

When addressing maintenance amidst disruption within the institution of the symphony orchestra, I focus on three key exogenous actors or groups of actors, i.e., audiences, critics, and the system of governance and patronage. The following details their nature and development over time.

Audiences

The earliest audiences for orchestral music were those associated with powerful institutions, including the state, church and families. These actors influenced and received orchestral music from the “birth” of the orchestra in the early 17th century, through its considerable development during the 17th and 18th, and early 19th centuries. However, a shift in the nature of the reception of orchestral music occurred around 1800, when the then dominant institutions of the state and family were joined by a newly formed and particularly insatiable public audience. By the mid-19th century, the symphony orchestra was firmly embedded as a significant actor in cities around the world (Carter & Levi, 2003c), with public audiences being the main supporters of this artistic form.

The growth of a public audience worked in tandem with new concert series often led by musical societies (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d.). From the early 19th century, growing public interest also created the need for dedicated halls for orchestra performance, a greater variety in the locations where orchestral music could be heard, and a dramatic period of growth that saw many new foundings of orchestras around the world (Carter & Levi, 2003c). Orchestras had become important members of civic society. While public audiences had a significant impact on the growth of orchestral activity, they also were free to support or critique their orchestras. This feedback could be issued either through direct communication to management, via critical reviews in the press, and most directly through their attendance and applause.

Overall, a public audience grew to be one of the symphony orchestra’s most proximate endogenous actors, having a significant impact on the growth of the symphony orchestra over time, but also having as a significant voice in its maintenance and disruption.

Critics

Like public audiences, critics and critical reviews have been an important facet of orchestral life from early orchestral activity to today. Critical reviews via newspapers, magazines, and other printed forms (including more recent online media) are important means of supporting, i.e., maintaining, or criticizing, i.e., disrupting, symphony orchestras and their performances. Early reviewers were usually composers as well (Holoman, 2012), so they were particularly well-placed to provide critical assessments of performances. In particular, critics were charged with the role of distinguishing the difference between “better” and “baser” forms of art during the mid-19th century in America (DiMaggio, 1987, p. 445). Throughout the 19th, 20th, and into the 21st centuries, reviewer’s pedigree shifted from composers to primarily current (or former) musicians, conductors, musicologists, amateur music lovers, and sometimes those proficient in a related artistic field. Most recently, a related pedigree might be unfortunately absent.

The professionalization and institutionalization of this group ran along-side the development of the orchestra (and other art forms), and in some respects shows some of the typical scars of artistic upheaval of the 20th and 21st centuries. According to Holoman (2012), few places, except for London, England, have a particularly healthy review system today: “After disappearing from magazines in the 1980s and ‘90s, music criticism at the dailies collapsed with the rest of the industry beginning in about 2005” (p. 97). This change in critical power not only impacted the profession of critics, but also the orchestras and soloists they covered, with many depending on such reviews for their own success. To some extent, critical reviews have migrated to online sources (Holoman, 2012); however, these sources do not typically have the influence and power of newspaper reviews.

Critics and critical reviews are particularly important sources of data when addressing maintenance amidst disruption within the institution of the symphony orchestra. They are consistently cast as particularly important actors within the ecology of the symphony orchestra (Griswold, 1987), and often as powerful followers of “tradition” and deterrents to change (Glynn, 2002). As cited by Glynn (2002), deviations are often marked by critics’ “strong and vocal response” (p. 68).

Further, critics have been afforded a variety of specific roles within the literature including that of “mass-media gatekeeper” (Hirsch, 1972), sources of “monitoring and control” (DiMaggio, 1987, p. 451), and mediators between “artworks and publics” (Shrum, 1991, p. 347). Therefore, critics have important relationships with artists and audiences. DiMaggio (1987) describes the interplay between artists and critics, where “artists revel in assaulting the limits of their forms, and critics... bemoan aesthetic malaise and rampant eclecticism” (p. 452). Critics’ reviews constitute a secondary source for audience action and reaction during orchestral performances. However, Shrum (1991) finds that while the audience-critic relationship is an important one, critics do not impact the overall success of a performance; rather, critics are important conveyors of “visibility” over and above their “evaluative” role (p. 347).

Critics are also particularly sensitive to their environments and this sensitivity is reflected in their critical reviews of orchestra performances. According to Glynn and Lounsbury (2005), critics were attuned to shifts within the orchestra’s environment, reflecting a shift or change from an aesthetic to a market logic (or focus), as prompted by a musicians’ strike at the Atlanta Symphony in 1996. That said, these authors do note that critics did show a consistency in their assessments of the aesthetic merit of the orchestra’s performances in spite of other contextual change, i.e., their “judgments based on notions of cultural authenticity were virtually unaffected” (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005, p. 1031).

Overall, critics are also an important exogenous actor in the overall ecology of the symphony orchestra, having key relationships with art, artists, and audiences, while offering a significant and consistent source of data over the evolution of the symphony orchestra.

Governance and patronage system

Finally, the main actors associated with the governance and patronage system form a third and final group of exogenous actors important to understanding maintenance amidst disruption. The *organizational structure and governance* of symphony orchestras around the world is typically one of three models (Cottrell, 2003) that emerged in the late 19th century via varying “political traditions” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 14). The first model is characterized by state or municipal control, where players are civil servants, though they typically maintain some degree of self-

governance (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). This structure is typically found in Europe, Latin America and the United Kingdom. The second is a not-for-profit structure, with a board and management, and supported in part by private, corporate and state sponsorship (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.). This structure is typical in the United States – including the empirical example of the New York Philharmonic – as well as the United Kingdom. A third type, a cooperative structure, is characterized by musician ownership and management power (Cottrell, 2003). The Vienna Philharmonic – and the early organizational form of the New York Philharmonic (1842-1909) – are two such examples. Amidst such differences, all three models have unions playing a significant role in the work life of musicians (Spitzer & Zaslav, n.d.).

While much structural variation is apparent in orchestras in Europe and the United Kingdom today, the dominance of the corporate form in the United States distinguishes these orchestras from their counterparts. Most American orchestras follow the not-for-profit or corporate organizational structure, as led by a board of Governors and management who control the administration of the symphony orchestra, and a main music director or conductor who controls the artistic focus and general coordination of the orchestral players (Couch, 1983). However, considerable power is afforded to management, and the board in particular, concerning decisions that impact both economic and artistic goals of the symphony orchestra:

[The board] of a symphony orchestra is ultimately responsible for the conduct of its affairs and its economic fate. In addition to setting policies for the management of the orchestra's endowment, boards play a major role in determining a symphony's budget, raising nonperformance incomes, and selecting its music director, manager, and key administrative staff. The effectiveness of a board can have an immense impact on an orchestra's economic security and its ability to achieve its artistic goals. (Flanagan, 2012, p. 138)

In particular, the Board typically fosters a strong relationship between audiences and the orchestra (Mehta, 2003), and therefore is actively involved in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time.

Unions have also had an important role and power within the symphony orchestra, in both maintaining and disrupting it over time. Building on various societies that sprung up in America in the mid-19th century that sought to better the lives of musicians, the American Federation of Musician (AFM) was created in 1896 to represent musicians across the United States, and soon after, in Canada (History of the AFM, n.d.). Their stated focus at the time was “That any musician who receives pay for his musical services, shall be considered a professional musician” (History of the AFM, n.d., para. 1).

Like the three main structural forms used by symphony orchestras around the world, the parallel systems of *arts patronage* also grew out of a changing social structure beginning in 18th century Europe (Couch, 1983). From the hands of wealthy individuals, courts, and the Church, came a new source of power, i.e., the middle class, with a parallel restructuring of the patronage system. In the United Kingdom, the middle classes had already adopted the responsibility of arts patronage in the 18th century (Couch 1983), while a similar pattern was observed somewhat later in the United States.

While American and European symphony orchestras have much in common in the structure of their programs and performances (Rosenbaum, 1967), a distinction can be made concerning their respective patronage systems and related disruptions that focus on economic rather than aesthetic factors. In particular, the various financial challenges that orchestras face today are not a 21st century problem:

Ticket income alone never paid a living wage to an ordinary orchestra musician. The number of musicians involved in a symphony concert and the length of time it takes to prepare one properly made certain of that. Patrons were always there: the sovereign who would guarantee in advance to meet a deficit, lesser nobility who would pay greatly more for prestige seating, well connected socialites who enjoyed organizing benefit concerts. (Holoman, 2012, p. 47)

However, where symphony orchestras derive their support varies between American and European examples. Orchestras in the United States depend upon various forms of funding, the two largest being private and corporate support. Influential businessmen, such as Andrew

Carnegie and Joseph Pulitzer in the case of the New York Philharmonic, became important benefactors over time. However, unlike their sister orchestras in Europe, American orchestras do not receive a particularly high percent of financial support from state and civic sources (Holoman, 2012). This support system was also aided via women's groups, first appearing in the early 20th century, and often formed as associations or symphony leagues (Shanet, 1975). The American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL), created in 1942, and later renamed the League of American Orchestras, was largely due to musical activism of influential women of the time (Holoman, 2012).

Another funding source for American orchestras includes foundations and endowments. For example, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was created by congress in 1965, following its promotion by John F. and Jacqueline Kennedy. Its impact is relatively small overall, i.e., in 2012, it constituted “.05 percent of the federal budget, in the area of \$150 million for all the arts” (Holoman, 2012, p. 52). The Ford Foundation was created a year later in 1966, and offered the orchestra community “more than \$80 million to sixty-one American orchestras, at the time the largest arts grant in history” (Holoman, 2012, p. 53). This program was closed approximately 10 years later. A general overview of the structure of support is provided in Appendix E.

A more detailed and recent, i.e., 1987-1988 and 2005-2006, analysis of 50 of the largest symphony orchestras in America in terms of budget size (see Appendix F) is offered by Flanagan (2012). During both time periods, American orchestras' primary source of support came from private funding, followed by performance revenues, and a growing amount from investments, which affords “artistic independence that does not accompany other sources of funds” (Flanagan, 2012, p. 126). Government support is again comparatively small, and shows a decrease over the two time periods (Flanagan, 2012). According to Flanagan (2012), federal government support of orchestras has been declining over time, with local support taking up much of this shift over time. According to the League of American Orchestras, this general pattern holds today, with the most recent data showing private funding at 41%, followed by performance or concert revenues at 31%, endowment earnings at 15%, other earned revenue at 10%, and government support at 3% (American Symphony Orchestra League, 2013, October, p. 1). However, for most European

orchestras, government funding makes up the bulk of sources (Rosenbaum, 1967), followed by performance revenues (Flanagan, 2012). Private support is quite small, and investments are almost non-existent (Flanagan, 2012).

Beyond these general patterns, Flanagan (2012) notes that there is great variance in the percentage of performance revenues, private support, and investment incomes. However, in the United States, about half of these costs are directed towards two of the key endogenous actors of the symphony orchestra, i.e., soloists and conductors, and a third, the players, with the remaining half directed to administration, production, marketing, and fundraising costs (Flanagan, 2012). However, over time, artist costs have actually been a declining percentage of overall costs (Flanagan, 2012). What American and European orchestras do share are performance deficits, declining audiences, and rising expenses (Flanagan, 2012). Overall, these structures of governance and patronage involve an intricate mix of actors and groups of actors that figure prominently in the overall ecology of the institution of the symphony orchestra, providing both support and opportunities for disruption.

In sum, these three key endogenous actors, i.e., audiences, critics, and those involved in governance and patronage, are joined by three key exogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, who become the empirical focus of maintenance amidst disruption, as presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Endogenous actors

The fully institutionalized form of the symphony orchestra is characterized by three key endogenous actors. In addition to the body of musicians (or orchestral players) that make up the symphony orchestra, these three actors include: 1) the repertoire, which is a *relative constant*; 2) soloists, who show a balance of consistency and change; and 3) conductors, who experience dramatic changes over time.

The repertoire

That the repertoire of the symphony orchestra is largely unchanging over time is a long-standing observation in both the management literature (Glynn, 2002), sociology (Couch, 1983) and

musicology (Carter & Levi, 2003c; Holoman, 2012; Bent and Blum, n.d.). At a 1965 press conference, American conductor Leonard Bernstein proclaimed that the symphony orchestra's seeming lack of interest in contemporary music positioned the orchestra as having a "museum function", with conductors as "curator" (Shanet, 1975, p. 56). Most recently, the British historian Eric Hobsbawm (2014) also used the term "dead repertoire" to capture the notion that the symphony orchestra leans heavily on music that was written several generations ago.

My analysis of the repertoire of the NYP between 1842 and 2012 largely confirms this observation, but offers the more nuanced conclusion that, while the *standard repertoire*, in particular, crystallized by the end of the 19th century and has largely persisted in this state to the present day, the *repertoire*, in general, is not immune to change at the periphery. However, a key observation for the purpose of this thesis lies in the degree of change experienced by the repertoire relative to other elements of the orchestra, i.e., soloists and conductors. In particular, the degree of change experienced by the repertoire is so marginal that it appears as a *relative constant* over time.

The observation that the repertoire of the symphony orchestra is relatively unchanged raises a series of questions. Conceptually, what is repertoire and orchestral repertoire, and how do we measure or assess its change? How has repertoire been defined and how has change been measured in the literature? How did the repertoire become standardized over time? And, more specifically, what are the sources of pressure for conformity versus the pressures for change? Finally, when the standardized repertoire is disrupted, how do actors repair disruption and restore the standard repertoire? I address each of these questions and introduce my own definition and measures of repertoire which are both broader and deeper than prior studies.

Defining repertoire and orchestral repertoire

The repertoire has several definitions, including a general definition of *repertoire*, as well as a more specific definition of *orchestral repertoire*, and even more specific, the *standard repertoire*. These definitions address who created the repertoire, who performed the repertoire, and who received this repertoire, as well as specific formalistic and contextual characteristics.

In general, *repertoire* (or repertory) is defined as “a stock of musical materials for a particular use” (Bent & Blum, n.d., para. 1). In the case of the earliest precursors to the orchestra, much of the repertoire performed by small groups was for accompaniment of voice and dance (Laki, 2003). However, composers eventually shifted their focus to music that highlighted the orchestra alone, as expressed via the *sinfonia* of the mid-18th century (Laki, 2003). Led by Giovanni Battista Sammartini of Milan (1700/1-76), a new, and later form, the concert symphony, was part of an immense proliferation of works created for the orchestra in the theater, church, and its new home, the private or public concert, extending from Italy to the rest of Europe (Laki, 2003).

Following these early compositional forms, the repertoire expressly written for the symphony orchestra, or *orchestral repertoire*, began its trajectory of institutionalization alongside that of the symphony orchestra, tracing from the time of Haydn (1732-1809), to Mozart (1756-1791), Beethoven (1770-1827), and Brahms (1833-1897) (Butterworth, 1998). During this period up and including the time of Beethoven, the compositional forms of the symphony and the concerto, enjoyed “spectacular development” (Laki, 2003, p. 46). In particular, the symphony became “the chief vehicle of orchestral music in the late 18th century” (Larue, Wolf, Bonds, Walsh, & Wilson, 2014, n.d., para. 1). In its fully institutionalized form, *the symphony* (or “symphonism”; Tawa, 2009, p. 17) “indicates orchestral music of large scope in both length and ambition. Usually involving a full-sized ensemble, the music of a symphony is normally serious in nature, and it unfolds in several movements or sections” (Tawa, 2009, p. 17). An equally important formal partner to the symphony was *the concerto*, created for featured soloists and virtuosic display (Hutchings, Talbot, Eisen, Botstein, & Griffiths, n.d.).

The symphony was developed by several other composers during the 19th century, i.e., Franz Schubert (1797-1828), Hector Berlioz (1803-1869), Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), and Robert Schumann (1810-1856). One development during this time was the compositional form of the *symphonic poem*, i.e., “an orchestral form in which a poem or programme provides a narrative or illustrative basis” (Macdonald, n.d., para. 1) used by Franz Liszt (1811-1886). Further contributions to the symphony form were made by Anton Bruckner (1824-1896) and Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), who added stylistic and formal elements, but also increased the size of the orchestra. In light of these changes, the conductor became an “indispensable” member of the

orchestra, as it shifted from primarily a private concern to the growing influence of the public concert (Laki, 2003).

As the names of these composers belie, the early orchestral repertoire was a product of several composers of Austro-German origin; however, the symphony orchestra and its repertoire eventually internationalized during the 19th century, extending to French, Italian, and American composers (Butterworth, 1998), and later, to Czech and Russian composers (Laki, 2003). As the turn of the century neared, significant German works were created by Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) and Richard Strauss (1864-1949), while Edward Elgar (1857-1934), Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) and Carl Nielsen (1865-1931) added to the growing international repertory. Due to these composers' influences, there was further experimentation with the symphonic form, including an expansion of its harmonic language, the addition of new instruments, and the development of unique, nationalistic sounds (Laki, 2003).

The late 19th and early 20th century was a time of further experimentation and revolutionary aspirations, led by such composers as Béla Bartók (1881-1945), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Anton Webern (1883-1945), Edgard Varèse (1883-1965) and Alban Berg (1885-1935) (Laki, 2003). A later group of composers, whose output mostly followed World War I, signaled a return to a more traditional approach to the symphony, as well as a greater number of Americans actively writing for the orchestra, such as Aaron Copland (1900-1990) (Laki, 2003).

Following World War II, the symphony, in some circles, was considered an “outmoded” form (Tawa, 2009), leading to the development of “new” symphonies by both American and European composers. However, they were composed at a time when other composers were creating works in the original symphonic spirit (Tawa, 2009). An increased activity in the mid- to late 20th century defied earlier accounts of the impending death of the symphony as well as the symphony orchestra (Laki, 2003).

An important contextual aspect of the orchestral repertoire concerns the nature and institutionalization of its *programming*, or the art of organizing a set of works for both aesthetic and intellectual impact for audiences. According to Holoman (2012):

Confecting the programs, both the individual concerts and across an orchestra season, is a balancing act played out three or four years in advance of when the performance actually happens. The exercise attempts to plot satisfying degrees of celebrity and familiarity on the one hand, and space to explore on the other. Agents broker the calendars of soloists and guest conductors... Every concert has to draw and retain the attention of the paying guests, but it must also have intrinsic intellectual merit. (p. 78)

Overall, the process of programming is a complex one, as described by such eminent conductors as Charles Munch and Peter Paul Fuchs (Munch 1955/1975; Fuchs 1969/1975). Part of the programming process also includes the creation of program notes, as well as the more recent use of extended verbal commentary by composers and conductors prior to performances (Holoman, 2012). Therefore, the process of programming retains a focus on the standard repertoire, in particular, soloists and conductors; however, as indicated by Holoman (2012), some variation is injected in this process, creating a “space to explore” (p. 78), or what Erskine (1943) notes as added “novelties” (p. 42).

In the late 18th century, orchestral programs featured “the alternation of short vocal and instrumental items and the avoidance of performing two pieces in the same genre consecutively” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, pp. 11-12). This alternating format, typical in places such as Vienna, London, and Paris (Shanet, 1975) continued to the beginning of the 20th century; however, this presentation format was soon overtaken by the dominance of the symphony form (Carter & Levi, 2003c) and the culmination of the institutionalization of the standard repertoire, which was “emblematic of loftier musical principles, and... increasingly form[ing] the backbone of orchestral programmes” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 12).

Finally, today, *complete* (rather than partial) works are grouped into programs, which are further organized into series, the most important being the *subscription season*. In the case of the New York Philharmonic, the subscription season accounts for a significant portion of ticket revenues. For example, in the 1982-3 season, “subscriptions account[ed] for 85 to 90 percent of the Philharmonic’s ticket sales” (Holland, 1982, September 15, p. C17). Further, up until the early 20th century, all concerts were part of the yearly subscription season. Only later did other types of concerts and series develop to complement the main subscription season. These shorter series

include programs that focus on a particular style of music, or target a specific audience or purpose, such as the Young People's Concerts and the yearly Pension Fund Concert. A final contextual consideration is the emergence of the commercial recording and national radio broadcasts in the 20th century, which helped orchestras establish their global identities, as well as disseminate live and recorded performances to immense publics.

Defining standard repertoire

An even more specific definition of the repertoire of the symphony orchestra is the *standard repertoire*. Several competing definitions have been offered in both musicological (Bent & Blum, n.d.) and business literatures (Glynn, 2002), to which I offer my own conceptualization. In particular, I base my conceptualization on my understanding of the foundations of creative work, which offers a more nuanced understanding of the repertoire, and standard repertoire.

General definitions of the standard repertoire

Bent and Blum (n.d.) offer a general definition of the *standard repertoire* as “the collection of works commonly found in the programmes of Western-style orchestras, choirs and opera companies (and to a lesser extent ensembles and recital artists), containing selected works of the period roughly from Haydn to Richard Strauss and Debussy” (para. 7). Here, Bent and Blum (n.d.) give precedence to a specific time frame, extending approximately from the mid-18th century to the early 20th century, as represented by specific “Western” composers. In the case of the orchestra, the standard repertoire is cast as largely consistent from country to country, and from West to East. This is supported by Couch (1983), who finds little difference between the repertoires of American vs. London orchestras, and a clear dominance of a standard repertoire. Carter & Levi (2003c) find the same consistency in Latin America and Asia. In much of the world, “European music canon [or standard repertoire] still occupies hallowed status in concert programmes” (Carter & Levi, 2003c, p. 19).

While Glynn (2002) states that “cultural institutions are neither unchanging nor static” (p. 64), she does define the standard repertoire in quite “static” terms, i.e., of a specific time period and of specific composers. In particular, Glynn (2002) defines the standard repertoire as including

those “established works by the 18th and 19th century composers whose music forged the prototype for the orchestra” (p. 66). Overall, Glynn’s (2002) definition is an even narrower (historical) view than Bent and Blum’s (n.d.).

Glynn’s (2002) focus on the “static” nature of the standard repertoire is also highlighted in the press, by reviewers such as Tommasini (2001, April 29) of the *New York Times*, who charged that the symphony orchestras of today are primarily in the “preservation business” (Tommasini, 2001, April 29, p. 32). The focus on orchestras as musical “museums” was famously taken up by conductor Leonard Bernstein, who in 1975, charged that the 20th century marked a significant shift in the nature of the composer-audience relationship: “for the first time we are living a musical life that is not based on the composition of our time. This is purely a 20th century phenomenon; it has never been true before” (Bernstein, 1966/1975, p. 447).

Two further qualifications concerning the definition of the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra are as follows. First, the standard repertoire is not synonymous with so-called *classical music*, as offered by Glynn (2002), i.e., who uses the term “standard, *classical* repertoire” (p. 67). Classical repertoire is often loosely used to distinguish it from so-called *pop music*; however, classical repertoire, for musicians, denotes music written during a specific time period, and of a particular style, i.e., between 1750 and 1830 (Classical, n.d.). Second, the standard repertoire of the orchestra includes several styles, including Baroque, Classical, Romantic, and even more recent compositions of the 20th century. In the end, the term “classical music”, is not easily defined (Lipman, 1990), and is avoided, as possible, in this thesis.

Overall, the nature of an orchestra’s *total repertoire*, and *specific standard repertoire*, raises the following questions. Is the standard repertoire a “static set” of works, as inferred by Bent and Blum (n.d.) and Glynn (2002), or is the standard repertoire capable of change over time? If change is possible, does the standard repertoire grow in size over time, or do new additions pave the way for significant change? Finally, has the 20th and 21st century orchestra evolved into a form that primarily performs a “museum-like” function? To answer these questions, I argue that both Bent and Blum (n.d.) and Glynn (2002) offer an overly (and incorrectly) “static” view of the standard repertoire, and do not successfully incorporate or capture the meaning and importance of peripheral works. Non-core (or non-standard) repertoire has always been a part of the *total*

orchestral repertoire. Orchestras do not solely program standard repertoire; they also program “novelties” or non-standard repertoire in both the main subscription series and subsidiary series over yearly concert seasons.

Further, these definitions do not capture the continued practice of composition for the orchestra, or the long-held practices of featuring premiers of new works and the commissioning of new works, which have served as sources of variation over time:

Orchestras, soloists, and patrons have long seeded the repertoire by ordering up works for guaranteed performance in a process called commissioning, as in the case of the dark stranger who supposedly commissioned a Requiem Mass from the dying Mozart.

(Holoman, 2012, p. 82)

Over the history of the New York Philharmonic, 484 commissions and premieres were presented by the New York Philharmonic, up to the present (and excluding those of the New York Symphony and chamber works). The first of these appears in the 1845-6 season, only three years following the Philharmonic’s inception in 1842. Several world premieres are notable, including Dvorák’s *Symphony No. 9, From the New World*, premiered on December 16, 1893 under the direction of Anton Seidl (World Premieres by the New York Philharmonic, n.d.).

While Lipman’s (1990) focus was defining “classical music” – a term I avoid in my thesis – he does highlight one particularly important aspect of the standard repertoire. While the standard repertoire constitutes a “tradition existing over time” (p. 123), it is also a body of work that is being “added to in important ways” (p. 123). New works (created post-1900) have already been accepted into the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra. For example, the works of Shostakovich (1906-1975) are regularly featured on orchestral programs. In the particular case of the New York Philharmonic, 36 unique compositions of Shostakovich have been presented to audiences, and Shostakovich was one of the top 10 composers in the 1942-3 season. One particular work first programmed in 1931, i.e., *Symphony No. 1, Op. 10*, went on to be one of Shostakovich’s most performed works, appearing 48 times, with the last performance given in 2011. In addition, symphony orchestras in both the United States and Great Britain (Carter &

Levi, 2003c), have most recently created positions of composer-in-residence, whereby a number of works are created each season by a contemporary composer.

Second, new compositions, and new additions to the standard repertoire, are first and foremost new acquisitions to a growing standard repertoire. These incremental additions not only allow for small changes over time, but they do not appreciably alter a core standard repertoire from one point in time to the next. However, a further nuance in this highly complex process of almost imperceptible change to a core standard repertoire, concerns natural flows of composers or specific compositions that come in and out of “vogue” over time, and powerful conductors that “champion” certain composers during their tenures with specific orchestras (Holoman, 2012). In the end, even considering the variation created by these ecological flows, powerful endorsements, and natural additions, the standard repertoire is above all a highly institutionalized body of work that is a *relative constant* over time.

Third, in response to reviewers and Bernstein’s lament of the museum-like nature of the “modern” symphony orchestra, I argue that first, such a position, need not be cast primarily in a negative light. As offered by Holoman (2012), the standard repertoire can be cast in a very positive role:

In 1856 the empress of France, noting only one living composer – Rossini – on a program of the Paris conservatory Orchestra, asked its nondescript conductor “and does your lovely orchestra ply only the work of dead people?” “Madame,” he replied with a bow, “the Société des Concerts is the Louvre of Music.” He meant it as a compliment: to be canonized is not necessarily to be *fossilized* [emphasis added]. (pp. 85-86)

Musicological considerations of the standard repertoire

Weber (2001) offers some further considerations concerning the development of the standard repertoire in relation to aspects of programming, but also divisions between “serious” vs. “light” and “classical” vs. “popular” forms. In particular, the shift from alternating genres to the dominance of forms written with the symphony orchestra in mind is positioned by Weber (2001)

as a shift from “Miscellany to Homogeneity” (p. 125). From approximately 1850, Weber (2001) notes a significant shift to homogeneity in programming, alongside the institutionalization process of the standard repertoire or “canon”, which separates so-called “classical” or “serious” music from “popular” or “light” musical forms. While this shift was first observed in chamber music, it soon spread to symphony orchestras in the 1860s, as well as solo recitals of the time, and often included a sampling of new works (Weber, 2001). Finally, Weber (2001) also notes a new separation of vocal and instrumental works and a reduction in the number of works presented per program.

Overall, Weber (2001) positions “Miscellany to Homogeneity” as a shift from a diversity of genres (with a homogeneity in historical age), to a diversity in works’ historical age (with genre homogeneity). Further, the “miscellaneous” approach to programming also “came into strong disrepute” (Weber, 2001, p. 129), while homogenous programming of a standard repertoire or canon was sought by – and expected by – not only the public, but also critics (Weber, 2001). This not only reflected a public that was becoming more musically informed, but also the institutionalization of the role of critic. According to Weber (2001), the “popular” vs. “classical” distinction was largely complete by the time of World War I.

Further to aspects of programming and divisions in types of music, Kerman (1983) discusses some of the effects (and precursors to) the standardization of the repertoire. In particular, Kerman (1983) emphasizes that the written, musical score (hereafter, referred to as “the score”) is not particular to all musical cultures; many cultures depend upon oral means for the transmission of musical tradition. Therefore, Kerman (1983) positions the score, an ‘object’ and focus of music’s ‘objectification’, as a significant factor in the standardization or canonization of Western music, but not necessarily sufficient for the “maintenance of a musical tradition” (p. 108).

Through the 19th century, the institutionalization or canonization of the standard repertoire ran alongside a shift in the tradition of changing the score to suit musicians’ and contextual needs, to a veneration of the score. Further, prior to the early part of the century, the repertoire presented to audiences was of a “present generation and one or two preceding generations” (Kerman, 1983, p. 111). However, this dominance shifted to a sustained performance of works, as well as an

investigation of the music of the past that created a need for historical “authenticity”. Finally, Kerman (1983) also associates canonization with the rise of music criticism and the study of aesthetics, which ultimately led to some composers and their repertoire attaining a status over others. Further, the appearance of the recording also supported not only the homogenization of the repertoire, but also the “standardization in every aspect of the performer’s craft” (p. 119). Overall, Kerman (1983) positions the 19th century as a time when the score (or the “object”) rose above music as “social activity” (p. 113).

Overall, these particular shifts are important considerations, but they are shifts associated with a *institutionalizing* rather than institutionalized form, i.e. shifts prior to approximately 1850. Also, while Weber (2001) positions a shift in programming practice as emerging out of a developing standard repertoire, or canon, I locate the relationship between repertoire and programming as emerging from a process of *co-evolution*, and one that was inextricably tied with further institutionalization processes, including that of the symphony orchestra, soloists, conductors, and critics. In particular, I focus on the nature of consistency and change in three endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors from approximately 1850 forward, which captures many aspects highlighted by Weber (2001) and Kerman (1983). Overall, the focus remains on the relationships between these actors, and the general continuum of change: the repertoire as a relative constant, soloists balancing consistency and change, and conductors exhibiting significant amounts of change over time.

Empirical support: Conformity, variation, gaps

Within extant literature, the repertoire of the orchestra, and the standard repertoire in particular, has been cast as a highly consistent body of work. Three foundational sources that support the consistent nature of the standard repertoire include that of Mueller (1973), the BMI surveys, Hart (1973), and three more recent contributions, Dowd et al. (2002), Glynn (2002) and Kremp (2010).

Mueller (1973) focuses on *subscription* programs of 27 major US symphony orchestras from the 1842-3 seasons to 1969-1970. Here, repertoire is presented in terms of total performance times; however, the repetitions of programs are not included. Here, Mueller (1973) finds the standard

repertoire as having a high degree of consistency over time, with a focus on Austro-German works. Mueller (1973) also finds the presence of “life cycles”, divided into the following categories: 1) low but stable; 2) ascending (over a long- or short-term period); 3) descending; 4) full life cycle (though not necessarily indicating a full “death” of a particular composer’s works); 5) indeterminate; and 6) most played (including Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and Wagner). Of particular note, is Mueller’s “ascending” over the short-term (e.g., Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Bartok, Shostakovich, Britten, Copland, Barber, and Ives). Here, newcomers show an increasing presence over time, indicating that the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra has “space” for incoming composers of merit. Overall, there is a clear constancy of the standard repertoire, at a more macro-level, with fluctuations or variations over time, at a micro-level.

The Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI) surveys (in conjunction with the American Symphony Orchestra League) focus on annual programming of a varying number of US orchestras, i.e., from 74 to 620 orchestras. While these surveys draw from a much larger number of American orchestras, including major as well as other forms (e.g., community orchestras), they only address a short time span from the 1959-60 to 1969-1970 seasons. Therefore, these data are less useful to the approach adopted in this thesis. Further, in contrast to Mueller’s (1973) work, the BMI surveys consider all programs and total number of performances rather than the weighted approach according to total performance time.

Drawing on Mueller’s (1973) work, Hart (1973) further highlights cultural aspects of the standard repertoire, including the dominance of the repertory by Austro-German, Russian, and French composers, followed by American compositions, with the first three accounting for 76-87% of the total repertoire performed. Hart (1973) also points out a drop in Austro-German repertoire during times of war, with rising numbers of Russian, French, American and British repertoire due to “popular sympathies as regards the identity of... [American] allies in the wars” (p. 407). In particular, Hart (1973) focusses on the “entry or departure of composers into and out of the repertory” (p. 410), ultimately finding 30 such composers that have met a 1% rule, i.e., of total performance time, suggesting that while the repertoire is a highly consistent body of work, there are shifts over time.

A further finding of Hart (1973) concerns American repertoire. While Mueller (1973) does not find any American repertoire meeting the 1% rule, Hart (1973) finds five composers that entered during the first half of the 20th century that remained over time, i.e., Bartók, Prokofiev, Ravel, Shostakovich, and Stravinsky. This lends credence to a standard repertoire that is a relative constant over time, though with notable, yet few, additions that point to a level of flexibility over the long-term. Overall, Hart's (1973) interpretation of the Mueller (1973) data is as follows:

...domination by Austro-German composers of the past, with strong and continuing emphasis on Beethoven; a generally low proportion of contemporary music; and even lower representation of American music; the distribution of this over a large number of composers; and an increasingly static condition in the repertory. (Hart, 1973, p. 421).

My analysis largely supports Hart's (1973) findings; however, with one qualification. In the case of the New York Philharmonic, including the time period up to the 2012-3 season, the claim that the repertory is becoming even more "static" over time, is not apparent, considering the breadth of repertoire choices and various contextual aspects.

Dowd et al. (2002), in particular, show that novelty or variation is governed by three factors. Utilizing data collected by Mueller (1973), which included performances from 1842 to 1969 of 27 American orchestras, Dowd et al. (2002) focus on how supra-organizational aspects impact the standard repertoire of the orchestra. Dowd et al. (2002) find that new compositions are impacted by "the increased performance capabilities of symphony orchestras, the expanded resources for new music, and the proliferation of music programs among U.S. colleges and universities" (p. 35). Dowd et al. (2002) do not find the either radio broadcast or recordings of new works have a significant impact on "the number of new composers that annually enter the repertoires" (p. 56).

Dowd et al. (2002) also find that the only aspect that works against a few dominant composers in the standard repertoire is expanding performance capabilities of orchestras over time. An "increase in performance capabilities" (Dowd et al., 2002, p. 1053) concerns the frequency and regularity of performances over a concert season. "Expanded resources" (Dowd et al., 2002, p. 35) considers both internal and external resources to the orchestra, such as conductors that

defend and promote contemporary work (internal) and organizations such as the League of Composers initiated by Aaron Copland (external). Finally, the “proliferation of music programs” (Dowd et al., 2002, p. 35) refers to music schools across America that conferred “legitimacy for canon formation and maintenance” (Dowd et al., 2002, p. 43). These findings not only point to the possibility and prevalence of variation, but also the impact of key actors within an overall ecology of the symphony orchestra. Further, certain actors, i.e., those orchestras who are capable and in a position of prestige, are able to further variation within the standard repertoire.

Finally, Dowd et al. (2002) also note the nature of change over time:

Increasing change occurred at the margins, as first-time performances of new composers were eclipsed by the performances of those composers who occupied a central place in the canon (e.g., Beethoven). In fact, the number of new composers performed in one year (i.e., change) had no bearing on the extent to which the classics were performed in the subsequent year (i.e., conformity). (p. 58)

Dowd et al. (2002) find that while change was apparent in the repertoire, this change occurred “at the margins” (p. 58) or at the periphery, while the standard repertoire continued to “eclips[e]” (p. 58) such variation. This stance is supported by Glynn (2002) who argues that while the standard repertoire is resistant to change, innovation is possible when economic disruptions come to the fore. Specifically, “the musical canon of the symphony seems particularly resistant to large-scale change but potentially vulnerable to incremental or small-scale innovation, particular where it might address the economic concerns of the orchestra” (p. 68).

Again, drawing from Mueller (1973), as well as the work of Dowd et al. (2002), Kremp’s (2010) analysis of innovation and success within the orchestral standard repertoire shows a clear “conservatism” (p. 1051) in the respective repertoires of the group of 27 major American orchestras spanning from 1879 to 1959, as well as a dominance of Austro-German repertoire:

Of the 1,612 composers ever played by 27 major American symphony orchestras from 1879 to 1959, 13 composers accounted for half of the total number of performances, and the 100 most played composers accounted for 86 percent of the performances. (p. 1051).

These 13 composers include “Wagner, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Tchaikovsky, Strauss, Bach, Berlioz, Debussy, Ravel, Schumann, Schubert, and Mendelssohn” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1077). This conservatism also played out over time: “12 of the 20 most played composers in the 1950s were already among the 20 most played composers in the 1880s” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1051).

Like Mueller (1973) and Hart (1973), Kremp (2010) acknowledges the presence of variation; however, he positions novelty as a “deconstruction” (p. 1053) of the standard repertoire, which focuses on the importance of innovation as either an early 20th century phenomenon (Dowd et al. 2002) or an even later one of the 1960s (DiMaggio, 1987). However, my analysis dates such a “deconstruction” (or disruption) at an even earlier time, i.e., as early as the late 19th century. Kremp (2010) also finds much variation from orchestra to orchestra in the level of variation in the standard repertoire. Regardless of the agreed upon timing of “deconstruction” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1053), Kremp (2010) emphasizes that while a culture of conservatism does exist within the symphony orchestra, there is a parallel culture of “successive attempts at introducing novelty into concert programming in the United States since the late 19th century” (p. 1051).

Kremp’s (2010) work further emphasizes that “prestigious orchestras and star conductors” (p. 1076) are in a position to successfully integrate new compositions into an established standard repertoire. However, these “consecrated actors” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1071) also need to be working in an environment that supports innovative programming, i.e., those environments that had a “local elite cohesiveness” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1051). In practical terms, these orchestras also have seasons that provide sufficient space for new compositions alongside the standard repertoire (Kremp, 2010).

A further finding of Kremp (2010) notes that the adoption of variation, or the adoption of new repertoire, is more easily achieved when a new composition is introduced “at a time of low competition with established composers” (p. 1051). Specifically, if new compositions are introduced at a time when the repertoire of an orchestra is comparatively small, there is room for new compositions, and further, if a new composition is presented during a time when several new compositions are apparent in an orchestra’s repertoire, there is a greater likelihood that this work will also be adopted and played in the future (Kremp, 2010). One aspect that this study (as

well as most others) does not address is the nature of new compositions, i.e., from a musician's perspective, are these well-crafted works?

While this empirical work supports the consistency of the standard repertoire over time and variation within certain limits, it does not fully investigate critical aspects where *nuance matters*. For example, Hart's (1973) claims of an increasingly "static" standard repertoire does not hold in the case of the New York Philharmonic. Further, while Kremp (2010) positions novelty as a "deconstruction" (or disruption) of the standard repertoire, I do not uniformly position novelty or variation in such negative terms. Rather, variation within certain boundaries is acceptable within the standard repertoire (for example, interpretive variation), while variation at the periphery is a natural and needed counterpoint to the standard repertoire. Even if Kremp's (2010) deconstruction is taken as a given, my analysis of the New York Philharmonic dates such processes as beginning at a much earlier date (the late 19th century). Finally, the one rather obvious and critical factor that is missing from all previous studies concerns the nature of works within the standard repertoire vs. a general repertoire as a whole: *the nature of excellence*. What are the criteria for a work's inclusion in the standard repertoire? A particular time period, composer or conductor? Nowhere in the business literature do I find some assessment of the nature of compositions that populate the standard repertoire, i.e., are these works well-crafted by a musicians, theoretician's, or musicologist's standards?

Repertoire: Pressures for conformity and change

The institutionalization of the standard repertoire was a process that ran concurrently (and co-evolved with) the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra. These concurrent processes are not surprising considering the natural links between composers, the repertoire, and the symphony orchestra: "The orchestral repertoire necessarily pivots around Beethoven and Brahms [or similarly, the standard repertoire], since the orchestra itself is defined by their work and, conversely, their work in terms of its pursuit of the symphonic ideal" (Holoman, 2012, p. 76). However, this process was also impacted by other powerful actors within the overall ecology of the symphony orchestra, either in support of the maintenance of a standard repertoire, or pressures for significant change. As offered by Glynn (2002), Dowd et al. (2002), Kremp (2010), and Glynn and Lounsbury (2005), these influences include related institutions of the state,

church and powerful families, a body of individuals within society otherwise known as “the elite”, critics (and their critical reviews), financial influences, and general, contextual factors. To these are added critical endogenous influences, including those at the organizational level, i.e., the symphony orchestra, and the individual level, i.e., soloists, conductors, and composers. These influences are positioned alongside an alternate view of the process of the standardization of the orchestral repertoire, as well as my own views that add further nuance to this complex process over time.

The institutions: State, church, and family

Kremp (2010) highlights the influence of related institutions in the institutionalization of the standard repertoire, in terms of its creation and reproduction. Building on the work of Weber (2004), DeNora (1991), and DiMaggio (1991a), Kremp (2010) conceptualizes the creation of the standard repertoire as a “product of the emergence of a class-based distinction between “highbrow” and “lowbrow” taste during the 19th century” (p. 1052). In other words, the standard repertoire was shaped by powerful actors, such as states and the nobility, and was soon distinguished from other repertoires, such as those of theater and opera. At this time, from 1850 to 1900, the standard repertoire underwent an institutionalization process, with “orchestras... favoring music of the past over recently composed music and concentrating on a narrow set of mostly Austro-German composers” (Kremp, 2010, p. 1052). Overall, these institutions are positioned primarily as creating pressures for conformity over change.

The “elite”

Glynn (2002) argues that “elites emphasizing status differences conspired to further institutionalize the orchestral canon, fixing the standard, classical repertoire in time, a trend that is still evident today” (p. 67). However, Glynn (2002) is not explicit concerning the nature of elites, beyond their power in funding art institutions such as the symphony orchestra. The general nature and impact of “elites” is problematic as it is difficult (if not impossible) to find a period in history when the arts was immune from such influences. It also tends to deny artists a sufficient stake in power and control over musical production, from composition, to performance, and to reception. While there is no doubt that elites both internal and external to the orchestra have had

impact on the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra and its standard repertoire, they are not the sole, and I argue, not the most significant force, in its evolution over time.

A particularly well-documented example of a composer and performer who resisted the influence of “the elite” was Ludwig van Beethoven, one of the most important composers of standard orchestral repertoire. To be sure, Beethoven was “only too aware that he depended on aristocratic families for his financial support” (Kerman, Tyson & Burnham, n.d., para. 6). However, at the same time, Beethoven was also known to avoid “show[ing] the deference and obedience normally expected from musicians in circles of the nobility” (Kerman et al., n.d., para. 6). This distance can be applied to musicians and theoreticians both of his time and earlier (Kerman et al., n.d.).

Overall, “elites” are positioned as powerful forces of conformity over change. However, my perspective supports only a measure of influence that “elites” had (and have) in perpetuating and shaping the standard repertoire. Overall, elite influence is positioned as one of many powers that make up a “portfolio” of actors who have had (and continue to have) a significant influence on the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra.

The critic

Glynn (2002) also includes the influence of the music critic in the institutionalization of the standard repertoire and its maintenance over time. Specifically, “the music critic evaluates the application of aesthetic systems to musical programming and to artistic performance with a bias towards tradition, thereby keeping musical programming conservative” (p. 68). However, critics’ pressure for conformity does not hold in all contexts. While tradition strongly governs certain expectations for performance, critics do not always side with so-called “conservative” perspectives. For example, Canarina (2010) highlights New York Times critic Harold Schonberg who took issue with New York City’s own pressure for conformity:

In his Sunday article on December 12 [1971], Schonberg wrote about the number of letters he and the Philharmonic management had received, most of them complaining

about the programming... There was too much modern music, too much unfamiliar music, too much vocal music. (p. 79)

In this instance, Schonberg (1971, December 12) does not support conservatism, but rather fights for “sophistication or intellectual curiosity” (p. D17):

For a while the letters were coming in steadily, all on one subject: the monstrous thing Pierre Boulez was doing to the Philharmonic, and the monstrous thing the Philharmonic was doing to its subscribers. Some of the complaints approached hate mail, and the sad thing was that very few wrote in approving of the Philharmonic’s stand... My interest in the repertory this season [is not] created by a professional aversion resulting from over-exposure to the standard repertory. After a lifetime of listening, I still can respond to the mainstream of music, and I would quit the job if I couldn’t. All I can do is patiently, once more, point out that for many years the Philharmonic, and all major orchestras, have been in a rut, playing much the same things over and over again... That a composer like Berg should cause such resentment among the Philharmonic subscribers attests to an appalling lack of sophistication or intellectual curiosity on their part. (p. D17)

While critics are typically highly opinionated, their overall impact and role is characterized by both pressure for conformity as well as pressure for change. In many respects, their role is to question, as much as to “answer”.

Financial influences

Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) position financial concerns, i.e., a “commercial market logic”, as a relatively recent and disruptive influence on the institutionalized form of the standard repertoire. Specifically, “as a result [of a growing commercial logic], marketing techniques and managerialism associated with the commercial market logic have crept into the arts, thereby threatening the purity and longstanding dominance of the aesthetic logic” (Glynn & Lounsbury, 2005, p. 1037). Again, I argue that financial concerns have *always* been a part of the arts, and have always had a potential impact on the nature of art that is created, and what art is offered to audiences. *This conundrum is simply not a modern phenomenon.* A historical perspective

highlights a tug of war between an economic and aesthetic logic, from examples such as the Medici's influence in the arts in Florence in the 1600s (Hollingsworth, 1994), to funders such as Joseph Pulitzer who, after a particularly large bequest in 1911, articulated his hopes around expected repertoire choices at the New York Philharmonic (Shanet, 1975). Overall, recent economic forces have constituted a primary pressure for change; however, it is only one of many in the modern context, and only one example of the many economic pressures that have impacted the arts throughout history. Indeed, Glynn (2002) articulates that in spite of art living in a "space" fraught with financial difficulty, the standard repertoire has shown – and continues to show – great resilience to change.

Contextual, macro influences

Our understanding of the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra is, in part, reflective of general trends in the nature of orchestral repertoire since its beginnings in the 17th and 18th centuries, a trajectory that is given some clarity by Schonberg (1967/1975):

In the 18th century, indeed, brand new music was the only music in the repertoire. Audiences wanted to hear the very latest; and if they *were disturbed* [emphasis added] by Mozart or the young Beethoven, there always were more comforting composers like Salieri or the great Paisiello to satisfy them. In the 19th century, new music never had to wait very long for a hearing. If anything, it was old music that had to wait. When Mendelssohn decided to give a series of programs devoted to Bach, Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, he did so with much preparation and apology, calling them "Historical Concerts." Berlioz, Liszt, Schumann and Wagner may have been controversial figures, to be damned by such important conservative critics as Chorley and Hanslick; but their music was played, discussed, argued about, constantly analyzed in the newspapers and magazines. And again as in the 19th century, there always was a bulwark of new music that was less controversial... Today there are few big men, in the sense that the previous avant-garde composers were. (p. 442)

In general, macro influences of history and specific contextual elements have impacted the institutionalization of the standard repertoire and its maintenance (and disruption) over time

(Dowd et al., 2002). In particular, institutionalization was tied to aspects of location and flows of influence from country to country. The standard repertoire had its beginnings in Europe in the 1800s (Weber, 1984; 1992), and was furthered in the American context by people and ideas that flowed from Europe. In the United States, the standard repertoire was housed in not-for-profit organizations that facilitated its growth and freed it to some extent from usual financial concerns (DiMaggio, 1982; 1991b). Within this context, audiences have also provided a significant force that has tended towards conformity over time:

What is generally called the canonization of the repertoire was primarily the work of symphony orchestras and their audiences. The nature of the employment of eighteenth-century composers was such that the majority of their work was ephemeral [perhaps not that different than the shifting musical spaces of “pop” music]. The inherent nature of programming a concert series, on the other hand, elevated relatively few composers and their works to public attention. These were the ones deemed worthy of repeated hearing, of veneration. They were, in a word, classical. (Holoman, 2012, p. 80)

An ecological approach to the symphony orchestra also preferences the potential impact of various external forces on the repertoire and its performance: “But in most places and most eras the repertoire is always shifting, led by conductor enthusiasm, audience demand, academic scholarship – and, still, the individual quests of living composers” (Holoman, 2012, p. 77). An ecological approach highlights a natural relationship between core and periphery, and between the standard repertoire and new or less performed works. It also highlights the importance of “reinterpretation” (Lipman, 1990, p. 124) within a tradition that has been built over a significant amount of time:

It is my position that music which becomes a part of the tradition of classical music is written in largely traditional forms and with largely traditional means, though both forms and means are in process of continuous reinterpretation. Furthermore, these new (or at least newer) additions to the canon are written with an awareness – whether that awareness is conscious or unconscious does not, I think matter – of the existence of the tradition, and with an intention of contributing to that tradition as a whole. (Lipman, 1990, p. 124).

Lipman's (1990) definition makes clear reference to a core tradition that has existed over time, but with the expectation of variation. As such, it encapsulates my main argument concerning the institutional core, i.e., while the institutional core is maintained over time, it also allows for variation at the periphery.

Internal, micro influences

While many influences for conformity and change originate “outside” the confines of the symphony orchestra, these influences also originate from within. Kremp (2010) conceptualizes the reproduction of the standard repertoire as a product of “inertial pressures within orchestras leading to a marginalization of innovation and the institutionalization of the categorical boundaries defining ‘classical music’” (p. 1052). Drawing on the work of Arian (1971), Gilmore (1993) and Horowitz (1987; 2005), Kremp (2010) isolates three linked processes of reproduction that support a “continuous predominance of a limited set of composers in the repertoires: bureaucratization of large symphony orchestras..., the alignment of aesthetic interests of concert artists and administrative rationality of orchestras..., and the emergence of a culture of performance and virtuosity rather than creativity within major symphony orchestras” (p. 1051).

At a broader, organizational level, influences of conformity and change are impacted by the symphony orchestra's relationship with the repertoire. According to Couch (1983), the symphony orchestra “does not simply depend on the ‘needs’ of music composed for it, but greatly influences the development of music itself” (p. 109). A reciprocal, if not *inextricable relationship* is suggested: “Music itself not only influences organizations that perform it but is influenced by them” (Couch, 1983, p. 110). This distinction highlights the fact that the maintenance (or disruption) of the orchestra, allows for the maintenance (or disruption) of the repertoire and vice versa. Glynn (2002) also highlights the special relationship that exists between the institution of the symphony orchestra and the standard repertoire, positioning the repertoire as “the foremost expression of the symphony orchestra's mission and the artistic aspirations of its conductor and musicians. The repertoire played is the language through which the orchestra speaks to the audience” (American Symphony Orchestra League, 1993, p. 17).

Further, at a more specific level, *individual performers*, including soloists and conductors, also impact both conformity and change over time. In particular, variance via interpretation is an integral part of what soloists offer via artistic creation. Citing the work of DiMaggio (1987), Glynn (2002) focuses on the importance of interpretation in conformity at the level of the standard repertoire, and change via its interpretation by different performers: “although there may be less variation in the content of the orchestral canon, there may be more variation in its interpretive play” (Glynn, 2002, p. 70). Further, Murnighan and Conlon (1991) also emphasize how variation is a natural (and acceptable) part of the standard repertoire via interpretation: “Any composition can be played an infinite number of ways, with varying speed, emphasis, rhythm, balance, and phrasing. Thus, a string quartet tries to stamp each performance with its own character and style” (p. 166).

Conductors also contribute to variation via interpretation and conformity by supporting various composers as part of the standard repertoire. The commissioned and non-commissioned biographies of the New York Philharmonic also make frequent reference to the particular “sound” of an orchestra, due in part, to the conductors that lead them. This acceptable form of variation is also accompanied by a natural ebb and flow of composers who are “championed” by specific conductors over time:

The rage for Rachmaninov was born in the United States, nourished above all by the Philadelphia Orchestra and its conductors and public. The Mahler symphonies, as championed by Mengelberg in Amsterdam and Bernstein in New York, succeeded those of Brahms and Tchaikovsky as the benchmark for conductor accomplishment... Ferde Grofé’s Grand Canyon Suite (1931), popularized by Toscanini and the NBC Symphony in a recording of 1932, became a favorite in the rush to prove an American style (Holoman, 2012, p. 77)

Composers also have a natural influence on both conformity and change. The “modern” context is an especially nuanced and complex environment that can be cast as having an overarching character of deeply embedded *variance*. Considerable variation in style is apparent in works written by so-called “modern” composers, who have contributed to the repertoire beyond Bent and Blum’s (n.d.) period of standard repertoire (from the mid-18th to the mid-20th century).

Beyond the definitional difficulties of such modern music, music written during the 20th and 21st centuries does not generally adhere to one particular style, as it has in the past, but rather several styles, including new interpretations of earlier styles, such as neo-classical and neo-romantic. Taking into account such stylistic diversity, this period is often referred to as an “age of pluralism” (Lipman, 1990, p. 124) or in Schonberg’s (1967/1975) terms, “The New Eclecticism” (p. 445). In particular, Schonberg (1967/1975) points to an eclecticism that blurs unique and nationalistic styles of composers, conductors, and orchestras. According to Tawa (2009), this variety reflects cultural changes, especially in the United States: “After World War II cultural fragmentation would characterize musical styles, genres, interest groups, and attitudes toward art” (p. 2).

Overall, while Kremp (2010) isolates an internal justification for conformity, it is indeed, only part of the picture. Endogenous actors are involved in both pressures for conformity and change. Change and variation is channeled through composers who continue to create new music (some of which will be adopted into the standard repertoire), through soloists who offer unique interpretations of the standard repertoire, and through conductors who bring neglected works to the attention of orchestras, audiences, and critics.

[An alternate, agentic view](#)

In addition to the somewhat subservient role that the standard repertoire takes in many conceptualizations of its institutionalization and maintenance over time, a more agentic stance also appears in the literature. The standard repertoire also holds its own “power”, rather than being purely the product of endogenous or exogenous influences. For example, Griswold (1987) highlights the “cultural power” of literary works, defining it as “the capacity of certain works to linger in the mind and, over and above this individual effect, to enter the canon, which is constructed and upheld by literary elites” (Griswold, 1987, p. 1105). Griswold (1987) positions such cultural power as enabling variance via its “multivocality” (p. 1105), i.e., its ability to elicit “extensive multiple interpretations” (p. 1105).

This framework can be extended to an orchestra’s standard repertoire. While the standard repertoire is cast as a relative constant over time, variance is possible not only via

experimentation at the periphery, but also through *interpretation*, via conductors and players, and through its reception by audiences. Following Griswold's (1987) lead, the standard repertoire – like that of the literary canon – can also be “recognized, or sensed, by those recipients familiar with the genre or form that a work represents” (p. 1106). Griswold's (1987) multivocality positions cultural power as a sustainable power. In the case of the symphony orchestra, actors both internal and external to the orchestra realize the power of an orchestra via its repertoire, and the expectation of multiple interpretations. While the symphony orchestra and its repertoire shows a great propensity for conformity over time, it has a “built in” requirement and propensity for variation, and, therefore, potential *disruption*.

Summary

I position the repertoire of the symphony orchestra as a *relative constant* over time. In particular, the standard repertoire has been cast as highly stable over time in the management, sociology, and musicology literatures, as well as via my analysis of the New York Philharmonic's programming between 1842 and 2012. That said, the institutionalization of the standard repertoire, and its continued maintenance over time, has been influenced by pressures for conformity and change. This process has been influenced by actors both endogenous and exogenous to the institution of the symphony orchestra, and even by the repertoire itself, if it is given “actor status” and an agency of its own.

Overall, a key observation concerns the fact that the repertoire's relative constancy is set against a balance of consistency and change in soloists, and a high level of change in conductors. Therefore, the repertoire only *appears* as a “static” or unchanging entity over time. Further, a more nuanced view sets the repertoire within a context of variation both within the standard repertoire (relatively little) and at its periphery, i.e. non-standard (more pronounced). This variation also includes aspects such as interpretation of the repertoire, which does not vary the repertoire in terms of the actual works performed, but rather in its realization for audiences over time.

Soloists

In comparison to the relative constant of the repertoire, and highly changeable trajectory of conductors, soloists of the symphony orchestra show a balance of consistency and change over time. Within the musicological literature (Bensman, 1983; Holoman, 2012), the soloist is cast as a consistently significant actor of the symphony orchestra, especially as communicators of a compositional form that was written with them in mind, i.e., the concerto. However, soloists are also associated with change, and are therefore, a potentially disruptive force, considering their propensity for freedom of interpretation, and the “glamour” associated with the virtuoso soloist.

My analysis of soloists of the New York Philharmonic between 1842 and 2012 largely confirms this contrast of consistency and change but also confirms that this mix of influences can also be “managed” over time. In particular, disruptive aspects of soloists can be ameliorated by a concurrent respect for the repertoire. This thesis also offers the key observation that since soloists show a balance of consistency and change, the repertoire not only becomes a relative constant amidst such balance, but an incredible source of stability considering the dramatic changes that characterize the trajectory of conductors.

The observation that change or disruption can be ameliorated over time, raises a series of key questions concerning soloists’ development. Theoretically, what is a soloist, and when and where did they emerge? When taking this definition into consideration, how do we then categorize soloists: as foreign, exogenous to the symphony orchestra, or as insiders, endogenous to the symphony orchestra? Finally, what are the sources of pressure that support soloists over time, and others that serve as key obstructions? I address each of these questions and introduce my own observations concerning the nature of soloists within the context of the institution of the symphony orchestra, in particular, highlighting key relationships founded on “balance”.

What is a soloist?

According to Fuller (n.d.), a solo is “(a) piece played by one performer, or a piece for one melody instrument with accompaniment” (para. 1). However, in its earliest manifestations, a solo (and soloist) referred to a single instrument with *no accompaniment* – for example Bach’s 6

Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin, BWV 1001–1006, which were entitled *Sei Solo – a violino senza Basso accompagnato* (6 solos, for violin *without* a bass accompaniments). Here, the focus on a solo instrument is the most complete. Thereafter, soloists, and the musical lines that they interpreted, were positioned as a focus of attention, with a counterpoint of support and interest coming from an accompanying actor – for example, the symphony orchestra. From the 18th century, the history of the solo and soloist shows an interplay between a focus (solo) and accompaniment, which included “a melody instrument with continuo [keyboard] accompaniment” (Fuller, n.d., para. 1). In many cases, the dominance of the solo role also shifted the accompanying instruments, even in the context of the symphony orchestra, to a “distinctly subordinate role” (Fuller, n.d., para. 3).

The soloist role has a trajectory that culminates in the coveted role of *virtuoso*, an Italian term that derives its meaning from the Latin word *virtus*, i.e., “excellence” or “worth” (Jander, n.d. para 1). While the term first referred to any particularly accomplished individual, in any field during the 16th and 17th centuries, it soon became closely associated with instrumentalists who focused on a professionalized soloist role in the later 18th and especially, 19th century (Jander, n.d., para. 2). As virtuosi, soloists performed works at exceedingly high levels; however, they also disrupted the repertoire and symphony orchestra in terms of not only focus, but accepted interpretive approaches to the repertoire. One perspective casts a soloist in a role of disruptor, with goals of “widen[ing] the technical and expressive boundaries of his art” (Jander, n.d. para 2).

