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Abstract:

This paper explores the cultural and historical significance of buildings that have suffered destruction due to accidents, with a particular focus on the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, France. On April 15, 2019, a devastating fire engulfed the spire and much of the Cathedral's roof, sparking global discussions about its reconstruction. Despite the fire's limited impact on the main structure and the successful rescue of priceless artifacts, the event highlighted the symbolic and practical challenges of restoring iconic landmarks.

Using Institutional Theory with a special emphasis on institutional logics, this study examines the multifaceted significance of Notre Dame, including its cultural, economic, and societal value. We analyze the perspectives of diverse Social Actors - ranging from politicians and architects to preservationists and local Parisians - whose conflicting priorities fueled international debates about whether to restore the Cathedral to its original design or adopt a contemporary approach.

The paper highlights how Institutional Logics provides a framework for understanding the socially constructed and historically embedded practices that shape Social Actors' decision-making. By investigating the interactions among individuals, organizations, and institutions, the study sheds light on the processes that influence organizational change and the resolution of conflicts between tradition and innovation in architectural preservation.

Ultimately, this research aims to provide insights into the dynamics of the Social Actors engagement and the decision-making processes involved in rebuilding culturally and economically significant landmarks, offering valuable lessons for managing organizational and societal change.

Overall, this study provides valuable insights the renovation of Notre Dame, offering a deeper understanding of the involved Social Actors and its broader implications for the decision-making process.

Institutional Logic in Cultural Buildings

A case study of how the conflicts that arose in the reconstruction of the Notre Dame Cathedral.



Group number: 2

Lene Maria Nyambura Grønlykke & Selvi Celik

Preface

This project is the result of months of in-depth analysis, discussions amongst each other, and a deep personal interest in the ways architectural preservation, focusing on the decision-making process of the renovation of Notre Dame. It began with our interest in architectural preservation and over time, evolved into an exploration of conflicts that occur in such projects.

The primary aim of this work is to gain insight into the decision-making process. The analysis is based on a document-case analysis approach, supplemented by the theory of Institutional Logics.

This work is intended for project leaders, consultants in the building sector, and other leaders within the sector who may encounter communication challenges when renovating culturally significant buildings. The theory itself is applicable to several cases, where the results differ according to the Social Actors involved.

In the course of writing, we encountered several challenges, such as understanding schemas in our theory and particularly visually representing conflicts between Social Actor in our analysis which ultimately enriched the final outcome. We hope that readers will find this work offers practical insights into navigating conflicts between cultural imperatives and modern-day challenges in architectural restoration.

This work would not have been completed without the encouragement and guidance of Marianne Forman, to whom we are profoundly grateful.

We invite you to explore the following chapters with an open mind, as they reflect not only our own journey of discovery but also the collective insights shared by the many people and ideas that have shaped it.

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1 Introduction

Culturally significant buildings are essential to shaping national identity, symbolizing a nation's heritage and history. Preserved through collective societal and governmental efforts, these structures become monuments that embody cultural memory and continuity (Thatcher, 2017). Their preservation sustains cultural heritage, supports tourism, and contributes to economic growth (Adeniran & Akinlabi, 2011). However, neglect can lead to deterioration, highlighting the need for policies that ensure these buildings' sustainable preservation and community relevance (Ribera, Nestico, Pasquale, & Maselli, 2020).

When such structures are damaged or destroyed, reconstruction is a challenging process that must balance historical authenticity with modern requirements (Havinga, Colenbrander, & Schellen, 2019). The restoration of Notre Dame, for instance, involved advanced technologies like laser scanning and photogrammetry to meticulously document and replicate its medieval architecture. This approach demonstrates how technology and careful archival research enable reconstructions that honor the building's original design and construction techniques (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

The emotional impact of losing iconic buildings like Notre Dame, the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro (Angeleti, 2022), and Copenhagen's Børsen resonates worldwide (Kuhlman, 2024). These structures, ingrained in both national and global consciousness, represent shared cultural heritage. Their destruction elicits a powerful response—grief, international fundraising, and urgent calls for rebuilding—showing how these historic buildings connect communities across generations and borders, serving as enduring symbols of our collective human experience (Busby, 2019).

To further understand this connection between heritage and community, we will analyze the Notre Dame case through the theory of institutional logics. By examining documents and responses, we will dive into the case of Notre Dame through a document analysis to see what challenges the Social Actors face in balancing the decision-making process and cultural imperatives during the reconstruction of Notre Dame Cathedral (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

1.1 Culturally significant buildings

Historic buildings play an important role in the reinforcement of national identity. Each country has its own historic building that acts as a representation of their past, this is not limited to only buildings but monuments, walls, dwellings, temples of religions and so on and

so forth (Thatcher, 2017). Historic buildings are created, that is to say that other than being constructed, their 'historic' title is created through the process of choice and attachment. The creation and preservation of historic buildings is a conscious decision made by the community of the nation and the actions of state actors to define and select buildings for nationalistic purposes (Thatcher, 2017).