Within the context of the institutionalized form of the symphony orchestra, soloists are either one particular instrument or voice category (e.g., soprano, tenor), or a small group that works in alternation or together (e.g., four voices for an opera excerpt or two solo instruments featured in so-called “double concertos”) against the texture of the orchestra. In some cases, these soloists can take particularly unique forms, such as the computer and dancer. Overall, these actors are an important feature of the orchestral work, as well as the overall program presented to audiences, in terms of both their abilities and celebrity.

Soloist relationships

The nature of soloists' relationships with the various actors of the symphony orchestra is complex; soloists are cast as key collaborators with the conductor and orchestra as a whole, or quite independently as interpreters of the solo part of the score and managers of their own images on the concert scene. According to Bensman (1983): "Soloists working with an orchestra, and opera stars, especially, have a vested interest in interpretation that devolves not only on the score itself but also on their self-images as stars, virtuosi, and individual performers" (p. 11).

A further relationship concerns soloists and their relationship with composers (and compositions). While a unique interpretation is part of a soloist's role as performer, solos and by extension soloists, are also simply the product of composers' inspiration, rather than soloists' own power. This position is highlighted by pianist Franz Liszt, an early virtuoso of the piano, who was quoted as saying that "virtuosity is not an outgrowth, but an indispensable element of music" (Jander, n.d. para. 2).

The multi-dimensional nature of soloist relationships, as well as their role as key collaborators that usually work with an orchestra for a short period of time, positions soloists as the great negotiators of the symphony orchestra, but also potentially disruptive forces considering their interpretive focus in such a highly visible context. In particular, soloists are often positioned between audience and conductor, and are a typical target of external critical review.

Overall, the role of soloist displays elements of both consistency and change over time. This delicate balancing act, i.e., showing respect for the repertoire amidst glamorous public lives, is typical of the institutionalized form of the virtuoso soloist, which ran roughly in parallel with the standard repertoire, the symphony orchestra, and conductors. This balance is captured by a key composer of the 19th century, Richard Wagner (1813-1883), who was noted as saying: "The real dignity of the virtuoso rests solely on the dignity he is able to preserve for creative art; if he trifles and toys with this, he casts his honour away. He is the *intermediary* [emphasis added] of the artistic idea" (Jander, n.d. para 2).

A balanced role as exogenous and endogenous actor

The definition of soloist already points to the interplay between a balanced (or complementary) role of soloist with accompanying symphony orchestra, to a dominant virtuoso role, where the focus shifts away from the orchestra, and to the soloist and solo line. Further, a balanced role is also reflected in the soloist's position in the institution of the symphony orchestra. In particular, soloists are *exogenous actors* who are not typically tied to one orchestra or another. They are free (and managed) actors who are hired by orchestras to realize works that feature soloists, as part of the overall season of performances. However, once hired, they become *endogenous actors* who take a key role in interpreting the repertoire, in conjunction with the conductor, and remaining orchestral players. In many ways their success is the conductor's and orchestra's success, and vice versa.

Soloists: pressures for conformity and change

Soloists create (and are created by) contexts that both foster both conformity and change. Soloists continuing role with symphony orchestras is supported by their “glamour”, which has been used to not only attract audiences, but maintain orchestras in an often highly competitive environments. For soloists in particular, their trajectory is also supported by the symphony orchestra, which has served as an attractive context to showcase their virtuosic abilities. Therefore, a significant, *inextricable relationship* exists between soloists and orchestras. Finally, soloists have been a consistent feature over time due to audiences' thirst for “glamour” and great music. In all, soloists, orchestras, and audiences form an important trio in the ecology of the symphony orchestra.

This consistency is set against several factors or pressures that form a counterpoint of change over time. In particular, elements of scheduling and associated costs of high profile soloists present particular challenges to soloists' trajectories. At the highest levels of performance, soloists are not unlimited in number, often having busy international schedules, short and longer-term commitments at various educational institutions, and busy chamber music careers.

Together, the busy schedules of soloists and symphony orchestras create a particularly intense

scheduling environment, which is compounded by scheduling practices that usually require managements to plan well into the future, sometimes several years.

While some orchestra's mitigate these pressures by drawing soloists from the "first chair" positions within the orchestra (e.g., the leader of the violin section, or concertmaster), the expectation remains that most soloists are drawn from exogenous actors, who then – for a time – become endogenous to the hiring orchestra, from the time of the first rehearsal to the final performance. A relatively new approach taken by some orchestras is the creation of special positions that establish longer-term relationships with a particular soloist over a period of a year or more. While such practices aid the overall scheduling process, orchestras still strain and are constrained by sometimes impossible scheduling horizons.

Overall, the factors of competition, audience draw, and outlets for expression have supported soloists over time, while factors of scheduling difficulties and costs have provided significant pressures. This interplay supports my thesis argument for soloists as having an intermediary and balancing role concerning consistency and change over time.

Summary

Overall, within the context of the symphony orchestra, soloists show a balance of consistency and change over time. The musicology literature, as well as my analysis of the New York Philharmonic, shows that soloists have been a consistent and significant actor in the Philharmonic's trajectory from its inception in 1842 to today. However, soloists have also shown a propensity for change, including an expected freedom of expression and interpretation, and associated power as "glamorous" virtuosi. Analysis of soloists at the New York Philharmonic points to change and disruption being ameliorated by soloists' respect of the repertoire.

Further, soloists' trajectories over time have been influenced by pressures for and pressures against their integral involvement with symphony orchestra. This interplay of consistency and change further supports soloists' intermediary position, which is set against the relative constancy of the repertoire and high levels of change in conductors.

Conductors

Of the three endogenous actors that I investigate in this thesis, conductors show a particularly striking degree of change over time, in relation to soloists' balance of consistency and change, and the repertoire as relative constant. Conductors' changeable nature is supported in the musicological literature, in particular, Shanet's (1975) topology of conductor types, and in the more recent business literature (Glynn, 2002). In particular, Shanet (1975) traces the institutionalization of the conductor from early forms in the mid-18th century to a modern form of the mid-20th. Conductors' pervasive trajectory of change is also captured by New York Times reviewer, Donal Henahan (1982, November 28) who recently remarked that conductors today "play a part *profoundly different* [emphasis added] from that of his predecessors in earlier centuries" (p. SM58). While conductors do show a relative dominance of change over time, this has not been so much as to fully transform the position. Conductors still provide a vital link between composers, the repertoire, the orchestra, and audiences. As described by Henahan (1982, November 28), a conductor's "traditional role [has been] as conduit between audience and composer" (p. SM58). Overall, "The conductor's fundamental goal is to bring a written score to life" (Wakin, 2012, April 8, p. AR.1).

My analysis of conductors at the New York Philharmonic between 1842 and 2012 largely confirms this observation, as the data set traces the institutionalization of conductors over time, i.e., from approximately 1850 to 1950. However, the data set also offers further nuance in a continuing trajectory of change in the modern form of the conductor, as represented by such recent examples as Leonard Bernstein (conductor of the New York Philharmonic, 1958-1969; laureate, 1969-1990) and current conductor, Alan Gilbert (2010-2017). For the purposes of this thesis, conductors are, therefore, placed at the furthest point in a spectrum from consistency to change, with soloists taking an intermediary role, and repertoire, the most constant.

A series of key questions are associated with the observation that conductors have shown the greatest degree of change over time. Conceptually, what is a conductor? Where and when did conductors emerge, and how did they evolve over time? And, more specifically, what were (if any) the pressures for conformity and what were the pressures for change? Further, if conductors are cast as having experienced the greatest amount of change over time, relative to soloists and

the repertoire, why is this the case? I address each of these questions in the following section, extending the work of Shanet (1975) by offering further, more recent changes in the nature of conductors and their context.

What is a conductor?

The nature of a modern conductor is expressed in both the musicological (Arnold & Muir, n.d.; Spitzer, Zaslaw, Botstein, Barber, Bowen, & Westrup, n.d.), and business literatures (Glynn, 2002), largely in terms of function, latitude of musical influence, and position (or power). A musicological perspective of *conducting* defines it as the following: “The art of directing an ensemble of instrumentalists or singers, or both, in such a way as to produce a unified, balanced performance of a given piece of music. Today the conductor is considered one of the most important figures in musical performance” (Arnold & Muir, n.d., para. 1). This definition emphasizes the organizational role of the conductor, in terms of general and musical aspects, but also the conductor’s position or power. A second definition is offered by Spitzer et al. (n.d.), where the modern conductor is positioned as a product of the 19th century, with a focus on three functions, including time keeper, interpreter, and administrator:

- 1) the conductor beats time with his or her hands or with a baton in performance; 2) the conductor makes interpretative decisions about musical works and implements these decisions in rehearsal and performance; [and] 3) the conductor participates in the administration of the musical ensemble. (Spitzer, et al., n.d., para. 1)

Within the business literature, the modern conductor is set within the institution of the symphony orchestra in terms of key relationships with other actors, as well as their relative power. For the most part, definitions are derived from the contributions of Glynn (2002) who casts a conductor’s main role as leading the expression of the repertoire. Further, Glynn (2002) also focuses on conductors’ inter-relationships with other powerful actors within the symphony orchestra, in particular, via the “threelegged stool”, which includes conductor, Executive Director, and Chair of the Board of Directors. As such, conductors are defined by the level of structure, leadership, and power that they exert within the symphony orchestra.

These definitions conceptualize orchestral conductors of modern form; however, the nature of conducting (and conductors) dates from the 15th century, largely for vocal groups, and with key structures and practices that evolved quite dramatically up to the appearance of the earliest orchestras in the 16th and 17th centuries. Further, the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra to the early 20th century was also characterized by a parallel institutionalization process of the specialized position of orchestral conductor, which is offered by Shanet (1975), using the New York Philharmonic as example. The following section traces a brief history of conducting and conductors from the 15th century, and then offers an overview of Shanet's (1975) typology of conductors extending from the 19th to mid-20th century.

Conductors: Emergence and evolution (15th to early 19th century)

The history of conducting precedes orchestral conductors by several centuries, and while it is not known where the first conductor emerged, nor the exact date, it is believed that they became a common practice by the 15th century to “bea[t] time” (Arnold & Muir, n.d., para. 2) for various vocal groups in religious institutions (Siepmann, 2003). The first conductors were typically singers, and sometimes keyboard players, with the practice of “time-beater” extending into the 18th century, especially within the church (Spitzer et al., n.d.).

By the 17th and 18th centuries, conductors became a necessity due to increasing ensemble size (Arnold & Muir, n.d.), as well as the use of multiple-choirs (Spitzer et al, n.d.). At this time, conducting and composing duties were tightly intertwined and conductors typically conducted as keyboardist or from the first violin chair (Siepmann, 2003; Henahan, 1982, November 28):

With few exceptions, he [the conductor] was one and the same – a man employed to compose music for church, theatre, palace or other musical establishment, and to take charge of its performance. He was an active player – a kind of “first among equals” – who led his band either from the first violinist's chair or from the harpsichord. Only in exceptional circumstances did he conduct music other than his own. (Siepmann, 2003, p. 114)

Overall, the role of conductor now shifted from vocalist (and sometimes keyboardist), to primarily an instrumentalist as ensembles grew in size, and as instrumental ensembles began to take on an independent role, separate from voice (Spitzer et al., n.d.). A conductor's role during the 17th century now extended from simple time-beating to further performance responsibilities such as “dynamics, articulation, accuracy and affect” (Spitzer et al., n.d., para. 6). In terms of the context of opera (developing from approximately 1600 onwards), the keyboard or continuo player again served as conductor, but more and more as interpretive guide (Arnold & Muir, n.d.).

Within the context of the earliest orchestras, from around 1700, more and more groups were led by the first violinist or concertmaster, a practice that continued into the 19th century (Arnold & Muir, n.d.; Spitzer et al., n.d.). However, conducting from the keyboard did continue during this time, including Haydn's presentation of his own symphonies in London in 1828 (Arnold & Muir, n.d.). For the most part, these instrumentalist conductors continued to be responsible for “maintaining a satisfactory ensemble [i.e., making sure musicians were playing the right notes, at the right time]” (Arnold & Muir, n.d., para. 4).

However, as the 19th century progressed, the organizing function offered by the keyboardist, or first violin, became insufficient, with conducting evolving into a specialized art form, within the realm of opera and orchestral music (Arnold & Muir, n.d.). Music's complexity now called “for a central figure visually in charge of the ensemble” (Spitzer et al., n.d., para. 15). So as the earliest orchestras grew in size and complexity, the role of conductor continued to do so as well:

Even before Beethoven's Ninth [completed in 1824], it was growingly clear that the chief executive needed eyes and hands – and brain – free if there were to be adequate control of difficult music for ever larger forces. The pioneers of the profession – Louis Spohr, Berlioz, Mendelssohn – abandoned any intent to play along, standing before the players and leading with a baton in the right hand. (Holoman, 2012, p. 61)

What repertoire these specialist conductors conducted also shifted over time, from the composer-conductor who conducted his own music, to the specialist conductor “whose professional life was devoted exclusively to championing the music of others” (Siepmann, 2003, p. 120). These developments set the stage for the type of conductor found at the New York Philharmonic in the

earliest performances of 1842. At this time, conductor's interpretive role also continued to expand, as well as their commitment to longer rehearsals, and their position as "permanent" conductor rather than transitory or shared (Arnold & Muir, n.d.).

The 19th century also brought new developments in conducting practices, as well as new theoretical texts in the art of conducting. In particular, conductors began to use a baton of some sort, a full score that included all instrumental lines of music, and the podium, which in addition to the baton, "ma[de] the conductor's gestures clear from increasing distances" (Holoman, 20120, p. 64). The history of the baton, like the conductor, is also characterized by significant change and experimentation over time, from the use of a role of paper, to a white handkerchief, and even to an odd mechanical arm (Siepmann, 2003). While the baton, typically used in performances today, did appear as early as 1776 in Berlin, it did not gain momentum until the 1820s, and took several decades to become the norm (Siepmann, 2003). That said, there are many conductors today that do not use a baton of any kind, but rather use their hands, arms, and body as the main conducting instrument.

In addition to changes in the type of instruments used to conduct groups, significant changes are also observed in the placement of the conductor over time. At the turn of the 19th century, conductors were often positioned between the orchestra and choir, with their backs to the orchestra, or they faced the audience, with their backs to the entire performing group (Siepmann, 2003). Today, conductors typically appear facing the orchestra, between it and the audience.

Overall, the nature of conducting from the 15th century has been characterized by several formal changes, from the position of the conductor, to typical conducting instruments, and conductor placement. Further, the nature of the conductor's role also changed quite significantly, from time-beater to interpreter of the repertoire. In general, the role of conductor was professionalized specialized, articulated in treatises, and displayed a shift from a focus on the conductor's own music, to the performance of others. The following section traces the trajectory of orchestral conductors in particular, drawing from Shanet's (1975) typology as well as other perspectives within the musicological literature.

Shanet's (1975) typology of orchestral conductors (mid-19th to mid-20th century)

The role of conductor has changed quite dramatically since the 15th century, in terms of their position (e.g., vocalist, keyboardist, 1st violinist, specialized conductor), their placement in relation to the ensemble, instruments of their art (e.g., roll of paper, baton), and responsibilities (e.g., time-beater, interpreter). This trajectory of change continued during the institutionalization of the specialized role of orchestra conductor, which extends from the mid-19th to mid-20th century. In particular, Shanet (1975) provides a useful typology of conductors (see Appendix G), from this period, using the New York Philharmonic as example (see Appendix H). While these types are presented in somewhat distinct time frames, dates of transition are approximate, and overlap is apparent from the earliest *ad hoc*, to *artist*, *interpreter*, *master*, and *modern* forms. Overall, the institutionalization of orchestral conductors was a gradual process, and one that was expressed by many personalities.

Ad hoc conductors (mid-19th century to approximately 1875)

The institutionalization of the orchestral conductor commences with the *ad hoc conductor*, a type typical of the New York Philharmonic's first conductors to approximately the time of Carl Bergmann (conductor, 1855-1876). According to Shanet (1975), ad hoc conductors tended to be a member of the orchestra, often shared the podium with others, and were often of variable quality (Shanet, 1975). Ureli Corelli Hill, the Philharmonic's first conductor (1842-1847), is a good example, as he was first a violinist, sharing conducting duties with five others who were also musicians. However, as programs grew in complexity, conductors like Hill became problematic and a clear leader became necessary.

Artist conductors (1875 to late 19th century)

As the role of conductor shifted to a professionalized and specialized form, a somewhat surprising – though prophetic – counter-argument emerged during the latter part of the 19th century: there were “grumblings of the press and the connoisseurs about the importance of entrusting the musical direction to a single conductor” (Shanet, 1975, p. 136). However, eventually such a “forceful artistic leader” (Shanet, 1975, p. 136) appeared, the *artist conductor*,

a type that appears at the Philharmonic from the approximately 1875 to the late 19th century. Carl Bergmann, conductor from 1855 to 1876, fit this profile well, for according to Shanet (1975), “the role of artist-conductor was waiting for Bergmann, and Bergmann was ready for it” (pp. 136-137).

Overall, the artist conductor met the needs of larger and more complex orchestras, whose ranks were improving in quality. However, this push was also aided by audiences and critics as well, whose expectations were also expanding in the latter years of the 1800s.

Interpreter-conductors (late 19th to early 20th century)

Following the artist-conductor, the *interpreter-conductor* appeared in the late 1800s with a focus on conveying the composer’s intent; however, this focus led to significant problems: with strong interpretations, came strong reactions. Shanet (1975) highlights the character of these conductors as full of personality and glamour, but with strong interpretive positions, which could “divide the public and the critics into two battling camps” (Shanet, 1975, p. 179). As glamorous image was new to the role of conductor, though persistent over time: “His first duty is to keep order, and the larger the orchestra, the greater his authority must be. This has always been the case. His present celebrity, on the other hand, is a surprisingly recent phenomenon” (Siepmann, 2003, p. 113).

Anton Seidl (1891–98) often came under criticism due to a “freedom of interpretation” (Shanet, 1975, p. 179). Ultimately, conductors like Seidl and Theodore Thomas (1877–91) “made other men’s music conform to *his* interpretation” (Shanet, 1975, p. 179), creating performances that were “highly personalized” (Kammerman, 1983b, p. 171). Many times, the character of the conductor surpassed the character of the repertoire and composer; however, if these characters were positively received, these conductors were often vaulted to “hero” status:

Not only has he [the conductor] become a performer... but he also has become a “charismatic” hero, a personality, the subject of both myth and public relations... All of these changes in the status of the conductor that have made him into a star began near the end of the nineteenth century. A hundred years earlier, the conductor merely beat time

with a gavel or conducted from the harpsichord or from his position as concertmaster. (Bensman, 1983, p. 11)

While these conductors were masters of their art, they could also be “compliant” (Shanet, 1975, p. 297), influenced by external aspects of taste and fashion. While expectations for orchestral players remained high, conductors, such as Theodor Thomas also offered extremes of interpretation, and were often criticized for following the tastes of the time: “[Thomas’] histrionic gestures in conducting were often as extreme as his readings, and who tended to excite either adulation or revulsion in his listeners rather than calm attention” (Shanet, 1975, p. 171).

These interpretive disruptions were often paired with structural ones as well. In particular, conductors such as Theodore Thomas (1877–91), and Gustav Mahler (1909–11) frequently changed the score to suit their own purposes (Shanet, 1975). This could include changing the score of Baroque composers (e.g. Johann Sebastian Bach, 1685-1750), to fit a “Romantic ideal”, augmentations to the orchestral forces (e.g., increasing the numbers of certain instruments), or changing the instrumentation (e.g., adding or dropping certain instruments from the original score). Structural disruption could also mean cuts or even additions to the score, a practice that was frequently employed by Mahler, including one (in)famous example that targeted a work of Beethoven, a composer that was already embedded in the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra. In this case, structural changes were noted by Henry Edward Krehbiel, commissioned biographer of the Philharmonic, who was, at the time, the reviewer at the New York Times. In Shanet’s (1975) account, Krehbiel was known to view such changes as a “lèse-majesté if not sacrilege” (p. 213), i.e., targeting a *Friedlandian essence* of spiritual type.

While Thomas was known for structural disruption to the score, the tenacity and constancy of the repertoire, as represented by Shanet’s (1975) typological shift from interpreter to master conductor, is significant to Thomas’ trajectory as artist and conductor over his lifetime. In particular, his memoirs, written by his wife, emphasize a shift from structural and interpretive change to a clear respect for the composer, the repertoire, and score:

By a thousand little devices he [Thomas] had *enriched the classic scores and modernized them* [emphasis added] while still *faithful preserving their original spirit* [emphasis

added]. Now, however, he determined that this was wrong. “I have at last come to the conclusion,” he said, “that *no one has the right to alter* [emphasis added], in any particular, the work of a composer. It is the duty of the executant musician to interpret a work exactly as the composer intended that it should be interpreted, and *he should not change or embellish it to suit the taste of another generation* [emphasis added].” In pursuance of this theory he cut out everything he had ever added to the classic scores and set to work to adapt the orchestra to the compositions, instead of adapting the compositions to the orchestra, as heretofore. (Thomas, 1911, p. 497)

This text is a powerful example of the repertoire’s ascendancy, and its power to remain a relative constant over time, in spite of the “hero” conductor.

Thomas was also well known for a balance of musical skill and business acumen (Hart, 1973).

For years, he survived the physical strain of performing night after night, often in a new city each night, conducting in some years as many as two hundred fifty concerts. He organized his own orchestra, supervised the management of its touring and promotion, and risked his own limited financial resources on its success, all the while studying and learning a fantastically large repertory of music. (p. 11)

While the New York Philharmonic’s shift to a corporate form in the early 20th century points to the organization’s first experience with strong management practice, Thomas’ own profile shows that business sense was not confined to the modern conductor, nor high profile boards and a growing arts management expertise over the 20th century.

Master conductors (early to mid-20th century)

The entrance of the *master conductor* in the early part of the 20th century was in large part, a response to the free reign that often typified interpreter-conductors. Now, the composer’s intent reentered as a partner to the conductor’s interpretive power. At this juncture, it is important to contextualize the score, in terms of the level of detail provided by composers. For example in the works of Bach, and others during the Baroque Period (1650 – 1750) there is somewhat limited instruction given beyond which notes to play (and their rhythm). However, as time progressed,

more and more instructions appeared, including such aspects as dynamics, i.e., how loud or soft to play, *tempi*, i.e., how fast to play, as well as others. That said, regardless of the details included in the score, interpretation is a necessary part of the conductor's duties: "scores, particularly the further back in time we go, do not provide performers with indisputable directions for performance. To one degree or another, all scores must be interpreted" (Bensman, 1983, p. 46).

While the glamour of their antecedents did not necessarily diminish (Shanet, 1975), master conductors now focused on a balance of the score and interpretation of that score. Arturo Toscanini, conductor of the New York Philharmonic from 1928 to 1936, was a testament to this new role: "Unlike the extreme representatives of the older group, who used every score as a vehicle for personal expression, Toscanini unquestionably strove with all his remarkable skill, energy, and devotion, to serve the interests of the composer" (Shanet, 1975, p. 263). As communicated by New York Times reviewer, Howard Schonberg, a particularly telling story of Toscanini's relationship with the score involved a conversation he had with the great German conductor Willem Mengelberg:

In discussing the romantic conductor Willem Mengelberg, he said, "Once he came to me and told me at great length the proper German way to conduct the *Coriolanus Overture*. He had got it, he said, from a conductor who supposedly had got it straight from Beethoven. Bah! I told him I got it straight from Beethoven himself, from the score. (Schonberg, 1967, p. 254)

Shanet's (1974) distinction between the interpreter-conductor and master-conductor is similarly conceptualized by Kamerman (1983b) who emphasizes this shift as part of a "rationalization" (p. 169) of the conductor over time:

[Rationalization] explain[s] the shift in interpretive style among conductors from the romantic or subjective approach, which dominated conducting in the last half of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, to the neoclassic or objective approach, which came into ascendancy in the 1930s and 1940s and continues as the dominant mode even today (Kamerman, 1983b, p. 169).

Like Shanet (1975), Kamerman (1983b) emphasizes a shift in focus from the interpretation of the conductor to the score, which was now conceptualized “as an ‘objective’ account of the composer’s intentions; performances are renditions of some ‘objective’ truth, not personal and affective statements of the conductor” (p. 177). The rationalization process was also tied in part to a developing standard repertoire that became further and further removed from contemporary conductors: “As the repertoire of orchestras is removed further and further from the present, the conductor, of necessity, becomes a kind of interpretive historian” (Kamerman, 1983b, p. 176). Kamerman (1983b) also attributes rationalization to the professionalization of the field of conducting, with increasing educational backgrounds, rather than experiential learning that was typical in the mid-19th century. Audience expectations, impacted by radio and recorded performances, also played a role.

As conductors continued as glamorous masters of their art, one reaction to their increasing power at this time concerned the appearance of conductor-less performances in the 1920s and 1930s in countries like Russia, Germany, and the United States (Shanet, 1975). While this rebellion made its mark, the conductor’s role ultimately remained secure, as a major actor in the life of symphony orchestras around the world.

Modern conductors (mid-20th century to the present)

The final stage in the institutionalization of the orchestral conductor, i.e., the appearance of the *modern conductor*, is linked to a title change, from conductor to “musical director” (Shanet, 1975). This term had been first used by Leopold Damrosch (1876-1877), and in part by Arturo Toscanini (1928-1936); however, it was most closely related to Artur Rodzinski, conductor of the Philharmonic from 1943–1947, who was the first conductor to most fully fit the profile of modern conductor:

[Rodzinski would] ...work with the stick in hand and the score in head, but his most characteristic tool would be the plan in mind... he would supervise all musical and artistic aspects of the Philharmonic’s activities... control the personnel ...choose assistant and guest conductors ...select soloists... plan the repertoire... [and] provide the long-term direction. (Shanet, 1975, p. 300)

The modern conductor now was responsible for a high level of knowledge, from composer, to score, to interpretation. To these artistic expectations, the modern conductor also was responsible for the overall management of the musicians and general planning of seasons that were longer, more complex, and subject to considerable amounts of critical review.

One particular title change is associated with Bernstein, who changed his position from musical director to *music director*, a shift that “signified authority in all aspects of the organization having to do with music” (Canarina, 2010, p. 13). However, the role of conductor still focused on the repertoire, and its interpretation: “In the end a conductor’s task is to animate: to bring to life in the present. Conductors shape the music to its moment: to the venue, the players, the listeners, the circumstances of the day” (Holoman, 2012, p. 73). Bensman (1983) also emphasizes that the modern conductor reflects an increasing and pervasive complexity within the institution of the symphony orchestra, from seasons, to soloists: “The position of conductor thus suggests the social complexity of the performing arts. It indicates not only the complexity, but the high degree of specialization, the competitiveness and necessity for integration within complex performances” (pp. 11-12). Therefore, a significant, *inextricable relationship* exists between the conductor and the repertoire, as well as the conductor and the symphony orchestra.

Modern conductors were also no longer associated with a single orchestra and single venue, but rather propelled by an internationalized, “star” status. This shift had a great and positive impact on building audiences, but it also had a significant impact on the bottom-line, with greatly inflated fees and busy international schedules (Holoman, 2012), not unlike the case of the virtuoso soloist. In part, these busy schedules were powered by the amazing growth of orchestras in both the United States as well as around the world (see Appendix C). Overall, the modern conductor had reached its own “virtuoso” status:

Think for a moment of how the *modern virtuoso conductor* [emphasis added] came to the potent figure he is, and why. Among many reasons for his rise in esteem, power and wealth is the proliferation of the symphony orchestras, worldwide, and the enormous increase in season lengths... competent conductors are in such demand that they merely have to sit back and wait for the telephone to ring. (Henahan, 1982, November 28, p. SM58)

Beyond those programs led by the music director, a further set of conductors took the remaining performances: “The remaining dates were distributed to guests and the orchestra’s associate conductors, with favored ones given titles like ‘principal guest conductor’” (Holoman, 2012, p. 69). In the case of the New York Philharmonic, several types of secondary conductors have been employed over the years, including the associate conductor, guest conductor, principle guest conductor, conductor laureate, and festival conductor, to name just a few. Further, these positions were also the product of dedicated competitions. During the time of Leonard Bernstein, as conductor (1958–1969), the Dmitri Mitropoulos Competition in its second year was held for conductors, with the three winners receiving the post of assistant conductor for the 1963-1964 season (Canarina, 2010).

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, Alan Gilbert holds the position of Music Director since 2009, with Case Scaglione as Associate Conductor (The Arturo Toscanini Chair), Courtney Lewis as Assistant Conductor, and two further named positions, Leonard Bernstein as Laureate Conductor, 1943–1990, and Kurt Masur, Music Director Emeritus (Meet the Orchestra, n.d.) for the 2013-2014 season. However, as announced in the New York Times (Cooper, 2015, February 6), Gilbert will be stepping down from the position in late 2017, which now places the New York Philharmonic in the position of a search for a new maestro.

One final change concerns the overall shift from the earliest conductors who were composer-conductors (Siepmann, 2003), to the modern conductor, whose role does not usually include composition. Henahan (1982, November 28) highlights this shift, noting that “Liszt, when he was music director at Weimar, had begun to insert older music into his programs, but it was Mendelssohn who gave the virtuoso conductor his first significant push toward glory” (p. SM58). Stronger relationships between conductors and composers continued to exist into the first part of the 20th century, including such conductors as Fritz Reiner and Toscanini who championed the works of their contemporaries (Henahan, 1982, November 28). However after World War I, this relationship continued to weaken, with the rise of the “self-contained virtuoso” (Henahan, 1982, November 28) that did not necessarily need to depend on linkages with composers for their own prestige.

The future of conductors and conducting

Conductors today maintain the modern form, including the current conductor of the New York Philharmonic, Alan Gilbert. In the case of Gilbert, his own unique nature extends from his family's close relationship with the Philharmonic, i.e., his parents were both Philharmonic players. However, his pedigree is also closely associated with his background as native New Yorker, which tends to separate him from all previous conductors whose trajectories stemmed primarily from European origins. The one exception is Leonard Bernstein, whose Boston educational roots (he was educated at Harvard) and New York lifestyle also separated him from most of his predecessors.

Today, the modern conductor's position continues to focus on specialized training and experience, but this is often in tandem with a growing number of subsidiary activities from master classes, workshops, and competitions, to activities around organizational planning and public relations (Kamerman, 1983a). While such a continued expansion in responsibilities is also highlighted by Schonberg (1967), conductor's egos, and how these egos serve to maintain conductors within a highly visible and highly critical environment, remains a focus as well:

“Like many great men, [the conductor] has come from humble stock; and like many great men in the public eye, he is instinctively an actor. As such, he is an egoist. He has to be. Without infinite belief in himself and his capabilities, he is as nothing” (p. 16).

While Schonberg (1967) confirms that the modern conductor “is the result of several centuries of experimentation and developments” (p. 22), he also offers several aspects that point to commonalities over time, from the conductor as “controlling force” (p. 16), to the actor that attains “results” (p. 16), “translates musical symbols into meaningful sound” (p. 17), and creates relationships based on “mutual respect and understanding” (p. 18). While the nature of the orchestral conductor has changed quite dramatically over time, relative to soloists, and especially the standard repertoire, the conductor remains in recognizable form, as leader of the group, and as highlighted by Schonberg (1967), the essential conduit between composer, the repertoire, orchestra, and audience:

Let us be thankful that there still remain interpretive musicians to synthesize the product of the composer. For without the interplay between the minds of the creator and interpreter, music is not only stale, flat and unprofitable. It is meaningless. (p. 24).

Further, outside assessment by critics and audiences also continues to be a part of conductor's overall evaluation (Kamerman, 1983a), and international careers continue to "direct" conductors' lives, often taking these leaders away from home orchestras for significant amounts of time (Canarina, 2010). While the "institutional relation" between an orchestra and its music director remains a foundational aspect of the symphony orchestra (Hart, 1973, p. 456), internationalization has also created an uncomfortable "paradox": "the contemporary conductor is the central paradox of orchestra affairs: the personification of the ensemble, but likely as not to be out of town" (Holoman, 2012, p. 60).

Such a paradox is the foundation of the analysis of an endogenous disruption instigated by conductor Leonard Bernstein in Chapter 7. This disruption of time concerned a large gap in the season when New York Philharmonic audiences did not see their maestro, but rather a stream of guest conductors. Hart (1973) points to the potential for disruption, considering the conductor's role, as powerful decision-maker and international "star": "This will mean a radical departure from the American tradition of a close association between musical director and his orchestra, creating a vacuum in artistic direction" (p. 460).

Such an interplay of competing interests, leads to the following section that presents *pressures for conformity* and *pressures for change* in the role of conductor. These influences are set in a changeable institutional context, as part of a continuing, modernization process. This position has been highlighted by current New York Philharmonic conductor, Alan Gilbert:

Over the last 50 years, there has been an obvious shift. Outreach into schools, multicultural initiatives – a lot of these things became a part of the orchestra's portfolio. There was a vacuum that needed to be filled. I believe – and this is the premise of a lot of what drives me – that we've entered into the next chapter. What were noble, important, but ancillary activities have now become central. They're part and parcel of what orchestras are. (Jacobs 2014, July 22, para. 3)

This shift to include an educational focus, was also taken up earlier by Zarin Mehta, Executive Director of the New York Philharmonic (2000-2012):

All of these things are equally important and all must reflect our goal, which is not only to entertain, but to educate, not only to nurture people's love of music, but to foster their knowledge of music. In short, we are in the service of symphonic music in New York and we make every effort to ensure that the NYP maintains the leading position it has held for the past 160 years. (Mehta, 2003, p. 11)

Therefore, Mehta (2003) points to his understanding of the institutional core of the New York Philharmonic, i.e., "the service of symphonic music".

Conductors: Pressures for conformity and change

Assessing the institutionalization of orchestral conductors from approximately the mid-19th to mid-20th century, both pressures for conformity and pressures for change have existed over time. The most significant *pressure for conformity* concerned the nature of the relationship between conductor and the repertoire. While the score initially guided conductors, the score and the repertoire soon took on a secondary position, to the rising status and power of Shanet's (1975) artist and especially, interpreter-conductors. Conductors newly acquired interpretive power could now shape the expressive voice of the repertoire into something beyond the intentions of the composer. Further, the power of the artist and interpreter-conductor extended to structural aspects of the repertoire as well. Each of these departures, or disruptions were often instigated in the press by reviewers, and narrated in the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies of the New York Philharmonic.

The disruption of interpretation and structure by artist and interpreter-conductors was, however, relatively short lived, by institutional standards. By the time of the master conductor, i.e., early 20th century extending to the mid-20th century, conductors balanced personal interpretation with composer's intent (Shanet, 1975). In spite of the wishes of powerful conductors of the *artist type*, the repertoire reclaims a constancy of focus after a relatively short time.

Beyond the relationship between the repertoire and conductor, the other pressure for conformity concerned the conductor's relationship between composers (and their repertoire) and audiences. Over time, the conductor has performed the role of conduit between composers' inspiration and audiences' reception of musical works. This role – in its official and visual form – has had a part in maintaining conductors in recognizable form over time, as leaders and conduits of the institution of the symphony orchestra.

Complementing conductors' conformity in showing respect for the repertoire, and their role as conduit between composers, the repertoire, and audiences, is their involvement with *pressures for change* over time, largely in response to pressures and changes within the institution of the symphony orchestra, as well as its overall ecological landscape.

If the trajectory of conductors from the 15th century is taken into consideration, the particular case of the specialized orchestral conductor can be understood as being founded on great change over time. In particular, the role of conductor has shifted in terms of type and position, from vocalist, to keyboardist, 1st violinist, and then to specialized conductor in the latter part of the 19th century. This remarkable shift in type is also set within changing positions relative to the main performing group (e.g., from facing the audience to facing the orchestra), and changing tools of their trade, from staff to modern baton (amongst others). Overall, change is set in terms of basic responsibilities, from simple time-beater to interpreter and finally to main conduit between composer and players, and composer and audience.

Using the example of the New York Philharmonic, several other key changes in specialized orchestral conductors are observed over time, from the first performances in 1842 to the present day. In particular, the role of conductor has been impacted by dramatically rising numbers of programs (and performances) per season. In particular, the earliest seasons employed a few rotating conductors for each program, which soon gave way to a single conductor until the early 1900s. However, with an exploding number of programs per season, in service to an exploding population in New York City, a single conductor became impossible. Main conductors now shared seasons with a growing number of conductor types, i.e., associate, guest, principle guest, to name a few.

Pressures for change also impacted the complexity of the conductor's role. While early conductors could be of variable quality, and often instrumentalists first, the complexity of the music, as well as its programming, prompted a shift from the ad hoc to artist conductor (Shanet, 1975). In particular, changes in the repertoire ran alongside conductors' professionalization and further specialization. However, increasing complexity of the 19th and early 20th century did not end at this time. Even today, contemporary composers are offering unique challenges, including the manner in which their works are scored, i.e., its appearance on the page, as well as the nature of its orchestration, i.e., which instruments are used. While such complexities are part of a conductor's education, this does not preclude challenges associated with such adventuresome writing and often unique performance challenges.

A related change concerned artist conductors' growing star status and related aspects of "glamour". The glamorous image of the artist conductor was in large part passed on to master, and modern conductors. The mantle of celebrity was used to publicize the New York Philharmonic, and encourage a healthy audience. It is so today. However, the nature and level of glamour amongst various conductors at the Philharmonic is not uniform at any point in time, nor over time. While the star power of conductors such as Arturo Toscanini (1928-1936), Leonard Bernstein (1958-1969), and Zubin Mehta (1978-1991) shows a consistency in the influence of "glamour" over time, such cases are set amongst other conductors who express a more "serious" approach, including conductors such as Sir John Barbirolli (1936-1941), Pierre Boulez (1971-1977), and Kurt Masur (1991-2002). To this, conductors can also show a balance of these two, such as the New York Philharmonic's most recent conductor, Alan Gilbert (2009-2017).

Conductors also continue to have varying levels of business vs. musical expertise, along with varying levels of more subsidiary activities, such as community involvement. These subsidiary activities continue to evolve over time, in large part due to varying characters amongst conductors, as well as varying institutional contexts over time. Considering the context of the symphony orchestra, the role of conductor is also set against conductor-less performances that first appeared in the 1920s and 1930s, and continue today in such groups as baroque and chamber orchestras, as well as contemporary ensembles.

Overall, this varying landscape is set against the relative consistency of conductors' role as leader and conduit of the repertoire. While the repertoire is the expression of the inspiration of composers, the conductor interprets and otherwise enlivens the score or the repertoire, acting as a conduit between the composer, the repertoire, orchestral players, and audiences.

Summary

In sum, the nature of a conductor's role and character have shown dramatic changes since the earliest forms in the 15th century, and further, considering the specific case of the orchestral form, from the mid-1800s (Shanet, 1975) to the present. These changes impact various aspects of the conductor, from the instruments used during the act of conducting, to types of leadership positions, to their role and power. These changes also impact the primary focus of the conductor's efforts, from personal interpretation, to a respect of the repertoire (or score), and the "glamour" that progressively imbued the role. Overall, this trajectory of change is set against the intermediary, and balanced role of soloists, and the relative constancy of the repertoire over time.

Conclusion

This broad overview of the evolution of the orchestra, as well as definitions of the symphony orchestra, is set against descriptions of three key exogenous actors, i.e., audiences, critics, and governance and patronage systems, and three key endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors. In the next three chapters, I analyze the latter three in terms of data that points to their level of change over time, as well as data that presents a focal disruption, and its repair or recreation over time. These three represent a range of variation from *relative constancy* (as represented by the repertoire), to a balance of consistency and change (as represented by soloists), to a high degree of change (as represented by the conductor).

Chapter 5: The Repertoire

In particular, the *standard repertoire* of the orchestra reached its institutionalized form by the late 19th century, and since then, it has changed relatively little over time. This has been supported in both the musicological and business literatures, as well as by my analysis of the repertoire of the New York Philharmonic from its inception in 1842 to 2012. However, considering *all repertoire* performed by the New York Philharmonic in general, i.e., including both standard and non-standard repertoire performed by the Philharmonic, my analysis shows that, indeed, the repertoire is a relative constant over time, but it also shows a high degree of experimentation at the periphery, during the parallel institutionalization processes of both the standard repertoire and the symphony orchestra during the 19th century, and continuing into the 20th and 21st centuries.

The following analysis includes two main areas of inquiry: first, analysis of both traditionally measured elements as well as key contextual elements that support a highly consistent repertoire over time; and second, an instance of institutional disruption of the standard repertoire, in particular, which is addressed by key repairing mechanisms that maintain the standard repertoire over time.

Specifically, I first analyze all repertoire performed by the New York Philharmonic from 1842 to 2012 in 20-year increments, in terms of traditionally analyzed elements, such as composers and the number of programs and performances per season, but also contextual elements, such as time and location, and practices associated with the presentation of the repertoire. While these data show a highly consistent repertoire, these data also show pockets of variation and experimentation at the periphery.

Second, I analyze a distinct disruptive event, i.e., pianist Glenn Gould's interpretive disruption of the repertoire, including three performances of Brahms' *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15* with the New York Philharmonic, held on April 5, 6, and 8, 1962. This disruptive event was one of the more public disruptions at the Philharmonic, which targeted a particularly well-known work that is firmly embedded in the standard repertoire. Following the first instance of this disruptive event on April 5, these data show a clear trajectory of repairing mechanisms over time, to such an

extent that repairing mechanisms are perceivable in these data to the present day. Further, several subsidiary or complementary disruptions evident during this disruptive event are not directly targeted for repair, which position them as being peripheral in character, and distant to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Overall, following a highly disruptive event that targeted a single work drawn from the standard repertoire, several key endogenous and exogenous actors engaged in a long-standing process of repair that points to the standard repertoire's proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Data demonstrating no/little change at the core, but high experimentation at the periphery

The data set includes *all repertoire* performed from the inaugural season and thereafter in 20-year increments, i.e., 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, 1902-3, 1922-3, 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3. This repertoire is set in programs, which organize a set of repertoire for performance. While the complete data set of the New York Philharmonic Archives also includes programs of the New York Symphony, an orchestra that merged with the New York Philharmonic in 1928, these programs have been excluded, as the focus is on the New York Philharmonic. Further, programs that consisted of entirely chamber music or other non-orchestral music have also been excluded from the data set, as the focus remains on the New York Philharmonic as orchestral body.

An important distinction concerns *all programs* offered in a season vs. *subscription-only programs*. The subscription season has been set since the beginning as the main focus of the New York Philharmonic's yearly activities (as it is for other orchestras around the world), while other programs appear as part of subsidiary series, which have been added to complement the main subscription series over time (e.g., Young People's Concerts). Further, while programs were often performed only once in the earliest seasons, later seasons employed repeated performances of a single program. The data set therefore, includes programs that are performed at least once, and up to 5 times over a relatively short time span (e.g., over one week).

In addressing the consistency of key elements over time, all repertoire of the New York Philharmonic is analyzed in terms of more traditional aspects including those often appearing in extant literature, such as the composers represented over time, and their nationality, but also less typically represented aspects, such as the incidence of the compositional form, *the symphony* (a compositional form created expressly for the symphony orchestra), the number of programs and performances offered during the season in terms of *all programs* vs. *subscription-only* programs, and practices around the presentation of the repertoire. I also offer evidence that shows that while the repertoire, in general, is a relative constant over time, the standard repertoire, in particular, is not completely “static”, but rather perceptibly dynamic in form over the long term.

To these data, I also include several contextual elements in assessing the consistency of the repertoire over time, including the day, time, and month of performance, the location, and the incidence of the intermission. While music is composed and offered in a written musical score, it is also offered with the expectation that it will be performed, often several times in varying contexts. I follow this analysis with a discussion regarding the appearance of variation via a new contemporary composer whose works, over time, transition and “enter” the standard repertoire.

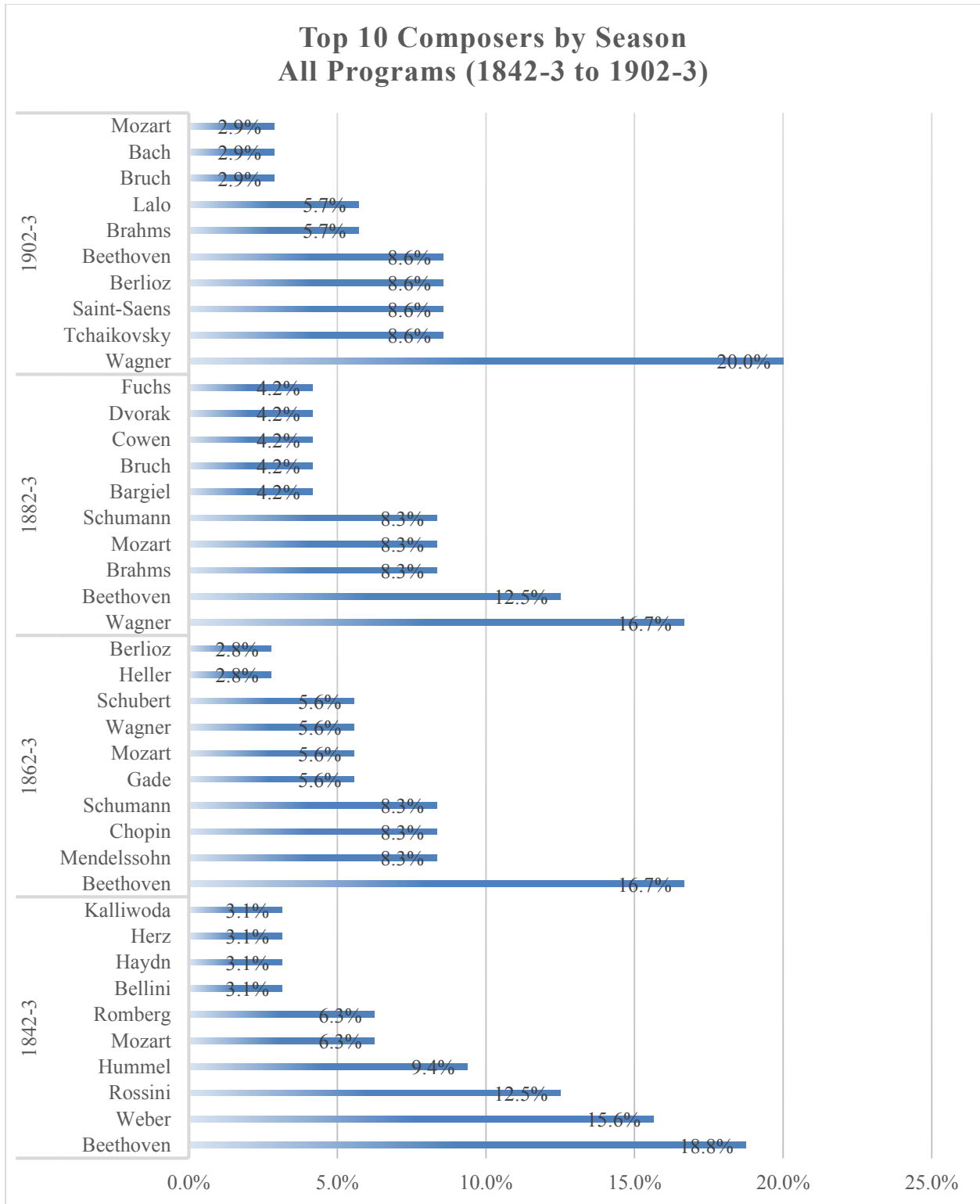
The repertoire: Composers

The standard repertoire of the orchestra has been cast as a highly stable set of works (Couch, 1983; Glynn, 2002; Carter & Levi, 2003c; Holoman, 2012; Bent & Blum, n.d.). The data set of the New York Philharmonic largely confirms prior research; however, some important distinctions can be made if *all repertoire* is analyzed in terms of *all programs* during each season, and *subscription-only* programs, i.e., repertoire presented in the main series of the season.

All programs

Analyzing all programs, the top 10 composers in the 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons took a significant portion of the total number of works performed, i.e., approximately 81%, 69%, 75% and 74% respectively (see Figure 3).

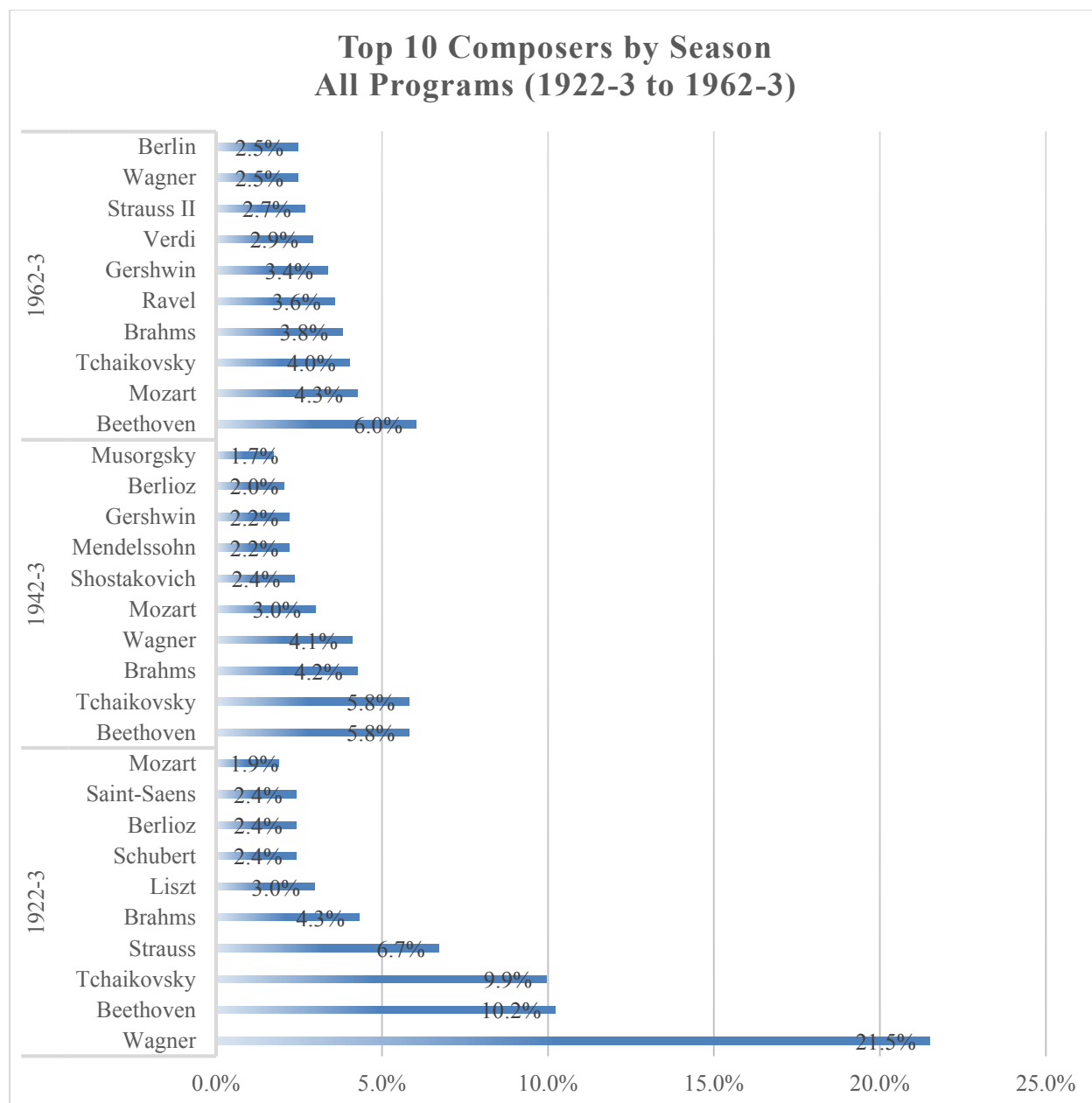
Figure 3: Top 10 composers (1842-3 to 1902-3 season)



However, this was at a time when there was a much lower number of programs performed in each season, i.e., 4, 5, 6 and 8 respectively. All of these programs were subscription season performances, except one special concert in the 1842-3 season. As there were only 4 concerts in this first season, the special concert has been retained as part of the subscription season.

In the next season, 1922-3 (see Figure 4), though there was a remarkable increase in the number of programs, i.e., from 8 in the 1902-3 season to 87, the top 10 composers still take up approximately 65% of the total works performed, with only 9 of the 87 programs being non-subscription.

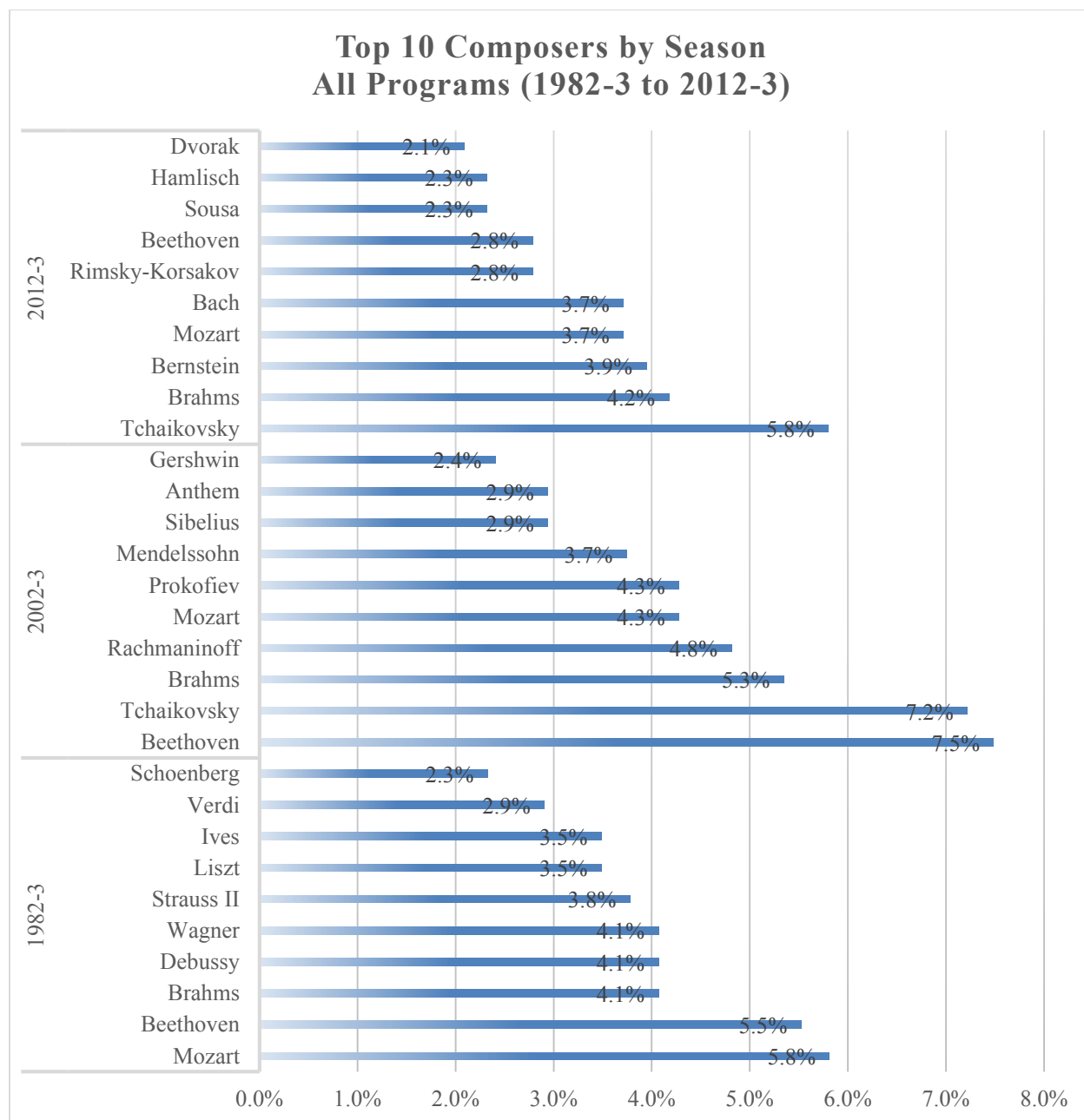
Figure 4: Top 10 composers (1922-3 to 1962-3 season)



A shift in the dominance of the top 10 composers occurs in the 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons (for 1982-3 onward see Figure 5). Here, the top 10 composers took up a much smaller percentage of the entire season, i.e., approximately 33%, 36%, 40%, 45%, and 34%. In particular, the 1942-3 season had an astounding number of programs, i.e., 143, as this was the 100th anniversary of the Philharmonic. While this shift is significant, it must be

understood within a context of a sustained and dramatic increase in the total number of programs per season, i.e., from 143, 97, 88, and 97 respectively. In other words, considering the total number of performances, the dominant composers could only be heard so much of the time, and some further works needed to be included in the overall programming each season. In part, these additions were associated with an increase in the number of non-subscription programs over the season.

Figure 5: Top 10 composers (1982-3 to 2012-3 season)



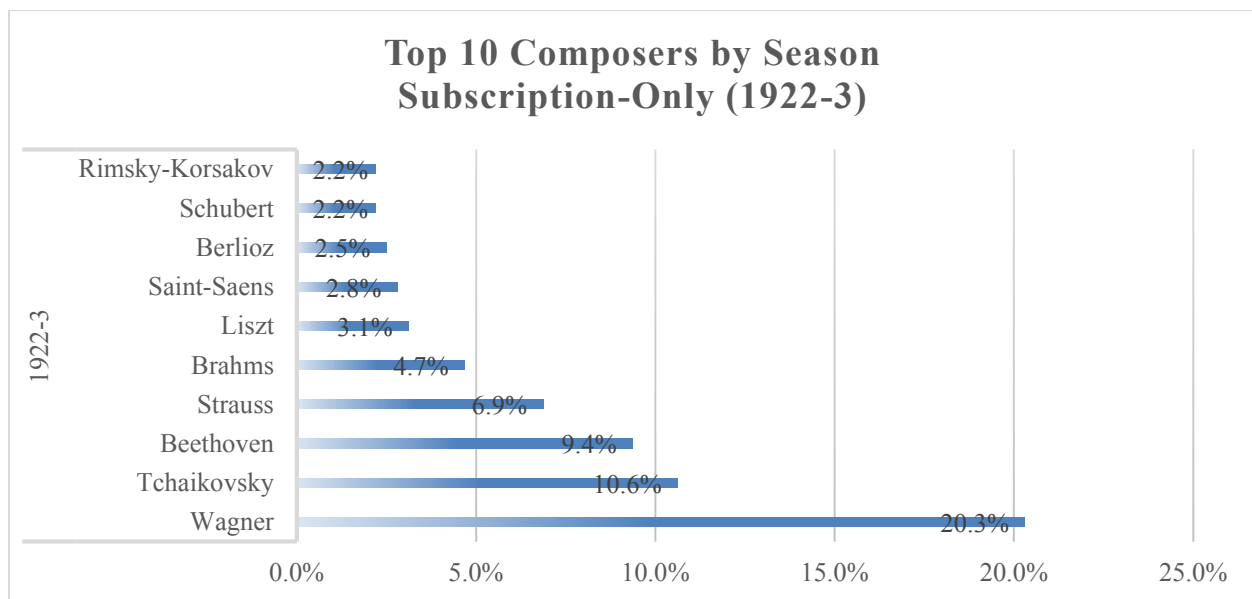
Overall, a particularly significant amount of the music programmed in the data set can be attributed to a consistent and relatively small number of composers, even when analyzing all programs, i.e., including the subsidiary series as well as the main subscription series. While these numbers are tempered in the mid- to late 20th century, due in part to a great increase in total number of programs performed over the season, 10 composers still made up approximately 40%

of the programs offered to audiences. Some composers of note include Beethoven and Mozart, whose music appears in all seasons, if all programs are considered. In most instances, the works of these top 10 composers meet the definition of the standard repertoire, as offered by Bent and Blum (n.d.), therefore supporting the standard repertoire as a relative constant over time.

Subscription-only programs

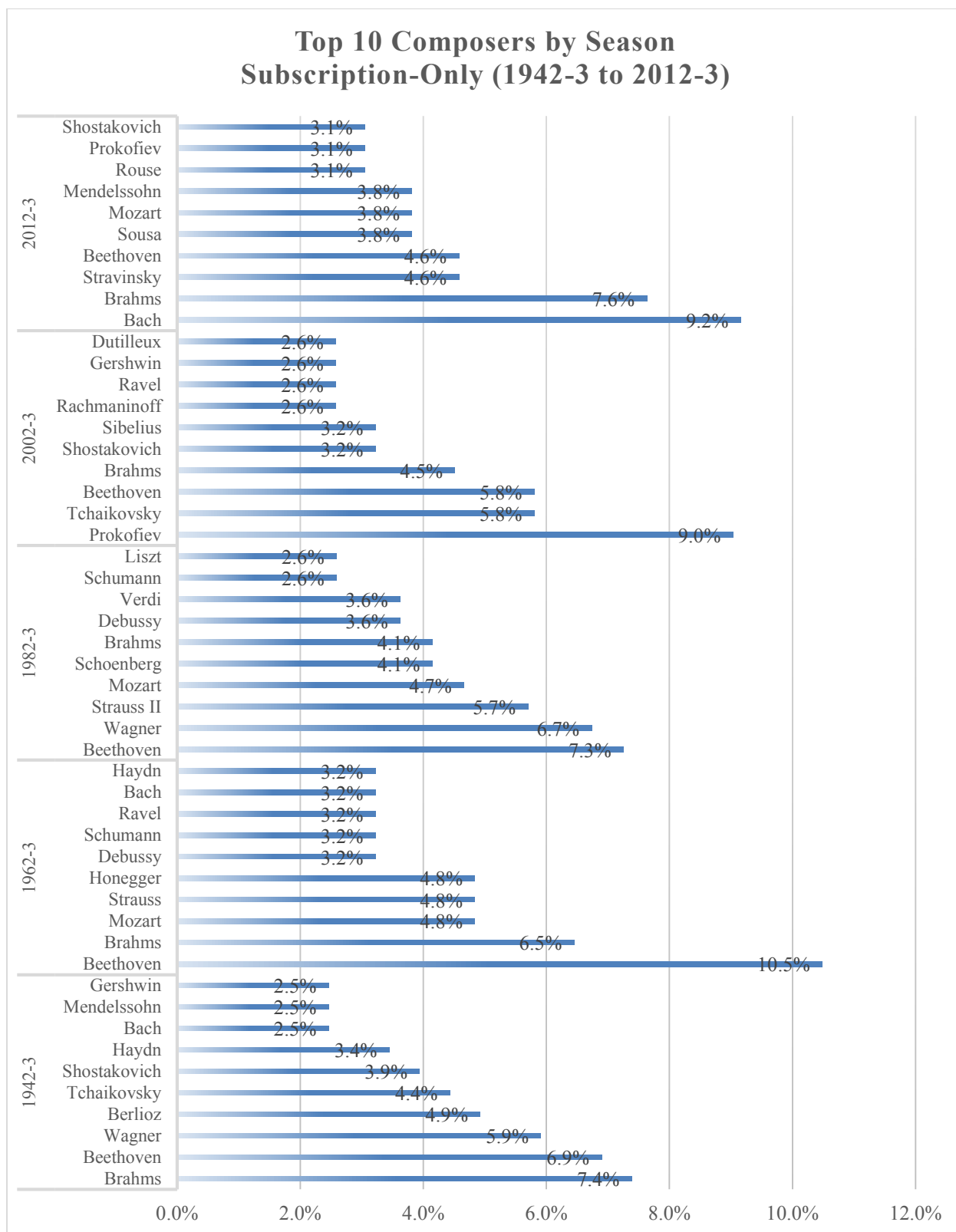
When analyzing subscription-only programs, the proportion of top 10 composers in the 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons does not change, i.e., approximately 81%, 69%, 75% and 74% respectively, as all programs were subscription programs, except for one special concert that is retained as part of the 1842-3 season, which consisted of four performances. Also, when analyzing only subscription concerts for 1922-3, the top 10 only shifts from 66% to 65%, therefore with appreciably no change (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Top 10 composers (1922-3 season)



However, for the 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons, the top 10 composers take up a more substantial part, i.e., approximately 44%, 48%, 45%, 42%, and 47% respectively. These numbers now approach those of the 1842-3 to 1922-3 seasons, but still are somewhat lower (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Top 10 composers (1942-3 to 2012-3 season)



Overall, by analyzing the subscription season, a particularly strong proportion of the programs, i.e., close to 50%) is dominated by a relatively few composers in the seasons from 1942-3 and following (vs. approximately 40% on average considering all programs). Again, in most instances, the works of these top 10 composers meet the definition of the standard repertoire, as offered by Bent and Blum (n.d.).

This finding is supported by Mueller (1973), who focusses on subscription concerts, and isolates an “eminent group”, which fluctuates over time, but maintains their dominance over other composers. Using a 3.5% rule, Mueller (1973) isolates 14 composers (see Table 2). The results from the New York Philharmonic data set are similar, with the same top six composers, and later variations between the two in bold.

Table 2: Top 14 composers

Mueller (1973) – subscription concerts for 27 major orchestras, using overall timings	New York Philharmonic – subscription concerts, using number of instances
Beethoven	Beethoven
Wagner	Wagner
Brahms	Brahms
Tchaikovsky	Mozart
Mozart	Tchaikovsky
Schumann	Schumann
Dvorak	Berlioz
Mahler	Bach
Strauss	Weber
Liszt	Mendelssohn
Berlioz	Rossini
Bach	Prokofiev
Mendelssohn	Strauss
Sibelius	Saint-Saens

The repertoire: Composer nationality

A further consistent aspect of repertoire concerns the nationality of the composers. The practice of composition for the symphony orchestra is not particular to all nationalities; however, we do see represented countries varying over time. For example, American composers had a much later

start than those in Europe, appearing around the time of the maturation of the symphony orchestra in the early to mid-20th century. Specifically, *subscription-only* programs feature a group of top 10 composers that represent only 15 different nationalities, including European, Russian, and American, while *all programs* feature almost the same amount, at 14 different nationalities. Overall, the nationality of the composers remains quite constant over time, i.e., writing for the symphony orchestra was largely a European pursuit (as supported by Mueller, 1973), with variation provided by countries that showed compositional interest at a somewhat later date (e.g., United States) and even later (e.g., China). Overall, the nationalities of these composers again reflect the general definition of standard repertoire, as offered by Bent and Blum (n.d.).

Beyond general aspects of nationality, the specific performance of American composers' compositions emerged as an important theme and subject of debate in the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies, in particular, concerning the lack of American compositions performed during the various seasons. However, we do see one American composer appearing in the top 10 composers (all programs) by 1942-3, 2 in 1962-3, 1 in 1982-3, 1 in 2002-3, and 3 in 2012-3. When analyzing *subscription-only* programs, American composers first appear in the top 10 again in 1942-3, not in 1962-3 or 1982-3, and again once in 2002-3 and only 2 times in 2012-3. Overall, the subscription programs do show a dominance of composers of European origin, with an occasional entry of American composers. However, the great number of non-subscription concerts allow for a greater diversity of not only standard repertoire composers, but also the inclusion of American composers, amongst others, if *all programs* are analyzed. Therefore, non-subscription programs perform the function of allowing for experimentation at the periphery.

Finally, in addressing the variety of composers overall, the data set shows 48 different composers represented by the top 10 composers of 10 different seasons, when analyzing *all programs*, and 46 different composers when analyzing *subscription-only* programs. Overall, these data show a relatively low number – or high consistency – of composers as represented by the top 10 composers. In comparison, when analyzing *all composers* that appear in the data set, this number dramatically increases to 420 for *all programs*, and 222 for *subscription-only programs*. These

data again show the high level of consistency over time of the top 10 composers, paired with non-subscription programming providing a high degree of variation and experimentation at the periphery.

The repertoire: The compositional form of the symphony

One aspect of the repertoire concerns the symphony orchestra's namesake, *the symphony*. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Music, the compositional form of the symphony is defined as follows:

As the word is now generally used, it means a large-scale orchestral composition (usually in 4 movements but often in 1, 3, or 5, occasionally in 2), a sonata for orchestra, the first movement and others being in sonata-form. It is reserved by composers for their most weighty and profound orchestral thoughts. (Symphony, n.d., para. 3)

In analyzing the data set, many programs feature one, two, and even three symphonies. Only works which include the title "symphony" are included to simplify categorization; however, this comes at some cost since some works that are categorized as symphonies, following the above definition, have therefore been excluded. Nonetheless, by analyzing *all programs* per season, the incidence of the compositional form of the symphony is significant and persistent over time (see Table 3).

Table 3: Programs and symphonies (by season)

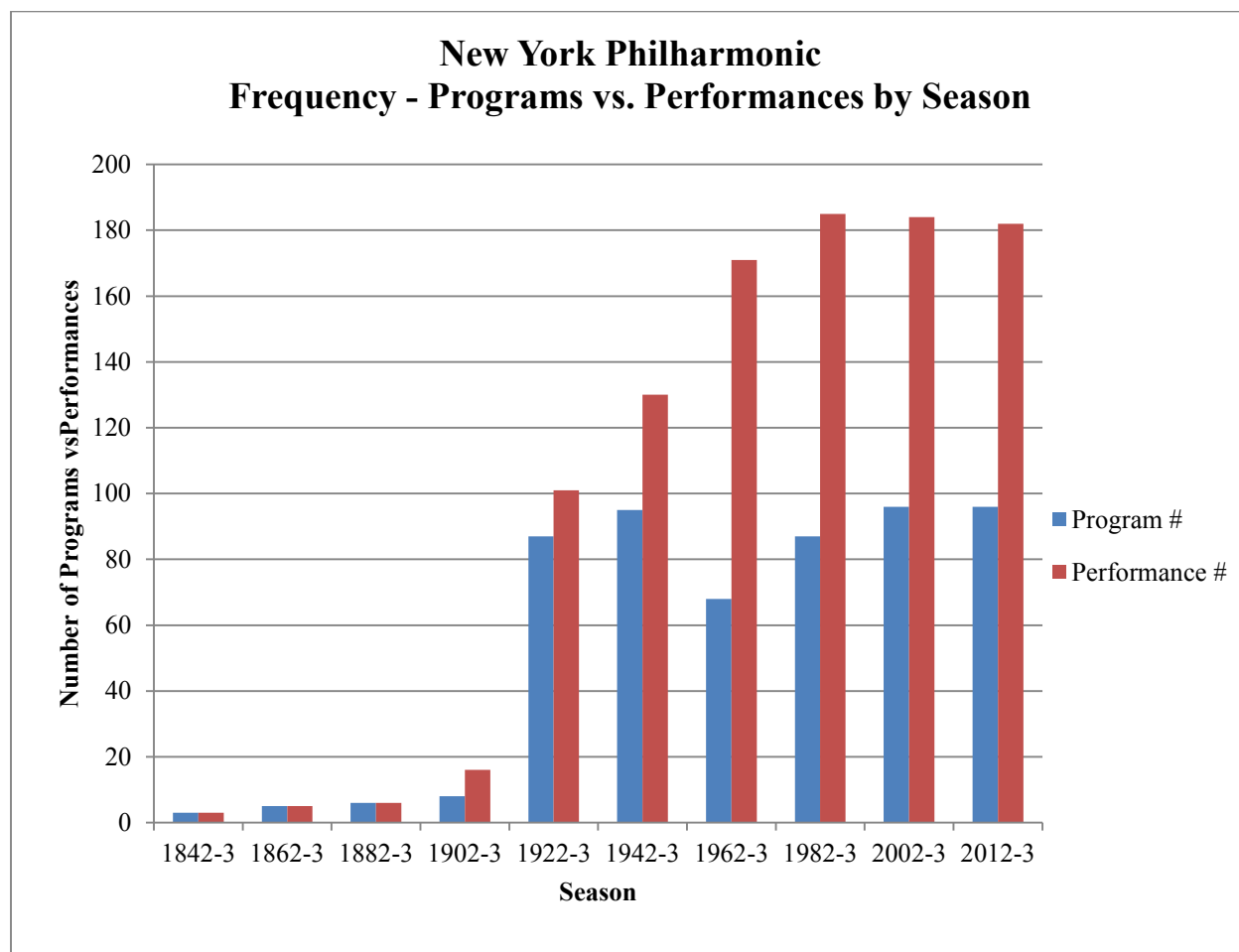
Type	1842-3	1862-3	1882-3	1902-3	1922-3	1942-3	1962-3	1982-3	2002-3	2012-3
Symphony	3	5	10	9	61	134	82	63	68	59
Program	4	5	6	8	87	143	97	88	97	96

The repertoire: Number of programs and performances

From 1842-3 to 1902-3, there was a gradual increase in number of programs presented from season to season, with an explosion of these numbers into the 1922-3 season. Thereafter, the

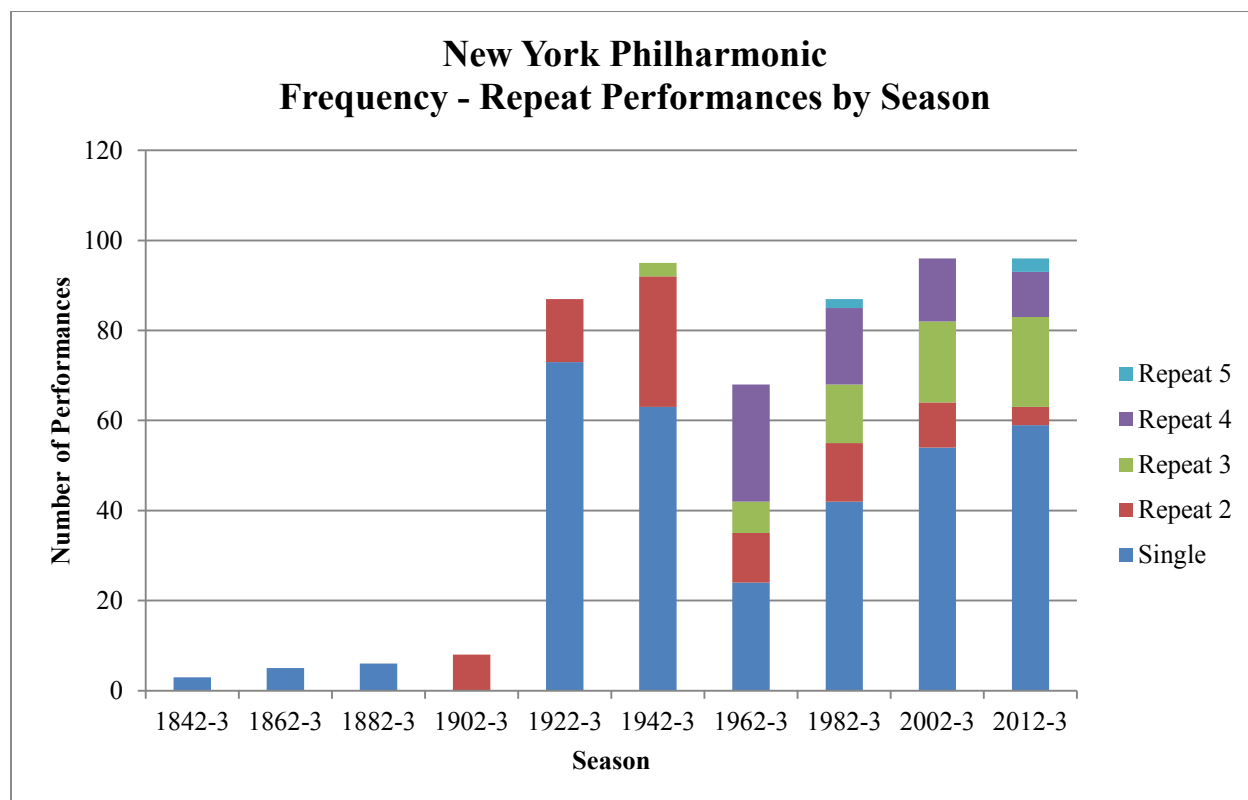
number of programs generally leveled off to a quite consistent number per season until the present day at just under 100 programs (see Figure 8). This same trajectory is also apparent in the total number of performances offered per season, which reflects not only an increase in the total number of programs offered during a season, but also an increase in how many times a single program is performed, usually over a short time period.

Figure 8: Programs vs. performances (by season)

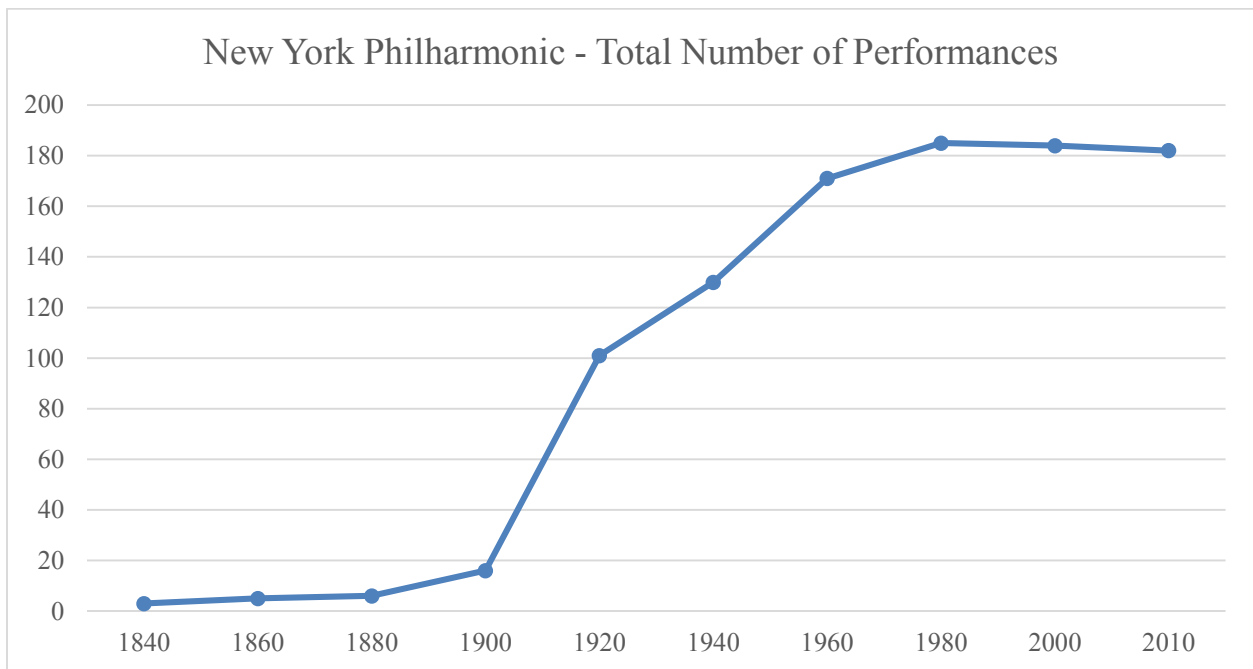
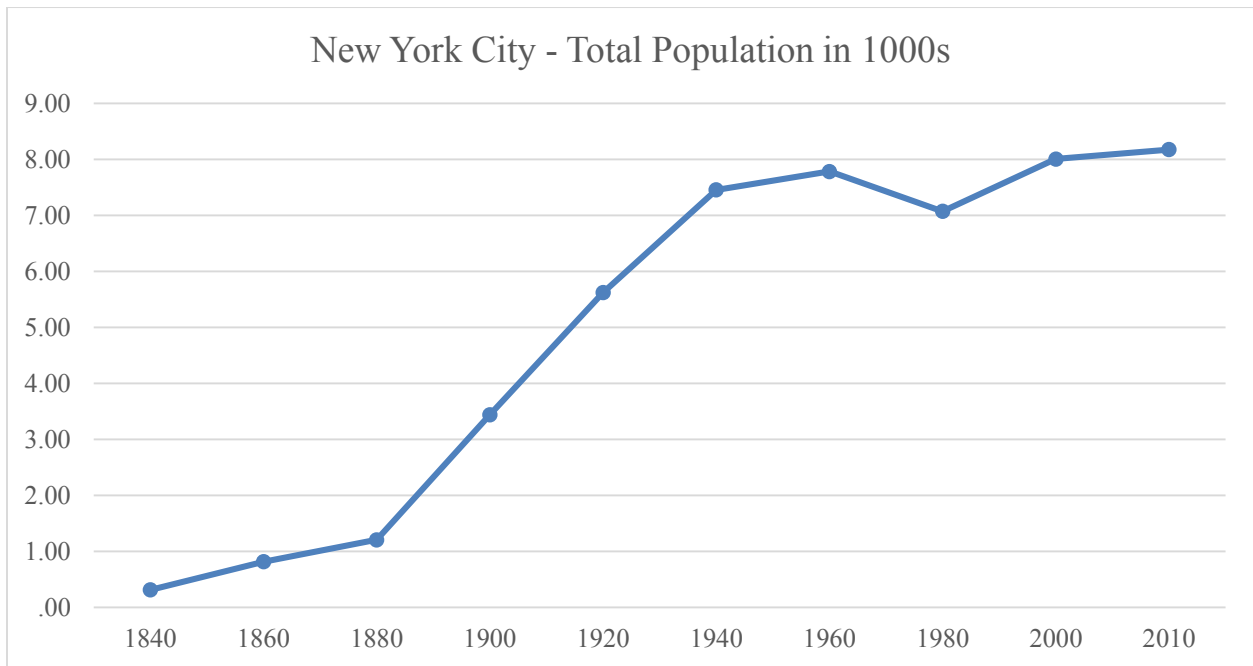


Specifically, by the 1902-3 season, repeated programs began to appear, i.e. 2 performances of the same program, by 1942-3, 3 performances, 1962-3, 4 performances, and by 1982-3, even 5 (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Repeat performances (by season)



If these data are analyzed in conjunction with contextual, demographic data of the same period, the great rise in the number of performances from the 1902-3 season to 1922-3, reflects a corresponding period of rapid population growth in New York City. Specifically, rapid growth began in the 1890s, with explosive growth into 1930, and only gradual gains from 1940s to the present (see Figure 10; 1890 approx. 1.5 million to 1940 7.4 million).

Figure 10: New York City population and New York Philharmonic performances

Overall, the number of programs per season also reflect the Philharmonic's general desire to present a substantial offering to its audiences, but also to provide its players with year-long work. As the institutionalization process of the symphony orchestra is understood to have come to a

conclusion in the early years of the 20th century (Spitzer & Zaslaw, n.d.), these data support this with explosive growth up to this period, i.e., around the 1922-3 season in the data set, with the maturation process of the symphony orchestra being reflected in a leveling off to approximately 100 programs per season following this time. Further, in practical terms, this leveling off reflects that musicians are only able to practice and perform so much music. This ceiling in acceptable levels of growth is supported by Druian (1974/1975), who argues that even with the weight of the levels of performance typical of today, there are already indicators of the wear and tear of such high levels of performance, including aspects of a lack of adequate rehearsal time, decreasing morale of the musicians, and shifts in how the role of orchestral player is experienced, i.e., as a “job [rather] than a profession” (p. 424).

Overall, the number of programs and performances offered at the New York Philharmonic shows a *high level of consistency* over time, following the maturation of the institution of the symphony orchestra in the early part of the 20th century.

The repertoire: Presentation practices

One aspect of the presentation of repertoire concerns whether an entire work, as conceived by the composer, is presented, or whether a partial works are offered (e.g. one or two movements of a three movement work). For the most part, the mature form of the orchestra consistently presents repertoire in its complete form. In the inaugural 1842-3 season, there was an obvious use of partial works, i.e., all four concerts of the season featured at least one work that was not played in its entirety. That said, by the 1882-3 season and continuing to the present, complete works become the dominant form. Exceptions to this performance practice include such works as opera excerpts, i.e., selections from particularly lengthy works that could constitute a full program by themselves, where one small section or piece is typically performed as one of several works on a program. This practice continues to today, where portions of operas, oratorios, musicals and other lengthy multi-part works are programmed as part of the complete performance.

One further practice concerns the programming of chamber works as part of the overall program. In the 1842-3 season, programming chamber works was typical, i.e., small groups of players, duos, such as voice and piano, and even piano solos, set alongside larger scale works conceived

for the orchestra. This practice was greatly reduced by 1862-3 season, and all but disappears by the 1882-3 season. Orchestra concerts thereafter focus on works conceived for the symphony orchestra.

The shift to full works and orchestral works follows Weber (2001), who argues for a shift from “Miscellany to Homogeneity” (p. 125) as part of the canonization or institutionalization of the repertoire. In particular, Weber (2001) notes a shift from a diversity of genres (with a homogeneity of the historical age of the works pre-1950), to a diversity of historical age of works (with genre homogeneity). Further, Weber (2001) also notes a shift to separation of vocal and instrumental works, a reduction in the number of works presented per program, and a growing “light”/“serious” divide. In general terms, these shifts are observed in the case of the New York Philharmonic.

However, a closer look at the repertoire of the New York Philharmonic, shows important ways that these aspects were transformed over time, and the so-called disappearance of certain elements is rather the case of these elements showing up in new ways. Specifically, the separation of purely vocal and purely instrumental work is later expressed via a strong presence of vocal soloists within orchestral music. The reduction in number of works per program, is transformed into a great increase in number of programs per season, and a greater variety in series over the concert season. Finally, “lighter” works tend to be separated from more “serious” ones, but they are not completely discarded but rather concentrated in certain series over the season, such as in the programming during the summer months. Overall, while Weber (2001) argues that programming shifted in the years around 1850 and beyond, the case of the New York Philharmonic shows that many traits of those early miscellaneous concerts appear in new ways in the programming following 1850.

The standard repertoire: Defining a relative constant, yet dynamic entity over time

The standard repertoire, in particular, has been cast by prior research as a highly consistent body of work over time, and this finding is largely supported by the particular context of the New York Philharmonic. However, an important qualification concerns its definition, i.e., pertaining

to its “static” vs. dynamic nature, is apparent in the following analysis of so-called “modern”, or contemporary repertoire, i.e., of still-living composers.

If Bent and Blum’s (n.d.) definition of the standard repertoire is taken, using a conservative time frame from the time of Haydn to Debussy, i.e., 1750 to the early part of the 20th century, these data show a clear dominance of the standard repertoire, in terms of the composers, as well as their nationality. However, these data also show contemporary composers and their compositions, as well as American composers and their compositions, appearing in the top 10 composers of each season, when analyzing both all programs and subscription-only programs. This finding is supported by Mueller’s (1973) survey of 27 American orchestras, where he finds a *stability* (though not a dominance) of American composers and their compositions within the orchestral repertoire over time:

Native American composers maintain a low but *stable* [emphasis added] position in the major orchestras, a minority position which is more clearly evident when their record is compared with those of such dominant individual figures as Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Strauss, Wagner, and Tchaikowsky. (p. xiv)

Analyzing the data set, only three of the seasons truly miss this mark. Specifically, those seasons that include contemporary repertoire are 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3. In each case, either one or two composers live beyond the timeframe typically represented by the standard repertoire. I argue that this is clear evidence of new composers entering the standard repertoire, which suggests that the standard repertoire, while a *relative constant* over time, is also a *dynamic* body of work. In particular, the standard repertoire is changing over time, albeit, slowly, and via additions to rather than at the expense of works that are already part of this body of work.

Analyzing *all programs* (see Appendix I), contemporary composers’ compositions appear in the top 10 composers 3 times in 1842 (with one missed by one year), 4 times in 1862, 7 times in 1882, 2 times in 1902-3, 1 time in 1922-3 (with one missed by one year), 1 time in 1942-3 (with one missed by five years), 1 time in 1962-3, none in 1982-3 and 2002-3 (with one missed by 28 and 45 years respectively), and 1 time in 2012-3 (one missed by 12 years). Even when analyzing

the *subscription-only* programs (see Appendix J), living composers still have strong representation: 3 in 1842 (with one missed by one year), 4 in 1862-3, 7 in 1882-3, 2 in 1902-3, 1 in 1922-3 (with one missed by one year), 1 in 1942-3 (with one missed by five years), none in 1962-3 and 1982-3 (one missed by 7 and 31 years respectively), 1 in 2002-3, and 1 in 2012-3.

Overall, while standard repertoire consistently makes up a significant portion of the top 10 composers in each season, variation is made possible by way of contemporary compositions. This variation has been consistent presence over time regardless of whether all programs or only subscription programs are taken into consideration.

The Repertoire: Contextual aspects

The following contextual aspects associated with the performance of the repertoire, i.e., day, time and month, location, and intermission, are further data that show a high level of consistency over time, after some degree of variation and experimentation leading up to the mature form of the symphony orchestra, extending from about the mid-20th century onwards.

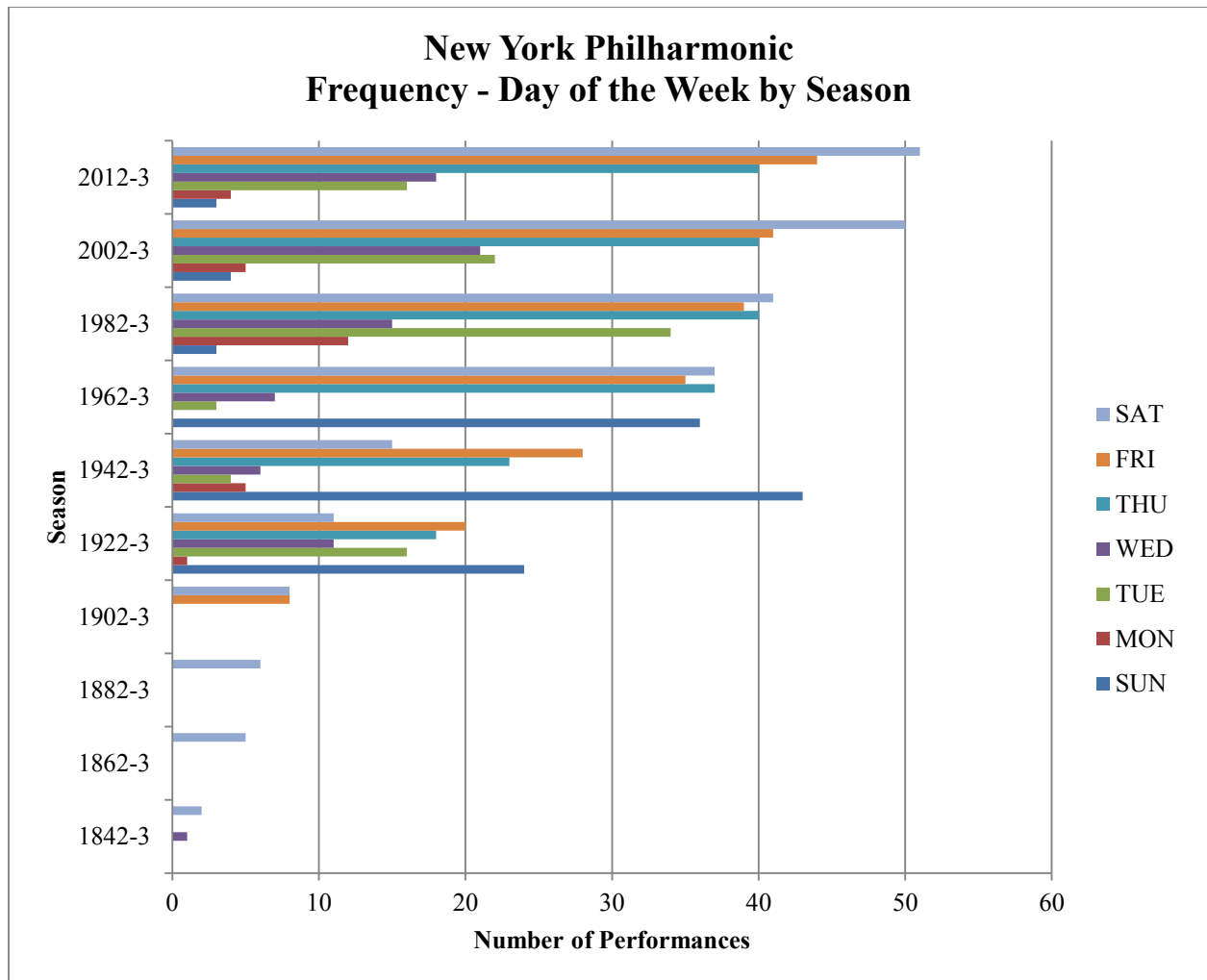
Day, time, and month

Over time, performances are set on certain days of the week, at certain times of the day, and during certain months of the year. Overall, these three elements show a high degree of consistency over time, following a period of experimentation and variation leading up to the mature form of the symphony orchestra, continuing from about the mid-20th century onwards.

Day of the week

From the inaugural season, 1842-3, Saturday was a main day of performance, with Friday being adopted by 1902-3. This shifted to a rather even distribution over the week by 1922-3, a spike in Thursday through Sunday performances in 1942-3, and finally settling to a dominance of Saturday, Friday, and Thursday performances by 1962-3, and continuing to the present. Monday performances appear in 1922, but never become an important performance day (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Day of the week (by season)



Overall, the day of the week that performances are scheduled adopts a highly consistent pattern over time, settling by the 1962-3 season, and generally following the maturation of the symphony orchestra from about the mid-20th century onwards.

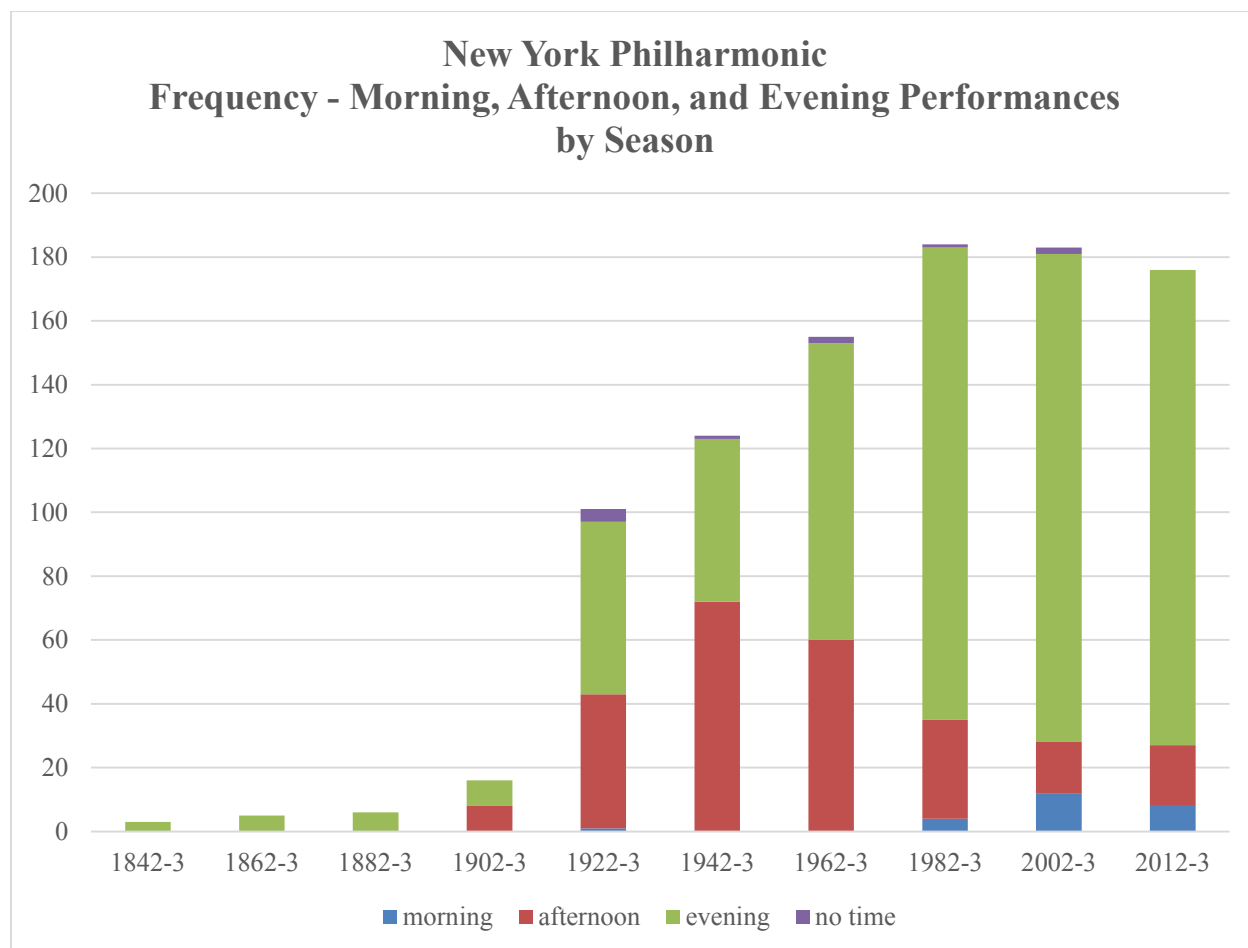
Time of day

Concerning time of day, the 1842-3, 1862-3, and 1882-3 performances were dominantly at 8 PM; however, by 1902-3, there was an emergence of the afternoon concert at 2 PM, which was of equal importance to evening performances, now offered at 8:15 PM. Later, with rising numbers of programs and performances per season, the 1922-3 season shows a great diversity in

performance times, primarily 8:30 PM and 3 PM, but also several other afternoon and evening times. By 1942-3, the performance times focus on 8:45 PM and 3 PM, with further 2:30 PM performances, making afternoon concerts even more dominant than evening, i.e., 56% of the performances vs. 35%. Eventually, evening performances gained momentum by 1962-3, with quite late performances at 8:45 PM, i.e., 57%, as well as some afternoon performances at 3 PM and 2:15 PM, i.e., 19%. This trend for more evening performances continued in the 1982-3 season, with a return to 8 PM, i.e., 61%, 7:30 PM, i.e., 14%, and a relative small number of afternoon performances at 2 PM, i.e., 15%. In 2002-3 and 2012-3, this trend continues with the dominance of evening performances at 8 PM and 7:30 PM, and the presence of afternoon concerts primarily at 2 PM.

If time of day is grouped into morning, afternoon, and evening performances over time, the 1842-3, 1862-3, and 1882-3 seasons show 100% of the programs presented in the evening. The 1902-3, 1922-3, and 1942-3 seasons show approximately 50% of concerts in the afternoon, and the same in the evening, with only a few morning presentations appearing in 1922-3 and 1942-3, i.e., 1%. By the 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons, there is a clear shift back to primarily evening performances, fewer afternoon performances, and a gradual rise in morning performances, which are often associated with school concerts. “No time” appears for some performances where no specific time was set in 1922-3 and following, often reflecting tour performances where time was not recorded (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Morning, afternoon, and evening performances (by season)



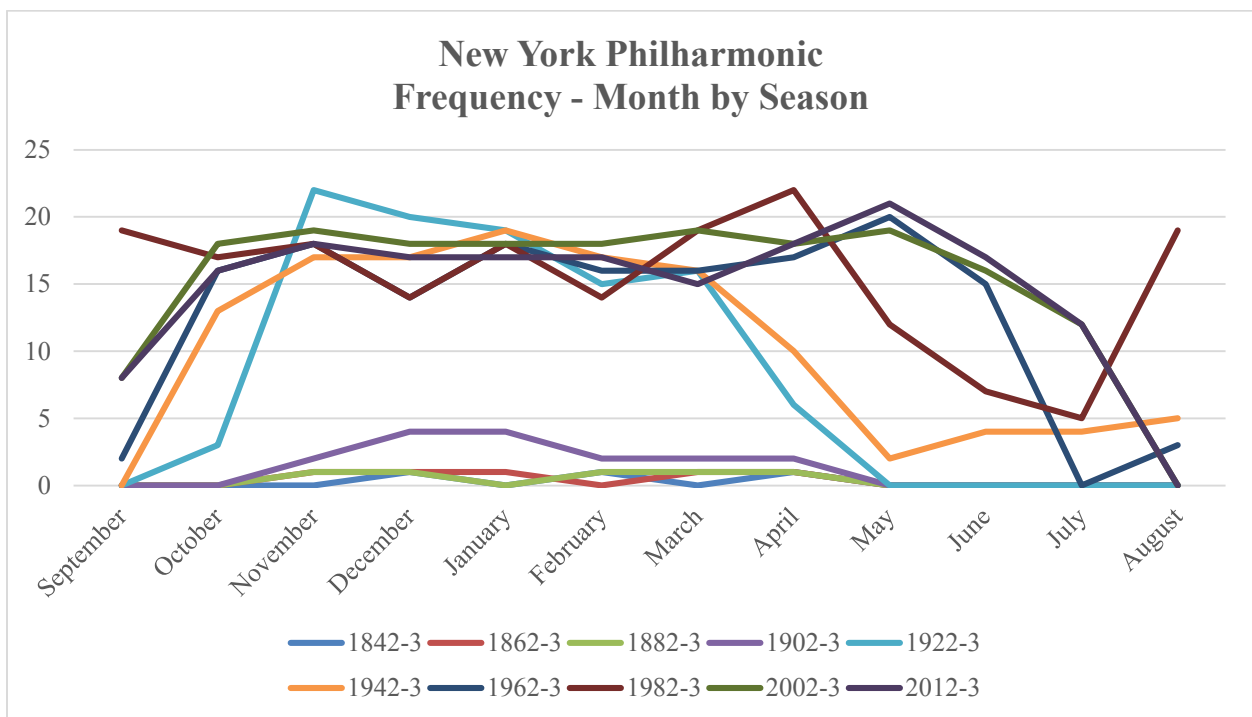
Overall, evening concerts are *consistently* apparent over time, even from the inaugural 1842-3 season. Though there was a strong rise in afternoon concerts, appearing first in the data set in the 1902-3 season, there has been a tempering of afternoon concerts with evening concerts regaining a strong presence by the 1962-3 season and following. Therefore, the time of performances also adopts a highly consistent pattern over time, following the general pattern of maturation of the symphony orchestra from about the mid-20th century onwards.

Month of the year

Finally, analyzing a season in its entirety, the period of 1842-3 through 1902-3 had performances primarily during the months of October through April. In 1922-3, this time period extended to

September, in part, reflecting the impact of a higher number of concerts per season. From the 1942-3 season onwards, the season extends to the entire year which also reflects, in part, the musicians drive for year-round employment. However, there is a notable drop off in May-June, and significant drop off in July-August. Overall, the primarily season, i.e., subscription concerts, has settled to a September-June period, with a secondary time period in the summer, July-August (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Performances (by month and season)



Overall, the monthly configuration of performances also adopts a highly consistent pattern over time, following the general pattern of maturation of the symphony orchestra from about the mid-20th century onwards.

Location

Performance location is another contextual aspect that shows great consistency over time.

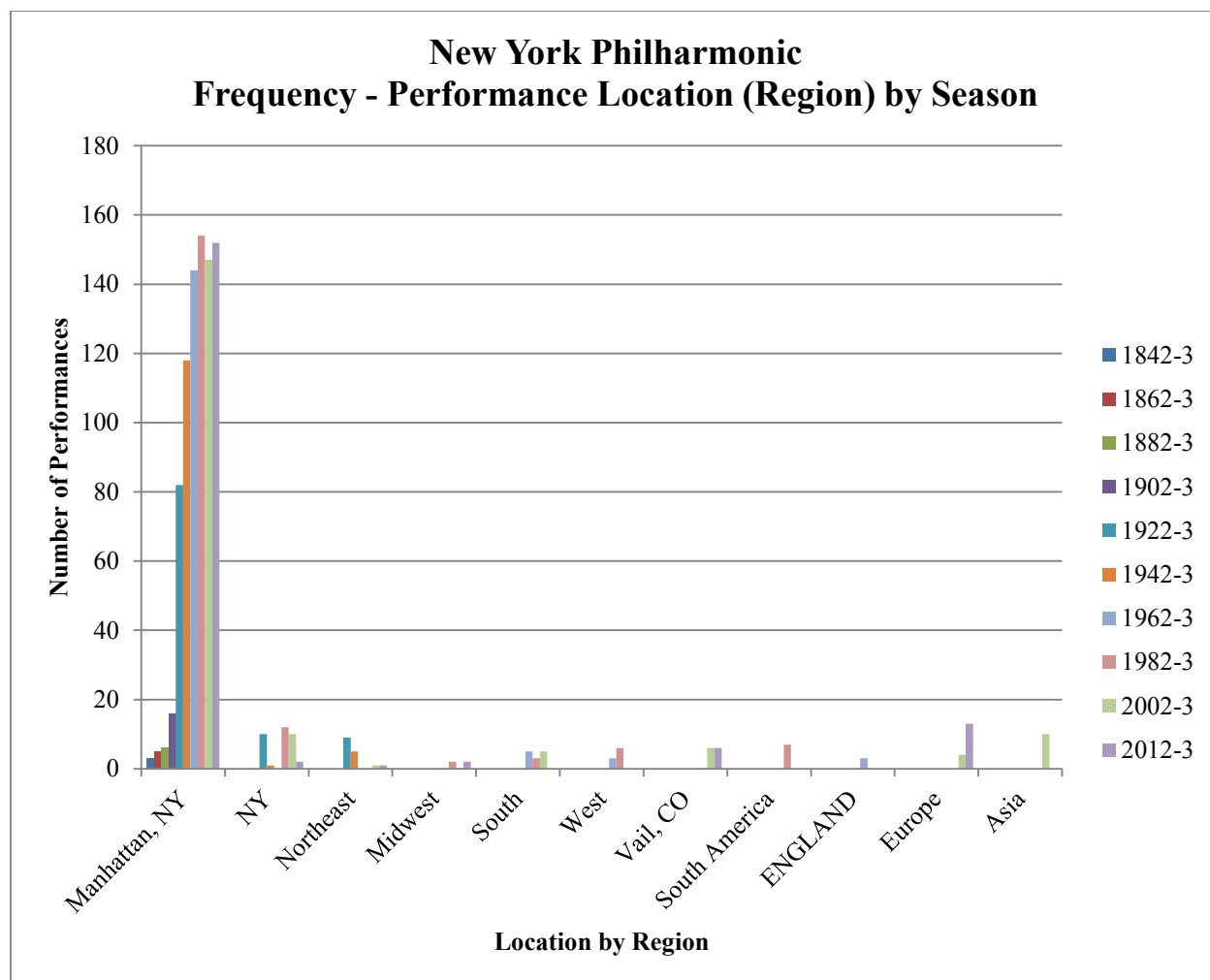
Performances of the New York Philharmonic have been held primarily in Manhattan, with other locations in the data set appearing due to run-out concerts (e.g., one performance of a program

held in a nearby city or region) and tours, both national and international. This consistency in location is not surprising as orchestras have been important members of city life, and are typically presenting the majority of their programs in a single city, at a single location, which was a hope that was expressed from the beginning, i.e., the hope and need of a “permanent domicile” (Krehbiel, 1892, p. 66) or permanent home.

The location of performances in New York City have been primarily in main halls that have shifted over time, due to artistic reasons (e.g., better acoustics) or practical ones (e.g., the New York Philharmonic moved into Carnegie Hall after their previous hall was destroyed by fire), as well as halls used in local run-out concerts and national and international tours. These main halls have included Apollo Hall, Irving Hall, the Academy of Music, Carnegie Hall, Philharmonic Hall, and Avery Fisher Hall, i.e., the newly named Philharmonic Hall. Philharmonic Hall will be renamed David Geffen Hall for the 2015-2016 season, following his donation of \$100 million to aid in the renovation of the hall slated to commence in 2017 (Pogrebin, 2015, March 4). One notable exception in the data set is the Metropolitan Opera House in the 1922-3 season, which represents a carry-over from earlier years. The Metropolitan Opera House had been used as the main hall for concerts from 1886. The shift to Carnegie Hall occurred in the 1892-3 season, due to the Metropolitan Opera House burning down on August 27, 1892 (Shanet, 1975). This shift was due to practical purposes rather than aesthetic, as Shanet (1975) notes that “the orchestra would probably have remained at the Met even longer [due to its status]” (p. 181). Overall, the data set represents the typical location that symphony orchestras perform, in a single city, i.e., New York City, often in a single region of that city, i.e., Manhattan, and in main halls that change over time due to practical or aesthetic reasons.

If run-out concerts and tours become the focus, these performances appear in the data set by 1922-3 and continue in the following seasons. Only the mid-west is underrepresented, with only one tour made to this region in the 1982-3 season. Major tours to different countries appear in the data set by the 1962-3 season, with at least one major tour to one region beyond the United States in each of the seasons (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Location (by region and season)



Overall, while the primarily location of Philharmonic performances focuses on the home city of New York City, tours became a consistent part of how repertoire was presented to audiences, both at home, i.e., the United States, and later, abroad. One exception is Vail, Colorado, which has served as a summer residence. This is in line with other American orchestras that typically have a well-known summer series in a special location (e.g., Tanglewood Festival, inception in 1937, as the summer festival of the Boston Philharmonic). The creation of a summer home, often held at an outdoor venue, is, in part, related to work necessary to support year-round employment of the musicians, but it is also indicative of the mechanism of history:

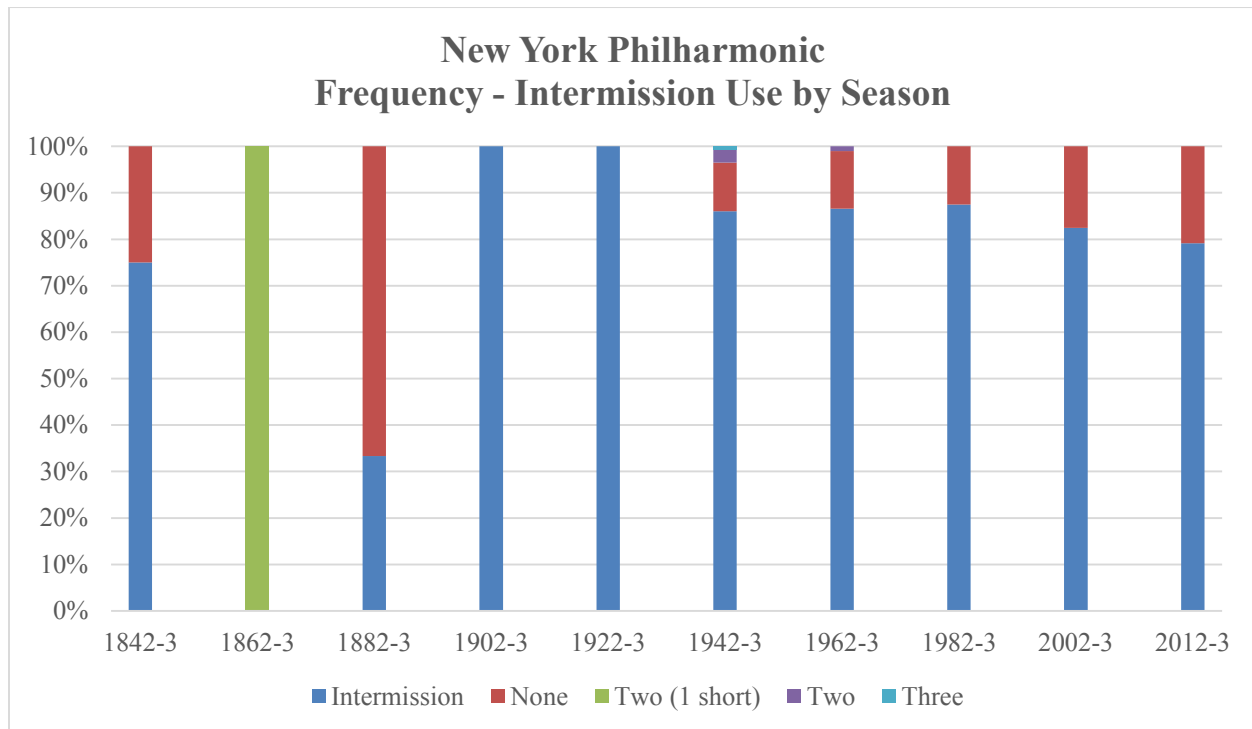
The summer festivals descend in large measure from long-standing leisure pastimes in Europe: taking the water, gaming, and enjoying pops and proms in Vichy and Deauville, Baden-Baden and Bath. Even in their informal stages, they were crucial means of post-season livelihood for orchestral players. (Holoman, 2012, p. 43)

Overall, the location of performances also adopts a highly consistent pattern over time, following the general pattern of maturation of the symphony orchestra from about the mid-20th century onwards. Further, while some variation is created by run-out performances and tours, a great consistency is apparent in the regularity of these performances.

The intermission

A final contextual aspect related to the performance of the repertoire concerns the intermission. The intermission has been an integral part of the act of attending an orchestral performance over time. Sometimes two intermissions or even three are employed when the orchestral performance is quite long, i.e., similar to the two intermissions typical in opera performances. Analyzing the data set, there was no intermission for one special concert in 1842-3, and no intermission is indicated for four of the six programs in the 1882-3 season (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Intermissions (by season)



However, these results are questionable, since no indication of intermission in the program may not necessarily indicate that no intermission was actually taken during the performance. That said, the following seasons of 1862-3, 1902-3 and 1922-3, used intermissions for all programs. In the following seasons, i.e., 1942-3 to 2012-3, 14, 12, 11, 17, and 20 programs, respectively, used no intermission. If taken as a group, these omissions point to practical concerns around the type of program. Several no intermission programs were Young People's, Stadium, Student, Run-Out, and Parks concerts, which tend to be more informal. Other no intermission programs featured a single work (e.g., concert settings of an opera, which are often presented with no break). One further example concerns the use of an intermission *during* a single, rather lengthy work (e.g., Bach's Mass in B minor, BWV 232 presented in December 1982, for four performances). As well, works can have up to two or three intermissions for particularly long programs, or to facilitate stage or conductor changes.

Overall, the intermission has been and continues to be a consistent feature of orchestral concerts, with only a few exceptions, usually due to practical concerns.

The repertoire and contextual aspects: Greater consistency, greater variation

An important interaction when focusing on subscription-only programs is that these data show less programs with no intermission. Following the predominance of intermissions seen in seasons 1842-3 to 1922-3, a focus on subscription season programs shows a dominance of intermissions in the 1942-3 season, i.e., 0 vs. 14 no intermissions, 1962-3 (1 vs. 12), 1982-3 (2 vs. 11); 2002-3 (3 vs. 17), and 2012-3 (1 vs. 20). Overall, subscription season programming shows a consistency of core features, one of them being the predominant use of the intermission.

A further aspect of the subscription season concerns the types of programs used over time. In the early years, i.e., 1842-3 through to 1902-3, programs focused on the subscription season. However, in 1922-3 season and following, a greater diversity in programming is apparent from 3 non-subscription types in 1922-3, to 7 in 1942-3, 8 in 1962-3 and 1982-3, 10 in 2002-3, and 16 in 2012-3 (see Appendix K). Via these various non-subscription types, the New York Philharmonic is able to not only present a large amount of repertoire, including standard and non-standard repertoire, it is also able to present this repertoire in a variety of settings from concert hall, to city park, and to recording studio. These non-subscription programs also allow the New York Philharmonic to present programs at non-traditional times (e.g., lunch hour and Saturday afternoons). Overall, the various non-subscription types of programs are one avenue for variation, including different composers, different venues, and different performance times.

The standard repertoire: An example of experimentation and transition

While the standard repertoire has been cast as highly consistent over time in extant literature, and again in the data set of this thesis, the overall programming of the New York Philharmonic allows for variation and experimentations at the periphery. One example of such variation is presented here in terms of not only experimentation with a new, contemporary composer, but also experimentation with particular works in their compositional output.

Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-1975) is one of the first significant examples in the New York Philharmonic data set of a post- standard repertoire, i.e., mid-18th to early 20th century composer (Bent & Blum, n.d.), that gained prominence and eventual core status over time. Shostakovich

first appears as a top 10 composer, i.e., in all programs and subscription-only programs, in the 1942-3 season. In all programs, including all works performed by the New York Philharmonic since its inception in 1842, i.e., all years from 1842 to 2014, the Philharmonic has played 36 unique compositions by Shostakovich. Shostakovich's works were first programmed in 1931, i.e., his *Symphony No. 1, Op. 10*, which went on to be one of his most performed compositions. Since its first performance in 1931, *Symphony No. 1, Op. 10* has been performed 48 times, the last performance given in 2011. Such a trajectory points to its continued programming at the New York Philharmonic into the foreseeable future. Other works, such as his *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 35* have also been programmed at regular intervals over history, first in 1935, and 8 times more over the years. It is not unexpected that this work is programmed less often, being a concerto linked to soloist availability. However, its endurance is clear through its performance up to 2005. However, works like Shostakovich's *Nose Suite, Op. 15a*, its first and last performance in 1938, appear to have not met the test of time.

Overall, Shostakovich's appearance in the 1930s produced 15 performances of a 4 unique compositions, while the 1990s produced 34 performances of 12 unique compositions. This trajectory points to an example of experimentation at the periphery in the 1930s that developed into an example of a composer, i.e., Shostakovich, who has been adopted as part of the standard repertoire. In some cases, this adoption is extended to a particular composition, i.e. Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 1, Op. 10*, and his *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 35*.

Conclusion

In sum, the repertoire is a relative constant over time. In terms of the top 10 composers, and their nationalities, it is clear that the *standard repertoire*, in particular, makes up a substantial part of all repertoire offered by the New York Philharmonic to its audiences. However, considering both all programs, and subscription-only programs, as well as *all repertoire*, i.e. not just the standard repertoire, variation at the periphery is also consistently observed over time. In addressing contextual aspects related to the repertoire, a relatively stable, and "standard" set of elements and practices is again observed; however, key areas of variation are also seen over time within peripheral aspects of the repertoire. Taken as a whole, these data show an expected relative

constancy of the repertoire, but also expected and sometimes unexpected areas of variation if a broader or deeper view of the repertoire is taken.

These results flow from – or are created within – the day-to-day work of musicians. First, composers over time have created and continue to create new repertoire. Variation and experimentation is built into the art of composition. Second, orchestras have a culture of commissions and premieres since their inception, which constitutes a clear invitation (and expectation) for variation.