The expression of human history is seen best through architecture. Through the undying stones of buildings are where one can see the life of man in the past (Adeniran & Akinlabi, 2011). The cultural significance of heritage items, such as monuments and buildings, are to be conserved or preserved. However, how can we begin to understand what a culturally significant building is and why they should be preserved? Historic buildings may carry cultural significance through how they can symbolize things such as intrinsic qualities in the present, group symbols, it can also show us information about the past. This is all important to help maintain cultural memory, which can contribute to economic value through tourism (Adeniran & Akinlabi, 2011).

Through educating ourselves about the past, it can help us in the present understand better where we come from and give meaning to the present through interpreting the past. Building can act as a visible symbol of the passage of time and act as embodiment of social memory, and through the conservation of these historic buildings in their original environment can help with the documentation of human existence (Adeniran & Akinlabi, 2011).

To create a conscious sense of place, there is a process in which a community reinforces this idea. This builds upon another argument that buildings gain their meaning through how they are associated with history, because of the long span that culture has, it can qualify a historic building to have cultural significance given that the building represents the society of which it was built by and therefore deserves to be conserved, not only as a monument but for tourism too (Adeniran & Akinlabi, 2011). There have been more economic regulations requiring that the building be useful and produce income or to act as a resource to the community to help generate productivity (Ribera, Nestico, Pasquale, & Maselli, 2020). This is due to a large part of cultural heritage in multiple countries being left abandoned or underused. This leaves the building to weather away leading to their original configurations becoming distorted or destroyed to some degree. This has created a need for affirmation of new cultural models or policies that can be combined to create a safeguarding of the material

documents and a guarantee of adequate public use of the buildings without a need of resource depletion (Ribera, Nestico, Pasquale, & Maselli, 2020).

1.2 Reconstruction of culturally significant building

Reconstruction of culturally significant buildings can happen for several reasons, the most common being that of meeting climate goals. When reconstructing historic buildings, special attention is paid to the conservation of cultural values and heritage significance (Havinga, Colenbrander, & Schellen, 2019). However, the reconstruction process we are most interested in is that of a building that has been destroyed. How does one begin the process of reconstructing an old building that has burnt down like that of Notre Dame?

The roof of the Notre Dame is the main reconstruction project in question, and a question that created debates amongst experts and laymen. The main discussion being that of how feasible it would be to have an identical reconstruction of the roof (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). There were especially large concerns regarding the age and quality of the wood needed to rebuild the destroyed frame, another concern was that of the carpenters' knowledge in relation to the multi-secular construction techniques. Due to the state of documentation of the cathedral, there were two large constraints that were identified, the first being that the level of knowledge of the forest was not properly established and another being that the little but reliable information found reminds us that the result of the wood in the roof was that of eight centuries of reuse, alterations, repairs and modifications (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

The identical reconstruction of the cathedral relied heavily on the collection of widely scattered documentation. An architectural survey was carried out by Remi Fromont and Cedric Trentesaux (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). They made a compilation of existing documentation of the cathedrals framing, which was followed up by a critical analysis of it. This analysis was also made to help gain an understanding and description of the medieval framing of the cathedral, with attention on the marking, repairs, reinforcements and lifts (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

There was also a study of the thousands of photographs that were taken of the roofs. A large portion of these documents were produced by the architects previously mentioned. There were over 3500 photographs taken of carpentry and roofing, with a combined use of eighty keywords that were used to help with the identification of the trusses (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). Laser scanning was utilized in the project as well due to the complexity of cathedrals, especially the framing. There were 2 stations made, where the data that was acquired by the

clouds represented less than 4% of the complete cloud, the second point cloud was provided by the company GEA along with Life3D who had digitalized through 3D scanner some areas of the cathedral. These scans were performed for the scaffolding company called Europe Eschafaudage (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). These scans were to provide plans, elevations, sections and 3D models.

The use of photogrammetry by cable man enabled an observation of deposited rubble. This process constitutes the source of scientific information that can allow for better knowledge on the constructive and methodological techniques used during the construction process of the cathedral (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). Veronique Vergesbelmin, the head of department in culture in the company Laboratoire de recherche des monuments historiques (LRMH) stated that the extraction and detailed information taken from the roof samples not only made it possible to recover necessary parts that can be reused or made copies of the original but also advances knowledge of where the materials came from and from which date (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). This therefore means that the results of this process can serve as a hypothesis of a validates identical reconstruction.