However, taking the professionalized nature of the symphony orchestra into account, the inspiration and invitation to compose does not assure that each and every work will be added to the standard repertoire. Even if a work does enter the standard repertoire (e.g., some works of Shostakovich), the selection and adoption process occurs over a significant period of time, with significant expectations of excellence. Newly created works in the “modern” context undergo similar (and complex) processes that will either allow these compositions to be added or absorbed into the standard repertoire, or left to disappear with a multitude of works that preceded them. Finally, new works are not unique in their ability to disappear. Some of the greatest composers of the standard repertoire had works that met a similar fate.

Selected disruption targeting the repertoire

Taking the repertoire as a *relative constant* within the institution of the symphony orchestra, and therefore proximate to the institutional core, it is expected that disruptions targeting the *standard repertoire*, in particular, should prompt repairing mechanisms to maintain the standard repertoire over time. Of the several instances of disruption targeting the standard repertoire of the New York Philharmonic, I analyze a disruption instigated by an endogenous actor (and exogenous prior to hire), i.e., soloist and pianist Glenn Gould, whose performance of Brahms’ *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, a key work within the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra, under conductor Leonard Bernstein, constituted a significant disruption in terms of both Gould’s interpretation of the work, as well as related and idiosyncratic performance practices.

In particular, these data inform all four propositions associated with maintenance amidst disruption. First, Gould's interpretive disruption initiated institutional maintenance work to repair the interpretive disruption of the standard repertoire, which points to the proximity of the standard repertoire to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra (Proposition 1A). Second, Gould's disruptive and rather idiosyncratic practices associated with his presentation of the Brahms concerto, were in comparison, largely overlooked, pointing to these practices as being peripheral to the institutional core (Proposition 1B).

An important characteristic of Gould's interpretive disruption concerns its persistent nature over time, in sometimes surprising ways, and not necessarily to the detriment of the New York Philharmonic. Since this disruption was quite long-term in nature, an integrated and dynamic approach is required for its analysis (Proposition 3). Analyzing the nature of this disruption, i.e., one that targeted the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, these data show several endogenous and exogenous actors engaged in institutional work, each drawing from their particular "awareness, skill and reflexivity" within the ecology of the symphony orchestra (Proposition 4). Finally, these data show several key *repairing mechanisms* that were used by endogenous and exogenous actors to repair Gould's interpretive disruption of the standard repertoire (Proposition 2).

The next section outlines the basic narrative of Gould's interpretive disruption of the standard repertoire, as well as several related and idiosyncratic performance practices. Drawing from my own experience as professional musician and arts manager, the non-commissioned biography of Canarina (2010), reviews in the New York Times, and Gould's and Bernstein's own words, this narrative is characterized by a rather long trajectory of repairing efforts, which continue to the present day. Five repairing mechanisms were observed in these data, including mechanisms based on 1) *ecological relationships* within the institution of the symphony orchestra; 2) *claims to history and tradition*; 3) *corrective power of both endogenous and exogenous actors of the ecology of the orchestra*; 4) *creativity-based efforts*; and finally, 5) *emotionally-charged appeals*.

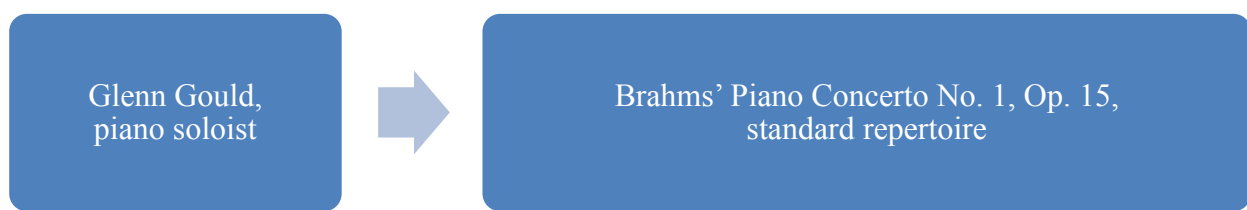
Finally, while the four propositions are addressed by these data, this particular disruption also offers several further observations that inform our understanding of maintenance amidst disruption over time. First, disruptions can occur alongside one or more layers of either distinct

or related disruptions, which target either core or peripheral aspects of the same or related institutions within the ecology of the symphony orchestra. In part, this points to the long-standing nature of disruptions. Second, influential actors can use disruptions that target peripheral aspects to support repairing mechanisms that target disruptions to the institutional core. Third, a disruption that targets the institutional core can support the *individual cores* of instigating actors. Therefore, what one actor sees as institutional disruption, another sees as maintenance. Fourth, while institutions are generally understood to be persistent and tenacious forms over time, so too are disruptions that target these institutions. Fifth, the context of the symphony orchestra, which is based on the performance and interpretation of the repertoire, has a particular propensity for disruption and change, which targets either core or peripheral aspects of the institution as a whole. Finally, *appeals to professionalism* are also employed as repairing mechanisms over time.

Pianist Glenn Gould: Soloists and interpretative disruption of the repertoire

One of the more public disruptions of the orchestral repertoire concerned Canadian pianist Glenn Gould, who appeared as soloist with the New York Philharmonic in 1962, led by conductor, Leonard Bernstein. Over repeat performances on April 5th, 6th, and 8th, Gould performed a well-known work that is firmly embedded in the standard repertoire: *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, by Johannes Brahms (1833-1897). Specifically, Gould's interpretation constituted a significant disruption to the traditional, interpretive approach to the work (see Figure 16). The repairing mechanisms employed in this case point to the work's inclusion in the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra, and further, the standard repertoire being proximate to the institutional core of the institution of the symphony orchestra.

Figure 16: Pianist Glenn Gould's interpretive disruption of the standard repertoire



Interpretation and the standard repertoire

Drawing from my own experience as professional musician, interpretation is an important aspect in adhering to traditional approaches to certain works, but also a main avenue for a performer to put their own “interpretive stamp” on a work. Therefore, the presentation of repertoire, in particular the standard repertoire, is a delicate balance of both tradition and personal inspiration. When working in groups, interpretative work can be led by one member (e.g., a conductor, or the first violinist of a string quartet), or it can be a collaborative process.

This delicate balance can be subject to disruption, when “lines are crossed” during the process of interpretation and presentation to an audience. Poor interpretation differs from unique interpretation, and while tastes do shift over time, there are interpretive decisions that can either elicit a generally favorable reception vs. one that can be quite harsh from fellow performers, audiences, and critics. Overall, there are limits to interpretation of the repertoire. Further, the expectation for unique interpretation within the standard repertoire sets up this institutional context as having a particular propensity for disruption and change.

Gould’s disruption is well documented in the non-commissioned biography of Canarina (2010), as well as in critical reviews of the New York Times. Further, Bernstein’s own words are recorded, as well as a later interview with Gould describing the disruption. Both are included on a CD recording issued by Sony Classical in 1998, along with the recording that was made of the second of the three performances of Brahms’ *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, presented on April 6th, 1962.

Non-commissioned biography: Canarina (2010)

According to Canarina (2010), who was at the time, one of the assistant conductors at the New York Philharmonic, Bernstein and Gould had a significant disagreement over the interpretation of Brahms’ *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, i.e., a concerto firmly embedded in the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra, in large part focusing on the *tempi* of the three movement work, i.e., concertos are typically divided into three parts that are linked by a few seconds of silence. In this role, Canarina (2010) is able to give a particularly detailed, personal view of the

development of this disruption, offering key insights that would not have been observed by reviewers or audience members in attendance.

Canarina (2010) first casts Gould's disruption as being one of the more controversial and public in the Philharmonic's history: "No performance aroused greater controversy than those of the Brahms Piano Concerto No. 1 on April 5, 6, and 8, 1962, with Glenn Gould returning as the soloist. The event has now passed into the realm of legend" (p. 35). One of the main components disrupted by Gould's interpretation included *tempi*, one of the many interpretive aspects that musicians must work through when preparing for a performance. In some cases, composers mark the expected tempo in general terms (e.g., *lento*, meaning slow) or in very specific terms via tempo markings (e.g., 128 beats per minute). In the case of Gould's interpretation, the *tempi* he insisted upon "were markedly slower than what was considered the norm in those days" (Canarina, 2010, p. 35). These *tempi* are, therefore, highlighted as a disruption by way of *claims to history and tradition* of past performances.

As conductor, Bernstein first issues a public statement prior to the performance. As related by Canarina (2010): "In the end, Bernstein felt he had to make a disclaimer to the audience to the effect that while he did not agree with Gould's concept of the concerto, he felt the opinions of a great artist deserved to be heard" (p. 36). According to Canarina (2010), Gould had given Bernstein his blessing for this announcement, though this was not known to the audience or reviewers at the time. As conductor, Bernstein sought to repair the disruption via *corrective power* afforded to his position, as well as via *creativity-based efforts* that imaginatively eased tensions created by Gould's interpretive disruption. These two repairing mechanisms were set against Bernstein's focus on highlighting the interpretive disruption, all the while focusing on *maintaining ecological relationships* between conductor, soloist, the Philharmonic players, the audience, and undoubtedly, the critics in attendance. While Bernstein did not approve of Gould's interpretation, he did emphasize Gould's own power as a "great artist". Overall, Bernstein's earliest corrective work did not serve to fully repair the disruption, as Gould's interpretive disruption would soon be played out in print.

By the second performance, Canarina (2010) emphasizes Bernstein's repeated use of *corrective power* to temper Gould's disruptive interpretation, requesting that they "meet halfway" for the third and final performance:

Before the Sunday afternoon concert, Bernstein suggested to Gould that, since the work had been played twice according to his wishes, they could at least meet halfway for the final performance. Gould agreed, with the result that Bernstein did not make his speech on Sunday, and the performance, if not a halfway meeting, was a shade or two brisker. (p. 36)

However, Bernstein's public "disclaimer" and urging for a change in the third and final performance did not completely silence this narrative. In particular, Canarina (2010) infers that Gould's interpretive disruption persisted, not as a continued disruption to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, but as a cautionary fable (or "legend") of the folly of pushing the limits of interpretation, or generally disrupting the standard repertoire. This stance was also taken by Columbia masterworks director, Schuyler Chapin, whose notes to a 1987 New York Philharmonic Radiophon Promotion LP, are included the CD booklet. According to Chapin, this particular performance "created a legend in its time and is still, twenty-five years later, talked and argued about almost as if it happened yesterday" (Brahms et al., 1998, p. 4).

In addition to Gould's interpretive disruption, several related, idiosyncratic practices surrounded his performance. First, soloists, such as pianists, and violinists, typically use a score that contains just the music that the soloist plays, and further, this music is not employed during performance. Memorization is understood to convey the performer's solid understanding of the music. The orchestral score, which contains all parts played by the various orchestral players and soloist, is intended for only the conductor's use. However, according to Canarina (2010), Gould used an orchestral score for the three performances, but surprisingly: "many reviews, articles, and books have been written about this performance, none of which mention its most unusual visual aspect – that Gould played the Brahms concerto from the orchestral score" (p. 36). Not only did Gould use music, which went against the practice of the time, he used music that is not typically employed by the soloist. However, this disruption was not highlighted in the reviews, pointing to Gould's surprising practice as being peripheral to the institutional core.

As well, the nature of the score also produced a practical, visual disruption, for according to Canarina (2010), its pages were affixed on large pieces of cardboard, four pages on the LH side of the piano rack, and four on the RH side. While this allowed Gould to turn pages less frequently, it added a level of visual disruption to the performance. According to Canarina (2010), when Gould needed to turn a page, the “laborious efforts were something to behold” (p. 36). In total, this points to a *new observation* regarding the nature of disruptions: a single disruption in time can be characterized by one or more layers of related disruptions, which target either core or peripheral institutional aspects.

As for Gould’s reaction to his own interpretive disruption during performance, Canarina (2010) describes his personal perception as assistant conductor, and audience member at the time: “Gould appeared to thoroughly enjoy the whole event, including the loud boos from some audience members at the end. He was pleased that his interpretation had provoked some controversy, which he preferred to complacent acceptance” (p. 36). However, while Gould was pleased with his performance at the time, many writers on the subject believe that it later came at a great cost. According to Canarina (2010), Gould was again programmed a year later in 1963, to present a concerto by Johann Sebastian Bach, and *Burleske*, by Richard Strauss; however two days prior to the first scheduled performance on January 31st (with a following performance slated for February 1st), management was informed by Gould that “he was ill and could not appear” (Canarina, 2010, p. 41). This preceded a final decision, not long after, whereby “Gould retired from the concert stage and devoted his life to recordings and television documentaries in his native Canada” (Canarina, 2010, p. 137). Overall, Canarina’s (2010) own observations point to Gould’s character as being closely associated with disruption, or as an artist who “provoked” (Canarina, 2010, p. 37) rather than placated audiences. While Gould’s interpretation supported his own, individual core, it also disrupted the standard repertoire, which is placed proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Gould’s interpretive disruption led to two further consequences known, in particular, to Canarina (2010). First, due to this disruption, a deal with Columbia Records, which would have featured Bernstein and Gould, was canceled. Second, the Philharmonic had also taken surprising measures of having another work on hand, i.e., the music and the extra players necessary to

perform Brahms' *Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Op. 68*, such that if Gould refused to play on the first performance, the group would have something to play in its place.

Overall, it must be emphasized that the degree to which Gould "disrupted" the interpretation of Brahms' *Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, is, as it was in 1962, a matter of musical taste. For some, his conception was brilliant; for others, it was a catastrophe. That said, Canarina's account of Gould's interpretive disruption indicates far-reaching and detrimental effects, from disrupting a work firmly embedded in the standard repertoire, but also several aspects in the day-to-day work of both Gould and the orchestra players, i.e., including a probable contributing factor in Gould's own departure from concert life, a cancelled record deal, and significant disruption amongst the ranks of the orchestral players in preparation for and during performance.

New York Times review

Harold Schonberg, the music reviewer at the New York Times, also wrote a highly critical account of Gould's performance on April 7th. Schonberg (1962, April 7) uses *corrective power* afforded to his position, to not only criticize Gould's interpretation but also Bernstein's decision to have Gould appear as soloist. Further, as noted by Canarina (2010), Schonberg's critique was written in a very atypical style: "it was written in the form of an imaginary conversation with someone named Ossip (as in Ossip Gabrilowitsch, a pianist of an earlier generation who had also been conductor of the Detroit Symphony)" (p. 37). This atypical writing style is not unlike the atypical interpretation offered by Gould. Schonberg (1962, April 7), therefore, uses *creativity-based efforts* as well as *emotionally-charged appeals* to repair the disruption.

In the review, Schonberg (1962, April 7) criticizes several interpretive aspects of Gould's performance, including *tempi*, i.e., how fast he played each of the three movements, *dynamics*, i.e., the variation in volume of sound, and his emphasis of *inner voices* within the work, i.e., melodies that are not primary, but secondary. In all these cases, Schonberg (1962, April 7) makes *claims to history and tradition* to highlight Gould's departure from an expected range of interpretation. In the case of Schonberg's (1962, April 7) review, Gould's unconventional practices were also criticized, including drinking water during the performance, a practice that is expected with singers, but not with instrumentalists, and occasionally conducting from the piano,

a role that was attributed to the soloist in the earliest days of conducting in the late 18th and early 19th century, but should have now been firmly in the hands of conductor, Leonard Bernstein:

Anyway, if I was the conductor, I would be good and sore. So would you be, Ossip, if you had a soloist who conducted as much as you did. And who drank a glass of water when he had some free time. I mean, I think it was water. I mean, it looked like water. (Schonberg, 1962, April 7, p. 17)

As highlighted by Canarina (2010), Schonberg (1962, April 7) does not mention Gould's use of the orchestral score.

These unconventional practices were however, not new for Gould. In an earlier appearance with the New York Philharmonic in 1961, performing Beethoven's *Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Op. 58*, on March 16, 17, and 19, Schonberg (1961, March 18) notes similar practices, including taking water during the performance, and singing along during parts of his performance:

And then came Glenn Gould to play Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto. He came with something new – a glass of water on the edge of the piano. At odd intervals he sipped. What next? Can we look forward to Mr. Gould's playing Beethoven next year with a seidel of beer and a ham sandwich to occupy himself during orchestral tuttis? (p. 16)

Along with these practices, his interpretation was also taken into question, with Schonberg (1961, March 18) noting various departures from typical performances of the work. Therefore, this earlier review positions Gould's interpretive disruption of Brahms' *Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, as part of an emerging pattern of interpretive disruption over time.

Schonberg (1962, April 7) also uses disruptions that target peripheral aspects to support repairing mechanisms that target disruptions to the institutional core. Using both *creativity-based efforts* and *emotionally-charged appeals*, Schonberg (1962, April 7) emphasizes – via humor in particular – that Gould's idiosyncratic performance practices were so “out of bounds” that they provided even further evidence of Gould's interpretive “mistake”. Therefore, Schonberg (1967, April 7) informs our understanding of disruption: while several disruptions can occur

concurrently, peripheral disruptions can be either largely overlooked, or purposefully enacted by powerful ecological actors to aid in the repair of disruptions that target the institutional core.

In general, Schonberg's (1962, April 7) use of repairing mechanisms sought to distance Gould's interpretation and performance practices from what is expected from *professionals*, i.e., professional soloists, conductors and orchestras. A *new observation* is seen here, with Schonberg (1962, April 7) employing *appeals to professionalism* as repairing mechanism. Schonberg (1962, April 7) also makes *claims to history and tradition*, i.e., the tradition of performance of Brahms' *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, to distance Gould's disruptive performance from expected interpretations. First, Schonberg (1962, April 7) notes that Gould's performance was disruptive to previous performances and understandings of the work: "Such goings-on at the New York Philharmonic concert yesterday afternoon! I tell you, Ossip, like you never saw. But maybe things are different from when we studied the Brahms D minor Concert at the Hohenzellern Academy" (p. 17). Further, Schonberg (1962, April 7) distances Gould's disruptive performance from Bernstein by affirming that the appropriate nature of his public statement: "Now I understand. I mean, a conductor has to protect himself" (p. 17). Finally, Schonberg (1962, April 7) distances Gould's performance by comparing his performance to that of John Canarina, who conducted later in the program:

And there was the "Maskarade" Overture by Nielsen, real peppy like. This was conducted by John Canarina. He is what they call an assistant conductor, and there are three of them, and none of them gets much chance to show what he can do. This Canarina fellow was strictly business, very good. I mean. Ossip, he's a professional. Not like some pianists I could name. (p. 17)

In total, Schonberg (1962, April 7) focuses on the importance of *maintaining ecological relationships* between the institution of (musical) education, the institution of the symphony orchestra, its standard repertoire, conductors, and soloists. A common foundation of *professionalism* creates an understanding of expectations amongst various actors within the institution of the symphony orchestra.

Schonberg (1967, April 7) also uses *creativity-based efforts* to repair Gould's disruption, by highlighting several compositions on the program, in terms of their own merit vs. a soloist's or conductor's interpretation:

There was some music by Carl Nielsen on the program, Ossip. I bet you don't know much about Nielsen. He was from Denmark, and he died in 1931 and he wrote lots of symphonies. The one that Bernstein conducted was the fifth, and I heard everything in it – Mahler, Sibelius, Brahms. Even Shostakovich, but he symphony was written before Shostakovich. I like it, Ossip. It had style, know what I mean? Good and strong, and plenty personality. (p. 17)

Schonberg (1967, April 7) highlights the “style” and “personality” of a work by Nielsen, who at the time was a peripheral composer, rather than one firmly embedded in the standard repertoire. By way of comparison to a *peripheral* work, Schonberg (1967, April 7) uses *creativity-based efforts*, i.e., a creative use of comparison, to emphasize the core nature of the repertoire, and the severity of Gould's disruption.

Finally, Schonberg (1962, April 7) also shifts some of the disruptive influence to Bernstein:

You know what, Ossip? I think that even though the conductor makes this big disclaimer, he should not be allowed to wiggle off the hook that easy. I mean, who engaged the Gould boy in the first place? Who is the musical director? Somebody has to be responsible. (p. 17)

Schonberg (1962, April 7) places a significant amount of blame for the experience on Bernstein. Ultimately, Bernstein's “disclaimer” (Canarina, 2010, p. 36) did not fully repair Gould's disruption in the eyes of Schonberg (1962, April 7). The many disruptions that Gould brought to the stage, in interpretation and practices, i.e., using the orchestral score and water taking, called into question not only Gould's professionalism as soloist, but by extension, the professionalism of Bernstein, in hiring Gould as soloist. This points to a *new observation* concerning the nature of disruptions: a single disruptive event can focus on a single actor, but that does not preclude this disruptive influence “infecting” another closely related actor within the ecological landscape.

Further, this again points to a *new observation* where *appeals to professionalism* are employed as a repairing mechanism.

Bernstein and Gould

Both Bernstein's and Gould's perceptions of the disruptive event are captured on recording. While an intended recording with Columbia Records never came to fruition (which would have contributed to a growing number of recordings already featuring Bernstein and Gould, i.e., three concertos of Beethoven and one of Bach), the live broadcast of the second performance on April 6, 1962 distributed over the CBS Radio Network, was eventually remastered by Sony Music Entertainment Inc., who had bought CBS Records Inc. in 1988 (Corporate history, n.d.). This CD recording (Brahms et al., 1998) includes Bernstein's opening remarks for that performance, as well as a later, February 2, 1963, New York Philharmonic Intermission Radio Interview between Gould and James Fassett, a radio commentator for the New York Philharmonic (Brahms et al., 1998). Overall, this recording becomes a permanent and widely distributed reminder of Gould's disruption, but from another perspective, it also holds *corrective power* as a tangible reminder of the disruption. It is an example of an artifact that supports Canarina's (2010) claim that Gould's interpretive disruption has attained a "legendary" status.

Using *corrective power* afforded to the position of conductor, and a typical *creativity-based* and *emotionally-charged* tone, Bernstein first casts Gould's impending performance as a "curious situation" (Brahms et al., 1998). Bernstein makes further *claims to history and tradition* to cast Gould's interpretation as exceptional. Indeed, the fact that Bernstein speaks directly to the audience, a somewhat unusual practice at the time, provides an exceptional counterpoint to the use of other repairing mechanisms. Bernstein's tone is professional, but he distances himself from Gould's interpretation by highlighting key interpretive elements that had been made clear by Brahms in the score that Gould intentionally disrupts:

You are about to hear, shall we say, an unorthodox performance of the Brahms D minor Concerto, a performance that is distinctly different from any I have ever heard, or ever dreamt of for that matter in its remarkably broad tempi, and its frequent departures from Brahms' dynamic indications. (Brahms et al., 1998).

In addition to using his own *corrective power*, Bernstein also draws on the *corrective power* of the score. In particular, Gould's interpretation disrupts by *changing* Brahms' performance markings in the score. Bernstein also reminds the audience of an expected give and take between the relative *powers* of soloist and conductor: "who is the boss? The soloist or the conductor?" (Brahms et al., 1998). Bernstein again employs repairing mechanisms via his use of *emotionally-charged appeals*:

[The conductor and soloist] get together, by persuasion, or charm, or even threats [audience laughter] to achieve a unified performance. I have only once before had to submit to a soloist's wholly new and incompatible concept and that was the last time I accompanied Mr. Gould [audience laughter]" (Brahms et al., 1998).

Here, Bernstein uses *creativity-based efforts* (of comparison) and *claims to history and tradition*, to emphasize that Gould's interpretation was not new, but rather indicative of a pattern of incompatibility over time, and one that remained an isolated incidence in his work as conductor. Further, Bernstein infers that with incompatibility, the final word on interpretation should come from the conductor (also inferred by Schonberg, 1962, April 7), considering the *power* afforded to this role. This points to a *new observation* concerning the nature of disruption: disruptions can target more than one aspect of an institution. In this case, Gould's performance was not only disruptive interpretively to the standard repertoire, it was also disruptive to the modern role of conductor, who should have the final say on interpretation.

Bernstein closes his statement with a rationale for his decision to continue with the performance:

I am glad to have the chance for a new look at this much played work..., [and] there are moments that emerge with astonishing freshness and conviction... we can all learn something from this extraordinary artist who is a thinking performer, and... there is in music what Dmitri Mitropoulos used to call the "sportive element", that factor of curiosity, adventure, experiment... and it's in this spirit of adventure that we now present it to you [applause]. (Brahms et al., 1998)

Here Bernstein uses *corrective power* to refocus Gould's disruption. Specifically, while Bernstein focuses on the value of *maintaining ecological relationships*, i.e., in principle the value of variation via interpretation, conviction of performance, and the spirit of experimentation, he also shows that these values, while having a range, also have boundaries, and the collaboration with Gould exceeds many of these. Bernstein seeks to *maintain ecological relationships with* Gould as soloist, with the audience, and with reviewers; however, he also emphasizes that this cannot be at the expense of expected interpretive boundaries, and indications in the score.

A year later, Gould also had the opportunity to directly address his interpretive disruption, during an interview with James Fassett. This interview was included on the 1962 Sony recording of Gould's April 6th performance, and is another indicator of this disruption's long-standing nature. Fassett's questioning first addressed how such variance in approach could exist between two professionals, therefore employing *appeals to professionalism*:

[How can] two artists of the caliber of you and Mr. Bernstein... approach a standard symphonic work like the D minor Brahms Concerto and have such diverse conceptions of the piece that Bernstein in this case felt that he had to disassociate himself from? (Brahms et al., 1998)

Gould interrupted:

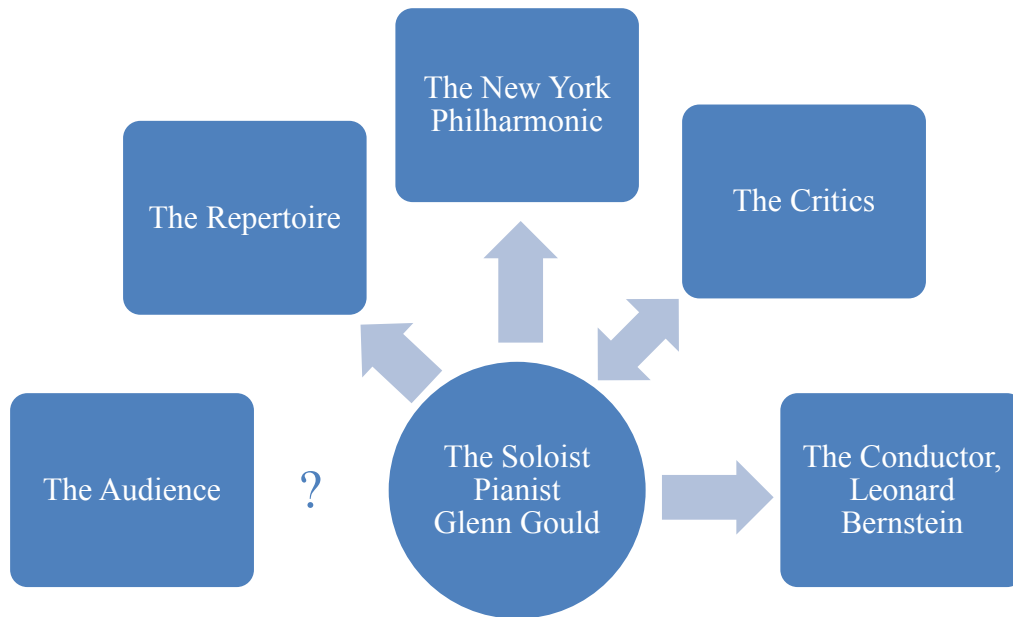
I don't know if there is a satisfactory explanation. As far as what actually transpired last year, I seem to be the only person around who felt that - um - Mr. Bernstein's speech was full of the best of good spirits and great charm. (Brahms et al., 1998)

In view of Gould's comments, the disruption was not between Gould and Bernstein (though there was a disruption between Bernstein and Gould), but rather audience's and critic's reaction to the entire event. Since this interview actually took place so long after the performance, with Gould expressing that the whole event did not have a "satisfactory explanation", this interpretive disruption is still not fully repaired, even a year following the Brahms performance.

Gould's interview offers two further *new observations* concerning the nature of disruptions. First, disruptions, like the institutions they target, can be quite persistent in nature. Second,

disruptions have aspects of directionality, i.e., in Gould's eyes, there was no disruption between him and Bernstein, but Canarina's (2010) observations noted Gould's expectation to disrupt audiences, and Bernstein's creative hints that Gould "disrupted" him in various ways (see Figure 17).

Figure 17: Disruption and directionality



As for his conception of the interpretation, Gould counters that he believed that his performance was not so unlike previous ones of the Brahms' work, except for one respect:

Because what went on last year was in no way a particularly unusual performance of that particular Brahms concerto except for one factor, and that was that our proportions of tempi and our proportions of dynamics tended to be scaled closer together than is usually the case... now Lenny thought that in order to preserve the antagonism of orchestra and piano there ought to be more greater contrasts, and I was at that time... in a Baroquish mood as far as even the 19th century concerto. (Brahms et al., 1998)

In this regard, Gould employs his own *claims to history and tradition* to position the degree to which his performance diverged from other performances. In particular, he likens his slower *tempi* to those expected in a Baroque approach to the Concerto. However, with the Brahms work

being a Romantic work, i.e., one which would typically have faster *tempi*, this attempt at repair was ultimately unsuccessful. Finally, Gould himself highlights interpretation as the main source of disruption vs. the concurrent disruptions around his performance practices. This points to interpretation as being the main disruption targeting the repertoire.

The interview is important in the overall understanding of Gould's interpretive disruption, because it points to *intent*: Gould wished to break from *history and tradition*: “[Bernstein] was more in favor of the tradition which has accrued around the concerto style and I wished at that moment to break with it” (Brahms et al., 1998). Gould ended the interview by indicating that he was thankful that Bernstein had allow this “break”. This interview, therefore, supports a *new observation* of the nature of disruption, in terms of an actor's intent vs. possible “unexpected” occurrences of disruption.

Conclusion

As an example of an endogenous actor (and exogenous, prior to hire) within the ecology of the institution of the symphony orchestra, Gould's interpretive disruption of the standard repertoire, i.e., *Brahms' Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*, instigated the use of repairing mechanisms by both endogenous and exogenous actors. Their use points to the standard repertoire's proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. Five repairing mechanisms were observed, including those based on *ecological relationships*, *claims to history and tradition*, *corrective power*, *creativity-based efforts*, and *emotionally-charged appeals*. These findings were paired with several new observations concerning the nature of institutional disruption.

Repairing mechanisms

In particular, in his non-commissioned biography of the New York Philharmonic, Canarina (2010) emphasizes conductor Leonard Bernstein's focus on *maintaining ecological relationships*, i.e., between the repertoire, soloist, conductor, orchestra, audience, and critics, amidst a significant disruption of the standard repertoire. While Bernstein wished to repair Gould's disruption, he didn't want this to affect good relationships amongst the various actors. Schonberg (1962, April 7) takes a more aggressive stance; he highlights Gould's disruption by

way of emphasizing how his interpretive decisions attacked long-standing ecological relationships between institutions of (musical) education and the symphony orchestra, as well as the standard repertoire, conductors, and soloists. Bernstein's own public statement supports Canarina's (2010) claim of Bernstein's focus on maintaining ecological relationships, but it also emphasizes that maintaining these relationships could not be at the expense of the interpretation of the repertoire, according to composer's often clear directions indicated in the score.

In his non-commissioned biography of the New York Philharmonic, Canarina (2010), emphasizes the mechanism of *claims to history and tradition*, in terms of general expectations in how standard repertoire is to be presented to audiences, but also to highlight Gould's surprising and disruptive performance practices, especially his use of the orchestral score during performance. The reviewer, Schonberg (1962, April 7) also focuses on claims to history and tradition primarily in terms of Gould's departures from accepted parameters around interpretation of the standard repertoire, ones that for Schonberg, were atypical of professional standards. The recording of the public address confirms Bernstein's claims to history and tradition in how Brahms' score should have been interpreted, but also his views on the (traditional) nature of the power relationship between conductor and soloist. From Gould's perspective, claims to history and tradition were at the heart of his disruptive interpretation, but overall, his rationales do not stand up under scrutiny.

In his non-commissioned biography, Canarina (2010) also highlights Bernstein's use of various means of *corrective power* afforded to his role as conductor. Like Bernstein, the reviewer at the New York Times, Harold C. Schonberg (1962, April 7) employs corrective power, by not only criticizing Gould's interpretation but also Bernstein's decision to have Gould appear as soloist. A unique expression of corrective power is apparent in the 1998 Sony CD recording of Gould's performance, as well as Bernstein's opening remarks and a later interview with Gould. This CD remains as a tangible artifact of Gould's disruption and various repairing mechanisms employed by Gould and Bernstein. In many respects, it is a key source that supports the "legendary" status of Gould's disruption. The recording of Bernstein's public address confirms his position as having corrective power, but here, the account further emphasizes the corrective power afforded to the score as well as the details around Gould's disruption of this score.

In conjunction with Bernstein's use of corrective power, Canarina (2010) notes Bernstein's typical use of *creativity-based efforts* in addressing audiences as a repairing mechanism. Schonberg (1962, April 7) in his own style, also uses creativity-based efforts, by way of a unique critical narrative that used an imaginary conversation with a character called Ossip. He further uses a creative comparison of expected "style" and "personality" that was evident in a peripheral works' presentation in the same program, but absent in Gould's interpretation of the Brahms' concerto.

Finally, Canarina (2010) also captures Bernstein's typically *emotional style* when addressing performers and audiences. Further, Schonberg's (1962, April 7) review also uses his own flavor of humor in addressing Gould's disruption.

New observations

Several new observations regarding the nature of institutional disruption were observed in the various data sources. In particular, Canarina's (2010) account highlights the fact that disruptions can be presented concurrently, and be of varying types, including those that target the institutional core or peripheral aspects. Further, while Gould's interpretation disrupted the standard repertoire, it was in keeping with his own, individual core, which gave precedence to providing a new perspective over giving deference to tradition. Schonberg (1967, April 7) in particular highlights that while several disruptions can occur concurrently, peripheral ones can support repairing mechanisms that target disruptions associated with the institutional core. Further, he also points to a particularly persistent attribute of some disruptions: while a single disruptive event can focus on a single actor, this does not preclude this disruptive influence "infecting" another closely related actor within the ecological landscape. In this case, Gould's disruption as soloist, called into question Bernstein's foresight in hiring him in the first place.

Bernstein's public appeal was also recorded, and here, disruptions are cast as targeting more than one aspect of an institution, i.e., Gould's interpretive disruption not only affected the standard repertoire, but also Bernstein's role as modern conductor. Gould's own recorded interview also offers two new observations concerning the nature of disruption. First, the fact that Gould's disruption was still garnering interest, one year past its occurrence, points to the persistence of

particular disruptions, like the institutions that they target. Second, since disruptions involve several exogenous and endogenous actors, who have very different perspectives concerning the disruption, institutional disruption has the characteristic of “directionality”. While Bernstein articulated that not only the score (and the repertoire), but the conductor was disrupted in this instance, Gould seems to hold no grudge against Bernstein, though he does articulate that his intent was to disrupt an expected interpretation of the repertoire. Gould’s interview also points to the nature of disruption in terms of actors’ intent vs. unexpected occurrences of disruption. Finally, *appeals to professionalism* are employed as a repairing mechanism over time.

Overall, this disruption targets the standard repertoire, and the repeated use of repairing mechanisms points to the standard repertoire’s proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. A variety of repairing mechanisms, employed by both endogenous and exogenous actors, extends over a considerable time period. Of particular interest is the continued focus on this disruption and its continued “legendary” status.

Chapter 6: Soloists

Soloists have been an important actor within the overall ecology of the institution of the symphony orchestra over time. Their own institutionalization process began in approximately the 18th century, culminating in the late 19th to early 20th century in the *virtuoso* form. Since then, virtuoso soloists have been highly regarded for their ability to perform works with orchestra, all the while exuding a highly glamorous image. This conceptualization and trajectory has been supported in the musicological literatures, as well as by my analysis of soloists hired by the New York Philharmonic from its inception in 1842 to 2012. While soloists have been a consistent feature at the Philharmonic, they have also been an instigator of change and disruption. Overall, soloists at the New York Philharmonic have shown a particular balance of consistency and change over time. Their intermediary position situates them as unique negotiators who shift from exogenous (as free or managed agent) to endogenous actor (from rehearsal to performance), and back.

The following analysis includes two main areas of inquiry: first, analysis of aspects that reflect soloists' balance of consistency and change as key actors within the institution of the symphony over time; and second, an example of a *potential* disruption that is uniquely avoided by a prominent, international soloist – violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter – who frequently appeared with the New York Philharmonic. In particular, Mutter is cast as balancing the typically disruptive element of “glamour”, due to her own focus on “the goods”, i.e., her respect for the repertoire. This *potential* disruption is also avoided via the use of several repairing mechanisms employed by endogenous and exogenous actors.

Specifically, I first analyze the consistency of soloist appearances with the New York Philharmonic from 1842 to 2012 (in 20-year increments), including the types of instruments and combinations of instruments employed by these soloists. These data are also supported by key qualitative data drawn from the New York Philharmonic biographies. These data show soloists, as well as key solo instruments, as a consistent feature over time; however, this consistency is set against a significant amount of change, largely expressed by a continuous (and natural) stream of new soloists over time, and by a remarkable variety of solo types and combinations. While the

standard repertoire developed around a consistency of composers and even specific works, soloists have exhibited a consistency of presence as a group, but this is balanced by an incredible variety of new virtuosi who naturally take their place on (and recede from) the concert stage with the passage of their respective careers.

Second, I analyze a single disruptive event, i.e., violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" that she negotiates over her career (ongoing). This *potential* disruption is "avoided" largely due to Mutter balancing her glamorous image with her respect of the repertoire, and several key endogenous and exogenous actors enacting several repairing mechanisms over time. In particular, several critical reviews show a remarkable transition from signaling the disruption of glamour at the beginning of the text to a focus on Mutter's integrity as performer by the end.

Overall, following Mutter's negotiation and balancing of her highly glamorous image against her respect of the repertoire, these data point to this particular soloist's ability to avoid disruption over time. Further, Mutter's respect of the repertoire, amidst her glamorous image, again points to the repertoire's proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Data demonstrating a balance of continuity and change

Complemented by qualitative data emerging from the New York Philharmonic biographies, the main data set includes soloists who performed with the Philharmonic, as reflected in the seasonal programming in 20-year increments, i.e., 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, 1902-3, 1922-3, 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3. As was the case for the data set used in Chapter 5, only soloists featured in programs of the New York Philharmonic have been included, i.e., soloists featured in programs of the New York Symphony have been excluded to maintain a focus on the Philharmonic. However, chamber music works, i.e., non-orchestral, excluded from Chapter 5, have been retained here to show particular changes over time. One distinction for soloists concerns the type of instrument that they employ in performance, but also the number of soloists featured in a program, i.e., is the soloist a single performer playing a violin or is the soloist group represented by several voices? Finally, soloist data is again presented considering *all programs* offered over the season vs. *subscription-only*.

To address consistency over time, I analyze key qualitative data of the New York Philharmonic biographies as well as quantitative data drawn from the New York Philharmonic archives, i.e., in 20-year increments beginning in the 1842-3 season. This archival data includes measures of how frequently soloists have been used in programming over each season, as well as key types of instruments used by the soloist (or soloists). To address change, I have also drawn from biographical sources, as well as archival data, to present the remarkable growth in the various types of soloist instruments that have been employed over time. In particular, change is set against a relatively constant repertoire, which is realized by a naturally changing flow of soloists, who come to the concert stage and then recede once their careers conclude.

Soloists: Consistency

Soloists have been a consistent feature of New York Philharmonic programs over time. This finding is supported both in the New York Philharmonic biographies, as well as the main data set. In particular, consistency is observed in the employment of exogenous soloists over time at the New York Philharmonic (who then become endogenous actors from rehearsal to performance), as well as the instruments represented by these soloists. To this, these data also show a consistent use of endogenous soloists – though in much smaller number – that were drawn from the ranks of the New York Philharmonic (Shanet, 1975), often from the first chair positions of the various sections (e.g., the first chair violinist, also known as concertmaster). In general, this points to the exceptional performance levels of some of the New York Philharmonic orchestra players, but also to practical scheduling and cost concerns over time.

Consistency: Key biographical findings

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, soloists' star power has been consistently employed in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra, while soloists have supported their own careers by performing with such high profile groups. In both cases, these actors have captured – and continue to capture – audiences' attention.

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, the early years were a time of the institutionalization of the symphony orchestra in America, and part of this process was contending with competing

orchestras in New York City, by way of focusing on the “power of money, of glamour, and of advertising” (Shanet, 1975, p. 134). A significant proportion of their efforts was directed at programming key soloists, including “the most glamorous of the touring virtuosi” (Shanet, 1975, p. 134). Many renowned soloists performed with the New York Philharmonic during the 19th century, including pianist Anton Rubinstein and violinist Henryk Wieniawski. During much of the 19th century, these soloists were in particular demand if they were foreign, rather than local personalities (Shanet, 1975). This focus on foreign performers was already evident in the 1830s in New York, during a time that musical interests focused on the voice – both Italian and French – rather than the orchestra. This love of “the foreign” fed audience’s appetite for the latest interest, i.e., as Shanet (1975) describes: “always the inescapable determining word was ‘FASHION’” (Shanet, 1975, p. 59).

Drawing from this qualitative data, soloists are positioned as key actors in the maintenance of the New York Philharmonic over time, not only due to their significant technical and interpretive abilities, but also due to their significant draw via “fashion” and “glamour”. In turn, these soloists are maintained over their careers, in part, via the New York Philharmonic, which provided a high profile context for their efforts, creating a significant, inextricable relationship between these two actors within the institution of the symphony orchestra.

Consistency: Key soloist data findings

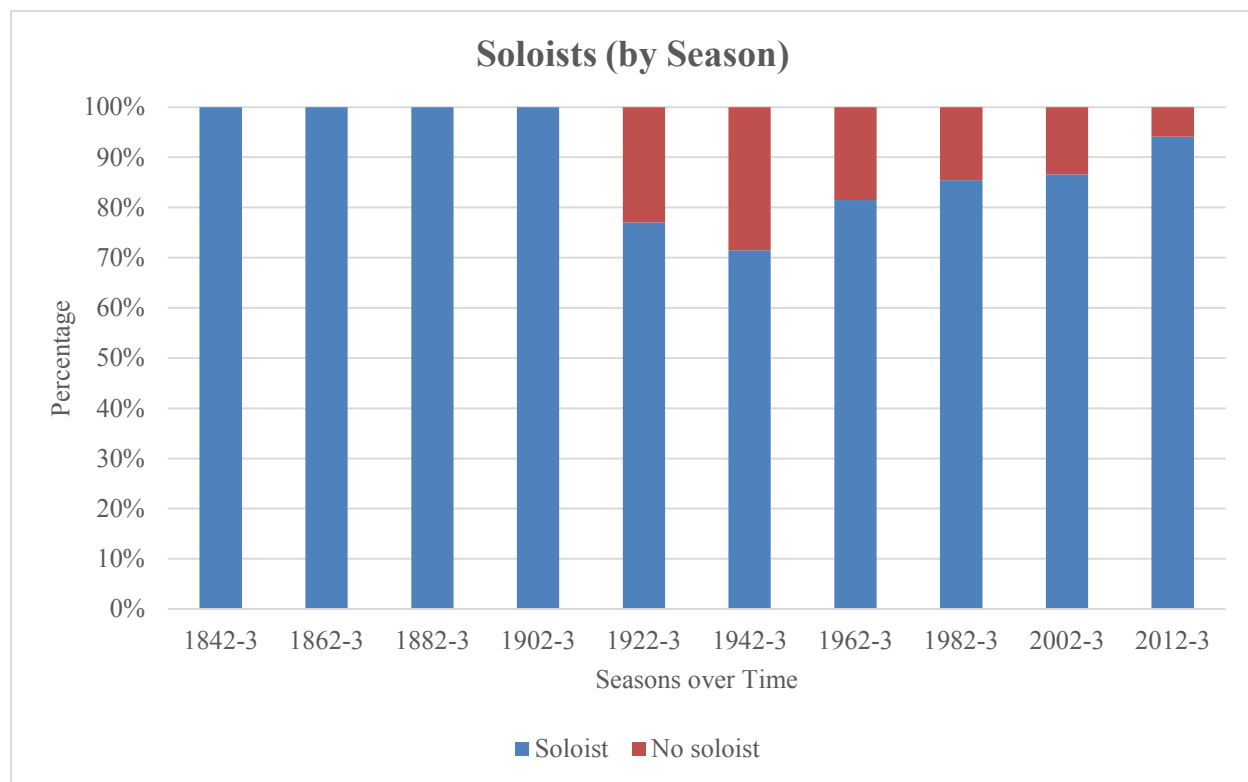
Consistency in the data set is primarily expressed in the regular employment of soloists from the first season in 1842-3 onwards, as well as a few dominant types of instruments employed by these soloists. This consistency is complemented by a smaller though persistent use of endogenous soloists, i.e., musicians drawn from the ranks of the New York Philharmonic.

Soloist presence

From 1842-3 to 1902-3, a soloist is featured in all programs over the season (see Figure 18); the first time no soloist appears is in 1922-3 season, i.e., 23%, and about the same in 1942-3 season, i.e., 29%. From 1962-3 to 2002-3 season, no soloist is featured in approximately 15% of

programs; 2012-3 season approaches the 0% of earlier seasons, i.e., only 3% of programs do not feature a soloist.

Figure 18: Soloists (by season)



Overall, soloists are a consistent part of programming since 1842. While some concerts did not feature a soloist by the 1922-3 seasons – in part due to the large number of performances overall and associated costs – soloists and their instruments are consistently featured in concert programs, approaching 100% of the time most recently (also the case in the earliest years of the Philharmonic). Overall, soloists, even considering scheduling challenges and associated costs, have been – and continue to be – a consistent part of the Philharmonic’s programming.

In addition to exogenous soloists drawn from around the world, endogenous soloists have also been consistently drawn from the orchestra’s ranks, from the first season, 1842-3, to more recent examples like clarinetist Stanley Drucker. Drucker first took a post in the clarinet section at the New York Philharmonic in 1948, and later became principal clarinetist in 1960 (Shanet, 1975). Drucker retired in the 2008-9 season, after 49 years in the principal role. Drawing from the full

New York Philharmonic data set, Drucker appeared as the main soloist 100 times, including 13 performances of the Mozart Clarinet Concerto, first in 1957 and finally in 2001.

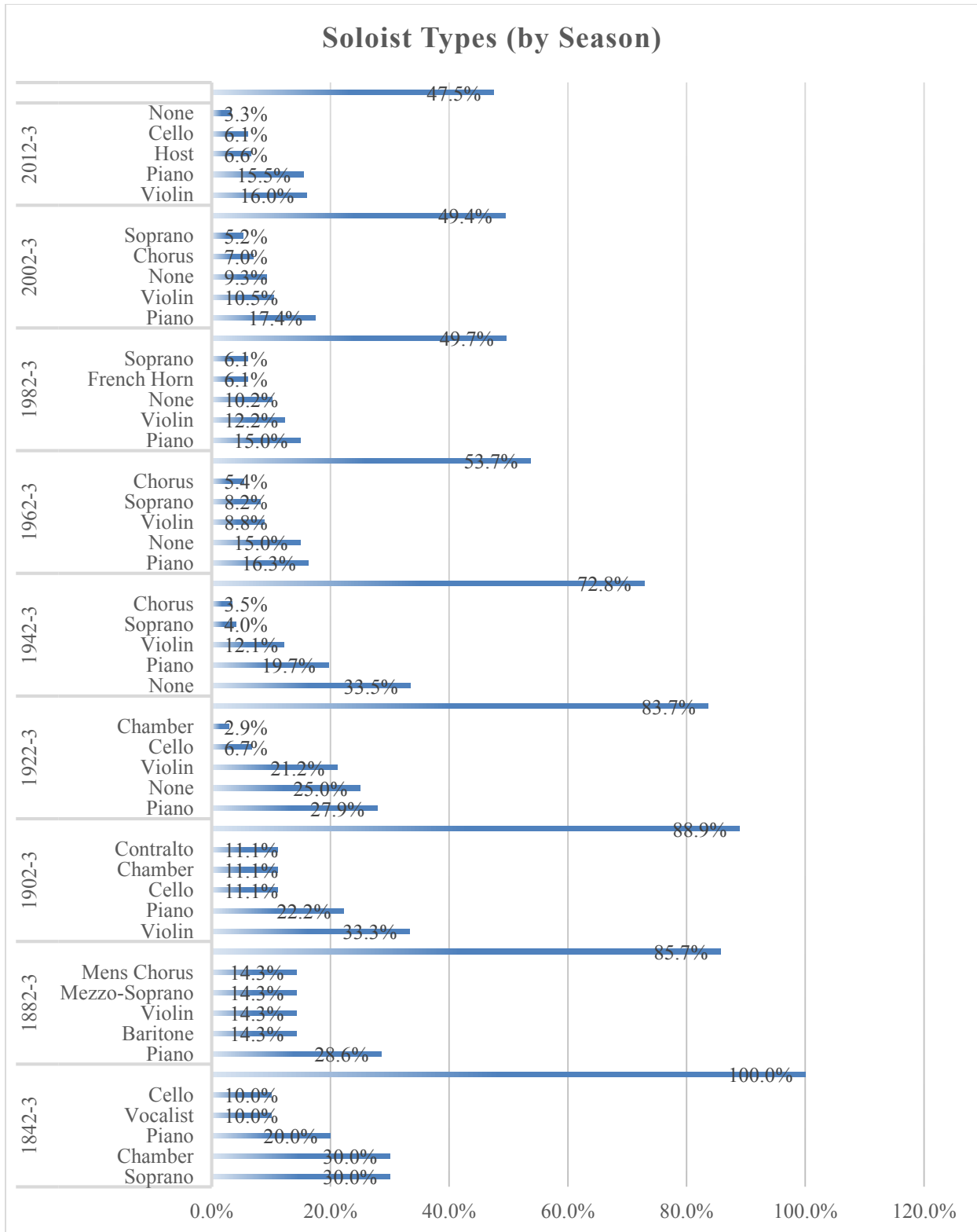
Overall the data set exhibits a remarkable consistency in soloist appearances in the majority of programs since the New York Philharmonic's inception in 1842. This consistency is complemented by soloists also being drawn from the ranks of the New York Philharmonic, though at much lower levels since exogenous soloists have always created a greater draw for audiences.

Soloist instrumentation

The instrumentation, i.e., the types of instruments and combinations of instruments featured in a soloistic capacity, has shown consistency over time. Single instruments, such as the piano and violin, as well as various voice combinations take a prominent and consistent soloistic role since the Philharmonic's inception (see Appendix L). Overall, the piano is one of the top five soloists since 1842. Thereafter, piano and violin are in the top five group since 1882-3 season, shifting to the top two soloist types since the 1902-3 season to recent times. These data also show the importance of voice over time; however, with a significant tempering of influence to a secondary position from the 1942-3 season, and with no appearance in the top five in the 1922-3 season. Overall, piano, violin, and some type of voice are three of the top five soloists in all seasons except 1842-3, 1922-3, and 2012-3.

In the 1842-3 season, the top five solo instruments make up *all soloist types* in the entire season, i.e., four programs. The top five then constitute more than 83% of the soloist appearances up to and including the 1922-3 season, and thereafter drop approximately to 50% of the season by 1962-3 and continuing to 2012-3 (see Figure 19).

Figure 19: Soloist types (by season)



Overall, analysis of the biographical sources as well as the main data set shows a consistency over time in terms of the use of exogenous soloists in the New York Philharmonic's programming as well as endogenous soloists, i.e., those drawn from the ranks of the group (though in much smaller numbers). Further, the main soloist instruments represented by these soloists is also quite consistent over time, featuring primarily violin, piano, and voice.

Soloists: Change

The consistency of the use of soloists as well as a few dominant solo instruments (or groups) is also set against a significant amount of change. This finding is again supported both in the New York Philharmonic biographies, as well as the main data set. This level of change is supported by key qualitative data in the New York Philharmonic biographies that point to key soloist challenges, from scheduling difficulties to associated costs. This degree of change over time is complemented by key findings in the New York Philharmonic data set, which points to a remarkable increase in the variety of instruments used in solo situations over time. However, change becomes a particularly important contrast to consistency due to one fact: while the repertoire has shown a great consistency over time, the soloists that offer this relative constant naturally change from season to season, as young soloists take over from seasoned professionals that make up the great traditions of violinists, pianists, and singers over time.

Change: Key biographical findings

While soloists helped the New York Philharmonic meet their lofty goals as a "high class" orchestra (Shanet, 1975, p. 202), soloists are nonetheless often difficult to schedule and often come at a high price. Over the Philharmonic's history, soloists have always been free to perform with the orchestras of their choosing, and therefore are in high demand, creating scheduling difficulties (Shanet, 1975). Further, with the onset of the 20th century, "The Philharmonic was discovering that a high-class, competitive orchestra had high-class, competitive expenses" (Shanet, 1975, p. 202). Soloists, along with conductors, began to expect greatly inflated performance fees, as part of changing options around leisure times, as well as a focus on "star" performers (Holoman, 2012, p. 46), who significantly impacted orchestras' bottom lines:

The 1920's brought radical changes in the expenditure of leisure time, where sports and the family automobile competed with concert music. Concepts of the orchestral product changed with radio and records... The orchestra became fully exposed to European-American economic cycles. But over the long haul, and throughout the word, the most intractable business problem was a direct result of orchestral music's wild popularity: the star system, where a few conductors, concerto soloists, and their managers commanded such astronomical fees for single appearances as to rewrite the underlying principles of the ledger. (Holoman, 2012, p. 46)

These pressures were mitigated in part over time by key endogenous actors, i.e., first chairs acting as soloists for some performances. While these endogenous actors show a consistency over time, they do constitute a contrast to exogenous soloists who otherwise provide the “glamour” that was so desired by audiences. A more significant change appeared in 2010, at the request of conductor Alan Gilbert in his first term as music director. To create a more easily scheduled, and longer-term relationship between soloists and the Philharmonic, the position of the Mary and James G. Wallach Artist-in-Residence was created. It was first held by violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, and later by a prestigious group of musicians (see Table 4). While a significant new practice, it does reflect a key consistency in the types of instruments used by soloists featured at the New York Philharmonic, i.e., violin, piano, and voice, as well as composers.

Table 4: Mary and James G. Wallach Artist-in-Residence

Season	Soloist	Instrument
2010-2011	Anne-Sophie Mutter	Violin
2011-2012	Frank Peter Zimmermann	Violin
2012-2013	Emanuel Ax	Piano
2013-2014	Christopher Rouse Yefim Bronfman	Composer Piano
2014-2015	Lisa Batiashvili	Violin
2015-2016	Eric Owens	Voice (bass-baritone)

Drawing from these qualitative data, soloists are positioned as key actors in change at the New York Philharmonic over time, in terms of contextual pressures concerning associated scheduling difficulties and costs. While the New York Philharmonic returned to levels of soloist use in the 2012-3 season similar to the early years, there is a significant period of time – apparent in the data set in the 1922-3 and 1942-3 seasons (see Figure 19) – where “no soloist” is part of the top five soloists. Further, these early indicators may well have given further impetus to the New York Philharmonic’s continued employment of endogenous soloists from within the ranks of the New York Philharmonic, and the new position of the Mary and James G. Wallach Artist-in-Residence, which appears in 2010, creating longer term relationships with the Philharmonic.

Change: Key soloist data findings

Beyond general trends in the data set, the early 20th century was a time of exploding numbers of programs and performances per season for the Philharmonic, and while the typical soloist instruments continued their dominance, change and variety were also apparent over time. In particular, new instruments began to appear, such as the harpsichord, English horn, French horn, and flute, as well as unique examples, such as dancers and computer. This diversity in soloist and soloist combinations also included new culturally specific instruments such as the Japanese *sho*, as well as a re-entry of the chamber group as soloist (in the 1962-3 season), now via a work for string quartet and orchestra.

Instrumentation: A counterpoint of consistency and change

The following data analysis shows the remarkable interplay between aspects of consistency and change (see Table 5). In seasons 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3, both voices (e.g., vocalist, soprano, contralto, tenor, baritone, and mezzo-soprano) take a significant role, i.e., 40%, 21%, 43%, and 22%, as well as piano, i.e., 20%, 22%, 29%, and 22%. Violin does not appear until the 1862-3 season, but then takes a prominent role, i.e., 0%, 14%, 14%, and 34%. A peculiarity in the string word, cello takes a somewhat lesser role during this period, i.e., 10%, 7%, 0%, and 11%, an observation that is symptomatic of this particular instrument as being somewhat overlooked as a main soloist instrument.

Table 5: Instrumentation (by season)

Season	Piano %	Violin %	Voice %	Cello %	Chamber %	Choir %	No soloist %	Total %
1842-3	20	-	40	10	30*	-	-	5
1862-3	22	14	21	7	29*	14	-	7
1882-3	29	14	43	-	-	-	-	7
1902-3	22	34	34	11	11*	-	-	7
1922-3	28	21	8	7	3*	2	25	16
1942-3	20	12	9	2	1*	11	34	30
1962-3	16	9	12	1	1	17	15	45
1982-3	15	12	11	5	1	14	10	41
2002-3	18	11	11	6	1	13	9	49
2012-3	15	16	12	6	1	10	3	60

*chamber music works (vs. a chamber group as soloist with orchestra)

An exception during this time concerns chamber music (e.g., voice and piano, piano solo, string quartets, etc.), which was initially part of the programming in orchestral concerts in the late 19th century. Over time these chamber works were no longer featured on orchestral programs, but rather, during performances dedicated to chamber music, and performed by only a few members of the New York Philharmonic. During the seasons from 1842-3 to 1902-3, chamber programs take a relatively significant role, i.e., 30%, 29%, 0%, and 11%. Choirs are also a significant force, appearing by the 1882-3 season, i.e., 14%. Beyond these main soloists, brass instruments also make an appearance in 1862-3 season, i.e., 7%. Overall, there are only 5, 7, 7, and 7 different soloist combinations used over these seasons respectively. This represents a particularly high concentration of soloist activity in a very small number of instruments or instrument combinations.

The 1922-3 season reflects a significant rise in the number of soloist combinations over the season, from 7 in 1902-3 to 16 in 1922-3. New members appear, including such instruments as the harpsichord and English horn, in part, reflecting a time of exploding numbers of programs and performances per season. These changes are set against a stability in the most significant soloist instruments, i.e., piano 28%, violin 21%, and cello 7%. Here, several changes are evident, including the continued drop in significance of the cello (a trend for following seasons), a drop in voice, i.e., 8%, and the appearance of no soloist, i.e., 25%. Further changes include chamber

groups only making an appearance at 3%, and choirs dropping to a rather insignificant role at 2%.

A further dramatic rise in number of soloist combinations occurs in the 1942-3 season, from 16 in 1922-3 to 30, matching the continued rise in number of performances per season. Again, further soloist instruments appear, including the French horn and flute, as well as some notable shifts including dancers and narrator. These changes are again set against a remarkable consistency in the most significant soloists over the season, i.e., piano 20% and violin 12% (cello again at 2%), with the appearance of no soloist rising to 34%. Voice remains essentially constant at 9%, i.e., in its new, less significant role, and choirs remain at their relatively insignificant position of 6%, but with the appearance of choirs used for staged performances of opera and oratorios, as well as choral symphonies, this number rises to 11%, i.e., near the 14% of seasons up to 1902-3.

By the 1942-3 season, chamber music has all but disappeared at 1%, with instances appearing only during summer concerts at Lewisohn Stadium, an outdoor performance space at City College of New York. While chamber music works featuring soloists were typical in the early years, these soloists are now all but shifted to special chamber music programs. However, from the 1962-3 season, this type of soloist appears in a new form, i.e., via a string quartet, which is now featured as a soloist against the texture of the full orchestra (see Table 6).

Table 6: Chamber music soloists (by season)

Season	Chamber (%)
1842-3	30*
1862-3	29*
1882-3	0*
1902-3	11*
1922-3	3*
1942-3	1*
1962-3	1
1982-3	1
2002-3	2
2012-3	7

*chamber music works (vs. a chamber group as soloist with orchestra)

The following season, 1962-3, shows a continued rise in soloist combinations to 45, with continued new soloist instrument appearances. Again, there is a remarkable consistency in the most significant soloists over the season, i.e., piano 16%, and violin 9% (cello again at 1%); however there is also a rather dramatic drop in the appearance of no soloist to 15%, largely made up by the ever expanding variety of soloist combinations. Voice rises somewhat to 12%, i.e., with a strong presence by soprano voices at 9%, and choirs rise significantly to 17%, considering all types. Taken together, voice constitutes a significant number at 29%. Chamber works continue at 1%, represented in one student concert and one Promenade concert, both subsidiary series to the main subscription season. A chamber group, i.e., a string quartet, gains a role as soloist in a work for string quartet and orchestra.

1982-3 marks the first consistency of soloist numbers at 41% (vs. 45% in 1962-3); however *new instruments* continue to appear, such as the computer, which was first used in the history of the New York Philharmonic in 1983. Again, a remarkable consistency is seen the most significant soloists over the season, i.e., piano 15%, violin 12%, with cello finally making a significant gain to 5%, and no soloist dropping again to 10%. French horn makes a significant appearance at 6%, and clarinet, an appearance, at 2%. Voice remains relatively constant at 11% (again, with a strong presence by soprano voices at 6%), and choirs somewhat lower at 14% (considering all types). Taken together voice still constitutes a significant number at 25%. In this season, chamber again remains at 1%, this time as a chamber orchestra, once in a subscription season and once in a subsidiary series.

In the 2002-3 season, there is a slight rise – though overall consistency since 1962-3 season – to 49 soloist combinations, with further new appearances, such as the *sho*, an instrument of Japanese origin, which was first used in the history of the New York Philharmonic in 2003. The most significant soloists over the season again feature the piano 18%, violin 11%, and cello maintained at 6%, with no soloist leveling at 9%. Clarinet maintains its appearance at 3%. Voice remains constant at 11% (again, with a strong presence maintained by soprano voices at 5%), and choirs lower somewhat to 13% (considering all types). Taken together voice again constitutes a significant number at 24%. Hosts also present a unique presence at 4%. Again, chamber appears at 1% via chamber orchestra repertoire.

Finally, the 2012-3 season shows a remarkable diversity of soloist combinations at 60, with new appearances, such as flamenco dancer and flamenco guitar, and puppeteer in 2013. However, the most significant soloists over the season again feature the piano at 15%, violin at 16%, and cello maintaining at 6%, with no soloist dropping dramatically to 3%. Trombones appear at 2%. Voice remains constant at 12% (with a slightly less prominent presence by soprano voices at 3%), and choirs lower somewhat to 10% (considering all types). Taken together voice again constitutes a significant number at 22%. Hosts slightly rise, but overall maintain their presence, at 7%.

Chamber works are again low with one appearance during the season.

Overall, the data set shows a balance of consistency and change in the instruments employed by soloists over time. While the instruments of violin, piano and voice offer a strong consistent soloistic “voice” over time, this is set against a growing body of different instruments that make up approximately 50% of the total number of instruments employed by soloists at the New York Philharmonic, from the 1962-3 to 2012-3 seasons. Amidst this trajectory, these data show ebb and flow in the use of particular instruments, and a somewhat surprising appearance of the string quartet set against the orchestra.

A natural, ecological flow of soloists

The simplest factor in change over time concerns the nature of soloists vs. the relative constancy of the repertoire. While the repertoire, in general, as well as key works within the standard repertoire, in particular, show a great consistency over time, single soloists appear and disappear over time, as careers emerge and come to a conclusion. This interplay of constancy, i.e. the repertoire, and change, i.e. soloists, is evident in the example of Beethoven’s *Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15*. Analyzing the data set as a whole for all seasons from 1842-3 to 2014-5, this particular work is first, an important entry in the standard repertoire of the symphony orchestra, being performed 74 times, over 42 difference seasons. However, its consistency over time is set against a remarkable number of unique pianists, including its first performance in the 1918-9 season by pianist Alfred Cortot, and most recently in the 2014-5 season by pianist Jeremy Denk. Overall, this concerto is presented by 34 different pianists, constituting a significant variation – via interpretation – of this work drawn from the standard repertoire.

Overall, in analyzing soloist types, the New York Philharmonic features two predominant instruments, the violin and piano, with a distant third, the cello. Voice (or groups of voices) and choirs take a prominent solo role, though this type has shown some variability over time. That said, these two groups are generally a core feature of soloists appearing with the New York Philharmonic. However, over time, analyzing all soloist types, the diversity of soloist combinations has greatly increased, due, in part, to composers' own creative inspiration. The dominant soloist types as well as the variation seen over time, is reflected in what composers score for their various compositions, pointing to the repertoire as an essential foundation to the institutional of the symphony orchestra.

Conclusion

In sum, soloists have shown a relative balance of consistency and change over time, noting the relative constant of the repertoire, and relative nexus of change of conductors. While a relatively stable presence of soloists, and a dominant set of solo instruments (or groups) is apparent in the biographical sources and data set of the New York Philharmonic over time, this is set against a strong trajectory of change. Drawing from key biographical data as well as the data set, pressures against soloists include associated scheduling difficulties and associated costs for “star” performers, as well as a remarkable rise in the total number of and variety in soloists over time. In particular, soloists exhibit a relative balance of consistency and change over time due to a pairing of dominant soloist forms against the natural variety of individual soloists, as performers commence and conclude their careers.

Selected disruption of a soloist

Taking soloists as key actors who show a balance of consistency and change over time, it is expected that disruptions could prompt the use of repairing mechanisms if they target core aspects of the institution of the symphony orchestra. However, disruptions could also lead to change over time, if peripheral elements are involved. Several instances of disruptions are associated with soloists in the data set, with the following example serving as representative of a long-standing *potential* disruption of “glamour” of violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter. In terms of the theoretical concept of the institutional core, “fashion” and “glamour” that targets the institutional

core should be repaired over time, while “fashion” and “glamour” that targets peripheral elements will allow for change, i.e., peripheral elements are altered or changed over time to achieve some benefit for the organization as a whole.

As soloist, and representative of one of the most dominant soloist types over time, i.e., violin (see Table 5), Mutter shifts between exogenous and endogenous roles, from outsider chosen to appear with the New York Philharmonic, to insider who enters the process of rehearsal and performance, and back again. The analysis traces this trajectory from Mutter’s first performance in 1980 to the New York Philharmonic’s 2013-2014 season, and offers a striking pattern of *potential* disruption to ultimate avoidance, as expressed by Mutter’s ability to strike a balance between “the glamour” and “the goods”, i.e., her ability to present a glamorous image amidst a technical ability and artistic interpretations, both founded primarily upon her respect of the repertoire.

In particular, these data inform all four propositions associated with maintenance amidst disruption. First, Mutter’s glamorous image initiates the use of repairing mechanisms to address the disruption of “glamour”, i.e., in its potentially detrimental impact on the repertoire (Proposition 1A); however, Mutter also became an integral actor, as expressed through her respect of the repertoire. Therefore, her avoidance of the disruption of glamour points to the importance (or proximity) of the repertoire to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, which Mutter attended to, amidst glamour. Second, this disruption also points to the overall peripherality of “glamour” in this case (Proposition 1B), with its presentation alongside a concurrent focus on “the goods”.

Mutter’s *potential* disruption is again a persistent case, which Mutter navigates over the long-term, from her first appearance with the New York Philharmonic in 1980 to the present day. Analysis of this disruption therefore requires an integrated, dynamic approach (Proposition 3). These data also show several endogenous and exogenous actors consciously employing repairing mechanisms, each drawing from their particular “awareness, skill and reflexivity” within the ecology of the symphony orchestra (Proposition 4). However, in this case, Mutter, as both endogenous and exogenous actor, i.e., in a position of “balance”, takes a particularly prominent

role in employing repairing mechanisms, again “balancing” her own disruption with a key repairing mechanism of respecting the repertoire.

Further, these data show several key *repairing mechanisms* that were used by both endogenous and exogenous actors to repair the disruption of glamour (Proposition 2), as well as several direct references to key elements of the institutional core. The following section first outlines a brief history of the New York Philharmonic in terms of the impact of “fashion” and “glamour” in the early years of the Philharmonic, from the mid-19th to early 20th century, i.e. from the time of creation and during the maintenance of the organization. These forces are cast as having both positive and negative influences, being a potentially significant disruptor of artistic aims, and requiring “balance” with key elements of repertoire, conductors, and orchestras. Second, I trace the basic narrative of Mutter’s relationship with the New York Philharmonic, from her debut in 1980, to the present day, presenting in particular, her deft navigation of a glamorous career.

Drawing from my own experience as professional musician and arts manager, the commissioned biographies (Krehbiel, 1892; Huneker, 1917; Erskine, 1943), the non-commissioned biographies (Shanet, 1975; Canarina, 2010), reviews in the New York Times, and Mutter’s own words, this narrative is characterized by the significant use of several repairing mechanisms, alongside Mutter’s development as great artist, and virtuoso, which continues to the present day. Five repairing mechanisms were observed in these data, including mechanisms based on 1) *ecological relationships* within the institution of the symphony orchestra; 2) *claims to history and tradition*; 3) *corrective power of both endogenous and exogenous actors of the ecology of the orchestra*; 4) *creativity-based efforts*; and finally, 5) *emotionally-charged appeals*. In addition, several attributions to elements of the institutional core are also observed, including references to a Friedlandian substance, or essence, character, as well as integrity and authenticity. Further, Mutter also offers a related and particularly insightful perspective concerning the dynamic nature of the standard repertoire, in particular, as well as an overall conceptualization of music and the institution of the symphony orchestra. Overall, repertoire, and a focus on repertoire, points to its proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Finally, this particular case also offers several unique observations that inform our understanding of maintenance amidst disruption. First, a related observation concerns the *institutional creation*

of a soloist's career via the mechanism of power afforded to conductors in their role as leaders of the institution of the symphony orchestra. Second, the development of *character* or "temperament" of individual soloists, like institutions, is a long-term process, and reflects a key *inextricable relationship* expressed between the repertoire, and its interpretation via soloists. Third, as observed in the case of Gould's interpretive disruption of the repertoire, distinct disruptions occur *concurrently*, i.e., Mutter's *potential* disruption of glamour, and the (potential) disruption of contemporary repertoire.

Fourth, in addition to the relationship between orchestra and soloist, another *inextricable relationship* is found between composer and repertoire, and orchestra and soloist, which prioritizes action, work, and inspiration. Fifth, the repertoire, as an endogenous actor, exerts its own form of *corrective power*. Specifically, when certain works are composed with a particular soloist in mind, the repertoire can serve to maintain these players over time, even indefinitely, since part of the soloist remains "within" these commissioned works. Sixth, the case of Mutter, like that of Gould, shows how disruption (or contrast) is inherent to the context of the symphony orchestra, as an *important ingredient* in the performance and interpretation of the repertoire. Finally, in Mutter's attempts to balance "glamour" (change) and "the goods" (consistency), an *emphasis on communication* appears as a significant *recreating mechanism*.

This analysis is set within a broad view of soloists, who perform in a variety of contexts, for example, the violinist, whose repertoire is in part for the instrument *alone* (e.g., violin solos), for the instrument *in smaller groups* (e.g., violin and piano duos, or violin and three other stringed instruments as part of a string quartet), and the instrument *set against the texture of the orchestra* (e.g. the violin concerto).

Focusing on the *potential* disruption of Mutter, the main context concerns concertos, a key musical form written by composers to highlight soloists, who are usually prominently placed in front of the orchestra. Concertos are written to showcase the technical and interpretive mastery of these soloists. According to Hutchings et al. (n.d.), a concerto is:

An instrumental work that maintains contrast between an orchestral ensemble and a smaller group or a solo instrument, or among various groups of an undivided orchestra.

Before 1700 the term was applied to pieces in a variety of forms for an even greater variety of performing media, voices as well as instruments; it was also used in the sense of ‘ensemble’ or ‘orchestra’. Not until the beginning of the 18th century was it applied consistently (though not exclusively) to works in three movements (fast–slow–fast) for soloist and orchestra, two or more soloists and orchestra (concerto grosso) or undivided orchestra... In the late 18th century and during most of the 19th... the solo concerto was a prominent form of virtuoso display. (para. 1-2)

The New York Philharmonic: A short history of “fashion” and “glamour”

The commissioned (Krehbiel 1892; Huneker 1917; Erskine 1943) and non-commissioned (Shanet, 1975; Canarina, 2010) biographies of the New York Philharmonic, as well as critical reviews, offer references to the notion of “fashion” and “glamour” in the early years of the Philharmonic, from the mid-19th century to early 20th. Several quotes are particularly colorful in their description of “fashion” and “glamour”, as a human and antagonistic force working against the orchestra, alongside a balance of potentially positive impacts.

The early years up to 1900

Krehbiel (1892), describes the disruption of “freaks of fashion” (p. 7, p. 65) as a powerful force that the New York Philharmonic needed to balance, rise above, or use in maintenance activities over time. In particular, Krehbiel (1892) notes how “fashion” was used to help the young orchestra gain momentum and visibility. According to Krehbiel (1892), Dr. R. Ogden Doremus, President, repeatedly “invoked all the fashionable and social forces in behalf of the concerts, and soon made the Society’s concerts the sensational features of the season” (Krehbiel, 1892, p. 68). However, in this case, “fashion” came at a cost, via public and media cries of “exclusivism and favoritism” (Krehbiel, 1892, p. 69). The challenge of being a newly created member of the institution of symphony orchestra was in some respects repaired via the use of “fashion” and “glamour”; however, the use of glamour could create new disruptions for the Philharmonic. However, while Krehbiel (1892) pointed to those powerful benefactors, managers, and musicians of the late 19th century who were focused on following the current “fashion”, he impresses upon the reader that the Philharmonic ultimately rose above these influences to emerge in the latter

part of the century, as “the most conspicuous, dignified, and stable musical institution in the American metropolis” (p. 7).

Corroborating the work of Krehbiel (1892), Huneker (1917) argues that the New York Philharmonic also had the ability to present music, *without* accessing transitory aspects of “fashion”:

Without the pomp and splendor of grand opera, devoid of such factitious concomitants as the *fashion and favor of the hour* [emphasis added]), the orchestra can interpret in less than an hour the tragic intensity of the music-drama combined with the formal severity of the symphony. (pp. 31-32)

Several sources also focus on key elements that are targeted by the disruption of “fashion” and “glamour” in the early years of the Philharmonic. Erskine (1943) cites specific aspects that typically fell prey to “fashion”, including powerful conductors changing the score. Erskine (1943) also references “fashion” in terms of location, i.e., where “fashion” and the fashionable resided in New York City.

Shanet (1975) confirms Krehbiel’s (1892) account of “fashion” in the early days of New York City. During the time between the so-called 2nd and 3rd Philharmonics, i.e., between 1824 and 1842, which preceded the formation of the New York Philharmonic as it exists today, the “elegant and fashionable” (Shanet, 1975, p. 55) became influential actors in artistic life of New York City. Shanet (1975) quotes the words of the day, to emphasize its far-reaching influence: “always the inescapable determining word was ‘FASHION’” (p. 59).

Shanet (1975) also positions “fashion” as working against American composers and compositions of the time, leading a shift from their music to that of Europeans. In particular, Shanet (1975) describes a significant disruption in 1854, a war in the press that focused on the lack of support of the American composer by the New York Philharmonic, otherwise known as the “Fry-Willis dispute” (p. 111). Shanet (1975) notes that “fashion, clique, money” (p. 124) was often given precedence over artistic aims, particularly during the period of 1852 to 1867. According to Shanet (1975), “nine-tenths of this assemblage [audiences] cared nothing for

Beethoven's music and chattered and looked about and wished it was over" (p. 124). From a 21st century perspective, this may be a bit surprising considering today's often-held belief that a decline in classical music is a late 20th century phenomenon.

However, in the Philharmonic's attempts to balance such negative impacts, Shanet (1975) also reiterates that glamour was frequently tied to efforts to build audience and impact: "brilliant attractions...ensure[d] full houses even without the security of advance subscribers" (p. 129). This focus on glamour continued in the years following the Civil War from 1867-70, when the focus was the "power of money, of glamour, and of advertising" (Shanet, 1975, p. 134), as well as the "the most glamorous of the touring virtuosi" (p. 134).

Overall, Shanet (1975) argues that the focus on "fashion" had the impact of shifting audience composition to a "high-class clientele" (p. 181) who eventually took control of the New York Philharmonic in 1909. At this time, the Philharmonic was "taken over not by 'society,' but by 'high society'" (Shanet, 1975, p. 207). Shanet (1975) later refers to the growing power of a "North-of-Twenty-third Street mentality" (p. 245), i.e., the rich of New York City, in the years following the 1909 shift in organizational structure.

The later years from 1900

Shanet (1975) also references the impact of "glamour" in his description of various conductors on the success of the Philharmonic, as well as the score, during the early part of the 20th century. From 1889-1909, the New York Philharmonic was experiencing financial and artistic difficulties, which Shanet (1975) attributes to the lack of "glamorous interpreter-conductor" (p. 187). For example, upon Anton Seidl's unexpected death in 1898, and after his seven successful years with the Philharmonic, Shanet (1975) notes that "it became painfully clear how much the Philharmonic had been dependent for its success on its glamorous interpreter-conductor" (p. 187). These conductors were a major factor in attracting audiences at this time. As well, Shanet (1975) also references the impact of "fashion" in guiding conductor Gustav Mahler's own changes to scores in the early 20th century. This freedom prompted an "outraged" Krehbiel (Shanet, 1975, p. 213), who was at the time music critic at the New York Tribune, to hold Mahler accountable for such changes to the score.

Glamorous conductors were also problematic, since they could shift focus away from key problems within the Philharmonic. According to Shanet (1975), “the glamour and the excitement of the interpreter-conductors – from Seidl, through the years of guest conductors, to Safonoff – had temporarily outweighed and concealed certain inherent weaknesses of the Philharmonic’s structure” (p. 195). These inherent *structural weaknesses* persisted until 1909, when the Philharmonic chose to discard the cooperative structure that had been used since the inception of the Philharmonic in 1842 for a corporate one, as led by the Guarantors’ Committee (Shanet, 1975).

Further, during the early 20th century, the interpreter-conductor shifted to a “glamorous master-conductor” (p. 258), such as Arturo Toscanini, who led the New York Philharmonic from 1928 to 1936. This type of conductor continued to exhibit elements of glamour, however, with a renewed focus on the repertoire (Shanet, 1975). As with the case of soloist and violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, “glamour” and “the goods” were balanced over time. As it had done in the past, the New York Philharmonic employed glamour to maintain and build audiences into the mid-20th century; however, Shanet (1975) emphasizes that the use of glamorous master-conductors allowed American music to continue to be overlooked, i.e., from approximately 1925 to 1935, as these conductors were primarily European-born and educated.

Post 1950

To these early accounts, Shanet (1975) highlights the American born conductor, Leonard Bernstein (conductor of the New York Philharmonic, 1958-69; Laureate Conductor, 1969-90), as modern conductor, and significant departure from the past. While Bernstein was known for his spectacle and glamour, his glamour was also linked to the fact that “the moving force behind almost all his public acts was an all-embracing love of music” (p. 354). Canarina (2010) casts conductor, Zubin Mehta, in a similar light as Shanet’s (1975) Bernstein; glamorous, but not without a musical core. In both cases, there is a balance between the “glamour” and “the goods”, with the repertoire taking a significant role in the life of the symphony orchestra.

An even more recent example of the impact of “glamour” concerns conductors entering the field in the late 1960s. According to Helen Thompson, Executive VP of the American Symphony

Orchestra League, “glamour” can be a main impetus behind career choices to enter the conducting field:

We are living in a period of glamorization of conductors. In the last decades conductors have become spotlighted. Many, many young people are attracted to conducting as a glamorous profession. If they spent some time around our great conductors, they would know that a great deal more hard labor goes into it than glamor. (Thompson & Rudolf, 1967, p. 71)

A relatively recent interview with G. Wallace Woodworth, who was, at the time, Professor of Music at Harvard University, also highlights the impact of “fashion” on music or the repertoire. However, here, a more natural, ecological force seems to govern an ebb and flow of “fashion” over time:

There are fashions in this field [of music]. One thing, for example, of the tremendous growth of interest in Vivaldi and the Italian concert composers of the Baroque period; this was unthinkable in my days as a student. This was due to the superb playing of the small Italian string groups that have visited the United States in increasing numbers in recent years. There is a rise and fall, I think, in the stars of different composers. Take Sibelius, for example. Though he always seems to me, because of the Seventh Symphony, a really important figure in symphonic music, fewer records of Sibelius are sold nowadays; and there are fewer performances of Sibelius by most American orchestras than there were twenty-five years ago. In contrast, Bartók’s star is constantly rising. (Piston & Woodworth, 1967, pp. 19-20)

In addition to these biographical sources, references to “fashion” and “glamour” are also observed in critical reviews of the New York Philharmonic from the earliest years. An example of a more recent review shows how “glamour” can still absorb power and focus from the repertoire. In Gardner’s (1963, September 25) article concerning the Pension Fund concert that opened the 1963-4 season of the New York Philharmonic, it is difficult to find reference to the repertoire, amidst descriptions of who attended, who was photographed, what they wore, what they paid, and where they were headed following the performance.

In sum, these sources generally place aspects of “fashion” and “glamour” either at odds with the New York Philharmonic, or at best, requiring balance. One actor involved in this delicate balancing act is the soloist or virtuoso (Canarina, 2010), with violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, known for her glamorous demeanor and attire, as one such example. In particular, Mutter is involved in a unique context of *potential* disruption, largely instigated through critical review. In this example, Mutter deftly balances and negotiates the privilege of glamour, in the space of substance, from her debut with the New York Philharmonic in 1980 to the present day.

Mutter’s potential disruption of “glamour”

Anne-Sophie Mutter made her American and New York Philharmonic debut in January 1980, at the age of 16, performing the Mendelssohn *Concerto in E minor for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 64*. Mutter’s performance was in part due to the *creative power* of the conductor of the evening, Zubin Mehta, who had “always been a champion of young performers” (Canarina, 2010, p. 123). While the review cast her as a strong musician, it came with the caveat that Mutter was also supported by the *powerful recommendation* of Herbert von Karajan, principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic from 1956 to 1989:

Anne-Sophie Mutter, the 16-year-old German violinist who made her American debut last night with the New York Philharmonic, arrived well recommended. A former child prodigy, she came to the attention of Herbert von Karajan in 1976 and that conductor’s enormous prestige has been behind her career since that time. As one might expect, Miss Mutter turns out to a fine young musician, even though her performance of Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto in E minor did not set off conventionally virtuosic fireworks. (Henahan, 1980, January 4, p. C5).

Therefore, *corrective power* is employed not as a repairing mechanism in disruption, but rather as a mechanism in the *institutional creation* of a young soloist’s career.

For Mutter’s debut performance, Henahan (1980, January 4) questions her interpretation, though in tempered form, as she was still quite young. Further, Henahan (1980, January 4) raises the

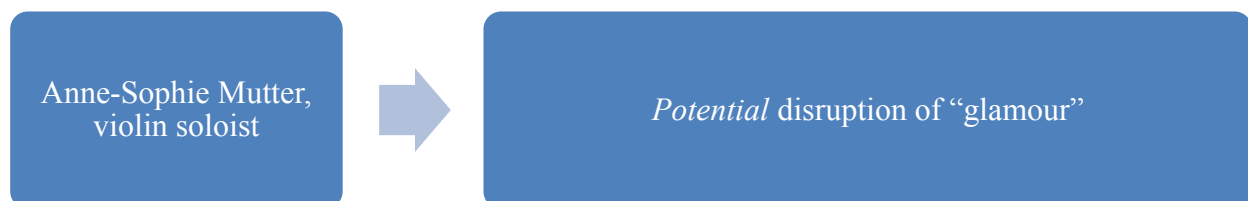
importance of *character*, or “artistic temperament” (p. C5), which is offered as a key element of the virtuoso performer, but sometimes lacking in the young performer:

Miss Mutter is an exquisite fiddler, nimble of finger and quick of bow, but her Mendelssohn stressed delicate shadings and sweet tone rather than emotional fire or a grand, expansive line. Everything was clear and clean, with melodic edges slightly softened. There was not much *artistic temperament* [emphasis added] to be discerned, perhaps because like most musicians of her age Miss Mutter is still trying to discover who she may be. (p. C5).

Character or “temperament” points to a *new observation* concerning the key relationship expressed between the repertoire and soloists, as well as character being an element of the *individual core* of soloists. Further, this also points to a *new observation* that character is the product of a process over time, rather than being an element that appears at a point in time. Following her debut, Mutter appears in 33 programs with the New York Philharmonic, i.e., subscription, tour, festival, pension fund, chamber, and solo recital, of which 21 were subscription programs where she performed various violin concertos (see Appendix M).

Following Mutter’s debut in 1980, Canarina (2010) points to a particular performance in January 2000, where the first, direct reference to the *potential* disruption of glamour (see Figure 20) is made by New York Times reviewer Donal Henahan (1980, January 4).

Figure 20: Anne-Sophie Mutter’s potential disruption of “glamour”



At this time, Mutter presented two works by Witold Lutoslawski (1913-1994): *Partita for Violin and Orchestra, with Obligato Piano* and *Chain 2: Dialogue for Violin and Orchestra*. These two relatively new works were written in the 1980s, with *Chain 2* written for Mutter in

particular, and were set as the first performance of a three-week residency that Mutter had with the Philharmonic (Canarina, 2010). In particular, New York Times reviewer Donal Henahan (1980, January 4) again references Mutter's *character* or "artistic temperament" (p. C5) that was lacking in her debut performance. However, a review by Bernard Holland of the New York Times, also points to a *potential* disruption that had not yet been realized:

Program illustrations for these Fisher Hall concerts are not shy about exploiting Ms. Mutter's *glamour*, but if such as this draws the wary into the concert hall [considering the sometimes disruptive nature of contemporary repertoire], let her be as glamorous as she chooses. (Holland, 2000, January 8, p. B9).

Mutter's glamour, a *potential* disruption in itself, acts as a repairing mechanism to the potentially disruptive nature of contemporary repertoire, i.e., repertoire written by still living composers, which can be less accessible for general audience members. A further perspective points to Mutter's *integrity and authenticity* as the critical factor in her successful championing of contemporary repertoire. In addition, this particular disruption also points to a *new observation* that distinct disruptions can occur concurrently, i.e., the (potential) disruption of contemporary repertoire and the *potential* disruption of "glamour".

A significant observation of Holland (2000, January 8) concerns the listener who "often forgot about the violinist altogether" (p. B9), which points to the relative role of the repertoire and virtuoso; "glamour" is accepted by Holland, but only juxtaposed against "the goods", of which Mutter delivered that evening:

Ms. Mutter was a wonder of adaptability. The ability to play right notes and exact rhythms with correct intonation was taken for granted... It is meant as a compliment to say that over a two-hour stretch one often forgot about the violinist altogether in favor of what she was playing. (Holland, 2000, January 8, p. B9).

Holland (2000, January 8) asserts that Mutter had avoided disruption via her *integrity and authenticity*, i.e., her technical and interpretive brilliance, but also through her respect of the

repertoire. Overall, Mutter avoids disruption by attending to the repertoire, which again points to its proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

In a later interview as part of the 2013 video recording, *Karajan - The Second Life*, Mutter emphasizes the relationship that exists between composer, score, and performer, with all three working together to create an exemplary performance: “The five lines of the staff are themselves a major restriction to the composer’s imagination. Ultimately, so much has to be left to the interpreter” (Schultz, 2013). These comments point to a related *new observation* that conceptualizes the composer, the repertoire, and soloist as part of an *inextricable relationship*. In the case of a work composed for soloists, the composer’s inspiration is first expressed via the score, or the repertoire; however, it must then be expressed or interpreted via the soloist. As repertoire inspires the soloist, the soloist also “inspires”, or breathes life into the repertoire. Therefore, at the heart of this relationship is action, work, and inspiration, key elements of an institutional work perspective.

Mutter: Background, from 1980 to 2000

Analyzing the time period between Mutter’s American and Philharmonic debut in 1980 and the direct reference to *potential* disruption highlighted in Holland’s review (2000, January 8), several texts build a context of *potential* disruption. In particular, Canarina’s (2010) biography of the Philharmonic, reviews four (and a fifth related) intervening subscription programs, as well as two following programs that were part of a set of three making up Mutter’s residency with the Philharmonic. Here, reviewers repeatedly point to elements of the institutional core, and its role in aiding Mutter to navigate the *potential* disruption of “glamour” (see Appendix M). Further, several repairing mechanisms are also part of the process of avoiding disruption over time.

In her second appearance with the Philharmonic in 1988, eight years after her debut (Mutter is now 24-years old), the reviewer presents Mutter as a “young star on the international instrumental scene” (Rockwell, 1988, April 9, p. 14). In this review, the *potential* disruption of glamour is buffered by Mutter’s international profile that allows for her particular style of glamour:

Miss Mutter looked *properly glamorous* [emphasis added], like some sort of latter-day Valkyrie in the same blue strapless gown she wears on the cover of the current Ovation magazine. (Rockwell, 1988, April 9, p. 14)

Mutter's propriety is possible via key *ecological relationships* with other virtuoso performers around the world whose international profiles also employed an element of glamour in their onstage performances. While Rockwell (1988, April 9) does not provide an entirely positive review of the performance, which was cast as "a disappointment" (p. 14), he chooses to shift blame away from Mutter, directing it to a "combination of night and circumstances and piece [i.e., repertoire]" (p. 14). Rockwell's (1988, April 9) decision to make such a shift may well reside in his decision to entitle his review, *West German Protégée 8 Years after Debut*, a title that does not include the name of Mutter, but again emphasizes her star status via the efforts of conductor Herbert von Karajan. Therefore, a *potential* disruption is still being averted by the *corrective power* of Karajan, as extended to his somewhat older protégée.

The following three reviews (Rockwell, 1990, February 24; Oestreich, 1993, December 4; Kozinn, 2000, January 3) are generally positive, but not without some negative comment on Mutter's performances, as typically expected for any high-profile soloist. They do however, focus on one key aspect: Mutter's new focus on contemporary repertoire, and how this focus has affected her performances of the standard repertoire, as well as issues of glamour.

In the first review, some 10 years following Mutter's debut, Rockwell (1990, February 24) casts Mutter as "commanding" (p. 17), with glamour a notable exclusion in his commentary. Rockwell (1990, February, February 24) also attests that while the program focused on contemporary music, it also "bec[ame] a showcase for the West German violinist, Anne-Sophie Mutter" (p. 17). This shift of focus away from the repertoire, and towards the virtuoso, is a *potential* disruption that is averted by Mutter's respect of the repertoire, including contemporary repertoire, as well as her *character* on stage: "Young virtuosos these days too often ignore or slight new music; Miss Mutter really seems to like it" (Rockwell, 1990, February 24, p. 17). Overall, since Mutter showed an *integrity and authenticity* in her respect of the repertoire, she is afforded a measure of space for "glamour".

Three years later, in the second review by Oestreich (1993, December 4), Mutter is now cast as an exemplar, as referenced by the article's title: *An Example for Violin Prodigies*. Oestreich (1993, December 4) casts Mutter as a surprising success story, in part, due to her acceptance of contemporary compositions:

A decade ago there was little reason to believe that Ms. Mutter would develop much beyond her gorgeous purity of sound to achieve thoughtful musicianship. Now, perhaps partly because of her impassioned involvement with contemporary composition in recent years, as she herself professes, the 30-year-old fiddler continues to evolve into a savvy, individual artist at an astonishing rate. (p. 11).

Again, a disruption of glamour is averted via elements closely associated to the institutional core, i.e., including Mutter's *character*, as an "individual artist" (Oestreich, 1993, December 4, p. 11), and through her own *emotionally-charged appeals*, i.e., her "impassioned involvement with contemporary composition" (p. 11). Further, Oestreich (1993, December 4) also highlights aspects of Mutter's *character* as performer, i.e., as "genuine" (p. 11), which points to her *integrity and authenticity* as virtuoso violinist. Though Oestreich (1993, December 4) avoids a direct reference to her glamour, he points to its successful management, i.e., her "savvy" (p. 11) approach to her "evolving" (p. 11) career, which speaks to her own *creativity-based efforts* in navigating potential disruptions.

The third review by Kozinn (2000, January 3), now 20 years after Mutter's debut, addresses her performance of a concerto drawn from the standard repertoire, i.e., Bach's *Violin Concerto in E, BWV 1042*. The context of this particular program is significant, since the year 2000 was a time of "barely concealed fears about terrorism and computer glitches" (Kozinn, 2000, January 3, p. E3). Since this concerto is part of the standard repertoire, as well as the remainder of the program, Kozinn (2000, January 3) casts both as perfectly suitable for the time:

The performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony that the New York Philharmonic contributed to the celebration on Friday evening may have seemed a bit staid... Oddly, though, it was exactly that quality of normalcy that made the Philharmonic's offering a particularly cherishable moment. (p. E3).

In this case, a significant *ecological relationship* is highlighted, as conveyed by title of the article: *Tumult Dies as Beethoven Lives*. Here, the *new observation* of concurrent and largely unrelated disruptions is again observed, being defused via the confluence of composer, orchestra, and virtuoso (soloist). In such a context, standard repertoire of a considerable “age” (Bach’s *Violin Concerto in E major, BWV 1042* was composed in approximately 1720, and Beethoven’s *Symphony No. 9*, in 1824) is experienced as “something special and rare” (Kozinn, 2000, January 3, p. E3). Therefore, the often criticized focus on “dead” composers, is rather cast as an example of a vital performance. Even after many performances by many symphony orchestras around the world, this repertoire continues to take on a “timeless” quality within new contexts. At a time when Mutter’s “glamour” could have taken center stage, the repertoire takes precedence. Therefore, a *new observation* concerns the repertoire, an endogenous actor that has shown great stability over time and a *corrective power* of its own, in helping Mutter avoid disruption, and alleviating the social angst in the year 2000.

Overall, these three reviews tend to focus on elements of the institutional core, as they relate to Mutter’s role as soloist, including aspects of *character*, as well as *integrity and authenticity*. To these references, repairing mechanisms focusing on *ecological relationships*, *corrective power*, and *creativity-based efforts* and *emotionally-charged appeals* are also employed by reviewers.

Two further articles during this time period, Schwarz (1993, November 28) and Griffiths (2000, January 2), refer to key aspects of Mutter, and the *potential* disruption of glamour, but also more general aspects of the nature of the repertoire, as well as the role of repertoire in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra, and its soloists over time. First, Schwarz (1993, November 28) casts Mutter as an “improbable candidate” (p. 29) for success, but argues that her true interest in the repertoire, including contemporary repertoire, supports her longevity as virtuoso. Mutter’s focus on the repertoire, rather than her reliance on the *corrective power* of Karajan’s support and her developing image as “sex goddess of the violin” (Schwarz, 1993, November 28, p. 29), was one of Mutter’s true tests.

Schwarz (1993, November 28) also emphasizes that Mutter was required to rise above, or otherwise avoid, the *potential* disruption of glamour, as it could have devastating results: “Ms. Mutter discovered that her image *threatened* [emphasis added] to overshadow her musicianship”

(p. 29). Here, her glamorous image is cast as potentially disruptive, but also as an element that can be influenced by exogenous forces, i.e., critics and audiences. As conveyed by Mutter, “[my image] was made by some of your colleagues [i.e., other critics] who chose to pick that aspect of my life” (Schwarz, 1993, November 28, p. 29). In response to such responsibility concerning the negative effects of glamour, Schwarz (1993, November 28) highlights Mutter’s focus on contemporary repertoire, and its influence on her work via the standard repertoire. According to Mutter:

Every contemporary piece I’ve played has added something to the concertos I’ve played for 15 years... Contemporary music has helped me go back to the Brahms Concerto and find new lines, new colors, which I might have overlooked in the past. (p. 29)

By this point, Mutter’s own *corrective power* as virtuoso was used to focus interviews on the repertoire over “glamour”. This position is also supported by the composer Wolfgang Rihm (1952-) who describes Mutter’s performances:

Mr. Rihm said of a recent Mutter performance in a Beethoven string trio: “I felt like I heard really new music. The whole atmosphere was in one direction more spiritual, and in the other wilder and more sensual”. (Schwarz, 1993, November 28, p. 29)

Here, a sense of a *Friedlandian essence* or spirituality is created, in conjunction with Mutter’s own *emotionally-charged appeals* to her audience as performer, creating not only an *authentic* performance, but a generative one that positioned works from the standard repertoire, as new and fresh in a different context.

In addition to Mutter’s relationship with glamour, Schwarz (1993, November 28), also highlights several aspects concerning the *nature of the standard repertoire*, in relation to contemporary repertoire, which informs the data analysis of Gould’s interpretive disruption of the repertoire, and the definition of standard repertoire. In Schwarz’s (1993, November 28) interview with Mutter, she makes the following prediction: “I want to make sure that public understands that all this contemporary music is not *happening by accident* [emphasis added]... It’s not something like a flu, which is going to go away” (p. 29). Mutter’s argument not only places contemporary

repertoire as a mechanism in opening new possibilities for the standard repertoire, but also places contemporary repertoire as being poised to enter the realm of standard repertoire. Therefore, Mutter's argument also positions the standard repertoire not as a "static" form over time, but one that is highly stable, though capable of change over time.

Finally, Griffiths (2000, January 2) points to a *new observation* concerning the role of repertoire, and the nature of its maintenance over time, in the article entitled *Beloved, in a Way, and Immortalized By Composers*. Here, the immortality of the virtuoso is upheld via the *power of the repertoire*. In particular, the repertoire is cast as having the power to not only maintain virtuosos during their lifetimes, but also into perpetuity, via commissioned works written with a particular performer in mind:

There are ways other than recording for musicians to make sure that something of the personalities survives them: they can get themselves written into solo pieces or concertos... So here is a chance to hear how three prominent composers [i.e., the three contemporary composers featured in Mutter's Philharmonic residency] have created their own images of this *extraordinarily dynamic, technically superb and expressive artist* [emphasis added]. (Griffiths, 2000, January 2, p. AR41)

In this way, the virtuoso is maintained by the repertoire: "Ms. Mutter is serious and strong-willed. She must relish the chance to be, in these works, herself" (Griffiths, 2000, January 2, p. AR41).

In sum, these two final articles offer new perspectives concerning the nature of the repertoire, as well as its role in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra and soloists over time. Further, the manipulability of the soloist, including the impact of "glamour", is ameliorated and repaired via the repertoire, including contemporary repertoire. This places the repertoire in a powerful position, as proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. Further, the repertoire is positioned as a dynamic, rather than "static", entity over time.

Mutter: Post-2000 reviews

Of the eight programs Mutter performed with the Philharmonic post 2000 (see Appendix M), all are reviewed (one was reviewed twice) by the New York Times except for one in 2004 (Holland, 2002, June 1; Tommasini, 2002, June 3; Holland, 2003, April 26; Tommasini, 2007, April 27; Kozinn, 2009, February 6; Schweitzer, 2010, November 20; Smith, 2011, April 2; Tommasini, 2011, June 4). As a group, these reviews of seven different programs, some 20 or more years following her New York Philharmonic debut, point to a state of resolution concerning Mutter's *potential* disruption of glamour. In particular, there is little reference to her glamorous image, but rather an emphasis of several key aspects, including a focus on "the goods", i.e., Mutter's technical and interpretive ability (or *authenticity and integrity* as performer), and *character*. While the reviews do not focus on glamour, the accompanying photos show a consistency in her attire, one that still conveys a very glamorous image.

In the first review by Holland (2002, June 1), only a distant reference is made of her glamorous image, i.e., in her description as being known as a "risk taker" (Holland, 2002, June 1, p. B10), but this is set alongside an emphasis of her "genuine attempts at some new level of *communication* [emphasis added]" (Holland, 2002, June 1, p. B10). As a *new observation* concerning Mutter's profile as soloist, an *emphasis on communication* is set as a new *recreating mechanism* for her own unique profile, as a soloist who performs with *integrity and authenticity*, but also balances this with a potentially disruptive glamorous image. This new *recreating mechanism* is engaged in "balancing" work, which is employed in muting possible disruption concerning her glamour.

In the second review, we again see the impact of an *emphasis on communication*, as a new *recreating mechanism*, in the way Mutter absorbs sometimes negative reviews: "if her account of the work was, in the end, *unconvincing* [emphasis added], it was always *fascinating* [emphasis added]" (Tommasini, 2002, June 3, p. E1). In particular, there is again, no mention of her glamorous image, which points to Mutter's *institutionalization* as soloist and virtuoso: Mutter's *integrity and authenticity* as soloist continued to sustain her amidst glamour, and amidst the occasional weak performance.

Mutter's dominance as virtuoso was also referenced in the third review of Holland (2003, April 26). Here, Mutter's performance of her then-husband's concerto, i.e., Previn's *Violin Concerto*, is described as follows:

It [the concerto] also tells us what a splendid violinist he has married. Indeed, listening to Anne-Sophie Mutter negotiate the solo parts on Thursday, it was hard to imagine anyone else able to sell this music with such *style and conviction* [emphasis added]. (Holland, 2003, April 26, p. B10).

In addition to an emphasis on Mutter's *integrity and authenticity* as performer, as represented in particular via her interpretation, i.e., "style and conviction", Holland (2003, April 26) also makes another reference to the *new observation* of an inextricable relationship between soloist and the repertoire, in this case, of a soloist championing a composition that constituted variation at the periphery: "‘Serious’ composers may have listened and smiled with contempt or disbelief, but who is to say that schmaltz – when properly applied [by Mutter] – is any less beautiful than the most ingenious tone row?" (p. B10). Overall, rather than focusing – or even commenting – on Mutter's glamour, Holland (2003, April 26) chooses to focus on Mutter's merits: a "splendid violinist" (p. B10), her "style and conviction" (p. B10), her "beautiful sound and security" (p. B10), and her "mental flexibility" (p. B10).

The fourth and fifth review again make no mention of glamour, but rather focus on other aspects of Mutter's performances. Tommasini (2007, April 27) focuses on Mutter's "compelling performance" (p. E5), her "great sensitivity" (p. E5) and "piercing insight" (p. E5). Here, Tommasini (2007, April 27) focuses on Mutter's technical and interpretive abilities, as well as her *character, integrity and authenticity* as performers. The fifth review by Kozinn (2009, February 6) offers a balanced view of Mutter's performance, including both positive and negative qualities. Even with some negative comments concerning her interpretation of Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto in E Minor* (a work firmly embedded in the standard repertoire), Kozinn (2009, February 6) positions the performance as a "richly communicative" (Kozinn, 2009, February 6, p. C6). As a further example of the *new observation* of an *emphasis on communication* used as a *recreating mechanism*, Mutter continues to successfully balance, or at this point, *integrate* her focus on the repertoire, with her glamorous image.

In the sixth and seventh reviews, both Schweitzer (2010, November 20) and Smith (2011, April 2) reiterate Mutter's advocacy of the repertoire, in this case, contemporary repertoire. Here, the repertoire is given a dominant position compared to the virtuoso. While glamour is cited by Schweitzer (2010, November 20), i.e., "Ms. Mutter, looking typically glamorous in one of her trademark strapless gowns" (p. C3), this trademark of Mutter's *identity* is set against her *integrity and authenticity* as performer, i.e., via "her intensity and expressive gifts" (p. C3).

The eighth and final review by Tommasini (2011, June 4) is a recent example of Mutter's profile as violin virtuoso. This review specifically addresses "glamour" and "the goods", i.e., Tommasini (2011, June 4) casts Mutter as balancing "glowing elegance" (p. C.1) with a "riveting" (p. C.1) performance. Second, the repertoire is again set in a dominant role, with Mutter's "championing the music of living composers" (Tommasini, 2011, June 4, p. C.1), and in this case, the composer as well, in that during the applause she received following her performance of Currier's *Time Machines*, she "kept deferring to and applauding Mr. Currier" (Tommasini, 2011, June 4, p. C.1). While this gesture is not an uncommon one amongst soloists, it is telling of her demeanor on stage.

Mutter: On the nature of the repertoire and soloists

A few further articles dedicated to Mutter during this period highlight some key aspects of the institutional core, as it relates to soloists. First, in one interview, Mutter comments: "And I must confess that for many years I was a member of this league [i.e., soloists who had little interest in contemporary works], just not really believing in the sincerity of the music... *We all change* [emphasis added]" (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1, p. AR23). Mutter's comment points to two key understandings concerning the repertoire and soloists. First, as soloist, Mutter develops a balance between staying the same, and changing, in terms of her opinions concerning contemporary repertoire. However, Mutter's comments also point to the dynamic nature of the standard repertoire, if a long-term view is taken.

Second, soloists can have a stake in creating micro-changes in the repertoire over time. In all cases, both standard and contemporary, Mutter remains committed to the repertoire, as seen in her Circle of Friends Foundation, which focuses on "providing young string players with

financial aid and instrument, and commissioning new pieces for underrepresented instruments” (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1, p. AR23). However, while Mutter actively maintains the repertoire, she also supports variation at the periphery via new works and “underrepresented instruments” (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1, p. AR23). Mutter also emphasizes a more general impact of the repertoire: “Music is not there to please. It’s there to nourish us, to rethink what we think we know, to stimulate us” (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1, p. AR23). Here, Mutter makes clear reference to a *new observation* that positions the repertoire as *inherently dynamic* and *capable of change* over the long term, in terms of not only the practice of various types of musicians (e.g., composers, conductors, soloists, etc.), but also the society that engages in the “act of music”. In addition to the standard repertoire, contemporary repertoire also is tasked to challenge performers in new ways and to offer the opportunity for composers to envision new creations.

Mutter also articulates one of the most striking expressions of my main thesis argument of the maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time, in the following review:

Her passion for music and the violin began with several early childhood experiences, including listening to a recording by Yehudi Menuhin and being taken to hear David Oistrakh perform. She said that the talents of those legendary violinists represent “a class of music making that we still have to measure up to. These musicians were not only *glamorous soloists* [emphasis added]... but very thorough musicians [emphasis added], and with *sincerity and integrity* [emphasis added] as artists that is difficult to find these days... It [music] needs the *struggle, the human component* [emphasis added]... For me that is what music making is all about: bringing the depth and intensity of the composer back to the stage”. (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1, p. AR23)

First, soloists are positioned as a part of a legacy over time, or in other words, Mutter makes *claims to history and tradition* in terms of her own position within soloists’ trajectory or institutionalization over time. Second, in terms of this trajectory, Mutter casts some of the best virtuoso violinists, such as Menuhin and Oistrakh, as “balancing” both consistency and change, i.e., as “thorough” musicians who integrated their respect of the repertoire with their growing

glamorous images. Such a balance is possible due to their “sincerity and integrity”, pointing to a key element of the institutional core.

Third, Mutter emphasizes a key *new observation* of my thesis, that institutions can be disrupted by change, but they nonetheless “nee[d] the struggle”. Drawing from a key premise of the institutional work perspective, this struggle is carried out by the *work*, or actions of key actors within the institution of the symphony orchestra. This “struggle” is also emphasized by Woolfe (2011, June 7), who casts Mutter as having a love of “juxtaposing new and standard works in a way that illuminates both” (p. C.5), a stance also taken by the current conductor of the Philharmonic, Alan Gilbert (Jacobs, 2014, July 22). This again positions contrast and disruption as not only inherent to arts contexts, but *important ingredients* in the overall maintenance of the repertoire and the symphony orchestra over time. Finally, a Friedlandian substance, or essence, is cast by Mutter as “depth”; however, she also makes reference to the *inextricable relationship* that exists between soloist, orchestra, and the repertoire, that serves to enliven the repertoire’s “depth and intensity”.

In sum, these reviews highlight aspects of Mutter’s *character*, as well as her *integrity and authenticity* as performer and soloist. Further, an *emphasis on communication* is repeatedly cited as a repairing mechanism, which stands as a *new observation* and an example of a focus on action that is foundational within the institutional work perspective. In some respects, this confluence of attributes, which have in part avoided the disruption of glamour, are telling of an institutionalization of Mutter as soloist, to the extent that even the occasional negative review does not constitute an actual disruption to her as soloist. Further, many reviews do not cite the disruption of glamour, though her attire was in keeping with this image. Finally, there is a consistency in the dominance and importance of the repertoire, as well as the composer in these reviews, although there is also the added example of the importance of key *inextricable relationships* amidst an *ecology of institutions*, i.e., composers, the repertoire, soloists, conductors, and the symphony orchestra.

Conclusion

As an example of an endogenous actor (and exogenous, prior to hire), Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" is repaired by both endogenous, i.e., Mutter and key conductors, and exogenous actors, i.e., primarily critics. While the use of several repairing mechanisms points to the repertoire as being proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, the case also shows the ability of a soloist to "balance" and "negotiate" consistency and change over time. In particular, consistency is expressed in soloists' respect of the repertoire, while change is expressed in the institutionalization of the soloist over time, from a carrier of the solo line to glamorous virtuoso of the 20th century. In this "balancing" over time, five repairing mechanisms are observed, including those based on *ecological relationships*, *claims to history and tradition*, *corrective power*, *creativity-based efforts*, and *emotionally-charged appeals*.

These findings are paired or "balanced" with several references to key elements of the institutional core, including a Friedlandian substance, or essence, character, as well as integrity and authenticity. There is also a general shift in focus from the use of repairing mechanisms, to a dominance of references to elements of the institutional core in later reviews, post 2000. This suggests that the *potential* disruption of glamour had been largely "resolved". Further, the dynamic nature of the standard repertoire and the nature of music is also deftly described by Mutter, positioning her as a particularly insightful actor, of significant "awareness, skill and reflexivity" (Proposition 4). Finally, the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" revisits several observations outlined in the case of Gould's interpretive disruption of the repertoire, but also offers several further observations as well.

Repairing mechanisms

Mutter's balance of "glamour" and "the goods" is partly reflective of key *ecological relationships* with other glamorous virtuosos around the world, whose international profiles also employ an element of "glamour". Mutter also associates with a *legacy or history* of soloists or virtuosos over time, whereby the repertoire is positioned amidst "glamour", an expected part of the role of virtuoso soloist in the 20th century and beyond. As in the previous case of Gould's interpretive disruption, conductors are capable of *corrective power*, largely in their influence in

young soloists' careers, but also in their ability to influence perceptions of reviewers and audiences, when disruptive elements like “glamour” appear. Finally, Mutter's *emotionally-charged appeals*, concerning the repertoire and contemporary repertoire, focuses attention on the repertoire over her glamorous image. However, Mutter does actively manage her career, largely through her “savvy” (or balanced) approach, which points to Mutter's own *creativity-based efforts* in navigating potential disruptions.

Elements of the institutional core

Reference to a *Friedlandian essence* or “spirituality” is offered by composer Wolfgang Rihm (1952-) in describing Mutter's performances. However, Rihm also refers to a complementary “wilder and more sensual” *character*. In such a context, the repertoire's authenticity and integrity is supported by Mutter, but she also displays a *generative* element in creating fresh conceptualizations of “old masters”.

Further, in several instances, *character*, or “artistic temperament” is positioned by reviewers as a key element of soloists, though as well, often lacking in the youngest, or most inexperienced of these. However, once formed, the characters of soloists are also key elements that can be used to repair disruption, particularly if they are supported by elements of *integrity and authenticity*. In particular, such *integrity and authenticity*, is aligned with an artist's respect of the repertoire. If repertoire is positioned proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, the soloist – via their integrity and authenticity – is able to act as a suitable “champion” of not only the standard repertoire, but also more peripheral works, including contemporary repertoire. This positions soloists in a particularly important role in aiding some new compositions to enter the standard repertoire over time. In the presence of such qualities, a “hidden” constant is observed in the many photos of Mutter throughout her career. With the disruption of glamour avoided or averted, we consistently see Mutter in very glamorous attire.

Mutter on the nature of the standard repertoire, music, and the virtuosi soloist

Mutter also positions contemporary repertoire not only as having the potential to enter the standard repertoire, but as a mechanism in opening new interpretations of the standard repertoire.

Further, Mutter also highlights how “change” is an integral part of being a performer, pointing to soloists’ necessary balancing of consistency and change over time. In particular, soloists also can have a role in fostering change, such as in their “championing” of new works, but also in sustaining the repertoire in performance.

Finally, most striking is Mutter’s insightful description of music, and its relationship to the institution of the symphony orchestra (Schweitzer, 2009, February 1). As part of a great history and tradition of soloists (virtuosi) over time, Mutter joins a trajectory of individuals who have *balanced* dual roles of ambassadors of music, with growing celebrity. Mutter also supports a particularly important argument of this thesis: while institutions can be disrupted by change, this is a *necessary* “struggle” that is *worked out* by key actors. Therefore, “struggle” or disruption reflects a “depth” or critical substance for which institutional actors are prepared to fight for over the long-term.

New observations

The case of Mutter also offers several unique observations that inform our understanding of disruption and maintenance over time, as well as further instances of observations drawn from the case of Gould’s interpretive disruption of the repertoire. Of the latter, the case of Mutter offers further support for distinct disruptions occurring *concurrently*, i.e., Mutter’s *potential* disruption of “glamour” is set against the (potential) disruption of contemporary repertoire. Second, disruption (or contrast) is conceptualized as inherent to the context of the symphony orchestra, as an important, if not *critical ingredient* in the performance and interpretation of the repertoire.

The case of Mutter also presents several new observations, including an example of *institutional creation*, whereby a young soloist’s career is formed, in part, via the *corrective power* of conductors, in this case, of Herbert von Karajan and Zubin Mehta. Second, like the institutionalization and maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time, the development of *character* or “temperament” of individual soloists is also long-term process. Third, significant, inextricable relationships exist between composers and the repertoire, and soloists and the orchestra, which prioritize action, work, and inspiration. Fourth, the repertoire, as endogenous

actor, exerts its own form of *corrective power*, in its proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. In one instance, these data show the repertoire, composed for a particular soloist, as having a key impact in that soloist's trajectory, serving to maintain them over their career, even indefinitely via the association. Finally, in Mutter's attempts to balance "glamour" (change) and "the goods" (consistency), an *emphasis on communication* is employed as a *recreating mechanism*.

In sum, violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" is indicative of a soloist's ability to balance consistency and change over time. In particular, Mutter expresses how a soloist can show respect for the repertoire, alongside a potentially disruptive quality of "glamour". While glamour instigated disruption in other contexts over the history of the New York Philharmonic, it was ably managed or negotiated by Mutter, as virtuoso soloist. Finally, a variety of repairing and recreating mechanisms were employed by both endogenous and exogenous actors, and "balanced" with several direct references to key elements of the institutional core.

Chapter 7: Conductors

Conductors, like the standard repertoire, and symphony orchestras, had an institutionalization process that began approximately in the mid-19th century, and extended to the early to mid-20th century. During this time, and leading up to recent times, conductors have experienced a significant amount of change; however, if the general trajectory of conductors, since their appearance in the 15th century is taken into account, the depth and breadth of change is quite dramatic. This observation is supported in both the musicological and business literatures, and the commissioned and non-commissioned biographies. Further, analysis of the New York Philharmonic data set, from its inception in 1842 to 2012, offers additional details concerning change, including the number of conductors appearing in each program, as well as in each season over time.

The following analysis includes two main areas of inquiry: first, analysis of the number of conductors per program and the number of conductors appearing in each season, considering *all programs* and *subscription-only programs*; and second, an example of the disruption of time by conductor, Leonard Bernstein. In this case, Bernstein's disruption of time is instigated by an exogenous actor, reviewer Harold C. Schonberg, of the New York Times, and is followed by the use of both repairing and recreating mechanisms by several endogenous and exogenous actors, including references to several key elements of the institutional core. However, while Gould's disruption of the repertoire is ultimately repaired, and Mutter's disruption of "glamour" is balanced over time, Bernstein's disruption is rather extended over his career, and for conductors that followed his tenure at the Philharmonic. Therefore, it points to a case of change to a peripheral aspect of the institution of the symphony orchestra. The decreasing (or variable) amount of time that conductors spend with their home orchestras is peripheral to the institution of the symphony orchestra, though this is set against conductor's continued respect of the score, and focus on the repertoire, as was observed in the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour".

Specifically, I first analyze the main conductors, or music directors, at the New York Philharmonic from 1842 to 2012 in 20-year increments, in terms of the number of conductors set

for each program, i.e., *all programs*, and *subscription-only programs*, as well as how many conductors appeared in each season, i.e., *all programs*, and *subscription-only programs*. Overall, the analysis shows a significant amount of change and variation over time. Second, I also analyze a distinct disruptive event, i.e., Leonard Bernstein's disruption of time, which appeared first as an announced "gap" of time that Bernstein spent away from the Philharmonic during the regular subscription performances of the 1960-1 season. As observed in the case of Gould's interpretive disruption, this disruption was again highly public and contentious, prompting Bernstein to issue another public "disclaimer". However, this time, repairing mechanisms are observed in counterpoint with recreating mechanisms, alongside an example of the "ceremonial" use of a repairing mechanisms by Bernstein.

Overall, this case is an example of an endogenous disruption, which is not repaired over time, but rather points to a trajectory of change. Specifically, New York Philharmonic audiences enjoyed much less time (or variable, at best) with their main conductor over each subscription season. This period of change points to the peripheral nature of time spent, though within a context where conductors respect the score and focus on the repertoire. Amidst change, Bernstein still shows great tenacity in not only serving his home orchestra (albeit in a smaller time frame), but also continuing to have an active international career, a key point of change observed in the overall trajectory of conductors over time.

Data demonstrating a high degree of change

Drawing from the data set, which covers 10 seasons in total in 20-year increments, i.e., 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, 1902-3, 1922-3, 1942-3, 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3, I analyze conductors at the New York Philharmonic, first, in terms of the number of conductors appearing per program, and second, per season. Conductors of the New York Symphony, which merged with the New York Philharmonic in 1928, are again excluded, as the focus remains on the New York Philharmonic. Further, conductors involved in chamber and other non-orchestral music have also been excluded from the data set. The analysis again makes the distinction between *all programs* offered in a season vs. *subscription-only programs*.

While musicological and business literature sources, as well as the biographies of the New York Philharmonic (especially the typology of Shanet, 1975) offer contextual information (see Chapter 4), the data set is useful in offering further, specific information on the number of conductors employed in each program and each season, as well as confirmation of general patterns offered by reviewers of the New York Times. Considering these data, analysis confirms that conductors have experienced a significant amount of change over time, compared to a balance of consistency and change of soloists, and the relative constancy of the repertoire.