1.3 Notre Dame and other Culturally significant buildings

The burning of Notre Dame was a shock to people all around the world. It was a significant symbol of France's heritage and touched the hearts of many, from world leaders like Barack Obama, Donald Trump, Emmanuel Macron, and more (Busby, 2019), to local Parisians who watched the fire with tears in their eyes (Lou & Griggs, 2019). The impact of the fire spread globally within hours and was televised across various continents. The desire to rebuild Notre Dame united faithful Catholics as well as international tourists (Isnart, et al., 2023).

Emmanuel Macron expressed his sorrow, stating that he was “sad to see this part of us burn” and later tweeted that Notre Dame would be rebuilt. He also announced an international fundraising campaign to finance the cathedral's reconstruction (Busby, 2019). In an interview with CNN, local Parisian Thibaud Binétruy said, “It’s awful to see such a symbol disappearing in front of you” (Lou & Griggs, 2019). But how can a building have such a profound impact on people from all around the world?

Just as people have identities, buildings also develop identities over the years. Notre Dame has stood since the year 1260, witnessing over 700 years of history, including both World Wars, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Revivre Notre Dame, 2024). Notre Dame was also the inspiration for the 1831 novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* and later the Disney movie *The*

Hunchback of Notre Dame. As a result, many people, including Catholics, Parisians, children, architecture enthusiasts, tourists, and world leaders, were deeply affected by the Notre Dame Cathedral fire.

This is not the first time people have been deeply affected by the destruction of a building. In 2018, the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro was also destroyed by fire. The building had stood since 1818 and was listed as Brazilian National Heritage (Angeleti, 2022). The president of Brazil, Michel Temer, stated, “Two hundred years of work, investigation, and knowledge have been lost,” as the museum housed a collection of 20 million artifacts from around the world (With the flames barely out, the finger-pointing begins as massive fire engulfs famed Rio museum, 2018). The destruction of the museum prompted protests, with people gathering outside the site, calling on the government to rebuild. Police had to hold the crowd back with pepper spray and tear gas (Prengaman & DiLorenzo, 2018).

A more recent example of a culturally significant building destroyed by fire is Børsen in Copenhagen, Denmark, which burned down in April 2024. This building had stood since 1623 in the heart of Copenhagen (Scheef & Heigl, 2019). Many people were affected by the fire, with some rushing into the building to help police rescue artworks (Frandsen, 2024). The burning of Børsen was even compared to Notre Dame, as the incident occurred exactly five years and one day after the Notre Dame fire (Kuhlman, 2024).

1.4 Research question

Our project’s research question will be outlined in the following section. This question will establish the framework for our research and analysis. Utilizing the chosen theory and methods, we aim to draw meaningful conclusions. The analysis will directly address the research question, which will be presented in the conclusion.

Research question:

What conflicts did the Social Actors face in balancing the decision-making process and cultural imperatives during the reconstruction of Notre Dame Cathedral?

Sub-questions:

Who are the involved Social Actors and how does their identity affect their decisions?

What Institutional Logics are in play?

What conflicts do the Social Actors bump into?

This information can be valuable for organizations seeking to gain a deeper understanding of various Social Actors, including their frameworks and limitations, as well as their decision-making processes. Such insights can facilitate a better grasp of how to achieve organizational change. The theory will aid us in understanding the micro-level interactions that influence macro-level structures.

1.5 Scope

As described in Section 1.3, Notre Dame is the case we have chosen to focus on. We aim to analyse the conflict between individuals who wish to preserve the architecture in its original state and those who wish to implement innovative solutions and adopt more contemporary designs.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the significance of the building from a multifaceted perspective through the lens of Institutional Theory, with a special focus on the Institutional Logics presented by Friedland and Alford in 1991. We will analyse several perspectives that influenced the reconstruction of the building, including its cultural significance, economic value, and the various Social Actors involved in the decision-making process for the cathedral's reconstruction. By using institutional logics, we hope to examine the process of reconstructing buildings that hold strong cultural and economic value for the local community, which will help us understand the decision to reconstruct the cathedral in its original design as opposed to a newer, more contemporary design.

Methodologically, the starting point of our project is grounded in reports, articles, scientific papers and second-hand interviews. Our approach involves extensive reading and research to identify common themes in the statements, and subsequently determining whether institutional change is occurring through the lens of institutional logic theory. We will limit our report to a macro-level analysis, focusing on the conflicts amongst Social Actors with an institutional logic's perspective. This analysis will cover the timeline from 2019 to 2024.

Additionally, we will confine our study to this case - Notre Dame - while also including some reference to other similar cases. And we will mainly be focusing on the Social Actors that we introduce.

2 Theory

Institutional logic perspective as a theoretical and empirical form of research was first presented by the authors Friedland and Alford in 1991 (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The authors originally wrote about Institutional Logics in a chapter of an edited book where they discuss structural and cognitive isomorphism of organizational fields (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Institutional Logics is a perspective on metatheoretical framework for analysing interrelationships amongst individuals, organizations and institutions within social systems (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

The institutional logic perspective developed from neo-institutional theory; however, it is also important to note that it is distinct from it. We can see the largest distinction in Institutional Logics perspective's ability to theorize the duality of the material practise-based aspects of institutions as well as the cultural symbolic aspects (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Institutional Logics is an aid for researchers that are interested in investigating the influence that individuals and organizations are under when it comes to multiple social locations. The logics are conceptualized into a theoretical model in which each institutional order of the interinstitutional systems is distinguished with their own unique organizing principles, symbols and practices that have influence on organizational and individual behaviour (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Through the use of institutional logics, one can have frames of reference that represent the conditions of the actors involved and give an insight into their sensemaking. It as well includes their vocabulary that they use for motive of action, the sense of self and identity. With these tools, one can have a better understanding of how reasoning takes place and how rationality is perceived and experienced through the principles, practices and symbols of each institutional order (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

It is important to analyse actors in a societal context, where society and social relations are not just about the diffusion of the material structures but also about the symbolic and culture (Powell & Dimaggio, 1991). Institutional logic is one that not only include the environmental effects of organizations, but also dives into the metatheory of institutions that include organizations and individuals (Powell & Dimaggio, 1991).

Institutional Logics perspective has a driving force of the interests, identities, values and assumptions of individuals and organisations and how embedded they are within prevalent

Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The aim of Institutional Logics is to examine how actions of actors are dependent on how individuals and organisations are situated within the spheres of different institutional orders, and how they are influenced by them as well (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Another key principle of Institutional Logics perspective is the material and symbolic elements within institutional orders in society. If we look into the material aspect, it is referred to the structures and practices. When looking into the symbolic aspects, it is the ideas and meanings (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). It is important to note that the symbolic and the material are intertwined and constitutive of one another, that being said, it does not mean that they cannot be analytically separated. When carrying out institutional analysis, it's important to take into consideration symbols and practices (Powell & Dimaggio, 1991). While family and religion may not be directly in the economic sphere, it is important to recognise their involvement in the market (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Institutional Logics are the development of theoretical and methodological tools that will enable researchers to separate the symbolic from the structural effects, which in turn will enable researchers to gain a better understanding of the ordering and operative mechanisms within an institution (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Without the symbolic aspects of institutions, the ability to theorize institutional heterogeneity as well as change becomes more difficult, this is due to the fact that through collective meaning and social practices can be institutionalised (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

2.1 Micro foundations of Institutional Logics

Social Actors are key to understanding institutional persistence and change according from an institutional logics' perspective. They serve as a critical insight, with an interplay between three interdependent yet autonomous levels (Powell & Dimaggio, 1991). These levels are society, organisation, and individual. When looking at the individual behaviour, it is important to focus on cognitions, identities, interest and power in individual agency. It is nested within organisations and institutions that have progressively higher levels of opportunities and constraint (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

There are two views on the relationship between individuals and institutional logics, with one focusing on opportunities and the other on constraints. In the title of Friedland and Alford's 1991 paper, we can see how they discuss the opportunity of individual agency as inherent in Institutional Logics perspective, where their perspective emphasises the contradictory

institutional orders which constitute modern orders (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). In respect to institutional contradictions, they provide individuals as well as organisations with the opportunity for agency and institutional change through the exploitation of these same contradictions (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

It has become known that Institutional Logics shape action and has been referred to as embedded agency, or social action that is embedded culturally in Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). A second argument that was put forward by Friedland and Alford is that Institutional Logics shape individual preferences, organizational interests, and the categories and repertoires of actions to attain the preferences and interests (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Through the establishment of core principles for organization activities and channelling interests, dominant Institutional Logics become taken for granted.