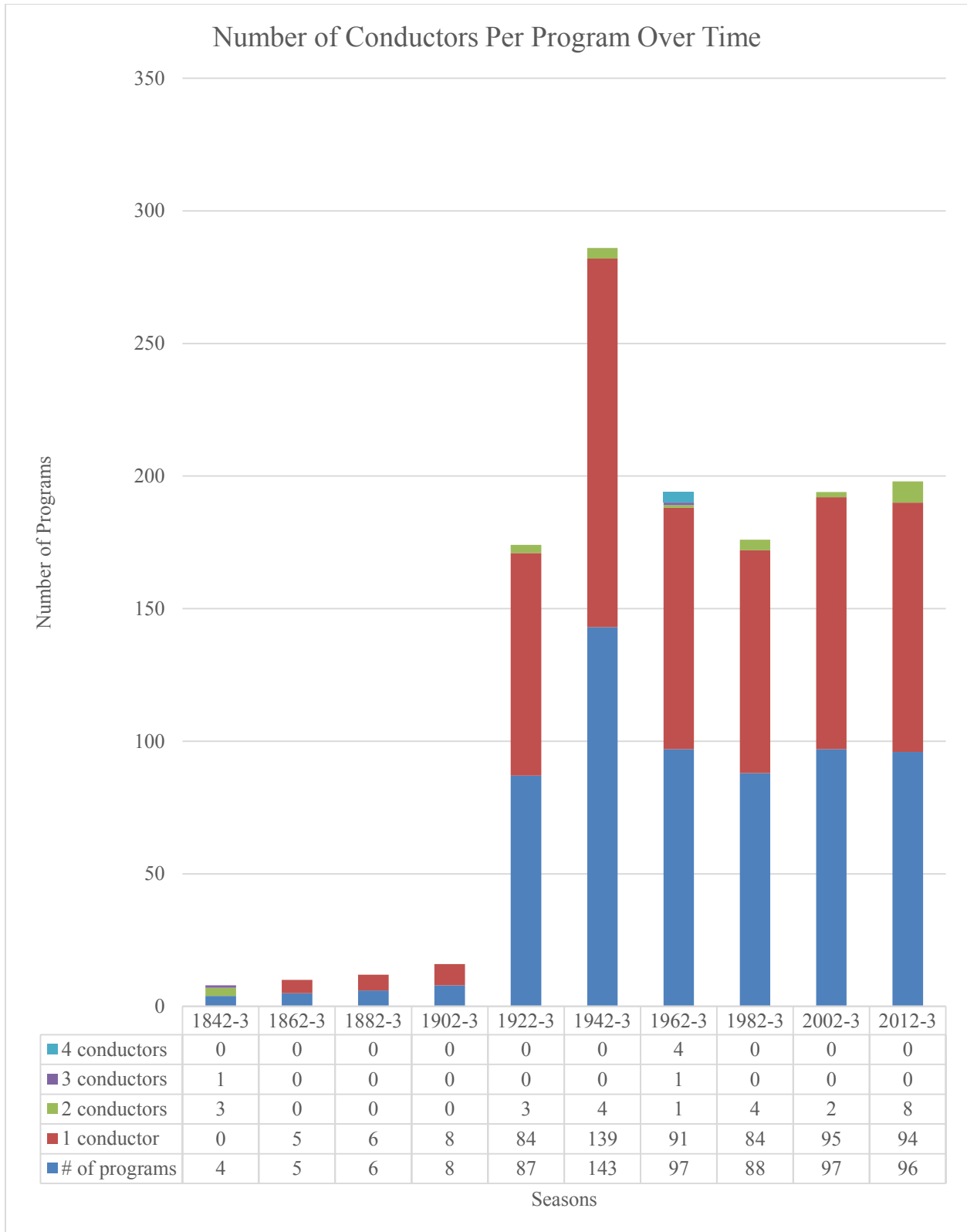
Conductors: A point of constancy amidst change

A general overview of the data set, i.e., 10 seasons, representing 631 programs in total, shows that 127 different conductors appeared with the New York Philharmonic during this period. This stands as a general indicator of the significant number of conductors who not only influenced the interpretation of the repertoire, but also soloists, orchestral players, and audiences. This is set against a group of top 10 conductors in the data set who take up approximately 50% of the total number of programs. While this observation points to an element of relative consistency, these data also show a pervasive trajectory of change, both in contextual elements (as offered in Chapter 4) as well as in conductors' specific interaction with the repertoire offered here. Further, while each conductor conducts a significant number of the programs over each season on average, this observation is set against the natural path of emergence and withdrawal of conductors, as they proceed on their particular career paths. Therefore, this one point of consistency is overshadowed by a context dominated by change.

Conductors: Number per program

Analyzing *all programs*, the inaugural 1842-3 season shows 6 different conductors for a season of 4 programs. No program was led by a single conductor, i.e., 3 programs had 2 conductors, and 1 program had 3 conductors. This high variety of conductors per program, as well as variety in works that did not require a conductor, was typical of the earliest seasons, but was soon replaced by a single, permanent conductor (Shanet, 1975). This shift is observed in the 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons, which had 100% of 5, 6, and 8 programs led by one conductor (see Figure 21).

Figure 21: Conductors, all programs (by season)

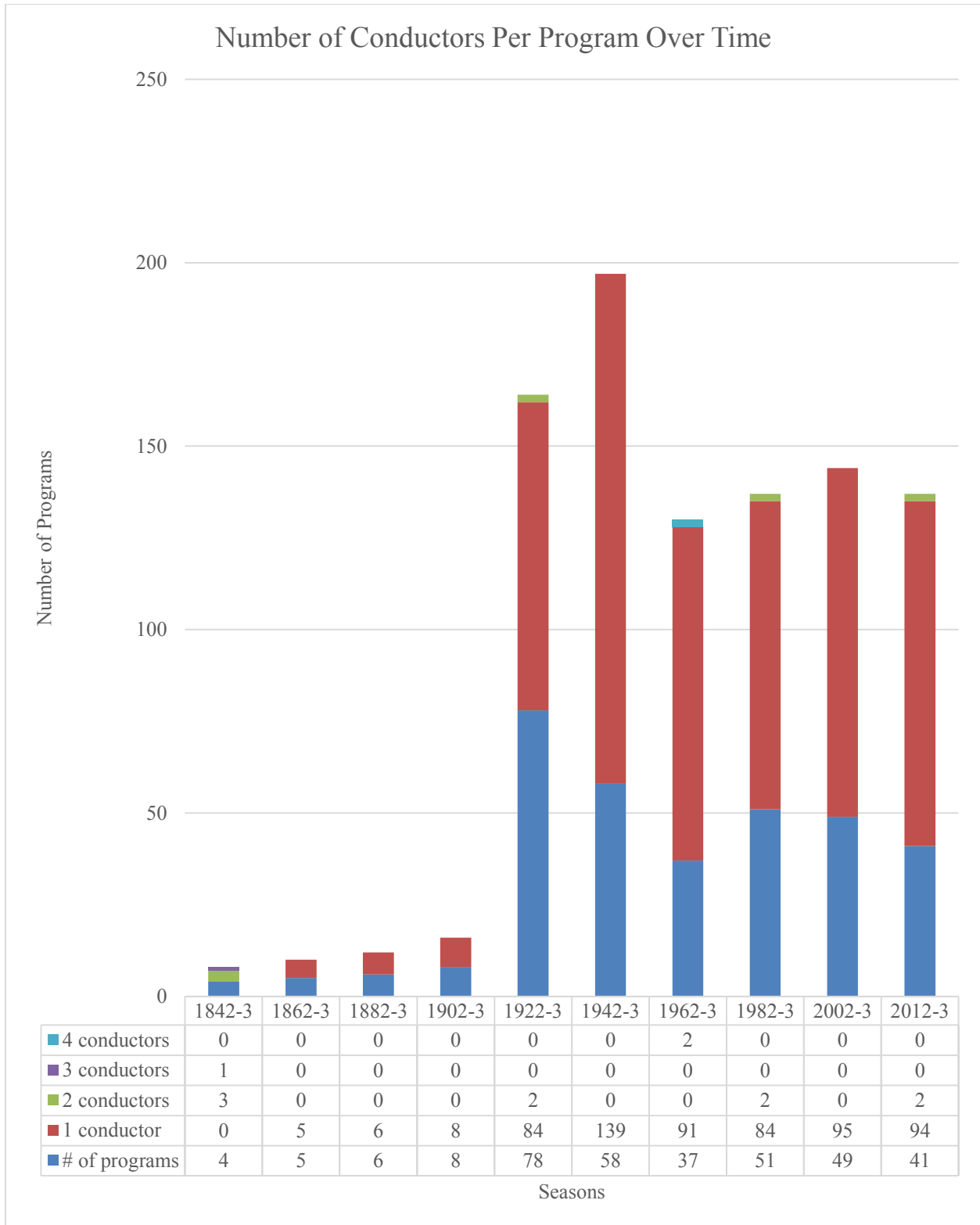


By the 1922-3 and 1942-3 seasons, 2 conductors appear for 3 and 4 programs, respectively. However, this is set against a greatly expanded total number of programs per season, i.e., 87 and 143 respectively. The 1962-3 season shows the greatest number of conductors for a single program, ranging from 1 program using 2 conductors, 1 program using 3 conductors, and 4 programs using 4 conductors. In the 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons, 2 conductors per program again appear, i.e., in 4, 2, and 8 programs, respectively.

Overall, the inaugural season (1842-3) has a relatively large number of conductors for a rather small number of programs, but by the 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons, a single conductor takes each program during the season. While most programs in the 1922-3 season and following use a single conductor, there is a great variety in a few programs, from 2 to even 3 or 4 conductors per program, pointing to increased variation over time in the number of conductors appearing in single programs.

Analyzing *subscription-only programs*, there is an overall reduction in the number of programs that are taken by more than one conductor (see Figure 22).

Figure 22: Conductors, subscription-only programs (by season)



In the 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons, there is no change as all programs were subscription programs, except for one special program in the first season, 1842-3, which has been retained since there were only four programs in this particular season. In the 1922-3 season, 2 programs use 2 conductors (vs. 3 in all programs), and in the 1942-3 season, no programs use more than one conductor (vs. 4). In the 1962-3 season, only 2 programs use 4 conductors (vs. 1 program using 2 conductors, 1 program using 3 conductors, and 4 programs using 4 conductors). In the 1982-3 season, 2 programs use 2 conductors (vs. 4), the 2002-3 season, no program uses more than one (vs. 2), and the 2012-3 season, 2 programs use 2 conductors (vs. 8).

Overall, the shift away from early use of more than one conductor to a single conductor per program (*all programs* and *subscription-only programs*) is retained and strengthened when analyzing *subscription-only programs*. However, analyzing all programs, a greater number and therefore greater variety of conductors appear in a single program, albeit in relatively isolated cases.

Conductors: Number per season

Analyzing *all programs*, the 1842-3 season had 6 conductors for 4 programs (see Table 7).

Table 7: Conductors, all programs (by season)

Season	Number of programs	Number of conductors	1 st conductor	2 nd conductor	3 rd conductor	4 th conductor
1842-3	4	6	34%	22%	11%	11%
1862-3	5	2	80%	20%		
1882-3	6	1	100%			
1902-3	8	1	100%			
1922-3	87	7	49%	37%	10%	
1942-3	143	27	15%	13%	11%	9%
1962-3	97	30	34%	7%		
1982-3	88	21	57%	5%		
2002-3	97	18	47%	10%	6%	
2012-3	96	29	45%	10%	5%	

As observed in the first analysis, a high proportion of conductors per program begins to shift in the 1862-3 season, from two conductors over 5 programs, to a single conductor in the 1882-3 and 1902-3 seasons, which consisted of 6 and 8 programs, respectively. This trend shifts again in the 1922-3 season when 7 conductors are employed during the season of 87 programs, with 49% and 37% of 87 programs taken by top two conductors. By the 1942-3 season, there is a significant rise in total number of conductors from 7 in the 1922-3 season to 27. These conductors are responsible for an astounding 143 programs, as part of the Philharmonic's 100th celebrations. The top four conductors take 15%, 13%, 11% and 9% of the programs, the most dispersed management at the podium since the inception of the Philharmonic in 1842.

However, the trend shifts again to earlier times, with the 1962-3 season having a still large total number of conductors at 30, but now with one top conductor, i.e., Leonard Bernstein, taking 34% of the programs over the season, and 7% by the second top conductor. The 1982-3 season again displays a large shift in the number of conductors, this time in a downward trend to 21 over the season; however, with one conductor, i.e., Zubin Mehta, again taking a particularly significant number of programs, i.e., 57%, with the second top conductor at 5%. The 2002-3 season features a somewhat increased number of conductors at 18 over the season, with Lorin Maazel taking 47% of the programs, and with the second top conductor at 10%. Finally, the 2012-3 season displays another significant rise in the number of conductors over the season, at 29, similar to the 1962-3 season. However, Gilbert takes a substantial 45% of the programs, with second top conductor at 10%.

Overall, a high number of conductors per program, i.e., four, in the 1842-3 season, gives way to the Philharmonic's hope for a main, permanent conductor by the 1882-3 and 1902-3 seasons (Krehbiel, 1892; Shanet, 1975). However, this push is eventually overturned by greatly expanding program and performance numbers in the early 20th century, which led to greatly increasing numbers of conductors employed in each season, starting in 1922-3. The 1942-3 season shows both a continuing rise in the total number of conductors, however, with a balancing of duties amongst four strong conductors. Following seasons return to a dominant single conductor per season, albeit within a very large and active body of secondary conductors.

Analyzing *subscription-only programs*, the 1842-3, 1862-3, 1882-3, and 1902-3 seasons show no change, as all programs were subscription programs, except for the one special program that is retained in 1842-3 (see Table 8).

Table 8: Conductors, subscription-only programs (by season)

Season	Number of programs	Number of conductors	1 st conductor	2 nd conductor	3 rd conductor	4 th conductor
1842-3	4	6	34%	22%	11%	11%
1862-3	5	2	80%	20%		
1882-3	6	1	100%			
1902-3	8	1	100%			
1922-3	78	6	46%	39%		
1942-3	58	8	21%	15%	14%	14%
1962-3	37	10	46%	9%		
1982-3	51	12	56%	7%		
2002-3	49	15	38%	12%		
2012-3	41	21	39%	7%	7%	

For the 1922-3 season, there is little change from all programs, with 6 conductors taking 78 subscription programs (vs. 7 for 87 total programs) and largely the same results for the top 2 conductors, i.e., 46% and 39% (vs. 49% and 37%).

The 1942-3 season shows the first marked change: 8 conductors now lead 58 subscription programs (vs. 27 for 143 total programs). However, the five top conductors take a somewhat larger proportion of the programs, i.e., 21%, 15%, 15%, 14%, and 14% (vs. 15%, 13%, 11% and 9%). The number of conductors now shows less of an increase from earlier seasons, and this lower number only rises gradually from this time forward. This highly dispersed set of conductors again shifts to a greater focus on one conductor in the 1962-3 season, with 10 conductors taking 37 subscription programs (vs. 30 for 97 total programs). One top conductor, i.e., Leonard Bernstein, takes a larger proportion, i.e., 46% (vs. 34%) of the subscription programs, with a somewhat larger proportion, i.e., 11% and 9%, for the 2nd and 3rd top conductors (vs. 7% for 2nd top).

The trend of a smaller number of conductors taking the subscription-only programs continues during the 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons, with the 1982-3 season having 12 conductors taking 51 subscription programs (vs. 21 for 88 total programs), with little change in the top conductor, i.e., Zubin Mehta taking 56% (vs. 57%) and the 2nd top at 6% (vs. 5%). In the 2002-3 season, 15 conductors take 49 subscription programs (vs. 18 of 97 total programs), but with Lorin Maazel taking a smaller portion of the subscription concerts, i.e., 38% (vs. 47%) and again a larger proportion, i.e., at 12%, 8%, 6%, and 6% for the next four conductors (vs. 10, 6, 5, 4). Finally, in the 2012-3, 21 conductors take 96 subscription programs (vs. 29 for 41 total programs), with Alan Gilbert again taking a somewhat smaller portion, i.e., 39% (vs. 45) and 2 further conductors at 7% (vs. 1 at 10%).

Conclusion

In sum, the data set shows a prevalence of change over time, in particular, in the changing number of conductors per program, from up to three in the early years, to one at the turn of the century, and then later, to an even greater number, i.e., up to four per program. When considering *all programs* and *subscription-only*, this general trajectory is apparent in the data set, though somewhat tempered in the case of subscription-only programs.

Though the New York Philharmonic's stated wish for a permanent conductor (Shanet, 1975) was fulfilled by the 1882-3 season in the data set, a single conductor was soon joined by multiple numbers and types of conductors in the early 20th century, i.e., guest, assistant, amongst others. This trajectory of change was largely due to an explosion in programming and performances per season from the early 20th century forward. While the 1962-3 season marks an enduring shift to one main conductor who was responsible for a significant portion of both *all programs* and *subscription-only programs*, these main conductors take a surprising lesser proportion of subscription-only programs in the 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons vs. all programs.

To this one point of consistency, i.e., having the main conductor take a significant number of programs during the each season, these data show a great deal of change in the total number of conductors for each season, from many in the 1842-3 season (in a notably short season of four programs), to a single conductor by the 1882-3 season and following, a relative explosion in the

1942-3 season, a tempering in numbers in the 1982-3 season, and then again rising – more gradually – in the 2012-3 season. Taken as a whole, these data show a great deal of change over time, as well as a very large body of conductors who offer unique, interpretive perspectives of the repertoire.

Selected disruption of a conductor

Conductors have shown a significant amount of change over time, as compared to soloists who have shown a balance of consistency and change, and the repertoire, which has been a relative constant. Taking conductors as highly changeable, it is expected that these actors are associated with frequent disruptions over time. This is indeed the case, when analyzing the case of the New York Philharmonic, including the following representative example. Specifically, I analyze a disruption instigated by an endogenous actor, conductor Leonard Bernstein, who is involved in a disruption of time, i.e., an announced “gap” for the 1960-1 season. This disruption reduced, quite dramatically, Bernstein’s time with the orchestra and audiences, as compared to his presence in previous seasons since his hiring in 1958. Further, I also analyze this disruption considering the time that future conductors spent with the Philharmonic, situating not only the nature of Bernstein’s disruption, but also the nature of change over time.

These data inform all four propositions concerning the nature of maintenance amidst disruption. First, while Bernstein’s disruption of time initiated the use of repairing mechanisms, this work is set alongside recreating mechanisms enacted by both Bernstein, as well as other endogenous and exogenous actors (Proposition 2). In spite of this interplay, the disruption is not repaired over time, i.e., Bernstein did not return to his previous levels of time with the Philharmonic and its audiences. I also extend my analysis to later conductors, which confirms change rather than repair over time, and a general variability in the amount of time main conductors spend with the Philharmonic and its audiences. Therefore, this particular instance of institutional disruption points to the peripheral nature of how much time a conductor spends with an orchestra (Proposition 1B).

This case also shows Bernstein’s particular dexterity in facilitating change, in large part due to the exact nature of what he repaired and what he changed. Specifically, while Bernstein did not

repeat the lengthy, *single gap* of time during the concert season, i.e., pointing to repair, he did divide this time into *two gaps* in later seasons, i.e., pointing to change. While the *single gap* was essentially *repaired*, Bernstein's total time away was sometimes even greater in length than in the 1960-1 season when the disruption was first instigated. To Bernstein's own use of repairing and recreating mechanisms, several other actors also use these mechanisms, with a particular "awareness, skill and reflexivity" (Proposition 4). As Bernstein's disruption of time is persistent in nature, not only during his tenure with the Philharmonic, but with other conductors that followed, an integrated and dynamic approach is again required (Proposition 3).

These data show several key *repairing* and *recreating mechanisms* used by both endogenous and exogenous actors in an attempt to repair and recreate Bernstein's disruption of time. The next section first includes a narrative of Bernstein's disruption of time. Drawing from my own experience as professional musician and arts manager, non-commissioned biographies (Shanet, 1975; Canarina, 2010), reviews in the New York Times, Bernstein's own words, and specific data from the New York Philharmonic archives, this narrative is characterized by a rather long trajectory of the use of both repairing and recreating mechanisms. Five repairing mechanisms were observed in these data, including mechanisms based on 1) *ecological relationships* within the institution of the symphony orchestra; 2) *claims to history and tradition*; 3) *corrective power of both endogenous and exogenous actors of the ecology of the orchestra*; and finally, 4) *creativity-based efforts*; and finally, 5) *emotionally-charged appeals*. To these, this case presents a new repairing *mechanism*, i.e., *claims to professionalism*, as well as another instance of a new recreating mechanism observed in the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption, i.e., an *emphasis on communication*. In addition, several elements of the institutional core are also referenced, in particular, elements of *integrity and authenticity, character* (personality), and *identity*.

This case also offers several new observations that appear in prior cases. First, this case shows how close (and powerful) linkages can lead to the "infection" of ecological partners. While these relationships can be enacted in maintaining institutions over time, they can also lead to further disruption. Second, this case also shows how repairing and recreating mechanisms can be particularly persistent over the long-term.

To these, several further new observations are particular to this case. First, Bernstein's *emphasis on communication* and *creativity-based efforts* were in the end, "ceremonial" in character. Bernstein's announcement was rather a *recreating mechanism* that allowed for change at the periphery, i.e., change in the total time that main conductors spend with their orchestras and audiences. Second, this case offers an example of how several key repairing mechanisms, i.e., *maintaining ecological relationships*, and *emotionally-charged appeals*, are positioned and *translated* into *recreating mechanisms*. Third, a particular complexity is observed in this case: if the overall institutional landscape is taken into account, there is a great variety of distinct and related, concurrent disruptions associated with the Philharmonic at this time. This complexity is further augmented by the interplay of several concurrent repairing and recreating mechanisms attributable to Bernstein's disruption of time. This complexity leads to a fourth new observation that in the light of contrast, actors deftly articulate, navigate, and repair or recreate disruptions that target the institutional core vs. those that target the periphery, respectively.

Fifth, as a key exogenous actor, critics are positioned not only having *corrective power* but also acting with considerable "awareness, skill and reflexivity". Further, critics have a particularly important role and level of dexterity in navigating disruptive contexts, from employing both repairing and recreating mechanisms, anticipating future disruption, and speaking quite eloquently and intelligibly about core aspects of the institution of the symphony orchestra. Further new observations are also apparent since a long terms view was prioritized in the analytical process, including the cyclical nature of disruptions, and the *transformation* of disruptions over time, i.e., Bernstein's disruption of time is *transformed* into a new, yet related disruption of "potential", "character" or "personality", and "identity". Further, the analysis shows a particular persistence of concurrent use of repairing and recreating mechanisms. Finally, the repertoire is cast in a particularly *powerful position*, having the ability to withstand the effects of highly disruptive environments.

Bernstein's disruption of time

Conductor Leonard Bernstein, who led the New York Philharmonic from the 1958-9 to 1968-69 seasons (Laureate Conductor, 1969-90), was involved in an endogenous disruption of time that was instigated upon the announcement of his 1960-1 season (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Conductor Leonard Bernstein's disruption of time



In particular, this disruption concerns a large “gap” of time when Bernstein was away from the Philharmonic during the regular season, which constituted a significant departure from his presence in prior seasons.

As related by Canarina (2010), Bernstein’s audiences enjoyed their main conductor for a considerable amount of time in each of his first two seasons, i.e., in 1958-9 and 1959-1960; however, there was a significant departure from this consistency in the following 1960-1 season:

In 1958-59 Bernstein had conducted eighteen weeks of the thirty-week season, his concerts divided into four blocks of time, with guest conductors filling in the gaps. The following year followed the same schedule. Now, for 1960-1 it was announced that he would conduct only twelve weeks, six at either end of the season, with a huge gap in the middle for guests. No explanation was given for the change. (p. 25)

Considering Canarina’s (2010) account, audiences enjoyed Bernstein’s presence approximately 60% of the time in both the 1958-9 and 1959-1960 seasons. This dropped to 40%, with a further shift in the distribution of time, i.e., four gaps per season were now experienced as one large gap mid-season.

Developing disruption: Key program data

Canarina’s (2010) account of Bernstein’s disruption is refined through further, detailed analysis of programming over the 1958-9 to 1963-4 seasons, considering both *all programs* and *subscription-only programs*. In particular, while Bernstein appeared in some non-subscription

programs in the gap periods, subscription season holders in particular still experienced a large gap, and significant disruption (see Table 9).

Table 9: Bernstein, programs, and presence (by season)

Season	Conductor	All Programs	Subscription only	Subscription (in weeks)	Gap (in weeks)	Presence (%)
1958-9	Bernstein	49%	55%	30	13	57%
1959-60	Bernstein	49%	47%	31	16	48%
1960-1	Bernstein	46%	36%	28	16	43%
1961-2	Bernstein	27%	34%	33	20	40%
1962-3	Bernstein	34%	46%	35	22	37%
1963-4	Bernstein	35%	33%	33	20	40%

The New York Philharmonic data set includes comparative data for the 1958-9, 1959-60, and 1960-1 seasons, as well as further comparative data of Bernstein's later seasons up to 1963-4 (6 seasons in total), and later seasons in 20-year increments, from Mehta (1982-3), to Maazel (2002-3), and finally, Gilbert (2012-3). In total, Bernstein conducted 49% of *all programs*, and 55% of *subscription-only programs*, in the 1958-9 season. Further, analyzing *subscription-only* programs, which ran October 2, 1958 to April 30, 1969 (approximately 30 weeks), Bernstein was away in three short periods, totaling approximately 13 weeks. Therefore, Bernstein was present at the podium 57% of the time. However, while Canarina (2010) notes that the 1958-9 and 1959-60 seasons were similarly set, the data set already shows early indications of a declining presence in the 1959-60 season. Here, Bernstein again conducted 49% of *all programs*, but only 47% of *subscription-only* programs. Further, of the subscription season, which ran October 12, 1959 to May 15, 1960, Bernstein was away again in three short periods, but this time, totaling approximately 16 weeks. Therefore, his audiences saw him only 48% of the total time.

However, as noted by Canarina (2010), the real change, and real disruption, came in the following season, 1960-61. In total, Bernstein conducted only 46% of *all programs*, and only 36% of *subscription-only* programs. Further, Bernstein's last subscription program in 1960, i.e., November 8, 1960, and his return March 2, 1961, for a subscription program, constituted a break of approximately 16 weeks, with only two intervening non-subscription programs, i.e., a Young

People's program on November 12, 1960, and a Pension Fund program on December 18, 1960. Overall, Bernstein was away 16 weeks of the subscription season, which ran September 29, 1960 to April 13, 1961 (approximately 28 weeks). Bernstein, therefore, was at the podium only 43% of the time.

Instigating disruption: Critical review

Bernstein's disruption of time is initiated via an exogenous actor, New York Times reviewer Harold C. Schonberg, in an article dated March 4, 1961. In hindsight, Bernstein had a relatively *short* gap of 16 weeks in the 1960-61 season considering later seasons; however, the suddenness of the change prompted Schonberg's (1961, March 4) article entitled, *Music: Bernstein Returns to Podium: Back at Philharmonic After Four Months*. Schonberg's (1961, March 4) main focus is not on the repertoire but rather Bernstein's lack of presence:

Four months may not be an impressive length of time as history goes, but it is a sizable hunk in a symphony orchestra season that starts at the end of September and ends in the middle of April. Leonard Bernstein conducted the New York Philharmonic yesterday afternoon. Ordinarily that would not be a cause for special mention. *But he is supposed to be the music director of the orchestra* [emphasis added]. He was last seen in the vicinity of the Philharmonic podium (save for Pension Fund and television extravaganzas) last Nov. 6. Now he is back to direct the final six weeks of the season. (p. 16).

Schonberg (1961, March 4) makes *claims to history and tradition* to point out expectations for conductors and their time with orchestras. To this, Schonberg also make *claims to professionalism*, to mark expectations around the primary tasks of the conductor. Therefore, *claims to professionalism* constitutes a *new observation* of the types of repairing mechanisms employed amidst disruption. Drawing from my own experience as professional musician and arts manager, there is an important relationship between time and excellence, including consistency in practice and performance. During gaps in practice, many aspects of performance can be lost, including ideas, interpretations, tightness of ensemble playing, as well as others. Therefore, in the case of a conductor and orchestra, time with the conductor is a critical ingredient in creating the space for excellence.

While the review opens with a warning, Schonberg (1961, March 4) closes with an overall positive evaluation of Bernstein's ability as conductor: "All that can be reported on this occasion was that the orchestra sounded brilliant, that conductor and musicians worked with confidence" (Schonberg, 1961, March 4, p. 16). This statement is significant, as Schonberg (1961, March 4) infers that the developing disruption of time was already repaired, in part, by the *integrity and authenticity* of Bernstein and the players, but also by Bernstein's ability to quickly build strong relationships, or *create and maintain ecological relationships* with the players, audience members, as well as others. These abilities, in conjunction with the *corrective power* of Bernstein's position, are, therefore, employed as initial repairing mechanisms amidst disruption. However, looking ahead, Bernstein's disruption of time, continues in a particularly long-term trajectory of change.

Repairing and recreating disruption: Bernstein and his "promise"

As related by Canarina (2010), who was in attendance as assistant conductor of the 1961-2 season, Bernstein made his own attempt at repairing the disruption of time not long after Schonberg's (1961, March 4) review. Bernstein's public announcement upon his return to the regular subscription season on March 29, 1962, was made approximately three weeks later: "Bernstein spoke apologetically to the audience ... and announced, "I will never do it again," for which he received much applause" (Canarina, 2010, p. 35). In short, Bernstein's repairing process was cessation, a nod to his own *corrective power* as conductor. Further, the public announcement is used by Bernstein to directly communicate with his audience, which employs not only *emotionally-charged appeals*, but also the new mechanism of an *emphasis on communication*, first observed in the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption of glamour, as a *recreating mechanism*. Mutter's use of an *emphasis on communication* as a *recreating* rather than repairing mechanism, is pertinent in the case of Bernstein as well. While Bernstein *communicates* that he would "never do it again", he is less forthcoming on the *true nature* of "it", pointing to his use of *creativity-based efforts* to repair the disruption. In part, the Philharmonic's desire for a main conductor that took the responsibility of a significant number of the seasons' programs, and related interpretation and delivery of the repertoire, was attained in principle. However, did Bernstein keep his promise?

Schonberg's (1962, March 31) account of Bernstein's public announcement points to the answer: "[Bernstein] told everybody that he was happy to be home again, that he regretted his long absence and hoped not to have to repeat it" (p. 17). This is in a somewhat different tone than Canarina's (2010) account, which suggests penitence and the promise to never repeat such a "huge gap". Schonberg (1962, March 31) quotes Bernstein as saying that he "hoped" (p. 17) to not have to repeat "it" in the future.

Maintaining disruption: Key program data

Analyzing the following seasons, i.e., 1961-2, 1962-3, and 1963-4, the nature of Bernstein's "promise" becomes clear. In the 1961-2 season, Bernstein's presence is actually further diminished: Bernstein conducts 27% (vs. 46% in 1960-1) of *all programs*, and 34% (vs. 36% in 1960-1) of *subscription-only* programs. While his subscription season was maintained for the most part, Bernstein's overall presence declines significantly. In particular, Bernstein's gap period, analyzing *subscription-only* programs, is even more pronounced: considering his last program in 1961 was a Young People's program on November 11, and his return was on March 29, 1962 for a subscription program, this constitutes a 20 week break, with only two intervening Young People's programs on February 17, 1962 and March 24, 1962, i.e. both non-subscription. Bernstein closes the season with 8 subscription programs between March 29 and May 3, 1962, and does not appear again for the remainder of the season. Overall, analyzing the subscription season, which ran September 28, 1961 to May 17, 1962 (approximately 33 weeks), Bernstein is away approximately 20 weeks, appearing before audiences only 40% of the time. So far, Bernstein's "promise" is not realized; rather, the disruption is aggravated even further.

However, in the 1962-3 season, analyzing *all programs*, Bernstein's presence finally becomes stronger, i.e., 34% (vs. 27% in 1961-2), but it still did not reach the levels of 46% of the 1960-1 season. Further, analyzing *subscription-only* programs, his presence again rises, this time a significant amount to 46%, from 34% in 1961-2, and 36% in 1960-1. Overall, Bernstein's promise seems to finally be coming to fruition, at least in terms of the number of subscription-only programs that he led over the season.

That said, the time gap remained a problem, though in different form. Specifically, Bernstein's final subscription program of 1962 was October 25, with a return on January 3, 1963 (with one intervening Young People's program on November 3). Bernstein disappears again on February 7, 1963 (with one intervening Young People's on February 9, a Pension Fund program on March 26, and a tour that took the Philharmonic to England and Florida), with a return on May 2, 1963, and continuing to the end of subscription concerts on May 26, 1963. Bernstein does not appear again for the remainder of the season, except for a 3 program tour in California in late August 1963. Analyzing the subscription season, while Bernstein did not repeat a single gap of the 1961-2 season, Bernstein is away for two substantial time periods, the first for approximately 10 weeks, and the second for approximately 12 weeks, for a total of 22 weeks. These two time periods, i.e., 22 weeks in total, is greater than the 20 weeks of 1961-2. Overall, analyzing the subscription season, which ran September 23, 1962 to May 26, 1963 (approximately 35 weeks), Bernstein is away approximately 22 weeks, appearing only 37% of the time. While the gap is now expressed in two periods instead of one, the percentage of time he spends with the orchestra actually continues to decrease from previous seasons, i.e., 40% in 1961-2, and 43% in 1960-1.

Overall, the nature of Bernstein's "promise" becomes clear: while Bernstein did keep a "promise" to never be away from the Philharmonic in *one large gap* again, he does not extend this "promise" to actually spending more time with his orchestra and audiences. Bernstein's *emphasis on communication* and *creativity-based efforts*, are, in the end, employed as recreating rather than repairing mechanisms over time.

By analyzing one further season, i.e., 1963-4, Bernstein's trajectory of declining time continues. In total, Bernstein conducts only 35% of *all programs* in the 1963-4 season (vs. 34% in 1962-3, 27% in 1961-2 and 46% in 1960-1), never returning to the total presence he showed in the 1960-1 season. Further, Bernstein exhibits a dramatic shift in his presence during the subscription season at 33% (vs. 46% in 1962-3, 34% in 1961-2 and 36% in 1960-1). Analyzing the gap period, again Bernstein splits his absence over the subscription season in two, for a total of approximately 20 weeks, i.e., 11 plus 9 weeks (vs. 11 plus 9 weeks). Bernstein does not return for any of the programs slated for the summer months of 1964, following his final subscription program on May 14, 1964. Overall, analyzing the subscription season, which ran September 26,

1963 to May 14, 1964 (approximately 33 weeks), Bernstein is away approximately 20 weeks, therefore appearing as conductor only 40% of the time. This amount rises slightly from the 37% of 1962-3, and matches the 40% of the 1961-2 season. With the small contraction in the 1963-4 season (from 28, 33, and 35 in the 1960-1, 1961-2 and 1962-3 seasons respectively), audiences saw much less of their conductor, especially in the all-important subscription season.

In sum, while Bernstein did not take another *single*, “huge gap” (Canarina, 2010, p. 25) as was apparent in the 1960-1 (16 weeks) and 1961-2 (20 weeks) seasons again, analyzing *subscription-only* concerts, Bernstein’s time away during the subscription season of 1962-3 and 1963-4 is actually longer or about the same, at 22 and 20 weeks, respectively, but divided over two time periods instead of one. Audiences did not have to wait as long to see their conductor; however, subscription time was by the 1963-4 season, substantially less. Overall, the percentage of all programs that Bernstein conducted *actually declined* over the period of 1960-1 season to 1962-3 season, and there was little change in the number of subscription programs he conducted, with one jump in 1962-3 season, and a very dramatic drop to 33% in the 1963-4 season, much below the 36% in 1960-1, when the disruption first emerged.

Considering this trajectory – Bernstein’s public announcement of March 29, 1960, followed by an avoidance of a single gap, but continued reduction in time with the Philharmonic – points to a *new observation* that places Bernstein’s apparent use of repairing mechanisms, i.e., an *emphasis on communication* and *creativity-based efforts* as “ceremonial” in character. As such, Bernstein repairs the single gap in time, but continues on a trajectory of change in terms of total time with the Philharmonic and its audiences. Therefore, the case of Bernstein’s disruption of time shows the general trajectory of change amongst conductors of the time and into the 21st century, from highly present actors, to decreasingly so.

Repairing and recreating disruption: Reviews, announcements, and year-end summaries

The analysis of the data set shows that Bernstein’s “promise” is not realized over time, from the 1960-1 to 1963-4 seasons. Set against these data, are several critical reviews, and supporting biographical information, which highlight the use of an interplay of repairing and recreating mechanisms over this time period (see Table 10).

Table 10: Bernstein and critical reviews (1960-1 to 1963-4 seasons)

Year	Date	Reviewer	Title of Article
1961	April 16	Schonberg	<i>Spreading Thin: Bernstein's Many Activities Leave Minimum Time for Regular Season.</i>
1962	May 20	Schonberg	<i>6,456th concert spells finis.</i>
1963	May 26	Schonberg	<i>An old orchestra, a new hall.</i>
1964	May 15	Schonberg	<i>Music: Bernstein leads Beethoven.</i>

Critical reviews: 1960-1

As highlighted by Canarina (2010), Schonberg (1961, April 16) follows up approximately a month later, with another article entitled, *Spreading Thin: Bernstein's Many Activities Leave Minimum Time for Regular Season*. Here, Schonberg (1961, April 16) uses the *corrective power* afforded to his position as reviewer to cast Bernstein's lack of time with the orchestra in the 1960-1, as well as the upcoming 1961-2 season as part of an overall, disruptive "pattern" (p. X9). However, this repairing mechanism is also set against the use of *recreating mechanisms*. In particular, Schonberg (1961, April 16) points to expected recreating efforts, first by the Philharmonic, i.e., by finding "an additional principal conductor for a substantial part of the remainder of the season" (p. X9). This does not support the Philharmonic's long-standing desire for a substantial amount of time with its main conductor; however, management's search for other conductors to fill the "gap" offers a *new observation* concerning the positioning (and translation) of *ecological relationships* from a key *repairing mechanism*, to a *recreating mechanism* over time. Specifically, the Philharmonic draws from the resources within the institution of the symphony orchestra, i.e., other conductors from around the world, to fill Bernstein's growing disruption of time.

Further, Schonberg (1961, April 16) also announces that Bernstein had also been recently awarded with a contract for the next seven years. What caused such a shift? Schonberg (1961, April 16), in a characteristically humorous style, points to a possible rationale:

In the meantime, even though the Philharmonic humbly hopes that Mr. Bernstein will grant more of his time to its Carnegie Hall activities, it has awarded him a seven-year contract. It was a gesture reminiscent of what happened some years back, when one of the television companies, afraid of losing Milton Berle, gave him a contract for a couple of billion dollars a year for the next hundred, or is it thousand, years. (p. X9)

Schonberg (1961, April 16) uses *emotionally-charged appeals*, i.e., via humor, to highlight the impossibility of keeping glamorous actors strongly attached to a single organization. Again, there is the *new observation* of yet another repairing mechanism used in early recreating efforts. Overall, the increased use of *recreating mechanisms* by Schonberg (1961, April 16) further points to the peripheral nature of Bernstein's disruption of time.

In addition to the use of cautionary repairing mechanisms set against several recreating mechanisms, Schonberg (1961, April 16) also highlights several positive and negative impacts of Bernstein's disruption of time, in this case, linking these to several elements of the *institutional core*, as well as further use of repairing mechanisms. First, Schonberg (1961, April 16) points to Bernstein's impact on the orchestra as a whole, in terms of the *identity* of the orchestra on the national stage, as well as Bernstein's *identity* as a popular icon: "more than anybody else in its history he [Bernstein] has made the Philharmonic a national institution...and... has become the classical music equivalent of an Elvis Presley. All this means greater revenue for the orchestra and more work for the men" (p. X9). Overall, this case positions various "*identities*" in a close relationship, from orchestra to conductor. Schonberg (1961, April 16) also points to Bernstein's ability to balance his celebrity (or glamour), a potentially disruptive force, with his *integrity and authenticity*. As observed in the case of Mutter, Schonberg (1961, April 16) points to Bernstein's ability to strike a balance between "the glamour" and "the goods".

In particular, Schonberg (1961, April 16) attributes Bernstein's success in creating such a balance between "the glamour" and "the goods" to his ability to formulate strong programs, again balancing both standard and contemporary repertoire. An amelioration of disruptive events is again possible due to a musician's attending to the repertoire, which has in previous cases, been positioned proximate to the institutional core. A "balance" between standard (core) and contemporary (peripheral) repertoire is not particular to Schonberg's (1961, April 16) review. It

is a sentiment expressed much earlier, by commissioned biographer, Krehbiel (1892), who positioned the Philharmonic's *core purpose* as "the cultivation [new works] and performance of instrumental music [standard repertoire]" (p. 8).

Though Schonberg (1961, April 16) attributes Bernstein's success to his ability to balance "the glamour" and "the goods", all the while showing respect for the repertoire, he also highlights several disruptive aspects of Bernstein's growing time away from the Philharmonic, as part of a continued use of repairing mechanisms. First, Schonberg (1961, April 16) employs *corrective power* afforded to his position as reviewer to suggest that "the indications are that the tail is beginning to wag the dog. Mr. Bernstein... is spreading himself too thin... Something had to give. And what gave? Not television, not touring, but the subscription concerts" (p. X9).

Bernstein's disruption of time impacts the subscription season (as was observed in the analysis of the data set), a main focus of the orchestra's energies over the season. Second, Schonberg (1961, April 16) focuses on the importance of *maintaining ecological relationships* between the Philharmonic and its audiences, but also between Bernstein and the players, stating that a lack of time is resulting in "sloppier and sloppier concerts" (p. X9). Schonberg (1961, April 16) positions time as a foundational to maintaining a healthy artistic relationship between conductor and orchestra:

A succession of guest conductors is the surest way to ruin an orchestra. They have no authority... An orchestra has to work with a conductor over a long period of time. Two years ago the Philharmonic was beginning to sound like the great orchestra it really is. This season the discipline has been lax. (p. X9)

Finally, in addition to the use of an interplay of repairing and recreating mechanisms, as well as attributions to elements of the institutional core, Schonberg (1961, April 16) also points to a concurrent disruption of glamour:

Thus when Mr. Bernstein is away from his orchestra it tends to taper off. But when he is in front of it, the results can be unpredictable. In certain phases of the repertory he is inimitable. In others he seems at a loss. At all times, though, *the aura of show business rather than music-making is present* [emphasis added]. Thoughtful people are beginning

to complain more and more of Mr. Bernstein's antics on the podium, just as thoughtful musicians are beginning more and more to ask if Lenny is ever going to grow up. (p. X9).

This is another example of a *new observation* of several related disruptions occurring concurrently, creating particularly complex instances of disruption within institutional environments. Schonberg (1961, April 16) carefully links these concurrent disruptions to the notion of character, in terms of the *character* of an orchestra's (and its conductor's) sound: "One can always spot a Toscanini recording or an Ormandy recording. It is hard to pick out specific characteristics of a Bernstein performance" (p. X9). Drawing from various biographical sources, Bernstein's disruption of time also runs in counterpoint with other related and significant disruptions, including the Philharmonic's move from Carnegie Hall to the newly built Philharmonic Hall. Overall, Bernstein's disruption of time is only one thread in a very complicated, and disrupted, institutional environment.

Overall, Schonberg's (1961, April 16) review offers a balance of repairing and recreating mechanisms. Here, there are early indications of change to a peripheral aspect of the institution of the symphony orchestra, i.e., the amount of time that a main conductor spends with their orchestra. Specifically, while the institution of the symphony orchestra is faced with a disruption of time, the practical aspects of long seasons and the international character of the modern conductor encourages change over time.

Season announcements and year-end summaries (1961-2 to 1963-4)

Bernstein's disruption of time continues to appear in three further articles, a season announcement (Schonberg, 1962, May 20), and two year-end summaries (Schonberg, 1963, May 26; Schonberg, 1964, May 15), as was the custom at the time (see Table 10). In the first source, also highlighted by Canarina (2010), Schonberg's (1962, May 20) announcement of the upcoming 1962-3 season, and review of the 1961-2 season, focuses on Bernstein's disruption of time, the concurrent disruption of the move to Philharmonic Hall, and some related aspects of Bernstein as conductor. However, these concurrent disruptions are not positioned equally by Schonberg (1962, May 20). While Schonberg (1962, May 20) highlights the move to Philharmonic Hall as a "significant break" (p. X9), he also emphasizes that location was not the

most important issue facing the Philharmonic: “The important thing is not the building but what goes on inside the building... one hopes that the dazzling façade of Philharmonic Hall will not be the equivalent of a cover that surrounds an empyrean of emptiness” (p. X9). Here, the repertoire and its communication to audiences is given precedence. Further, Bernstein’s expected disruption of time for the 1963-4 season is now cast as a largely repaired annoyance, through the efforts of two main guest conductors, George Szell and Josef Krips:

This means that in the near future the weekly activities of the orchestra will not be disfigured by the bi-monthly procession of incoming and outgoing conductors. And as Mr. Szell and Mr. Krips are disciplinarians, they perhaps will keep the orchestra in shape during Mr. Bernstein’s long absences. (Schonberg, 1962, May 20, p. X9).

Schonberg (1962, May 20), for the first time, positions the relative importance of several concurrent disruptions. In particular, the repertoire is cast as a focus (and therefore proximate to the institutional core), and the problems associated with Bernstein’s lack of time, and the disruption of a move, as being, overall, peripheral. Therefore, this case offers a *new observation* that amidst multiple disruptive events, and amidst the light of contrast, key actors articulate the relative importance of various disruptions, in terms of those that target the institutional core, i.e., the repertoire vs. those that target the periphery, i.e., Bernstein’s lack of time, and the disruption of a move of venue.

To the concurrent disruptions of venue, time, and music, Schonberg (1962, May 20) offers further, related disruptions: the disruption of “glamour”, or “aura of show business” (p. X9), an over-emphasis of education aspects via Bernstein’s various subsidiary programs, including the Young People’s concerts, and a recapitulation of Glenn Gould’s interpretive disruption earlier in the season:

But to make the speech and go on with a performance he must have known was a travesty was unprofessional and immature, and does not say much for Mr. Bernstein’s *musical integrity* [emphasis added]. And that would appear, is the major point. It was not the performance itself, but the music director’s attitude that suddenly became symbolic of one of the things that ails the Philharmonic. Weakness begets weakness; and, one dare

observe, cheapness begets cheapness. Until the Philharmonic again gets fired with the thrill of making music, with bigness and excitement, under a conductor who can push the musicians to the supreme effort, the Philharmonic will remain merely a good orchestra and not a great one; and the conductor will remain, well, not Maestro Bernstein, but merely Lenny, the Peter Pan of music. (p. X9)

Schonberg (1962, May 20) continues to use repairing mechanisms and references to elements of the *institutional core*, by positioning Bernstein's lack of leadership, as an indication of a lack of "integrity" (p. X9). Further, this lack of integrity is cast as being "symbolic" (Schonberg, 1962, May 20, p. X9), pointing again to the *new observation* that the integrity of one actor can affect (or "infect") others, including music, conductor, and orchestra. Schonberg (1962, May 20), therefore, focuses on the importance of *maintaining ecological relationships*, especially in particularly disruptive institutional environments. Schonberg (1962, May 20) also infers that the disruption does not necessary touch the "performance" of the repertoire, but rather Bernstein was a potent "symbolic" actor of the disruption. Overall, a *new observation* is apparent in that the repertoire is cast as having its own *power* to withstand the effects of a highly disruptive environment.

The second source, the following seasons' year-end summary (Schonberg, 1963, May 26), again focuses on the many, concurrent disruptions, including acoustical problems with the new, Philharmonic Hall, a controversy around the presentation of "truncated" (p. 105) Mahler and Beethoven works, i.e., pertaining to the tradition of orchestras performing complete rather than partial works, "safe" rather than adventuresome new commissions of repertoire for the Philharmonic, and the dropping of previously programmed American works. This is another instance of the *new observation* of several concurrent disruptions that create a particularly complex institutional environment. However, this time, Bernstein's disruption of time is highlighted in less positive terms by Schonberg (1963, May 26), who again uses *emotionally-charged appeals*, via humor, as a key *repairing mechanism*. In particular, Schonberg (1963, May 26) casts Bernstein's disruption of time thus: "[Bernstein's] long absences places the Philharmonic subscribers in the position of a wife sitting at home while her husband is gallivanting around" (p. 105). Overall, Schonberg (1963, May 26) again argues that the orchestra

and conductor were not “living up to potential” (p. 105), and that Bernstein should be “devot[ing] more attention to his primary job – the subscription season of this orchestra” (p. 105). While Bernstein continued to get good, though sometimes mixed, reviews during the 1962-3 season, the disruption of time continued to persist. This shows the *new observation* of the persistence of repairing mechanisms amidst recreating mechanisms.

The third and final source, a year-end summary of Schonberg (1964, May 15) for the 1963-4 season, does not mention Bernstein’s earlier disruption of time, even though there was a significant drop in Bernstein’s appearances in the subscription season from 46% of programs in 1962-3, to only 33% in 1963-4. Here, Schonberg (1964, May 15) opens with the comment that “As all good things must, the season of the New York Philharmonic is coming to an end” (p. 41). Schonberg (1964, May 17) highlights new announcements, including the New York Philharmonic achieving year-round employment for the musicians, as well Bernstein’s announced sabbatical for the 1964-5 season.

Disruption complete: Key program data

By the time of Schonberg’s, May 15, 1964 review, Bernstein’s disruption of time had, for the time, disappeared from critical review. To this overall development within the press, key program data also points to a resolution of the disruption, i.e., *recreating expectations* concerning the time both endogenous and exogenous actors could expect to enjoy their main conductor. In addition to Bernstein’s presence from the 1958-9 to 1963-4 seasons, I also analyze four further seasons, in 20-year increments, i.e., 1962-3, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 (see Table 11).

Table 11: Conductors, programs, and presence (by season)

Season	Conductor	All Programs	Subscription -only	Subscription (in weeks)	Gap (in weeks)	Presence (%)
1958-9	Bernstein	49%	55%	30	13	57%
1959-60	Bernstein	49%	47%	31	16	48%
1960-1	Bernstein	46%	36%	28	16	43%
1961-2	Bernstein	27%	34%	33	20	40%
1962-3	Bernstein	34%	46%	35	22	37%
1963-4	Bernstein	35%	33%	33	20	40%
1982-3	Mehta	44%	56%	35	15	57%
2002-3	Maazel	30%	38%	39	22	44%
2012-3	Gilbert	37%	39%	41	18	56%

Analyzing *all programs*, Bernstein leads 42% in the 1962-3 season, Zubin Mehta, 44% in the 1982-3 season, Lorin Maazel, 30% in the 2002-3 season, and Alan Gilbert, 37% in the 2012-3 season. None of these seasons reach the rate enjoyed by audiences in the 1960-1 season with Bernstein, i.e., 46%, nor the percentages in the earliest years that could be up to 100%, such as was the case in the 1882-3 and 1902-3 seasons.

Analyzing *subscription-only* programs, a healthy number of programs are taken by Bernstein and Mehta; however a tapering off is again evident for Maazel and Gilbert: Bernstein took 46% of subscription programs in the 1962-3 season, Zubin Mehta, 56% in the 1982-3 season, and then Lorin Maazel, 38% in the 2002-3 season, and Alan Gilbert, 39% in the 2012-3 season. Generally, this supports the growing trend of the internationalization of conductors' careers, and the rather practical concerns of managing large numbers of programs per season. Further, the gaps in presence that created the furor around Bernstein's 1961-2 season, continue to persist as two, divided periods in following seasons. In the 1982-3 season, Zubin Mehta is away for a total of approximately 15 weeks, and in the 2002-3 season, Lorin Maazel is away approximately 22 weeks. Finally, the 2012-2 season is led by Alan Gilbert, with similar results: 18 weeks over two time periods. In analyzing the total percentage of time that these conductors spent during the subscription season in 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3, i.e., 57%, 44%, and 56% respectively, these

numbers are less indicative of time spent, as the season length was consistently over a longer period of time.

Legacy: The disruption and transformation of time

While Schonberg's (1964, May 15) year-end summary of the 1963-4 season seems to point to some resolution of change, analysis of press reviews and articles of the 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3 seasons, as well as biographical information, shows a continued interplay between the use of *repairing* and *recreating mechanisms*. In particular, mention of the disruption of time is observed in season announcements (late spring), as well as reviews of season opening concerts (early fall) (see Table 12).

Table 12: New York Times reviews (1960-1 to 1963-4 seasons)

Year	Date	Reviewer	Title of Article
1976	December 19	Epstein	<i>The Philharmonic - A Troubled Giant Facing Change.</i>
1982	September 15	Holland	<i>Philharmonic to open, still aglow from tour.</i>
1983	April 1	Lipman	<i>Room on the podium? (New Criterion)</i>
1983	May 20	Henahan	<i>Concert: Philharmonic.</i>
2002	June 2	Griffiths	<i>Play that old piece if you must, but not for old time's sake.</i>
2002	September 15	Horowitz	<i>Music.</i>
2003	June 21	Tommasini	<i>In Mahler blast, season bows out.</i>
2012	September 21	Tommasini	<i>A restrained leap into the Stravinsky-thon.</i>
2012	October 25	Wakin	<i>Philharmonic extends Gilbert's reign.</i>
2013	June 29	Tommasini	<i>Everyone's a dancer at the philharmonic.</i>

One intervening New York Times article by Helen Epstein (1976, December 19), entitled, *The Philharmonic - A Troubled Giant Facing Change*, casts the disruption of time in terms of its impact on some of the players in the orchestra: "They resent a parade of conductors who, they say, 'suck the blood' of the orchestra" (p. X1). Here, Epstein (1976, December 19) focuses on *maintaining ecological relationships* as repairing mechanism, amidst the lack of time.

1982-3 Season

The New York Times announcement for the 1982-3 season, when Mehta took a considerable portion of both all programs and subscription-only programs, i.e., 44% and 56% respectively, makes no mention of Mehta's overall presence with the orchestra, nor of his predecessor's lack of presence (Holland, 1982, September 15). Holland (1982, September 15) rather focuses on the overall balance of standard and contemporary repertoire, another key disruption within these data, though beyond the scope of this research. This points to a *new observation* that some disruptions are *cyclical*, i.e., while change is possible, variability is as well. That said, as observed in Gould's interpretive disruption, there are *boundaries*, and critics – amongst others – act as guardians of these boundaries, employing repairing mechanisms to remind actors when the disruption of time is taken too far. This points to a *new observation* concerning critics, who not only employ *corrective power* but also act with considerable “awareness, skill and reflexivity” in navigating disruptive contexts, managing both *repairing* and *recreating mechanisms*, anticipating future disruptions, speaking eloquently and intelligibly about *core elements*, and here, articulating key boundaries affecting various aspects of the symphony orchestra.

“Transforming” disruption

At this juncture, while the disruption of time continues to surface, these data show a clear shift in how the disruption of time is expressed, a particularly important *new observation* concerning the nature and form of institutional disruption. Many of Bernstein's successors could have created disruptions of time, in particular, Lorin Maazel (see Table 11). However, during this time, the rather practical disruption of time is beginning to be *transformed* into one of “potential”, “character” or “personality”, and “identity”, the last two referencing elements of the *institutional core*. Therefore, there is a shift from a focus on the relatively mundane element of time to how the disruption of time *affects* aspects that are attributable to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. This points to a shift in tactics, whereby the disruption of time is attacked by way of a much more powerful position. Further, rather than employing various types of repairing mechanisms, these authors (not surprisingly) make greater reference to aspects of the institutional core. The following traces this *transformation* as articulated in critical reviews of the New York Times.

During the 1982-3 season, a lengthy (and rather famous) article of John Rockwell appeared in the New York Times, which targeted the New York Philharmonic as having a “half-century tradition of failing to fulfill its *potential* [emphasis added]” (Rockwell, 1982, September 19, p. 283). While several contextual rationales are given by Rockwell (1982, September 19), such as the impact of living in New York City where competition and proximity to success are significant considerations, he focuses rather on elements closely associated with the institutional core, i.e., the “Philharmonic’s *character* [emphasis added] as an ensemble, its sound and its *personality* [emphasis added]. And that is something that far transcends any particular time or individual” (p. 286). Here, Rockwell (1982, September 19) references *character* (and *personality*), in terms of a unique and perceptible *sound*, an attribute that extends beyond one particular conductor or beyond one particular time period. However, Rockwell (1982, September 19) goes on to argue that *character* can be impacted by “particularities of... location and leadership” (p. 286), with leadership given precedence. This position is later supported by Tommasini (2002, December 29), who argues that “artistic leadership is everything. Only a strong artistic director can hone an institutional vision, present a dynamic persona [i.e., the personality of an orchestra] to the public and energize audiences” (p. A38).

Therefore, the main conductor’s time spent with an orchestra has an impact on its overall *character*. Rockwell (1982, September 19) also articulates one possible result of less time: “the orchestra of tomorrow may be forced into an internationalism of tone and style, bereft of *personality* [emphasis added] and compelled to adapt grudgingly to a never-ending sequence of transitory guests” (p. 301). Overall, aspects of “potential”, “character” or “personality” are linked to conductors, who now have a reputation as actors involved in the disruption of time. This provides a first stage of *transformation* within the press.

The close of the season had no reference to the disruption of time (Henahan, 1983, May 20); however, an earlier article by Samuel Lipman in the New Criterion, April 1983 casts conductors as “absentee landlords” (Lipman, 1983, April 1, p. 90), again focusing on repairing mechanisms via the importance of *maintaining ecological relationships*, i.e., the importance of key, inextricable relationships between conductors, the repertoire, the players, and audiences. Here, Lipman (1983) states the rather dramatic changes in the role of main conductors over time:

These great conductors [early to mid-20th century] were deeply committed to their orchestras. Indeed, wherever they had a permanent job, they ruled the artistic roost. But now, when we survey the American musical scene, we find that the music directors of our greatest orchestras are little more than absentee landlords... Zubin Mehta, Ricardo Muti, and Seiji Ozawa each conduct less than half of their orchestra's concerts... The rest of the year is taken over by guests, associates, and assistants. Some of them are good, many of them are mediocre; none has the *responsibility* [emphasis added] for the orchestra or the musical life of the community. (p. 90)

Overall, Lipman (1983, April 1) focuses on the nature of conductors and their *responsibility* to their orchestras, thereby making reference to the *new observation of appeals to professionalism* as a new repairing mechanism.

2002-3 Season

A year-end article for the 2001-2 season does not mention past or future “gaps” in time; rather, the main focus is disruptions concerning the uniformity of programming across orchestras in general, as well as the overall importance of programming beyond single repertoire choices: “The audience will get a great work; it may even get a great performance; but it will not get a great concert, because it will not get a great program” (Griffiths, 2002, June 2, p. A26). Griffiths (2002, June 2) points to the importance of *maintaining ecological relationships* amongst the various works that make up each program presented to audiences.

This article is followed by Horowitz (2002, September 15) who opens the 2002-3 season with no word of conductor gaps, but a call for “*identity*” (p. A28). Horowitz (2002, September 15) continues a long-standing narrative in the press concerning the New York Philharmonic's inability to “liv[e] up to [its] potential” (Schonberg, 1963, May 26, p. 105), which was cited earlier as a significant impact of Bernstein's lack of time with the orchestra. In the case of Horowitz (2002, September 15), the underlying problem of identity is cast as related to particular audience behaviors ranging from quick exits after performances and noise during performances. Here, contemporary or American music is cited as being a significant factor for the New York Philharmonic to gain a *distinctive identity*. Overall, Horowitz's (2002, September 15) article

points to the disruption of time being *transformed* into a disruption of “*identity*”, a key element associated with the institutional core.

Another significant factor during this time of *transformation*, is a continued complexity in the institutional environment, in terms of the variety and intensity of *concurrent disruptions*. The announcement for the 2003-4 season focused on the contemporary, commissioned works, as well as repertoire that was, in general, new to the Philharmonic (Kozinn, 2003, January 28). This came at the time when another disruption to the New York Philharmonic was gaining momentum: the expected move and merger with Carnegie Hall, following continued difficulties with Philharmonic Hall, especially around its acoustics (Tommasini, 2003, June 7). Tommasini’s (2003, June 21) season-end review relates the shift in focus:

It seemed just yesterday that the big question about the New York Philharmonic was how Lorin Maazel was faring in his first season as music director. That debate was shoved aside by the orchestra’s startling recent announcement that it plans to abandon Lincoln Center and merge with Carnegie Hall. (p. B9).

The review further describes Maazel’s performance, with no mention of his notable gaps during the season, as was highlighted in reviews of Bernstein in the 1960s. However, Tommasini (2003, June 21) closes the article commending Maazel on his ability to conduct contemporary music: “The performance seemed completely assured, though. One thing we’ve learned this season is that Mr. Maazel is a masterly conductor of new music” (p. B9). Again, a focus on the repertoire, including contemporary repertoire, points to its importance and proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

2012-3 Season

By the 2012-3 season, articles and reviews of the New York Philharmonic had essentially dropped the disruption of time, and were overall, positive reflections on key areas of strength of new conductor, Alan Gilbert, who had joined the Philharmonic in 2009. The 2012-3 season opens with a positive review of Gilbert (Tommasini, 2012, September 21), and the announcement of his extension as music director for the 2014-17 season (Wakin, 2012, October

25). Wakin (2012, October 25) focuses on Gilbert's interest in developing educational opportunities (Gilbert is Director of Conducting and Orchestral Studies at The Juilliard School), as well as "official partnerships and relationships" (Wakin, 2012, October 25, p. C.2). Therefore, the *maintenance of ecological relationships*, is given precedence.

The emphasis of *ecological relationships* continues with a review focusing on Gilbert as the first conductor who is a native-born New Yorker, as well as his family's close connection to the orchestra, i.e., his father was previously a violinist at the Philharmonic, and his mother continues to hold a position in the violin section. Further, Gilbert's focus on new music as well as his efforts to create a "deeper connection of the orchestra to New York" (Wakin, 2012, October 25) are all emphasized. During the season, Gilbert's focus on new music continues to be a focus, as well as his strength as leader and conductor (Wakin, 2013, January 24; Tommasini, 2013, February 16). The season closes with a notable exclusion of a year-end summary and a clear focus on the music, Gilbert as conductor, and also the players (Tommasini, 2013, June 29).

In sum, Bernstein's disruption of time is not repaired over time, pointing to its peripheral nature. A variety of repairing and recreating mechanisms, along with frequent associations with elements of the institutional core, characterize the trajectory of change, or at best, trajectory of variation over time. While the proportion of time that conductors appear during the season seems to have stabilized since the 1960s (around 35-45%), and during the subscription season (about the same), modern conductors are not returning to the proportions of the late 19th and early 20th century (see Table 13).

Table 13: Conductors and proportion of time (by season)

Season	Main Conductor	All (%)	Subscription-Only (%)
1842-3	Ureli Corelli Hill	34%	34%
1862-3	Theodore Eisfeld	80%	80%
1882-3	Theodore Thomas	100%	100%
1902-3	Walter Damrosch	100%	100%
1922-3	Josef Stansky	49%	46%
1942-3*	John Barbirolli	-	15%
	Alexander Smallens	15%	-
	Bruno Walter	13%	21%
	Fritz Reiner	11%	15%
1962-3	Leonard Bernstein	34%	46%
1982-3	Zubin Mehta	57%	56%
2002-3	Lorin Maazel	47%	38%
2012-3	Alan Gilbert	45%	39%

*Season shared by 3 main conductors as the Philharmonic searched for a main conductor

Further, the data set shows that in later seasons, 1982-3, 2002-3, and 2012-3, critics mention presence less and less, and if it is mentioned, it is often in association with other concurrent disruptions, or disappears completely, as other disruptions take precedence. Finally, though the disruption of time is not repaired over time, it is *transformed* in later years to a disruption of “character” and “identity”, factors that are impacted by a lack of time, and in particular, associated with elements of the institutional core.

Conclusion

Conductors are important endogenous actors within the ecology of the institution of the symphony orchestra who have shown a great deal of change, and not surprisingly, have also been involved in significant disruptions over time. Bernstein’s disruption of time is associated with several repairing mechanisms by both endogenous and exogenous actors, including Bernstein himself; however these repairing mechanisms appear in counterpoint with several recreating mechanisms employed by similar sets of actors. The main actors include key ecological members, i.e., Bernstein, reviewers, audiences, and the orchestra in general. Since the use of recreating mechanisms emerges soon after the main disruptive event, i.e., Bernstein’s lack of

time with the Philharmonic in the 1960-1 season, this points to this disruption as primarily targeting peripheral aspects over the institutional core.

That said, since this case is observed over the long term, disruption is observed in two capacities. First, this case presents an example of many (concurrent) layers of disruption, both related and distinct, from a move to a new location, concerns of “glamour” and the arts, discussions of the importance and place of both contemporary and American orchestral repertoire, and growing concerns around the acoustics of Philharmonic Hall, to name just a few. These competing, significant disruptions create a complex ecology within which the particular disruption of time plays out. Second, this case also presents the main disruption as being *transformed* over the long-term, from a disruption of time to a disruption of “potential”, “character” or “personality”, and “identity”. Therefore, the peripheral disruption of time shifts to how time impacts elements of the institutional core, including “character” or “personality”, and “identity” in particular. However, this translation is largely set with reviewers acting in a cautionary capacity, pointing to the impacts of crossing certain boundaries.

Five repairing mechanisms are observed, including those based on *ecological relationships*, *claims to history and tradition*, *corrective power*, *creativity-based efforts* and *emotionally-charged appeals*. To these, two further mechanisms are added including *appeals to professionalism* and an *emphasis on communication*, which first appeared in the case of Mutter’s *potential* disruption of “glamour”. Further, these mechanisms are also observed amidst several references to key elements of the institutional core, including *character*, *personality*, *integrity and authenticity*, and *identity*. Finally, as in earlier cases, several new observations are apparent in the example of Bernstein’s disruption of time.

Repairing and recreating mechanisms

Bernstein’s ability to initially repair the disruption of time is based, in part, on his ability to quickly *create* and *maintain key ecological relationships* with the players, audience members, and others. Further, critics highlight the particular importance of this mechanism in highly disruptive institutional environments, as well as its applicability in cases where time is a consideration. Of particular importance are key *ecological relationships* between conductor,

orchestral players, and audience. However, this case also positions the *maintenance of ecological relationships* as a repairing mechanism that was *translated* into a recreating mechanism by the New York Philharmonic management. While less prominent than in previous cases, *claims to history and tradition* are employed by the critic, Harold C. Schonberg, in contextualizing the meaning of time, from its associations with the trajectory of the orchestra, as well as its application within the context of conductors.

Corrective power is also employed by actors whose roles have the expectation of a level of power, including conductors and critics. In particular, critics are positioned as having a unique power in conjunction with a high level of “awareness, skill and reflexivity”. The case offers several examples where critics deftly navigate highly complex and disruptive contexts, using both repairing and recreating mechanisms, anticipating future disruptions, and articulating key understandings of elements closely associated with the institutional core. Like claims to history and tradition, *emotionally-charged appeals* are less referenced in this case; however, they can be attributed to Bernstein’s public apology concerning his lack of time with the Philharmonic. Further, this mechanism is employed by Schonberg, in his own unique brand of humor, as he navigates between the use of repairing and recreating mechanisms concerning Bernstein’s disruption of time. Finally, Bernstein’s use of *creativity-based efforts* and *an emphasis on communication* as mending mechanisms, are eventually understood as being “ceremonial” in character.

Elements of the institutional core

This case presents three of the four elements associated with the institutional core, i.e., *character* (or personality), *integrity and authenticity*, and finally, *identity*. The reviewer Schonberg (1961, April 16) highlights the importance of *character* in different orchestras’ “sounds”, which reflect unique aspects that are particular to a single orchestra, but the conductor as well. Further, the practical disruption of time, is also *transformed* as a disruption of “potential”, “*character*” or “personality”, and “identity”.

In terms of *integrity and authenticity*, this case positions these two elements as significant to Bernstein’s initial use of repairing mechanisms, including his ability to balance a glamorous

image and the work of conducting an orchestra. Further, critical reviews also question Bernstein's *integrity*, when a lack of leadership was assumed to negatively impact the authenticity of the repertoire that was presented. This lack of integrity is cast as "symbolic" by Schonberg (1962, May 20), pointing to the linkages that exist between the "integrities" of both conductor and the repertoire, as well as the orchestra as a whole. This linkage is also extended to various "identities", including those of orchestra and conductor. Finally, while a Friedlandian substance, or essence, is not directly referenced in this case, several actors do point to a general understanding of the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, or its overall goal, i.e., as articulated by Krehbiel (1892), "the cultivation and performance of instrumental music" (p. 8). In general, these data show Bernstein's ability to move past the disruption of time, due to his consistent and passionate focus on the repertoire.

New observations

As observed in prior cases, Bernstein's disruption of time includes a new recreating mechanism, i.e., an *emphasis on communication*, as well as an example of how ecological linkages can lead to "infection" of close partners, and therefore further disruption, and how repairing and recreating mechanisms can be very persistent over time. Further, there are several new observations, one of which positions *claims to professionalism* as a new repairing mechanism. Of particular note is the "ceremonial" nature of some of the repairing mechanisms used by Bernstein, which in hindsight were rather *recreating mechanisms* that allowed for change at the periphery. Further, several repairing mechanisms are *translated* into recreating mechanisms, amidst a particularly complex institutional landscape, characterized by a great variety of distinct and related, concurrent disruptions. This complexity is heightened by a particularly persistent interplay of repairing and recreating mechanisms, which create the type of contrast that supports the articulation, navigation, and recreation of key disruptions.

In this case, critics show a particular "awareness, skill and reflexivity", which aid their navigation of a highly disruptive and highly complicated context, from the use of both repairing and recreating mechanisms, to anticipating future disruptions, and to eloquently articulating aspects of the institutional core. In particular, a long-term view highlights the cyclical nature of some disruptions, the *transformation* of disruption over time, and the particular persistence of the

use of both repairing and recreating mechanisms. Finally, the repertoire is consistently cast in a particularly *powerful role*, having the ability to withstand the effects of highly disruptive environments.

In sum, Bernstein's disruption of time is indicative of conductors' significant amount of change over time. As observed in the case of Mutter, Bernstein's respect of the repertoire is set alongside his disruption of time, which over the long-term, shows a persistence of change, therefore pointing to the peripheral nature of the amount of time a conductor spends with an orchestra. However, unlike the case of Mutter, Bernstein's disruption of time shows a much greater variety of both repairing and recreating mechanisms employed by both endogenous and exogenous actors, in conjunction with several references to key elements of the institutional core. That said, amidst such a complicated set of actions and reactions, the repertoire remains a focus.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

How are institutions maintained over time? This question relies on an “answer” to the following question: during times of disruption, *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change?* My analysis points first, to the latter of the two questions. First, my analysis of the institution of the symphony orchestra shows that during times of disruption, some elements remain constant while others are allowed a degree of change, as expressed in three key endogenous actors, i.e., the repertoire, soloists, and conductors. In general, *the repertoire* is a *relative constant* over time, with pockets of experimentation and variation, which also position it as a perceptibly dynamic entity over the long-term. While the *standard repertoire* (or “musical canon”), in particular, forms a foundation for the symphony orchestra – as do texts for religious orders, or original canvases for the visual artist – it is set within artistic expression, i.e., ongoing composition, and artistic interpretation via individuals who apply personal conceptualizations to these works.

To this relative constant, is set both soloists and conductors, who have shown a balance of consistency and change to significant amounts of change over time, respectively. While key data show *soloists* as important conduits of a “solo line”, they also offer unique interpretations of the repertoire, and as a group, offer multiple interpretations of single works, as careers emerge and recede naturally over time. This state of “balance” is also reflected in soloists’ position as exogenous (prior to hire) and endogenous actors (from rehearsal to performance), and in the nature of musical expression itself: balance or contrast is at the heart of dynamics (soft and loud), *tempi* (fast and slow), and a multitude of other components that are shaped by musicians within the act of performance.

Finally, of the three, *conductors* have exhibited the greatest change over time, considering a multitude of contextual aspects in their institutionalization, as well as specific data to the case of the New York Philharmonic. While their interpretive role is in some sense similar to that of soloists, their trajectory of change has overshadowed consistency, which is largely expressed via their role as leader. Over time, leadership from the podium came in multiple forms, i.e., from keyboard, to concertmaster, conductor, and specialized conductor, with multiple instruments of

the trade, i.e., from staff, to handkerchief, baton, to the use of one's own hands and body, and a surprisingly variable relationship with the repertoire. Here, the conductor shifted from simple time beater, to interpreter who manipulated structural and musical expression, to master and modern form that prioritized the score and the repertoire, while navigating (or balancing) an interpretive landscape created through study and performance.

Why such trajectories and such differences? Since the repertoire is a *relative constant* over time, and since interpretation (or contrast) is at the heart of musical expression, conductors provide a significant role in leading variation over time, in terms of interpretation and communication of the repertoire to audiences. Conductors also act as an important conduit between the composer, the score, the repertoire, the orchestral players, and audiences. Therefore, conductors form a vital link between key endogenous and exogenous actors that make up the ecology of the symphony orchestra. Soloists, as both exogenous and endogenous actors, are positioned in a unique intermediary role, providing variation via interpretation of the repertoire. Overall, in both cases, conductors and soloists, amidst experimentation and variation, show a strong respect for the repertoire.

The institutional core

The three endogenous actors, i.e. the repertoire, soloists, and conductors, form an important interplay of consistency and change. However, what governs such an interplay? I argue that institutions are expressed via an overarching and foundational *institutional core*. As a unique portfolio of elements, including institutional substance, or essence (Friedland, 2009), character (Selznick, 1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008), integrity and authenticity, and finally, identity (Glynn, 2000; 2008), I offer the institutional core as the *governing constant* to institutions, and institutional work over time. Of the three actors, the repertoire, stands most proximate, with soloists and finally conductors, at greater and greater distances, respectively.

The case of the New York Philharmonic repeatedly offers instances where the integrity and authenticity of *the repertoire* is protected. Violations, or disruptions are met with tenacious resistance to change. To this, soloists and conductors have offered a counterpoint of experimentation and variation, and in many cases, *key disruptions* over time. Therefore, a loosely

coupled form is created, whereby the institutional core – most simply expressed by the repertoire – is protected and held as a relative constant, against a backdrop of change, provided by soloists and conductors, who reflect and respond to varying historical contexts. Overall, the constancy of the institutional core is understood and expressed amidst a counterpoint of change.

Friedland (2009) defined *institutional substance* as “the central object of an institutional field and the principle of its unity...the foundation, or essence” (p. 56). Therefore, in the context of the symphony orchestra, the primary role of soloists and conductors is based on *action*, or work “to produce, accumulate, control, distribute, manage, express, perform or access *the substance* [emphasis added]” (p. 64). The repertoire, however, is most proximate, and therefore is a relative constant, most clearly expressed in Mutter’s *potential* disruption of “glamour”. Mutter, as soloist, is able to navigate the potentially disruptive influence of “glamour” amidst her own respect for the repertoire, and her ability to focus on and draw upon its inherent “spiritual” nature.

Equally important is Friedland’s (2009) conceptualization of what is *not* part of such institutional substance: while expressing the essence of an institution, the substance cannot “be reduced to its accidental properties [emphasis added] which attach to it nor to the materiality of its instances” (p. 56). Therefore, my conceptualization of the institutional core includes actors, i.e., soloists, conductors, orchestras, amongst others, who create or provide such “accidental properties” within changeable institutional contexts, and a “materiality” to the institutional core’s expression, but only against a canvas that is *relatively* unchanging over time.

Finally, the conundrum of change within institutional settings is rather simply set considering Friedland’s (2009) conceptualization of institutional substance: “Belief in the objectivity of the substance affords space in which practices can change; new practices can be added and subtracted, and yet still legitimately claim to index the same substance” (pp. 63-64). Therefore, in the case of the symphony orchestra, if the repertoire is “upheld”, there is “space” for soloists’ and conductors’ trajectories of change. Becker’s (1982) conception of change in art worlds also points to such a balance of consistency and change, whereby so-called “revolutions” in various art worlds are likened to political ones:

[N]o matter how much changes, much stays the same... composers may use new sounds and notations; musicians may play their instruments in unfamiliar ways and use new kinds of equipment. But composers still produce scores which, however unconventional, function as parts that the performers read and use to guide their performance. (p. 307)

What the institutional core offers, is direction in what may change, and what must remain the same.

To Friedland's (2009) institutional substance, or essence, the institutional core benefits from an understanding of *character*, including individual, organizational, and institutional forms. Selznick's (1949/1953) conceptualization of organizational character adopts a fundamental, yet evolving aspect of organizational life: "There is a vague and ill-defined quality which, unacknowledged and often poorly understood, represents a fundamental prize in organizational controversy. This is the evolving character of the organization as a whole. What are we? What shall we become?" (p. 181). Character is therefore set as an expectation, though capable of evolution. Selznick (1957) also links character, and its evolution, to a Friedlandian substance, or my conceptualization of an institutional core, i.e. "irreversible commitments": "The acceptance of *irreversible commitments* [emphasis added] is the process by which the character of an organization is set" (p. 40). Therefore, a respect of the institutional core, allows the creation of character. However, such "irreversible commitments" are set by Selznick (1949/1953) within a social environment, or a trajectory of history, whereby organizations' "unified outlook and systematized behavior receive their content, or substantive reference, from the play of interest and the flow of ideas which characterize the organization's social environment" (p. 183). While organizational representatives are governed by the institutional core, the expression of the institutional core is within the interplay of organization and context. Therefore, any institution, and its member organizations, are set within a greater social reality, or *ecology of institutions*.

In the case of the symphony orchestra, character is expressed in unique ways via individual orchestras, but it also reflects the orchestra's inspiration, i.e. the repertoire. In the specific case of the New York Philharmonic, character is repeatedly given a foundational role, which key actors turn to during times of disruption. Character or "artistic temperament" is positioned as a key

element of the great soloist, or great virtuoso. Without it, the repertoire's expression is compromised.

Character is also at the foundation of the unique expressions or “sounds” of individual orchestras, as well as the unique interplay in conductor-orchestra combinations. Further, in the case of Bernstein's disruption of time, the mundane aspect of time is *translated* into a disruption of character (or personality), pointing to an acceptance of lesser amounts of time with the main conductor, but resistance for any residual impacts on the all-important character of the orchestra, and the focus of its energies, i.e., the repertoire. Overall, as articulated by Selznick (1960), the long-term trajectory and focus of an institution allows for the creation of a character, or “quality of uniqueness that suffuses the entire organization” (p. 56). In the case of the institution of the symphony orchestra, conductors, soloists, orchestra, amongst others, are recipients and reflectors of such a “quality of uniqueness” or character, as governed by their institutional core.

Integrity and authenticity join character as further, foundational elements of the institutional core. Like the authenticity of the original, signed canvas, or the integrity of the architectural structure, this dyad constitutes the repertoire, but also the trajectories of its conduits, including soloists, conductors, and orchestras. The foundational role of integrity and authenticity is linked by Selznick (1992; 2008) to related concepts of “wholeness”, “unity” and “coherence”, as well as the particular elements of “character” and “identity”, key elements of the institutional core. Further, integrity is positioned by Selznick (2002) within an ecological understanding of institutions, where “the well-being of ecosystems depends on regard for the integrity of all components” (p. 67). Overall, the deeply interrelated nature of authenticity, integrity, and character constitutes an “inner strength” (Selznick, 2008, p. 125) which must be guarded, without loss of focus.

However, while Selznick (1957) positions integrity, and by extension, those attributes closely associated to integrity, as significant and powerful, he also positions them as susceptible to attack: “The integrity of an institution may be threatened, regardless of its own inner strength, if sufficiently great force is applied to it... [I]nstitutional integrity is characteristically vulnerable when values are tenuous or insecure” (pp. 119-120). Therefore, in the case of this thesis, the

institutional core can also be “threatened”, or disrupted; times of disruption become particularly useful junctures for observing and understanding maintenance over time.

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, integrity and authenticity are frequently observed in these data, and often are used by name by actors during times of disruption. While disruption is mitigated and dispersed by the authenticity and integrity of soloists and conductors, this is never at the expense of the repertoire’s own integrity and authenticity. As observed in the particular cases of Mutter and Bernstein, a soloist’s or conductor’s respect for the repertoire, as expressed via integrity and authenticity, allows for a balance of “glamour” (and change), which in other cases had the potential to create disruption, instigate repair, and promote maintenance. These data also show that the highly interconnected nature of the institutional environment of the symphony orchestra can promote the lack of integrity of one actor to “infect” another. In the case of Bernstein’s disruption of time, his integrity was sometimes called into question, and this often was set as “symbolic” of various “integrities”, including the integrity of the New York Philharmonic, and even the repertoire. Therefore, Selznick’s (1957) argument that institutional integrity can be threatened emerges in this case. However, Bernstein’s respect of the repertoire, and his passionate focus on music, allows the otherwise disruptive lack of time, or “gap” to be repaired or “recreated” over time.

Finally, an expression of the institutional core is related to *identity*. Glynn’s (2000) conceptualization of organizational identity is set as “a key intangible aspect of any institution. It affects not only how an organization defines itself, but also how strategic issues and problems... are defined and resolved” (p. 286). Identity, like Friedland’s (2009) institutional substance, or essence, and Selznick’s (1992) conceptualization of institutional and organizational character, is also cast as having an “elusive” quality, which requires work to understand, and is enacted in the day-to-day work of individuals. The institutional core serves as a common foundation upon which individual organizations engage in identity creation, as well as create distinctive identities within varied contexts. While Glynn (2008) positions several “legitimate identity elements” (p. 413) at the heart of organizational identity work, I theorize a single institutional core, rather than multiple “cores”, as enlivening institutional and organizational life. In the case of the New York Philharmonic, Bernstein’s disruption of time pointed to the importance of identity, and its

susceptibility to not only disruption, but also “infection” due to the highly related interplay of various “identities” within institutional contexts, including the repertoire, conductors, soloists, and orchestra.

While the institutional core must be maintained over time, this does not preclude disruptions to aspects both proximate and peripheral to that institutional core. Overall, these understandings point to *how institutions are maintained over time* and *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change*.

Mechanisms to repair, mechanisms to recreate

In addressing *how institutions are maintained over time*, I argue that we must first understand *what aspects of institutions are maintained, and what aspects are allowed to change*. I also argue that the institutional core governs the nature of such an interplay of consistency and change. However, who does the work, and how is it achieved? This raises a second question: *how do actors, both endogenous and exogenous to an institution, engage in repairing and recreating practices?* Analyzing the case of the New York Philharmonic, I find that key institutional actors are actively involved in using both repairing and recreating mechanisms to realize not only their institutional core, but also to attend to changeable contexts.

As positioned by Selznick (1957), institutions are “a natural product of social needs and pressures – a responsive, adaptive organism” (p. 5). Therefore, individuals, and individual organizations, *reflect* their institutional core, but *refract* those aspects which are peripheral. In the case of the New York Philharmonic, repairing mechanisms were largely expressed by five unique processes, i.e., *maintaining ecological relationships, claims to history and tradition, corrective power, creativity-based efforts, and emotionally-charged appeals*. These five mechanisms were joined by two further mechanisms, a *focus on communication* and *appeals to professionalism*. In many cases, these mechanisms targeted disruption, addressing fissures that touched on the repertoire. In other cases, these mechanisms were *translated* and employed as *recreating mechanisms*, when disruptions targeted peripheral aspects of the symphony orchestra. Drawing from the many disruptions that occurred at the New York Philharmonic since its inception in 1842, three serve as representative examples including: 1) Gould’s interpretive

disruption of the repertoire; 2) Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour"; and 3) Bernstein's disruption of time.

Maintaining ecological relationships is consistently employed over these three cases. At a general level, the inter-connected nature of the three key endogenous actors within the institution of the symphony orchestra, i.e., repertoire, soloists, and conductors, is reflected in similar periods of institutionalization, and aspects of co-evolution over time. Composers, scores, the repertoire, orchestras, soloists, conductors, and audiences create a tightly-knit set of inextricable relationships, based on the creation and reception of art. Therefore, the organizational and institutional literatures, which are only beginning to address the idea of an ecology of institutions, are well-placed to benefit from further research in this area. In part, this trajectory has already been set in Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) conceptualization of the "institutional project".

I define an *ecology of institutions* as the acknowledgement that institutions are part of an overall social group of individuals, organizations, and institutions, which affect and "infect" a single institution's trajectory over time. Not even the all-powerful institution, works in a vacuum. Therefore, these ecological linkages define the nature of institutional creation, maintenance, and disruption. Selznick (2002) positions such inter-relationships as an "ecological sensibility" (p. 66), whereby "human beings are products of interaction; they are embedded in social contexts" (p. 29). Therefore, institutions are "products of interaction", embedded in their own, higher-level social contexts (Selznick, 1992, p. 29). Further, institutions are maintained as part of similar "interactions", i.e., "institutions *endure* [emphasis added] because persons, groups, or communities have a stake in the continued existence" (Selznick, 1992, p. 233).

In the case of the institution of the symphony orchestra, an ecological perspective is also at the heart of artistic experience, as is expressed by Holoman (2012): "how orchestras, their public, their cities, and the music they make *resonate with one another* [emphasis added]" (p. 46). However, an ecological perspective also reflects the great history and tradition of this institutional form, including its main actors, from composers, to soloists, to conductors. In particular, the example of Gould's interpretive disruption emphasizes Leonard Bernstein's efforts in *maintaining ecological relationships* to diffuse the interpretive disruption of Gould.

However, Harold C. Schonberg of the New York Times also employs key *ecological relationships* to highlight disruption. Overall, each instance is positioned such that the repair is not at the expense of the repertoire and its interpretation.

In the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour", Mutter "balances" a clear respect for the repertoire against the "glamour" of her role as soloist. This allows her to navigate and negotiate the otherwise disruptive influence of "glamour", which has often shifted a focus from the repertoire, to the "star" of the moment, whether soloist, or conductor. That said, Mutter's "glamour" is also mitigated (or repaired) by her membership in an overall *ecology of virtuosi* around the world, who can be positioned on a spectrum that ranges from "glamorous" to general "seriousness" of approach. Bernstein's own disruption of time is also repaired in part by Bernstein's own ability to quickly *create and maintain key ecological relationships*. However, in this case, the mechanism is also *translated* into a recreating mechanism by the management of the New York Philharmonic, who draw from a highly competent ecology of conductors to ameliorate Bernstein's lack of time. Therefore, the mechanism of *maintaining ecological relationships* is used as both repairing and recreating mechanism, though never at the expense of the repertoire.

Claims to history and tradition were also consistently positioned in all three cases as a repairing mechanism, therefore contributing to a growing presence of a historical approach in the organizational literature, often coined as the "historic turn" (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004). In many ways, and in many writings, we, as organizational theorists have already moved past an otherwise overlooked element, or a forgotten element of *our past*. Selznick (1957) had already expressed the importance of a history in his oft quoted phrase: "Institutionalization is a *process*" (p. 16). Processes demand time, and in the context of institutions, a considerable amount of time. Therefore, the study of institutions, institutionalization, creation, maintenance, and disruption, is not cast in a five or even 10 year period of inquiry. It is rather the study of an ongoing lifespan. In the particular context of the symphony orchestra, history, tradition, and lineage are valued foci in countless forms, from student-mentor relationships, to lineages of particular instruments and instrumentalists over time, educational institutions such as the Juilliard School where musicians learn their craft, and even halls like New York's Carnegie Hall that acts as music's "frame".

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, and Gould's interpretive disruption, general expectations around the presentation of repertoire, including both interpretive and practice elements, as well as the "traditional" nature of the modern conductor-soloist relationship, are positioned as part of repairing efforts. This particular case points to Becker's (1982) conception of art worlds and mavericks. In particular, Gould's interpretive disruption emerged in the world of music, which "defines the boundaries of acceptable art... denying membership and its benefits to those whose work it cannot assimilate" (p. 226). As maverick, Gould offered an interpretation that key actors both endogenous and exogenous to the institution of the symphony orchestra "refuse[d] to accept as within the limits of what [the institution] ordinarily produces" (Becker, 1982, p. 233). In contrast to Gould's disruption, which was largely repaired over time, the case of Mutter's "balancing" of "glamour" and "the goods" focused on an actor that positioned the repertoire in the forefront, alongside a glamorized, and modernized role as soloist. Overall, here, the disruption of "glamour" was positioned as peripheral, allowing for change. Finally, Bernstein's disruption of time also highlighted the importance and necessary influence of expectations that flow from historical and traditional approaches to music.

A further key mechanism concerns the *corrective power* of several actors, including conductors, critics, and even the score. As rightly highlighted by Selznick (1992), power is a pervasive force:

The play of power invades our intimate social worlds and is deeply constitutive of our personalities; it is a process in which we are all implicated and from which we cannot escape. Networks of power, strategies of control, and acts of resistance are fundamental attributes of the human condition. (p. 251)

However, Selznick (2008) also provides a cautionary note regarding the "paradox of power":

Power is indispensable as well as perilous, a steady source of ambiguity and trouble. In most enterprises and communities, some people control and others obey; little can be done without unequal distribution of influence and privilege. *The inequalities are necessary, but not innocent* [emphasis added]. (p. 73)

Therefore, *corrective power* requires actors of considerable “awareness, skill and reflexivity”. Further, this line of thinking is also constitutive of an institutional work perspective that is later positioned as “potentially sensitive to both the oppressiveness of social, cultural, and material structures, and potential for emancipation from some of those structures some of the time” (Lawrence et al., 2011, p. 56). Drawing from the case of the New York Philharmonic, *corrective power* is wielded in countless ways, by powerful actors in combatting disruptions over time. The context of the symphony orchestra offers many realizations of exogenous and endogenous sources of power, from a *bureaucratic* approach that focuses on structural aspects of power, such as observed in the *critic*, to *political* approaches that highlight the importance of either personal qualities of considerable virtue (e.g., charisma) or those that exchange coercion for some sort of guarantee, such as observed in the role of *conductor*. In particular, the relationships between composers, the score, the repertoire, conductors, soloists, and the orchestra provide a basis for understandings of *corrective power* amidst disruption.

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, *corrective power* was employed as both repairing and recreating mechanism, largely within the roles of various conductors and critics. Two particularly unique forms of *corrective power* are observed in the case of Gould’s interpretive disruption. First, a recording of Gould’s performance, which also includes Bernstein’s public “disclaimer” and a later interview with Gould, acts as a tangible artifact or reminder of “disruptive” interpretations. The recording also acts as a key snapshot of Gould’s disruption, which took on a “legendary” status, or one of corrective “fable”. Second, the musical score is also afforded a degree of *corrective power*, as it is the source and visual representation of a composer’s inspiration, and therefore “closest” or most proximate to the institutional core. *Corrective power* also highlights the close ecological relationship between soloist and conductor, one that has generally positioned the conductor as having the “final authority on stylistic matters and textual disputes that arise in attempting to discern a composer’s wishes through interpretation of a score” (Kamerman, 1983a, p. 48). Finally, in the case of Bernstein’s disruption of time, power is used to repair and recreate, in the hands of critics over time. As highly “aware”, “skilled”, and “reflexive” actors, critics showed a particular dexterity in navigating a highly complex and highly disruptive institutional environment over time, not only

using both repairing and recreating mechanisms, but also anticipating possible disruptions, and articulating key understandings closely associated with elements of the institutional core.

Finally, *creativity-based efforts* and *emotionally-charged appeals* often appear in tandem, and often associated with particular personalities associated with the New York Philharmonic. Within the institutional work perspective, Lawrence et al. (2011) allude to an importance of *creativity*, in actors “responding locally, creatively, incrementally, and more or less reflexively” (p. 57) within complex institutional environments. Further, Selznick (2008) makes reference to “the creative union of the abstract and the concrete [as] the distinctive achievement and special pride of ‘high art’” (p. 15). However, in the context of the symphony orchestra, the repertoire, in particular, reflects the unique *creativities* of composers. These works are then translated through the *creativities* or interpretations of conductors, soloists, and the orchestral players. On a management level, management teams and boards creatively navigate the challenges of organizing and presenting seasons from year to year. All actors express creativity, amidst considerable challenge and disruption.

A closely related aspect, *emotions*, is taken up most recently by Voronov and Vince (2012), but is also suggested in the writings of Selznick (1992) who describes the process of institutionalization thus: “Most of what we do in everyday life is mercifully free and reversible. But when actions *touch* [emphasis added] important interests and salient values or when they are embedded in networks of interdependence, options are more limited” (p. 232). Selznick (1992) infers an emotional response to important values, and an institutionalization process “*charged* [emphasis added] with meaning as a vehicle of personal satisfaction or aspiration” (p. 233). In the case of this thesis, the maintenance of the institutional core amidst disruption constitutes such an emotionally “charged” response. Finally, in the particular case of the institution of the symphony orchestra, the repertoire, or music, is often conceptualized in both action form and emotional terms, i.e., as “entail[ing] the communication of meaning and emotions” (Bensman, 1983, p. 13).

In the specific case of the New York Philharmonic, all three cases of disruption touch upon *creativity* or *emotions* (or both). In particular, Gould’s interpretive disruption was first partially ameliorated by Bernstein’s emotional and creative appeal to the audience prior to Gould’s

performance. This appeal was however countered by an equally creative expression of New York Times critic, Howard C. Schonberg who, in his own expression of emotion, denounced Gould's unconventional interpretation via an unconventional critique, where humour and creativity-based efforts were employed to repair Gould's interpretive disruption. Further, in the case of Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour", her own passionate support of contemporary composers and compositions, or most simply, the repertoire, as well as her "savvy" or creative approach to her own public image, repaired a possible disruption of "glamour" over the long term. Again, as in other cases, Mutter's respect of the repertoire, is an important element in the success of repairing disruption. As was observed in the case of Gould, Bernstein's disruption of time also engaged *creativity-based efforts* and *emotionally-charged appeals* by both Bernstein and the critic, Howard C. Schonberg, as a repairing and recreating mechanism over time.

Finally, the case of the New York Philharmonic also includes examples of *appeals to professionalism* and an *emphasis on communication*. Professionalism, and professionals, are addressed by Selznick (1957), who positions these in close proximity to integrity, and in particular, in the "protection of institutional integrity" (p. 132). Communication, including the communication of emotion, is also an important part of musical performance, between composer, performer, and audience (Bensman, 1983). In particular, the repertoire is often set as being conceived in an environment of emotion, for specific "vehicles", such as orchestras and soloists who express, and also arouse emotion. The symphony orchestra in particular, is often set as positioning composers "to achieve the highest and most comprehensive form of human communication" (Tawa, 2009, p. 21). As offered by Leonard Bernstein (1966/1975), this communication is at the heart of musical expression and musical relationships:

I wish there were a better word for communication; I mean by it the tenderness we feel when we recognize and share with another human being a deep, unnameable, elusive emotional shape or shade. That is really what a composer is saying in his music: has this ever happened to you? Haven't you experienced this same tone, insight, shock, anxiety, release? And when you react to ("like") a piece of music, you are simply replying to the composer, yes. (p. 448)

In the case of the New York Philharmonic, Gould's interpretive disruption and Bernstein's disruption of time include several *appeals to professionalism*, which are employed as a repairing mechanism, especially via critical review, as well as in Gould's interview with James Fasset. Further, Mutter's *potential* disruption of "glamour" offers an instance of an *emphasis on communication*, as she balances her focus on the repertoire and her own glamorous image.

These main findings concerning key mechanisms employed in the service of repair and recreation are set against several new observations concerning the nature of disruption, as well as related aspects of the institutional core.

New observations: The nature of maintenance amidst disruption

Four main propositions govern my conceptualization of institutional maintenance amidst disruption. These propositions were supported, and generally stated: 1) while disruptions that target the institutional core initiate institutional maintenance work to repair disruption, disruptions that target peripheral or non-core elements of an institution do not initiate institutional maintenance work and allow for change over time; 2) maintenance work therefore includes supporting mechanisms (that further the institutional core), repairing mechanisms (that repair disruptions), and recreating mechanisms (that allow for change at the periphery); 3) maintenance amidst disruption is understood via a long-term view, and an integrated, dynamic approach; and 4) both endogenous and exogenous actors engage in institutional work, guided by a considerable measure of "awareness, skill and reflexivity".

To these general statements, the analysis offers several new observations concerning the nature of maintenance amidst disruption, as well as related characteristics of the institutional core. Overall, these data show an overriding importance of *inextricable relationships* amongst the various actors, including those between composer and repertoire, orchestra and soloist, and a continuum that extends from composers, to the score, the repertoire, conductors, soloists, orchestras, and audiences. As well, these three cases show that disruption can appear in relative isolation, or more commonly, as several concurrent disruptions, either related or un-related in nature, targeting core or peripheral aspects. The case of Gould's interpretive disruption extends this finding by highlighting that peripheral disruptions can be employed in repairing disruptions

that target the institutional core. Overall, all three cases also position disruption as highly persistent in nature, not unlike the institutions that they target. As well, close ecological relationships can aid disruption by allowing the “infection” of closely related actors. For example, Glenn Gould’s interpretive disruption of the repertoire was extended to conductor, Leonard Bernstein, who was criticized in the press for deciding to hire Gould as soloist.

This result leads to a further finding particular to the case of Gould, where several exogenous and endogenous actors understand a single disruption in very different ways, positioning these actors in various “directional” relationships. Specifically, while Bernstein articulated that both he and the repertoire were disrupted by Gould, Gould seemed to hold no grudge against Bernstein, or the repertoire. In all, disruption (or contrast) is inherent to music and the context of the symphony orchestra, and therefore, is not only a *critical ingredient* in the performance and interpretation of the repertoire, but in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time.

A further new observation particular to the case of Gould, concerns a conceptualization of the institutional core that can be extended to key individuals, and expressed as an alignment or disruption between various institutional, organizational, or individual “cores”. For example, while Gould’s interpretive disruption targeted a work drawn from the standard repertoire, i.e., proximate to the institutional core, Gould’s interpretation aligned with his own, individual core, which gave precedence to interpretation over tradition. Further, a single disruption can target more than one facet of an institution, for example, Gould’s interpretive disruption not only affected the standard repertoire, but also Bernstein’s role as modern conductor.

The case of Mutter also offers several unique observations that inform our understanding of maintenance amidst disruption. This case first presents a snapshot of the process of *institutional creation*, whereby a young soloist’s career is formed in part via *corrective power* of conductors, in this case, of Herbert von Karajan and Zubin Mehta. However, the main focus of the case concerns Mutter’s *potential* disruption of “glamour”, a disruption that she ultimately “balances” over time, not only through the *corrective power* of her mentors, i.e., conductors, but through her respect of the repertoire. Second, the case of Mutter shows that a soloist’s *character* or “temperament” is developed over the long-term, similar to the long-term process of institutionalization, and maintenance. Third, the repertoire, as endogenous actor, exerts a potent

form of *corrective power*, as reflected in its “material” form, i.e., the score, and most importantly, via its proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra.

Finally, Bernstein’s disruption of time offers a unique instance of the “ceremonial” use of repairing mechanisms, which was in all regards, part of recreating efforts that allowed for change at the periphery. Specifically, Bernstein’s “promise” to “never do it again” was a creative attempt to dispel disruption created by his lack of time with the Philharmonic. However, these data show the nature of his “promise”: gaps in time were no longer single instances, but rather pairs, and his time with the Philharmonic remained limited, as dictated by a growing international career and diverse interests.

The case of Bernstein’s disruption of time also came amidst several other disruptive events at the New York Philharmonic. Therefore, this case is characterized by a particularly complex and persistent interplay of repairing and recreating mechanisms. Of note, are the critics who show a remarkable “awareness, skill and reflexivity” in their articulation, navigation, and anticipation of disruptive events over time. In particular, this case shows reviewers eloquently articulating aspects attributable to the institutional core, but also “translating” Bernstein’s rather mundane disruption of time, to a disruption that *could* impact foundational attributes of the Philharmonic, from “potential”, to “character” or “personality”, and “identity”.

Overall, each disruptive case positions the repertoire as being susceptible to disruption, but at the same time, particularly *powerful* in withstanding the effects of highly disruptive environments. Therefore, the repertoire is cast as the most proximate to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra. That said, is the repertoire the institutional core?

The institutional core of the symphony orchestra

One final question that I address in this thesis is: *what is the institutional core of the symphony orchestra?* In addressing this question, Friedland (2009) notes that institutional substance, or essence, is often difficult to articulate, even by those who claim its value:

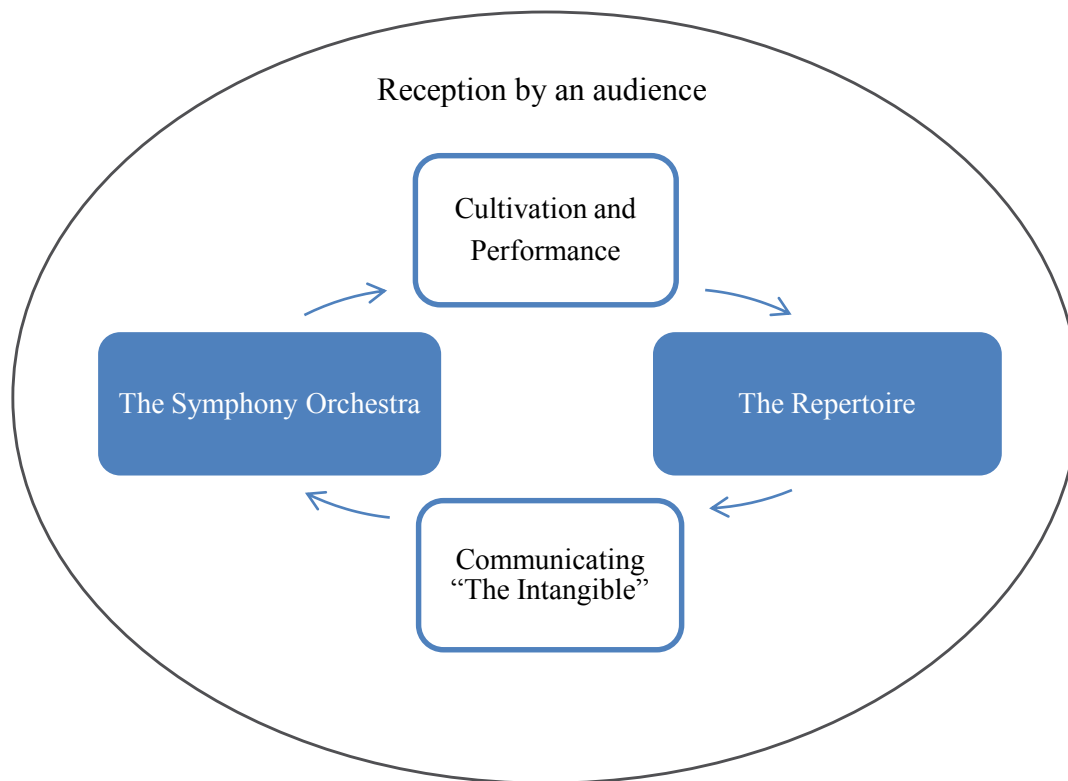
A substance exceeds its attributes, cannot be reduced to a thing’s materiality, and thus cannot be described, only pointed to and obsessively named. While the category of

substance may be epistemologically problematic, it captures institutional reality rather well. Like Aristotle's soul as the substance of human, an institutional substance does not exist; it is rather an absent presence necessary to institutional life. (p. 57)

This ephemerality is also articulated by violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, who argued that music had a specific power to "communicate the intangible" (Menuhin, 1969, p. 153).

I do not position the institutional core of the symphony orchestra as a simple matter of *the repertoire*. As an institutional work perspective informs this thesis, the institutional core of the symphony orchestra must be expressed in action form. Work is involved not only in the maintenance of the symphony orchestra over time, but in the expression of its institutional core. Further, these actions are inextricably tied to the reception of the repertoire. As such, I offer the institutional core as *communicating orchestral music to an audience*. As is often the case, history's informative power is again relevant in the articulation of a symphony orchestra's institutional core. Specifically, these data show, as early as 1892, perceptive articulations of the symphony orchestra's institutional core. Specifically, Krehbiel (1892) positions the orchestra's focus as "the cultivation and performance of instrumental music" (p. 8). In other words, the symphony orchestra's core is found in the act of performing both "new" (peripheral) and "old" (core or standard) repertoire. This repertoire in turn, is given the task, as expressed by violinist Yehudi Menuhin, of "communicat[ing] the intangible" (Menuhin, 1969, p. 153). Further, I set an audience in broad, inclusive terms, from "traditional" examples such as live performances in dedicated performance halls, to "new traditions" such as streamed music in an individual's home. The institutional core is therefore bound by key inextricable relationships, as depicted in the following process model (see Figure 24).

Figure 24: The institutional core of the symphony orchestra



Overall, the institutional core involves persistent, inextricable relationships that are difficult to break; however these relationships *do require work*, including the day-to-day energies of key ecological actors that figure in this type of artistic expression.

Contributions and practical implications

Overall, I contribute to the institutional work literature, and specifically to our understanding of institutional maintenance, by focussing on not only *what* is maintained, but also *how* it is maintained, i.e., by endogenous and exogenous actors employing repairing and recreating mechanisms over time. Further, I do this considering an integrated view of maintenance amidst disruption, contributing to extant literature that addresses such a pairing, but extending our understanding of the special, if not inextricable, relationship between the two. Overall, I do not position institutions as inherently stable, but rather as uniquely endowed with the ability to balance stability and instability, as well as persistence and change, over time.

In particular, I offer the *institutional core* as the main focus of maintenance activities, which allows for change in peripheral aspects. This approach begins to address the long-held conundrum of agency within restrictive institutional settings, by highlighting “where” change occurs, rather than “if” it occurs. Further, my conceptualization of an institutional core not only extends and integrates the work of Friedland (2009) and Selznick (1957; 1960; 1992; 2002; 2008) within institutional theory, but also addresses the relatively under-studied nature of integrity and authenticity, as well as Glynn’s (2000; 2008) conceptualization of identity, in institutional contexts.

I also contribute to the empirical base of institutional work, i.e., I focus on the rather under-developed, yet well-placed context of the symphony orchestra in addressing the nature of maintenance amidst disruption. The specific context of the New York Philharmonic is not only an example of the highly institutionalized context of the symphony orchestra, but also an organizational example whose considerable “artistic age” positions it well for study. As well, I extend extant literature that addresses inanimate actors, by including (and revealing) the repertoire as a powerful influence and focus in maintenance activities. Finally, the empirical context of the New York Philharmonic also affords several instances of how individuals are deeply involved in maintenance activities, therefore addressing Lawrence et al.’s (2011) call to “brin[g] the individual back into institutional theory” (p. 52).

To these main contributions, I also offer some general considerations at the managerial level, stemming from findings concerning the institutional core. At the macro-level, a key finding concerns the relative constancy of the repertoire in relation with soloists, which exhibited a balance of consistency and change, and conductors, who have experienced a significant amount of change over time. In particular, with such constancy at the level of the repertoire, change in soloists and conductors over time, is positioned as an importance balancing influence, albeit, a natural one, considering, in part, the expected ebb and flow of careers over time. That said, these two actors also provide a layer of interpretation expected or required by a relatively constant repertoire. At this juncture, managers’ focus on hiring decisions of the main interpreters of the repertoire, i.e. soloists and conductors, aligns with an area of acceptable and essential variation

and change that can help meet contextual needs, and ameliorate disruption. Overall, soloists and conductors are changeable, and manageable, while the repertoire is less so.

However, also based on the findings of this research, the repertoire's proximity to the institutional core of the symphony orchestra positions it in a very powerful role. Repertoire decisions matter, as they are a key component in the realization of the institutional core of the symphony orchestra, i.e. *communicating orchestral repertoire to an audience*. Such decisions are less a matter of whether or not they perpetuate a "dead repertoire" (Hobsbawm, 2014, p. 14), with orchestras having a "museum function", and conductors a "curator" role (Shanet, 1975, p. 56). Rather, managers, conductors, orchestras, and management must show a particular "awareness, skill and reflexivity" in activating the continuum of action, i.e. from the repertoire, to soloists, conductors, orchestras, and audiences, and back. As offered by Glynn (2002), "the institutionalized musical canon is central to, and inseparable from [i.e. inextricably related to] the institution charged with performing it" (p. 66). While the orchestral repertoire will undoubtedly rely on a dominant standard repertoire, the particular context of the New York Philharmonic shows that from its earliest years, its mandate was to support that repertoire, but also the creation of the new, as well as the integration of lesser-known works, or "novelties", to use the late 19th century term. This position was already taken up almost 125 year ago by Krehbiel (1892), who positioned the Philharmonic's *core purpose* as "the cultivation [new works] and performance of instrumental music [standard repertoire]" (p. 8). Overall, conductors and managers must work together to balance a foundational standard repertoire with the creation of new repertoire as well further repertoire that addresses the unique needs of particular (and changing) contexts.

Finally, I argue that one of the most important considerations for managers today is that they, along with key endogenous and exogenous actors, need to not only support, *but communicate* the repertoire to audiences and potential audience members. As I preference an ecological approach to institutions, as well as an institutional work perspective, this responsibility therefore lies with all member institutions tied to the symphony orchestra, from the orchestras themselves, to conductors, soloists, educational institutions, and governments, amongst others. Overall, maintenance is a collective endeavor. It was never intended to be a *solo act*. Further, as maintenance preferences action over object, the focus of the symphony orchestra is

communicating orchestral repertoire to an audience, over the nature of a specific standard repertoire. A symphony orchestra requires work, and part of that work concerns the communication of what an orchestra does, and why it is important to society, regardless of time or place. It was never intended to a *self-sustaining enterprise*, as some institutions have been afforded in past literatures.

The future

What does this mean for the future of the symphony orchestra? This artistic form has come under “disruptive” fire in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, with many pointing to its imminent demise, from the various literatures, to the common press, and to practitioners. In the particular case of this thesis, Hobsbawm (2014) complains that “classical music basically lives on a dead repertoire” and “the potential concert audience... is hardly replenishing itself” (p. 14). While Hobsbawm (2014) is partly correct, he does miss one critical detail. While current audiences may be diminishing, concert audiences are being “replenished”, but only in *potential form*.

Specifically, within a generation, we have new potential audience members who do not know music as familiar as Beethoven’s *Symphony No. 5*.

However, the problem of a “dead repertoire” is only one of many that has characterized the ebb and flow of artistic expression since the earliest centuries. One further significant “disruption” that dominates discourses today is the lack of financial (and other) support. The emphasis here, is that financial concerns are *not* a 20th or 21st century problem, i.e., finding suitable allies, from the Church, the State, the Family, or the Public, has long held the attentions and actions of art and artists. Understanding and communicating with a diverse support base is a significant consideration for the future of the institution of the symphony orchestra. As suggested by an ecological approach, Hart (1973) points to the *corrective power* of an “integrated” approach:

Orchestras must make every effort to involve other arts, performance and visual, in planning as *integrated* [emphasis] an interdisciplinary an approach as possible. The orchestras cannot look upon education as a narrow effort to build their own audiences or to secure favored treatment in the allocation of private and government funding. Their position of leadership should not lead to domination. There is a crying need for arts

organizations in general, again with symphony orchestras in a peculiar position of leadership, to *join together on a national or regional scale* [emphasis] to explore these questions more thoroughly. (p. 449)

This approach prioritizes collaboration amongst the arts amidst disruption, for disruption to one, means disruption to another. An ecological view is pertinent both theoretically, and practically.

To conclude, the future of the institution of the symphony orchestra will largely be determined by *how it is maintained over time*, i.e., *what aspects are maintained* and *what aspects are allowed to change*, as well as *how key endogenous and exogenous actors engage particular repairing and recreating mechanisms over time*. I position *the institutional core* as governing these sets of actions, as part of *sustained work* by actors of considerable “awareness, skill and reflexivity”. Therefore, the success of this work will prioritize the institutional core, but will also allow for essential change in peripheral aspects to account for inevitable contextual change over time. Rigidity in these elements will allow disruption to spread and otherwise “infect” the valuable core of what symphony orchestras do, i.e., *communicating orchestral repertoire to an audience*.

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Appendix A: Data sources

Data Type	Data Source
Archives	New York Philharmonic archives Documents (Performance history search, n.d.)
Documents	Commissioned biographies Krehbiel (1892) Huneker (1917) Erskine (1943) Non-commissioned biographies Shanet (1975) Canarina (2010) New York Times Reviews Other Reviews and articles of the New York Herald, New-York Daily Tribune, amongst others.
Audio-Visual	New York Philharmonic archives Photos Other Brahms, J., Gould, G., Bernstein, L., & Fassett, J. (1998). <i>Brahms Piano Concerto No. 1</i> [sound recording]. New York, NY: Sony Classical.

Appendix B: Selected orchestral elements

Spitzer and Zaslaw (2004)

Orchestral Element	Examples
Taxonomic	Violin based Part doubling Standardized instrumentation Standardized repertory 16-foot base Keyboard Unity and discipline Leadership Wind instruments Specialization Placement Nomenclature
Organology	Types of instruments - violin family - plucked strings - keyboards - winds - brass - percussion - other Size (general trends) Balance and Proportions
Orchestration	Types of instruments Key technological changes Combinations and re-combinations
Social History	Lives and careers of orchestra musicians Politics and mechanisms of patronage Role of orchestra in social activities Social meanings of the orchestra
Performance Practice	Bowing and articulation Tuning and intonation Improvised ornamentation Rehearsal Leadership

Appendix C: Key orchestra foundings

Holoman (2012, pp. 10-12)

Date	Orchestra	Venue
1781	Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra	(Third) Gewandhaus (1981)
1808	Frankfurt Museumsgesellschaft concerts	Alte Opera (Old Opera House; 1880)
1813	Royal Philharmonic Society, London	Funds projects but no longer occupies a concert venue
1815	Handel and Haydn Society, Boston	Symphony Hall (1900) and other historic Boston venues
1828	Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Paris (now Orchestre de Paris)	Salle Pleyel (1927); scheduled to occupy Philharmonie de Paris, Parc de la Villette (2014)
1842	New York Philharmonic	Avery Fisher Hall, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (1962)
1842	Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra	Grosser Musikvereinssaal (1870)
1880	St. Louis Symphony Orchestra	Powell Hall (1925)
1881	Boston Symphony Orchestra	Symphony Hall (1900)
1882	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	Berliner Philharmonie (1963)
1882	St. Petersburg Philharmonic	Greet Hall (Bolshoi Zal) of the Philharmonic Society (1839)
1888	Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam	Concertgebouw (1888)
1891	Chicago Symphony Orchestra	Orchestra Hall (1904)
1900	Philadelphia Orchestra	Verizon Hall, Kimmel Center (2001)
1904	London Symphony Orchestra	Barbican Centre, London (1982)
1911	San Francisco Symphony	Lousie M. Davies Symphony Hall (1980)
1918	Cleveland Orchestra	Severance Hall (1931)
1919	Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra	Walt Disney Concert Hall (2003)
1926	NHK Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo	NHK Hall (1972)
1930	BBC Symphony Orchestra	Barbican Centre, London (1982)
1936	Israel Philharmonic Orchestra (originally Palestine Orchestra)	Mann Auditorium (1957), Tel Aviv
1937	NBC Symphony Orchestra (disbanded 1954)	NBC Studio 8-H, Rockefeller Center, New York (1933)
1959	Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields	Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London (1724)
1987	New World Symphony	SunTrust Pavilion, New World Center, Miami Beach (2011)
1999	West-Eastern Divan	Touring venues; based in Seville, Spain
2009	YouTube Symphony Orchestra	Carnegie Hall (2009), Sydney Opera House (2011)

The following selective list is limited to orchestras that have survived into the twentieth century (Carter & Levi, 2003a, pp. 275-276).

Foundings: 19th century

- 1808 City Opera and Museum Orchestra of Frankfurt am Main
- 1815 Handel and Haydn Society, Boston (reconstituted 1986 as period instrument orchestra)
- 1828 Hamburg Philharmonic Society
Paris Conservatoire Orchestra
- 1833 Chemnitz City Orchestra (now known as the Robert Schumann Philharmonic)
- 1840 Gürzenich Orchestra, Cologne
Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1841 Mozarteum Orchestra, Salzburg
- 1842 New York Philharmonic Orchestra
Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1849 Wuppertal Symphony Orchestra
- 1850 Saint Caecilia Orchestra, Bordeaux
- 1853 Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1855 Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1856 Monte-Carlo Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1858 Hallé Orchestra, Manchester
- 1861 Padeloup Orchestra (Paris)
- 1864 Düsseldorf Symphony Orchestra
- 1868 Tonhalle Orchestra, Zurich
- 1870 Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1871 Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1873 Concerts Colonne, Paris
- 1875 Winterthur Symphony Orchestra
- 1877 Berne Symphony Orchestra
St. Louis Symphony Orchestra
- 1881 Boston Symphony Orchestra
Lamoureux Orchestra, Paris
Pecs Symphony Orchestra, Hungary
- 1882 Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra
Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra
St Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1884 Orchestre Symphonique et Lyrique de Nancy
- 1887 Detroit Symphony Orchestra
Dortmund Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1888 Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam
- 1889 Arnhem Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1891 Chicago Symphony Orchestra
- 1893 Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra
Munich Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1894 Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra

- Győr Philharmonic Orchestra, Hungary
 1895 Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra
 1899 Essen Philharmonic Orchestra

Foundings: 20th century

Period-instrument orchestras are indicated in bold italics.

- 1900 Dallas Symphony Orchestra
 Honolulu Symphony Orchestra
 Philadelphia Orchestra
- 1901 Czech Philharmonic Orchestra
 Minnesota Orchestra
 Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1904 London Symphony Orchestra
 Residentie-Orkest, The Hague
- 1905 Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra
- 1906 Toronto Symphony Orchestra
- 1907 Beethovenhalle Orchestra, Bonn
 Orchestra of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia, Rome
- 1908 Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra, Ljubljana
- 1911 Austin Symphony Orchestra
 San Francisco Symphony Orchestra
 Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1912 Helsingborg Symphony Orchestra
 Norrköping Symphony Orchestra
- 1914 Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1916 Baltimore Symphony Orchestra
- 1918 Cleveland Orchestra
 Orchestre de la Suisse Romande
 Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra
 National Symphony Orchestra of Ukraine
- 1919 Bochum Symphony Orchestra
 Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra
 Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra
 Staatsphilharmonie Rheinland-Pfalz
- 1920 City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra
- 1922 Lucerne Symphony Orchestra
 Vienna Symphony Orchestra
- 1923 Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra
 Cologne Chamber Orchestra
 Hungarian State Symphony Orchestra
 Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra
 Swedish Radio Orchestra (reconstituted 1967)
- 1924 Rundfunks Sinfonie Orchester, Berlin
 MDR Symphony Orchestra, Leipzig

- Stuttgart Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1925 Danish Radio Symphony Orchestra
Malmö Symphony Orchestra
- 1926 Basle Chamber Orchestra
NHK Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo
Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra
- 1927 Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra
Turku Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1928 Orchestra del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino
Romanian National Radio Orchestra
- 1929 Radio Symphony Orchestra, Frankfurt
Slovak Radio Symphony Orchestra
Xalapa Symphony Orchestra, Mexico
- 1930 BBC Symphony Orchestra
Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra
Tchaikovsky Symphony Orchestra of Moscow Radio
Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra, Finland
- 1931 Armenian Philharmonic Orchestra
National Symphony Orchestra, Washington DC
Vancouver Symphony Orchestra
- 1932 London Philharmonic Orchestra
Sydney Symphony Orchestra
- 1933 BBC Northern Orchestra (renamed BBC Philharmonic 1982)
Orchestre Philharmonique de Luxembourg
- 1934 Orchestre Nationale de France
Jena Philharmonic Orchestra
Prague Symphony Orchestra
Szeged Symphony Orchestra, Hungary
- 1935 Aarhus Symphony Orchestra
BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra
BBC Welsh Orchestra (renamed BBC National Orchestra of Wales, 1993)
Flemish Radio Orchestra
Montreal Symphony Orchestra
Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, Katowice
Tenerife Symphony Orchestra
- 1936 Belgian National Orchestra
Israel Philharmonic Orchestra
Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra
Symphony Orchestra of the RAI, Rome
USSR (now Russian State) Symphony Orchestra
- 1937 Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France (reconstituted 1976)
Oulu Symphony Orchestra, Finland
- 1938 CBC Radio Orchestra, Vancouver
- 1940 Symphony Orchestra of Brazil, Rio di Janeiro
Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Bordeaux
Lausanne Chamber Orchestra

- 1941 Symphony Orchestra of Chile, Santiago
National Symphony Orchestra of Costa Rica
National Symphony Orchestra of Panama
- 1942 National Orchestra of Spain
- 1943 Aalborg Symphony Orchestra
Valencia Orchestra
- 1944 Atlanta Symphony Orchestra
Barcelona Symphony Orchestra
- 1945 Kraków Philharmonic Orchestra
Gumma Symphony Orchestra, Japan
Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra
Moravian Philharmonic Orchestra
Munich Symphony Orchestra
NDR Symphony Orchestra, Hamburg
Netherlands Radio Philharmonic Orchestra
Orchestra of Hungarian Radio and Television
Orchestre Philharmonique de Bordeaux
Philharmonia Orchestra, London
Polish State Philharmonic Orchestra, Katowice
Seoul Philharmonic (enlarged 1992)
Staatsorchester Rheinische Philharmonie
Symphony Orchestra of the Artur Rubinstein
Philharmonic of Łódź
- 1946 Bamberg Symphony Orchestra
Buenos Aires Philharmonic Orchestra
New Zealand Symphony Orchestra
Norwegian Radio Orchestra
Odense Symphony Orchestra
Philharmonische Staatsorchester, Halle
RIAS Symphony Orchestra, Berlin – reconstituted as Berlin
Radio Symphony Orchestra (1977) and Deutsches Sinfonie Orchester (1993)
Royal Philharmonic Orchestra
SWR Symphony Orchestra, Baden-Baden and Freiburg
- 1947 National Symphony Orchestra of Mexico
Osaka Philharmonic Orchestra
Queensland Symphony Orchestra
Radio Telefis Eirreann Symphony Orchestra
WDR Radio Symphony Orchestra, Cologne
Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra
- 1948 Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra
Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra
- 1949 National Symphony Orchestra of Argentina
Orquesta Sinfonica de Guayaquil, Ecuador
Lahti Symphony Orchestra, Finland
London Mozart Players
Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra

- 1950 Canberra Symphony Orchestra
Haifa Symphony Orchestra
Iceland Symphony Orchestra
Melbourne Symphony Orchestra
NDR Philharmonic Orchestra, Hanover
Nordwestdeutsche Philharmonie, Herford
Scottish National Orchestra
- 1951 I Musici
Prague Chamber Orchestra
SWR Radio Orchestra, Kaiserslautern
SWR Radio Symphony Orchestra, Stuttgart
Central Philharmonic Orchestra, Beijing
- 1953 ***Concentus Musicus, Vienna***
Kyushu Symphony Orchestra
Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra
Zagreb Soloists
- 1954 Bialystock State Philharmonic Orchestra
Janáček Philharmonic Orchestra, Ostrava
Wroclaw Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1955 Moscow Chamber Orchestra
Jyväskylä City Orchestra, Finland
Orchestra della Radio Svizzera Italiana, Lugano
Slovenian Radio Symphony Orchestra
- 1956 Gulbenkian Orchestra, Lisbon
Japan Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra
Kyoto Philharmonic Orchestra
KBS Symphony Orchestra, South Korea
Novosibirsk Philharmonic Orchestra
Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra
Transylvanian Philharmonic Orchestra, Cluj
- 1957 Hamburg Symphony Orchestra
- 1958 Northern Sinfonia of England
- 1959 Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields
Cairo Symphony Orchestra
Philharmonia Hungarica
- 1960 English Chamber Orchestra
Liège Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1961 Brazil National Symphony Orchestra
Danube Symphony Orchestra, Hungary
Wurtemberg Chamber Orchestra, Heilbronn
- 1962 ***Collegium Aureum Cologne***
Savaria Symphony Orchestra, Hungary
Spanish Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra
Yomiuri Nippon Symphony Orchestra
- 1963 Orchestre Symphonique de Bordeaux
Orchestra of the Finnish National Opera

- 1965 Israel Chamber Orchestra
Sjaellands Symphony Orchestra, Copenhagen
Tokyo Metropolitan Symphony Orchestra
- 1966 Nagoya Philharmonic Orchestra
Ulster Orchestra
- 1967 National Arts Centre Orchestra, Ottawa
Orchestre de Paris
Orchestra of St. John's, Smith Square, London
Oregon Symphony Orchestra
- 1968 London Sinfonietta
Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra
Monteverdi Orchestra (renamed English Baroque Soloists, 1977)
Orchestre Nationale de Lyon
Slovak State Symphony Orchestra, Košice
Uppsala Chamber Orchestra
- 1969 Biel Symphony Orchestra, Switzerland
ORF Radio Symphony Orchestra, Vienna
Japan Shinsei Symphony Orchestra
Taipei City Symphony Orchestra
- 1970 Kanagawa Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1971 City of London Sinfonia
State Symphony Orchestra of Mexico
Orchestre Nationale des Pays de la Loire
Staatsorchester Frankfurt, Oder
- 1972 Hiroshima Symphony Orchestra
La Petite Bande
Les Musiciens du Louvre, Grenoble
New Japan Philharmonic Orchestra
Orchestre de Picardie
Polish Chamber Orchestra/Sinfonia Varsovia
Yamagata Symphony Orchestra
- 1973 **Academy of Ancient Music**
The English Concert
- 1974 Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra
Orpheus Chamber Orchestra
Scottish Chamber Orchestra
- 1975 Australian Chamber Orchestra
Brandenburg Consort and Orchestra
Orchestra Sinfonica dell'Emiglia-Romagna 'Arturo Toscanini'
Tokyo City Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1976 L'Orchestre Nationale de Lille
Ensemble Intercontemporain, Paris
La Philharmonie de Lorraine
Smithsonian Chamber Players and Orchestra
- 1977 **English Baroque Soloists**
Geneva Symphony Orchestra

- 1978 Orchestre Philharmonique de la BRTN, Brussels
 English Northern Philharmonia
London Classical Players
 Mexico City Philharmonic Orchestra
 Pacific Symphony Orchestra
 RTBF Symphony Orchestra, Brussels
- 1979 *Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra*
 Black Sea Philharmonic Orchestra, Romania
 Orchestre Philharmonique de Montpellier-Languedoc-Roussillon
 Singapore Symphony Orchestra
Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra, Canada
- 1980 Auckland Philharmonic Orchestra
 Basel Sinfonietta
Das Kleine Konzert
The Hanover Band
The King's Consort
 Orchestre Nationale de Bordeaux-Aquitaine
 Orquesta Filarmonica de Gran Canaria
 Osaka Symphony Orchestra
- 1981 Chamber Orchestra of Europe
 Deutsche Kammerphilharmonie, Bremen
 Ensemble Modern, Frankfurt
 Failoni Orchestra, Hungary
Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century
 Orchestre d'Auvergne
 Orchestre Nationale du Capitole de Toulouse
- 1982 Kansai Philharmonic Orchestra
 Orchestre Philharmonique de Nice
 Turin Philharmonic Orchestra
- 1983 Avanti! Chamber Orchestra, Finland
 Budapest Festival Orchestra
Concerto Armonico, Budapest
 Orchestre de l'Op'era National de Lyon
 Santo Andre Symphony Orchestra, Brazil
 Symphonia Nova Scotia
- 1984 Orchestre des Pays de Savoie
Musica Alta Ripa, Hanover
- 1985 *Concerto K'oln*
Ensemble Baroque de Limoges
 European Community Baroque Orchestra
 Flanders Philharmonic Orchestra
Haydn Sinfonietta, Vienna
Il Giardino Armonico, Milan
- 1986 Cologne Philharmonic Orchestra
 Frankfurt Baroque Orchestra
Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment

- Taiwan National Symphony Orchestra
Freiburg Baroque Orchestra
- 1988 Lithuanian Symphony Orchestra
Le Concert Spirituel, Paris
La Stravaganza, Cologne
 Century Orchestra, Osaka
 Il Fondamento, Bruges
L'Europa Galante, Rome
Le Concert des Nations, Barcelona
 Moscow Symphony Orchestra
 Orchestre de Bretagne
 Ostrobothnian Chamber Orchestra, Finland
Bach Collegium, Japan
 Finnish Chamber Orchestra
 National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland
 Orchestra van Wassenaer, The Hague
Orchestre R'évolutionnaire et Romantique
 Russian National Orchestra
 Seville Symphony Orchestra
 Tel-Aviv Symphony Orchestra
 Tokyo New City Orchestra
 Debrecen Philharmonic Orchestra
Les Talens Lyriques, Paris
L'Orchestre des Champs-Élysées
- 1992 Geneva Chamber Orchestra
- 1993 Malaysian National Symphony Orchestra
 Milan Symphony Orchestra
 Portuguese Symphony Orchestra
 Tblisi Symphony Orchestra
- 1994 Rome Symphony Orchestra
 Slovenian Chamber Orchestra
- 1996 Neue Philharmonie Westfalen
 Warsaw Symphony Orchestra
- 1997 Symphony Orchestra, Basle (created through a fusion of the Basle Symphony Orchestra
 and the Radio Symphony Orchestra, Basle)
Venice Baroque Orchestra
- 1998 **Das Neue Orchester, Cologne**
- 2000 China Philharmonic Orchestra

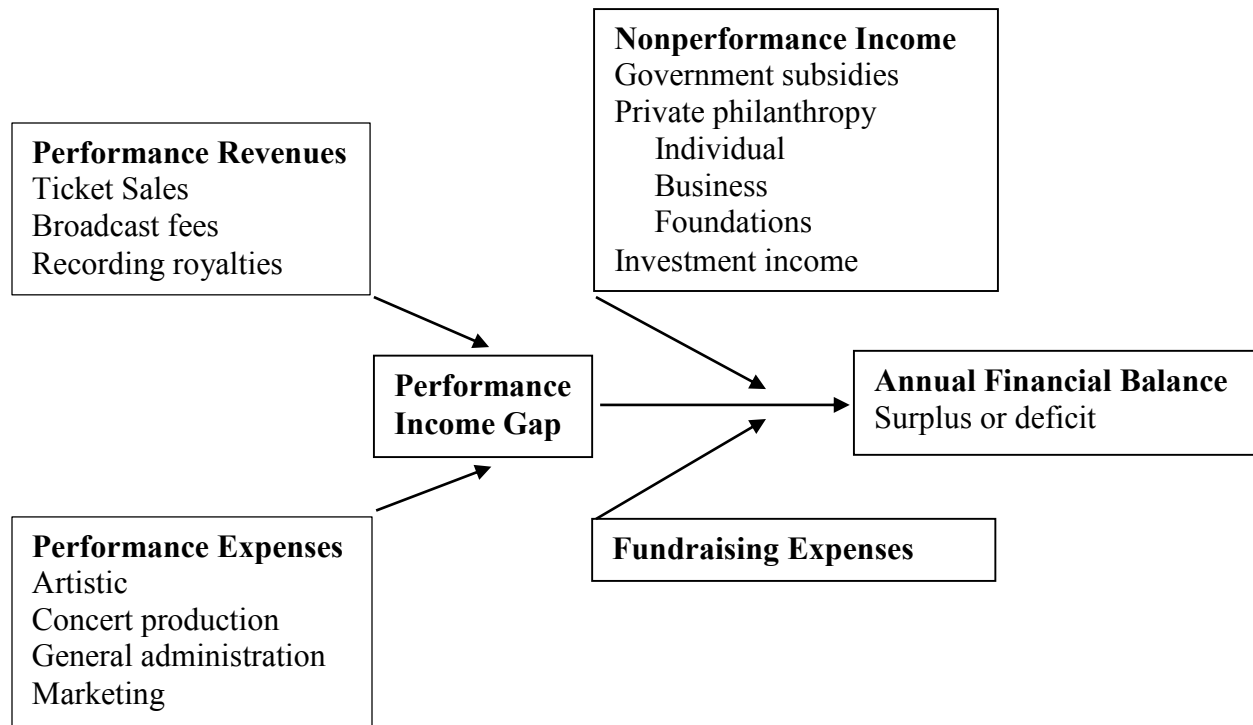
Appendix D: Key defining traits of the orchestra

Drawing from Zaslav (1988), Spitzer and Zaslav (n.d.) offer seven “defining traits” (para. 2) of orchestras from the 18th century onwards:

(a) Orchestras are based on string instruments of the violin family plus double basses. (b) This core group of bowed strings is organized into sections within which the players usually perform the same notes in unison. This practice of doubling string instruments is carried out unequally: there will almost always be more violins than lower strings. (c) Woodwind, brass and percussion instruments are usually present, in numbers and types differing according to time, place and repertory. (d) Orchestras of a given time, place and repertory usually display considerable standardization of instrumentation. Such standardization facilitates the circulation of repertory among orchestras. (e) Most orchestras are standing organizations with stable personnel, routines of rehearsal and performance, an administrative structure and a budget. (f) Because orchestral music requires many instrumentalists to play the same thing at the same time, orchestras demand a high degree of musical discipline. Such discipline involves unified bowing, the ability to play at sight and strict adherence to the notes on the page. (g) Orchestras are coordinated by means of centralized direction, provided in the 17th and 18th centuries by the first violinist or a keyboard player and since the early 19th century by a conductor.

Appendix E: Symphony orchestra finances

Flanagan (2012, p. 17)



Appendix F: Symphony orchestras analyzed

Flanagan (2012, p. 185)

Alabama	Hartford	Omaha
Atlanta	Honolulu	Oregon
Baltimore	Houston	Pacific
Boston	Indianapolis	Philadelphia
Buffalo	Jacksonville	Phoenix
Charlotte	Kansas City	Pittsburgh
Chicago	Knoxville	Richmond
Cincinnati	Los Angeles	Rochester
Cleveland	Los Angeles Chamber	Sacramento
Columbus	Louisville	Saint Louis
Dallas	Memphis	Saint Paul
Dayton	Milwaukee	San Antonio
Denver	Minnesota	San Diego
Detroit	Naples	San Francisco
Florida Orchestra	Nashville	San Jose
Florida Philharmonic	National	Seattle
Florida Symphony	New Jersey	Syracuse
Fort Wayne	New Mexico	Toledo
Fort Worth	New World	Tulsa
Grand Rapids	New York	Utah
Grant Park	North Carolina	Virginia

Appendix G: Typology of conductors

Shanet (1975)

Type	Time Period	Examples	Nature
Ad hoc	1842 to Bergmann (1855-76)	Ureli Corelli Hill (1842-47) Theodore Eisfeld (1848-65)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Often a member of the orchestra - Talented to industrious (sometime disastrous) - Often sharing duties with other conductors
Artist	Bergmann (1855-76) up to but not including Seidl (1891-98)	Carl Bergmann (1855-76)	- A “forceful artistic leader” (p. 136)
Interpreter	Seidl (1891-98) up to but not including Toscanini (1928-36)	Anton Seidl (1891-98) Theodore Thomas (1877-91) Josef Stransky (1911-23)	<p>Seidl:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - had “freedom of interpretation” (p. 179) - could “divide... the public and the critics into two battling camps” (p. 179) <p>Thomas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - was “a conductor who made other men’s music conform to his interpretation” (p. 179) - “glamorous” (p. 187) - “personality” (p. 296) <p>Stransky:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - was “competent but compliant” (p. 297)
Master	1926-36 up to the time of Rodzinski (1943-47)	Arturo Toscanini (1928-36)	- “serve[d] the interests of the composer” (p. 263), but “dictated their wills and whims” (p. 297)
No Conductor	Reaction to the master conductor	American Symphonic Ensemble (est. 1928, NYC)	1920s and 30s, in Russia, Germany, and the USA
Modern	Rodzinski (1943-47) and following	Artur Rodzinski (1943-47) Leopold Damrosch (1876-77) Arturo Toscanini (1928-36)	<p>Rodzinski:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conducted with “stick in hand, score in head” (p. 297) - “supervise[d] all musical and artistic aspects” (p. 297) - “provide[d] the long-term direction” (p. 300) - “seldom added to a composition” (p. 300)

Appendix H: New York Philharmonic conductors (1842-2015)

New York Philharmonic Music Directors and Advisors (n.d.)

Conductor	Time period
Ureli Corelli Hill	1842-47
Theodore Eisfeld	1848-65
Carl Bergmann	1855-76
Leopold Damrosch	1876-77
Theodore Thomas	1877-91
Anton Seidl	1891-98
Emil Paur	1898-1902
Walter Damrosch	1902-03
Several conductors	1903-06
Wassily Safonoff	1906-09
Gustav Mahler	1909-11
Josef Stransky	1911-23
Willem Mengelberg	1922-30
Arturo Toscanini	1928-36
Sir John Barbirolli	1936-41
Artur Rodzinski	1943-47
Several conductors	1947-49
Leopold Stokowski	1949-50
Dimitri Mitropoulos	1949-58
Leonard Bernstein	1958-69
Pierre Boulez	1971-77
Zubin Mehta	1978-91
Kurt Masur	1991-2002
Lorin Maazel	2002-09
Alan Gilbert	2009-2017

Appendix I: Top 10 composers, all programs (by season)

1842-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	18.8%
1786-1826	German	Weber	15.6%
1792-1868	Italian	Rossini	12.5%
1778-1837	Austrian	Hummel	9.4%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	6.3%
1887-1951	German	Romberg	6.3%
1801-1835	Italian	Bellini	3.1%
1732-1809	Austrian	Haydn	3.1%
1803-1888	Austrian	Herz	3.1%
1801-1866	Bohemian	Kalliwoda	3.1%
			81%
1862-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	16.7%
1809-1847	German	Mendelssohn	8.3%
1810-1849	Polish	Chopin	8.3%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	8.3%
1817-1890	Danish	Gade	5.6%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	5.6%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	5.6%
1797-1828	Austrian	Schubert	5.6%
1813-1888	Hungarian	Heller	2.8%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	2.8%
			69%
1882-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	16.7%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	12.5%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	8.3%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	8.3%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	8.3%
1828-1897	German	Bargiel	4.2%
1838-1920	German	Bruch	4.2%
1852-1935	British	Cowen	4.2%
1841-1904	Czech	Dvorak	4.2%
1847-1927	Austrian	Fuchs	4.2%
			75%

1902-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	20.0%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	8.6%
1835-1921	French	Saint-Saens	8.6%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	8.6%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	8.6%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	5.7%
1823-1892	French	Lalo	5.7%
1838-1920	German	Bruch	2.9%
1685-1750	German	Bach	2.9%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	2.9%
			74%
1922-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	21.5%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	10.2%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	9.9%
1864-1949	German	Strauss	6.7%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.3%
1811-1886	Hungarian	Liszt	3.0%
1797-1828	Austrian	Schubert	2.4%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	2.4%
1835-1921	French	Saint-Saens	2.4%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	1.9%
			65%
1942-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	5.8%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	5.8%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.2%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	4.1%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	3.0%
1906-1975	Russian	Shostakovich	2.4%
1809-1847	German	Mendelssohn	2.2%
1898-1937	American	Gershwin	2.2%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	2.0%
1839-1881	Russian	Mussorgsky	1.7%
			33%

1962-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	6.0%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	4.3%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	4.0%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	3.8%
1875-1937	French	Ravel	3.6%
1898-1937	American	Gershwin	3.4%
1813-1901	Italian	Verdi	2.9%
1825-1899	Austrian	Strauss II	2.7%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	2.5%
1888-1989	American	Berlin	2.5%
			36%
1982-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	5.8%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	5.5%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.1%
1862-1918	French	Debussy	4.1%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	4.1%
1825-1899	Austrian	Strauss II	3.8%
1811-1886	Hungarian	Liszt	3.5%
1874-1954	American	Ives	3.5%
1813-1901	Italian	Verdi	2.9%
1874-1951	Austrian	Schoenberg	2.3%
			40%
2002-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	7.5%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	7.2%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	5.3%
1873-1943	Russian	Rachmaninoff	4.8%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	4.3%
1891-1953	Russian	Prokofiev	4.3%
1809-1847	German	Mendelssohn	3.7%
1865-1957	Finnish	Sibelius	2.9%
		Anthem	2.9%
1898-1937	American	Gershwin	2.4%
			45%

2012-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	5.8%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.2%
1918-1990	American	Bernstein	3.9%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	3.7%
1685-1750	German	Bach	3.7%
1844-1908	Russian	Rimsky-Korsakov	2.8%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	2.8%
1854-1932	American	Sousa	2.3%
1944-2012	American	Hamlisch	2.3%
1841-1904	Czech	Dvorak	2.1%
			34%

Appendix J: Top 10 composers, subscription-only programs (by season)

1842-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	18.8%
1786-1826	German	Weber	15.6%
1792-1868	Italian	Rossini	12.5%
1778-1837	Austrian	Hummel	9.4%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	6.3%
1767-1841	German	Romberg	6.3%
1801-1835	Italian	Bellini	3.1%
1732-1809	Austrian	Haydn	3.1%
1803-1888	Austrian	Herz	3.1%
1801-1866	Bohemia	Kalliwoda	3.1%
			81%
1862-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	16.7%
1809-1847	German	Mendelssohn	8.3%
1810-1849	Polish	Chopin	8.3%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	8.3%
1817-1890	Danish	Gade	5.6%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	5.6%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	5.6%
1797-1828	Austrian	Schubert	5.6%
1813-1888	Hungarian	Heller	2.8%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	2.8%
			69%
1882-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	16.7%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	12.5%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	8.3%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	8.3%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	8.3%
1828-1897	German	Bargiel	4.2%
1838-1920	German	Bruch	4.2%
1852-1935	British	Cowen	4.2%
1841-1904	Czech	Dvorak	4.2%
1847-1927	Austrian	Fuchs	4.2%
			75%

1902-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	20.0%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	8.6%
1835-1921	French	Saint-Saens	8.6%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	8.6%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	8.6%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	5.7%
1823-1892	French	Lalo	5.7%
1838-1920	German	Bruch	2.9%
1685-1750	German	Bach	2.9%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	2.9%
			74%
1922-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	20.3%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	10.6%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	9.4%
1864-1949	German	Strauss	6.9%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.7%
1811-1886	Hungarian	Liszt	3.1%
1835-1921	French	Saint-Saens	2.8%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	2.5%
1797-1828	Austrian	Schubert	2.2%
1844-1908	Russian	Rimsky-Korsakov	2.2%
			65%
1942-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	7.4%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	6.9%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	5.9%
1803-1869	French	Berlioz	4.9%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	4.4%
1906-1975	Russian	Shostakovich	3.9%
1732-1809	Austrian	Haydn	3.4%
1685-1750	German	Bach	2.5%
1809-1847	German	Mendelssohn	2.5%
1898-1937	American	Gershwin	2.5%
			44%

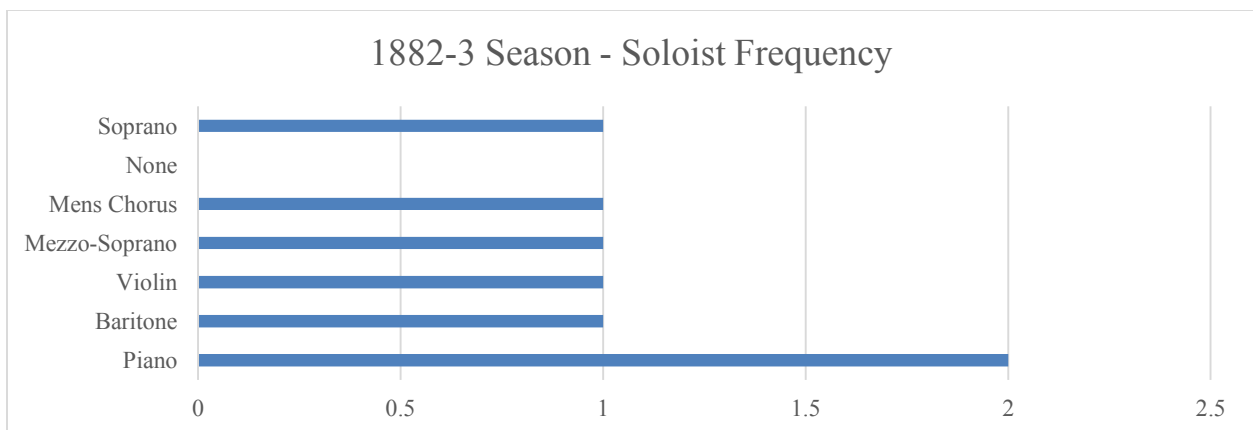
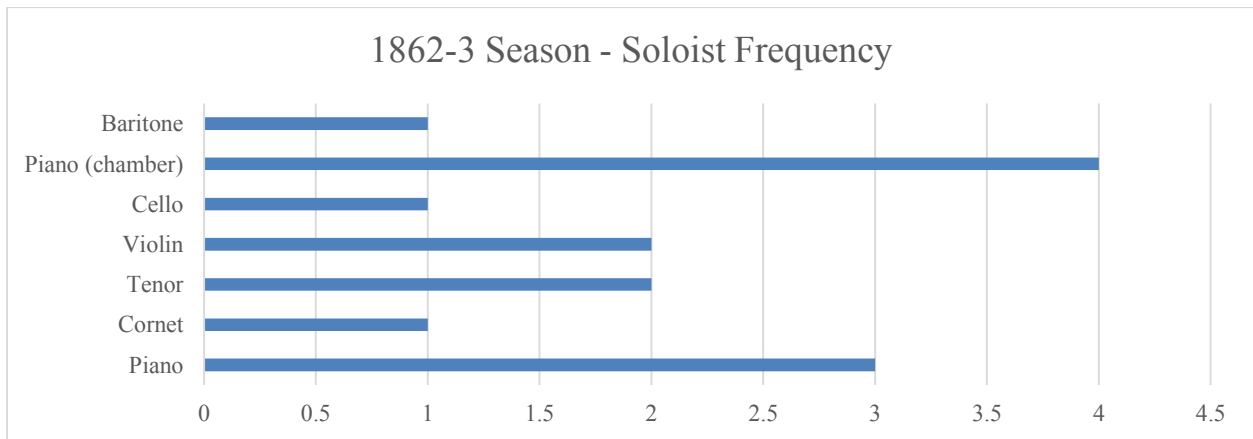
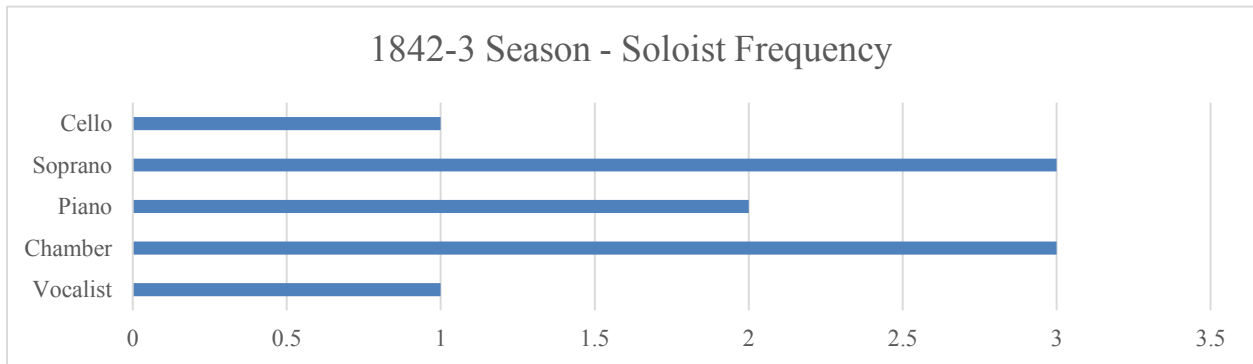
1962-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	10.5%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	6.5%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	4.8%
1864-1949	German	Strauss	4.8%
1892-1955	Swiss	Honegger	4.8%
1862-1918	French	Debussy	3.2%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	3.2%
1875-1937	French	Ravel	3.2%
1685-1750	German	Bach	3.2%
1732-1809	Austrian	Haydn	3.2%
			48%
1982-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	7.3%
1813-1883	German	Wagner	6.7%
1825-1899	Austrian	Strauss II	5.7%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	4.7%
1874-1951	Austrian	Schoenberg	4.1%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.1%
1862-1918	French	Debussy	3.6%
1813-1901	Italian	Verdi	3.6%
1810-1856	German	Schumann	2.6%
1811-1886	Hungarian	Liszt	2.6%
			45%
2002-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1891-1953	Russian	Prokofiev	9.0%
1840-1893	Russian	Tchaikovsky	5.8%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	5.8%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	4.5%
1906-1975	Russian	Shostakovich	3.2%
1865-1957	Finnish	Sibelius	3.2%
1873-1943	Russian	Rachmaninoff	2.6%
1875-1937	French	Ravel	2.6%
1898-1937	American	Gershwin	2.6%
1916-2013	French	Dutilleux	2.6%
			42%

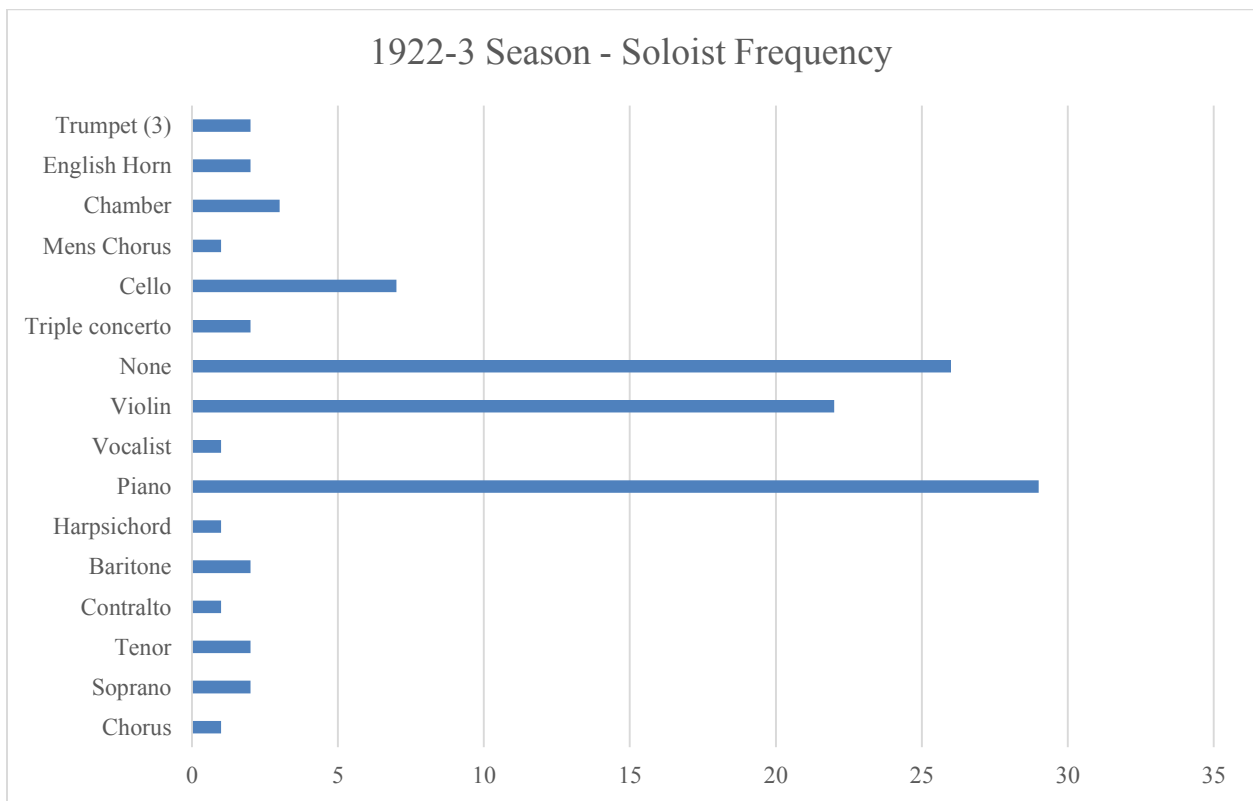
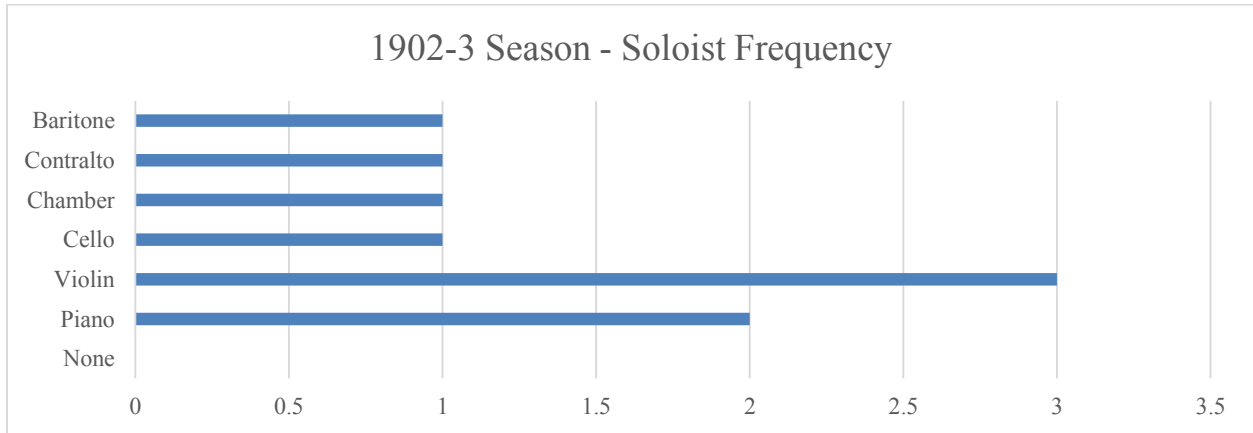
2012-3	Nationality	Composer	%
1685-1750	German	Bach	9.2%
1833-1897	German	Brahms	7.6%
1882-1971	Russian	Stravinsky	4.6%
1770-1827	German	Beethoven	4.6%
1854-1932	American	Sousa	3.8%
1756-1791	Austrian	Mozart	3.8%
1809–1847	German	Mendelssohn	3.8%
1949-	American	Rouse	3.1%
1891-1953	Russian	Prokofiev	3.1%
1906-1975	Russian	Shostakovich	3.1%
			47%

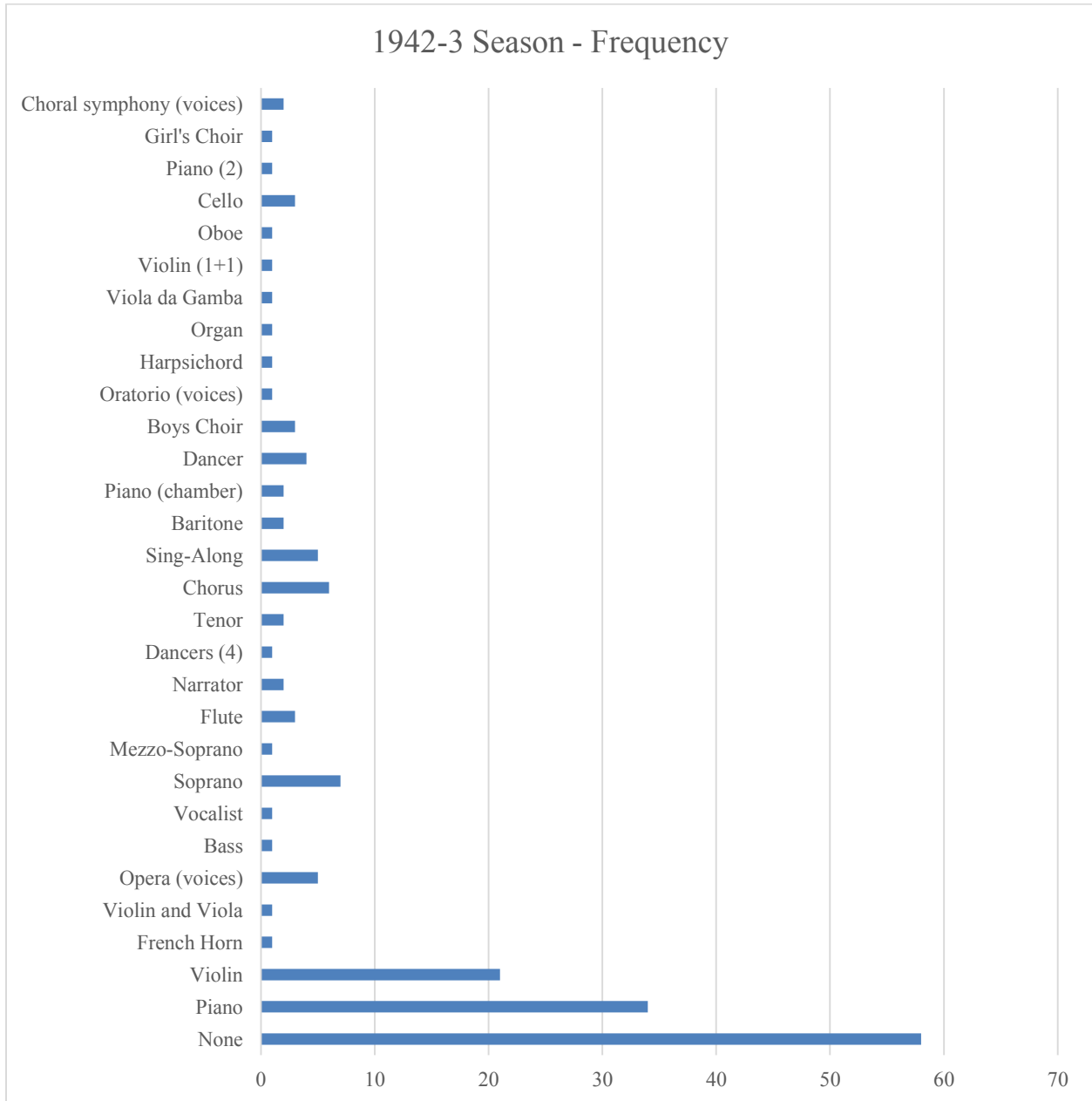
Appendix K: New York Philharmonic program types

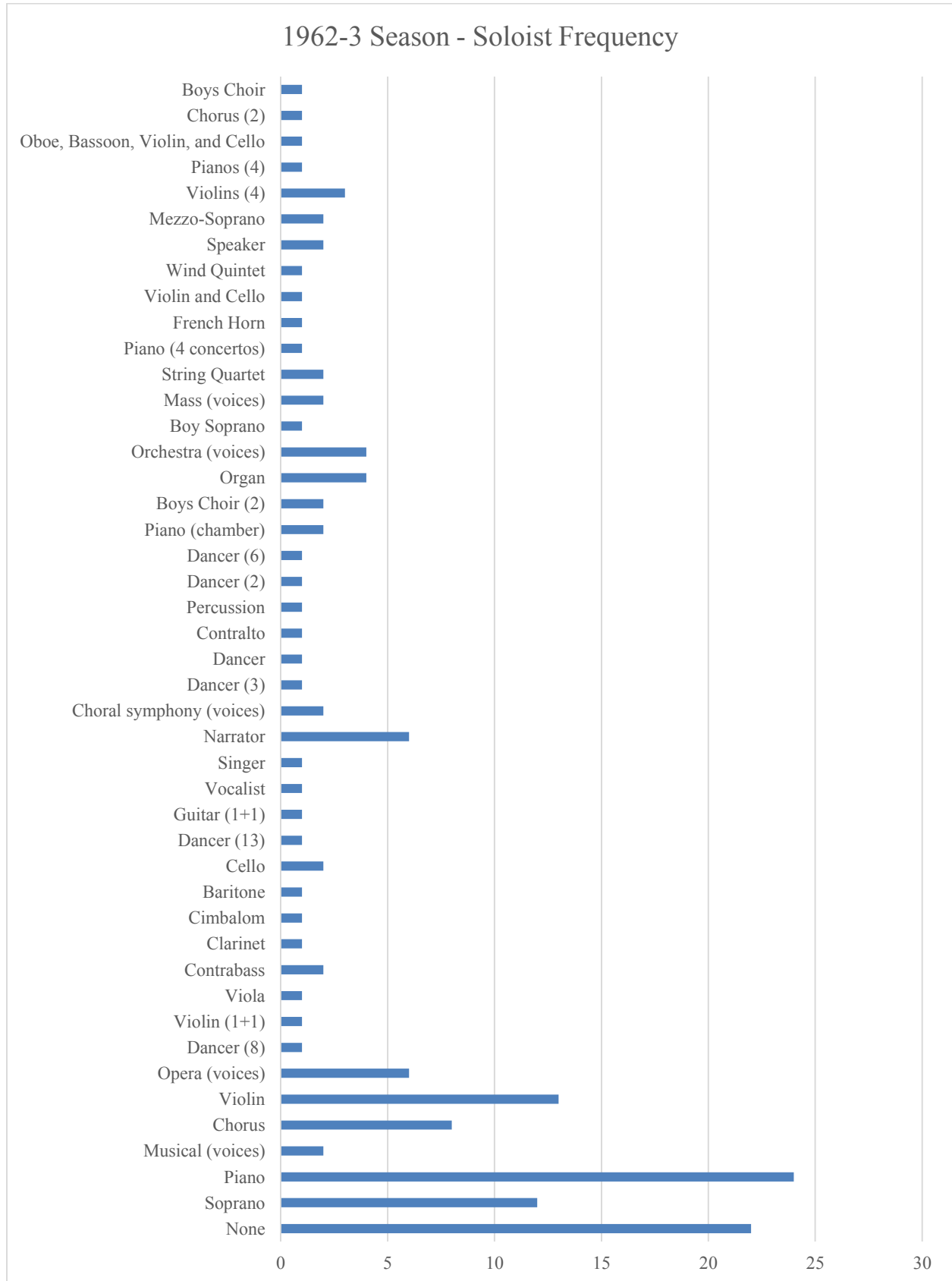
Subscription Season
Special
Run-Out
Private Concert
Tour
Summer Broadcast Concert
Stadium Concert
Young People's Concert
Student Concert
Promenade
Pension Fund Benefit Concert
Parks
Horizons
Rush Hour
St. John the Divine
Saturday Matinee
School Day Concert
Borough Concerts
Summertime Classics
Non-subscription
Contact!
New Year's Eve
Recording Session

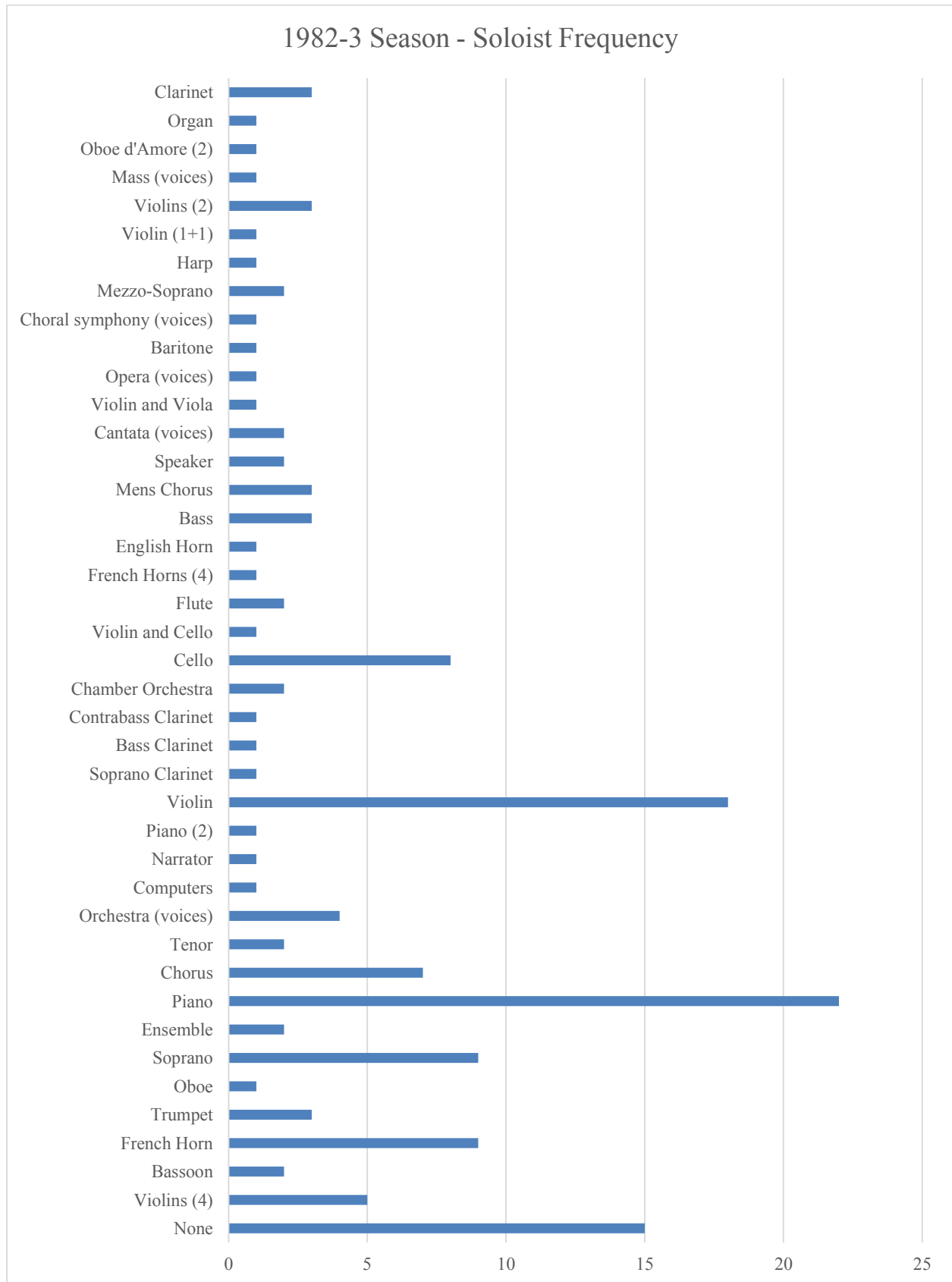
Appendix L: New York Philharmonic soloist combinations (by season)

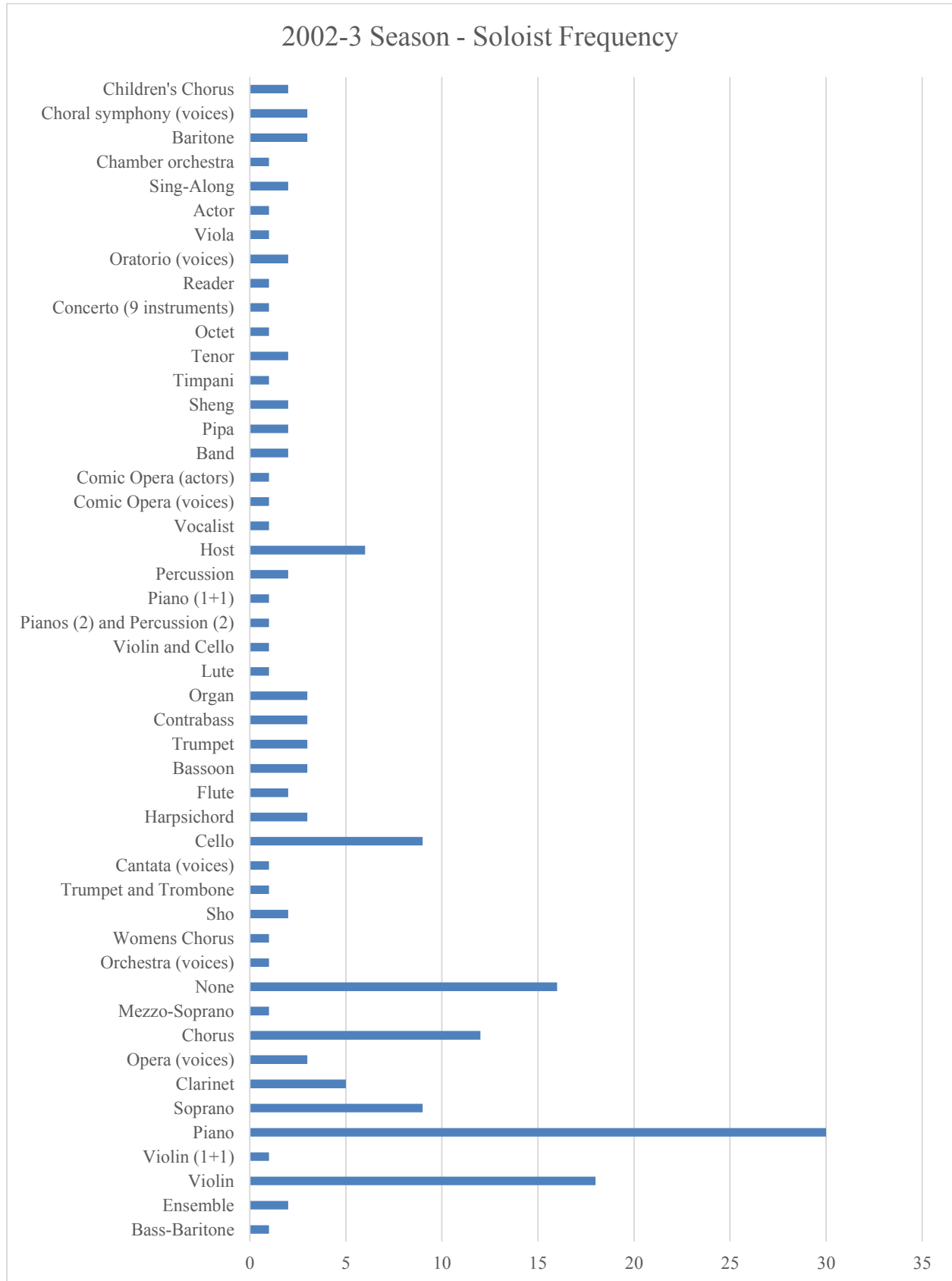


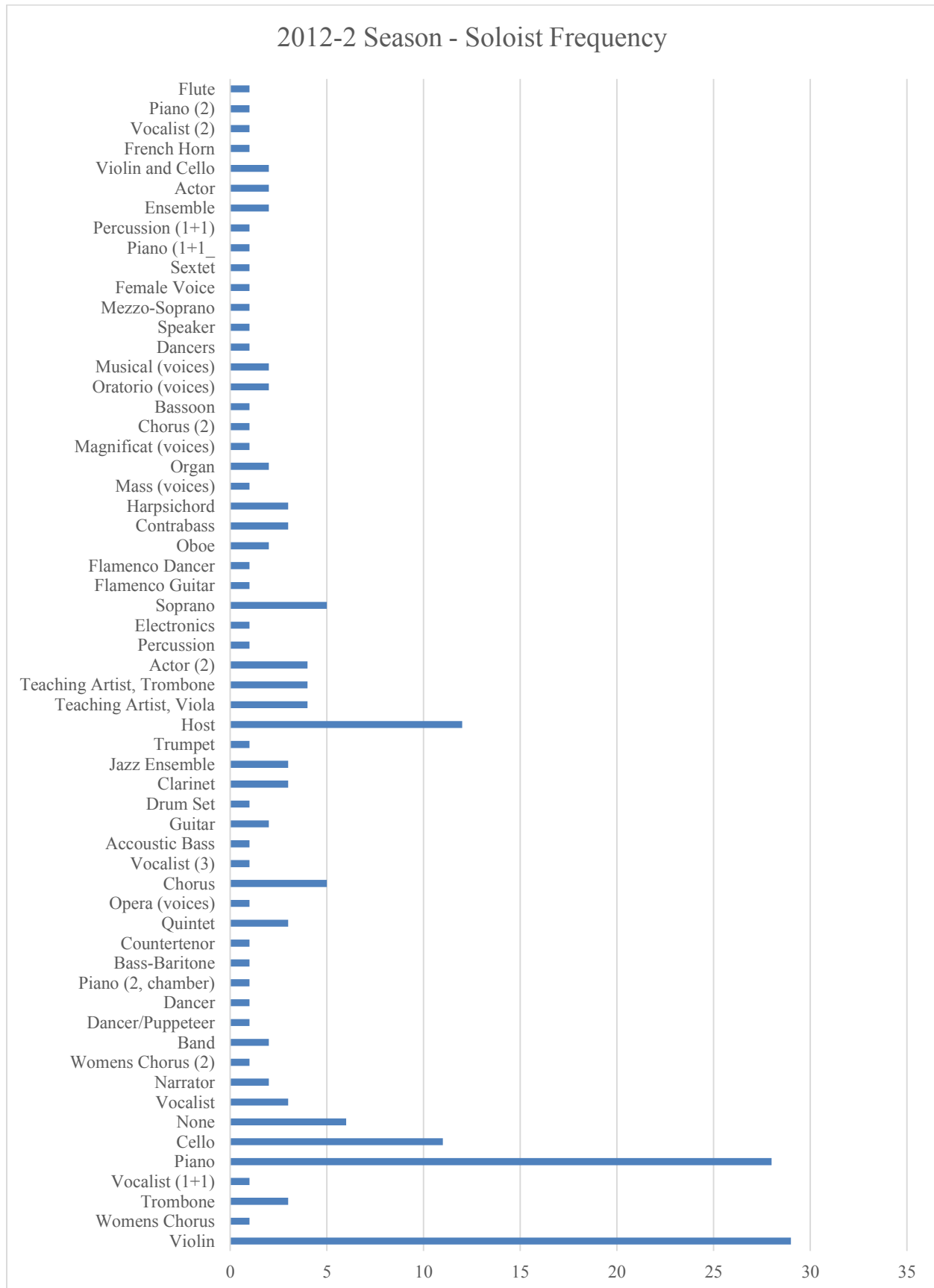












Appendix M: Anne-Sophie Mutter subscription-only programs

21 subscription-only programs of a total of 33.

1st Date	#Perfs*	Repertoire	Notes
06/02/2011	3	Beethoven <i>Romance in F major for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 50</i> <i>Currier / Time Machines</i>	Mutter was the 2010-2011 Artist-in-Residence
03/31/2011	3	Gubaidulina <i>In tempus praesens, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra</i>	
11/18/2010	4	Mozart <i>Violin Concerto No. 3 in G major, K.216</i> <i>Rihm Lichtes Spiel: Ein Sommerstueck (Light Game: A Summer Piece)</i> Mozart <i>Violin Concerto No. 1 in B-flat major, K.207</i> Mozart <i>Violin Concerto No. 5 in A major, K.219, Turkish</i>	Mutter also conducted the three Mozart concertos from the soloist position, i.e. standing in front of the orchestra, and at her request, she was listed as director rather than conductor in the program.
02/04/2009	4	Mendelssohn <i>Concerto in E minor for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 64</i>	Same work as Mutter played for her American/Philharmonic debut
04/25/2007	4	Berg <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra</i>	
01/23/2004	2	Beethoven <i>Triple Concerto for Piano, Violin, and Cello in C major, Op. 56</i> Dutilleux <i>Sur le même accord (Nocturne for Violin and Orchestra)</i>	Performance with colleague Lynn Harrell, cello and then husband, André Previn, piano; no review by the Times.
01/22/2004	1	Beethoven <i>Triple Concerto for Piano, Violin, and Cello in C major, Op. 56</i> Dutilleux <i>Sur le même accord (Nocturne for Violin and Orchestra)</i>	Related to 01/23/2004 - remaining repertoire changed slightly from second program
04/24/2003	4	Previn <i>Violin Concerto</i>	André Previn was Mutter's husband at the time (now divorced)
06/01/2002	1	Beethoven <i>Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61</i>	
05/31/2002	1	Beethoven <i>Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61</i>	Related to 06/01/2002 - remaining repertoire changed in third program
05/30/2002	1	Beethoven <i>Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61</i> Beethoven <i>Romance No. 1 in G major for Violin, Op. 40</i>	Related to 05/31/2002 - remaining repertoire changed in second program

01/14/2000	2	Penderecki <i>Metamorphosen, Concerto No. 2 for Violin and Orchestra</i>	The third program of three during Mutter's three-week residency
01/12/2000	1	Berg <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra</i> Sibelius <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D minor, Op. 47</i>	The second program of three during Mutter's three-week residency
01/11/2000	1	Berg <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra</i> Sibelius <i>Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D minor, Op. 47</i>	Related program to 01/12/2000 - remaining repertoire changed slightly in second performance
01/06/2000	2	Lutoslawski <i>Partita for Violin and Orchestra, with Obligato Piano</i> Lutoslawski <i>Chain 2: Dialogue for Violin and Orchestra</i>	The first program of three during Mutter's three-week residency
12/31/1999	1	Bach <i>Violin Concerto in E major, BWV 1042</i>	
12/07/1993	1	Brahms <i>Concerto in D major for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 77</i>	
12/02/1993	3	Brahms <i>Concerto in D major for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 77</i>	Related program to 12/07/1993 - conductor change due to illness
02/22/1990	4	Bruch <i>Violin Concerto No. 1 in G minor, Op. 26</i> Lutoslawski <i>Chain 2: Dialogue for Violin and Orchestra</i>	
04/07/1988	4	Beethoven <i>Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61</i>	
01/03/1980	4	Mendelssohn <i>Concerto in E minor for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 64</i>	

*Number of performances of a single program