2.2 An integrative model of the micro foundations of Institutional Logics

Figure 1 is a combination of several theoretical elements that represent a more integrated process model of the micro foundations of institutional logics. There is a special focus on the attention of the individual actors through cultural embeddedness, activating a Social Actor's situated identities, goals and action schemas (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Through social interactions, communication resource flows can be generated with interdependencies which result in the social practices and structures, this includes organizations and institutional work (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). These situated practices are then selected and retained through processes of cultural evolution which then led to an evolutionary process in which Institutional Logics emerge at the levels of society, institutional field and organization (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

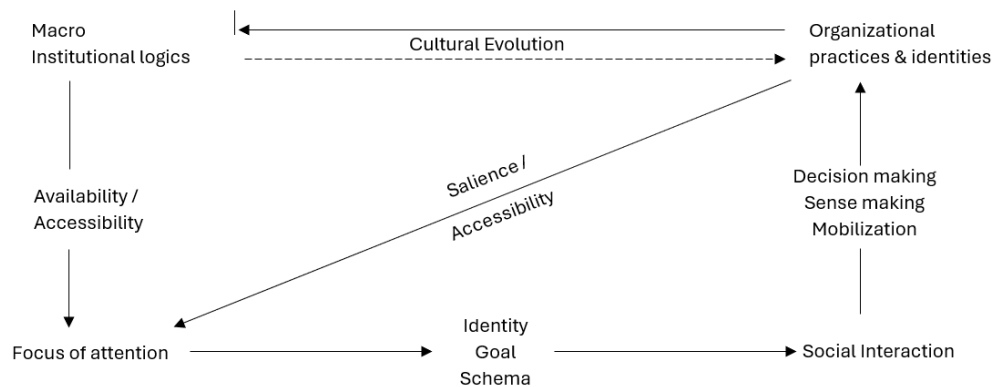


Figure 1 - (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

There is a focus on three main elements in the above figure: Social Actor's identities, goals, and schemas. These elements are situated and bounded intentionally guiding the cognition and social interaction (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

2.2.1 Social Identities

According to psychological social identity theory, individuals have multiple social identities which can be define in groups or category membership with particular social roles. Both these social identities are relevant to the micro foundations and to Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). In terms of Social Actor's relationships, role identities are defined rationally, for example: CEO, investor, manager, leader and volunteer are all part of organisational identities whereas parent, spouse, friend, and citizen are outside of organisations (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). It is important to note that in professional and occupational identities, the group and role identities can overlap. Take a physician for example, they are members of a professional group, however, also have a role identity that is relative to other roles such as, nurse, patient, technician and administrator.

Social Actors will attempt to validate their identities to achieve identity verification through a symbolic exchange with other Social Actors across diverse situational contexts. The more an identity is positively verified, the more that the Social Actor's commitment to the identity increases (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). There is a hierarchy of Social Actors' identities and roles that have varying levels of commitment to their identities. These levels of commitment affect the actors' connection to other actors that share similar identities, this leads to a potential of identity conflicts and create competitions within actors committed to alternative identities (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

2.2.2 Goals

In diverse situations and domains, individuals, organisations and multiple identities have multiple goals that are often discrepant which help guide cognition and action. These goals may vary in time span, shaping current actions as well as plans and expectations for the future. However, according to this view, conflicts among goals are said to remain unresolved and are activated by the focus of attention (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

According to Institutional Logics perspective, goals are culturally embedded in alternative institutional logics. Goals can affect both cognition and action of Social Actors, they have multiple goals, and their behaviour is in part, driven by the consequences of achieving or not achieving their respective goals. This is especially in various Institutional Logics such as: State, market, corporate, community, professional, family and religion (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). If we take a look into market logic under alternative institutional logics, they are not driven by pure self-interest or by rational calculation of costs and benefits, which in a utilitarian perspective, they would be.

Looking further into Social Actors' adherence to specific goals and behaviours, it is important to note that not all goals are congruent with the Social Actors' identities. They will often conform to regulative forces and avoid normative sanctions, specifically in the cases where the actors do not adhere to the prevailing logics and social identities (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The Social Actors will seek approval as well as status from others they are accountable to, this includes symbolic, material rewards, and avoidance of punishments. Regulative and normative pressures can therefore be seen as a substitution or a complement to social identities that can help explain the individual adherence to the goals that are embedded in the Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

2.2.3 Schemas

Institutional Logics perspective is one that helps Social Actors generate a top-down knowledge structure or schema that can help with the processing of information and guide decisions. Looking into the top-down approach to information processing, it suggests that schemas are an organised cognitive structure that is learned, it can help shape attention, problem solving, construal and inference (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Through the use of schemas, actors are able to understand, remember and act on complex information through the use of highly organised, abstracted general knowledge about how the world works (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Schemas help guide expectations of

behaviour through helping individuals solve ambiguities, guide evaluations and draw inferences.

There are several forms of schemas, but one in particular is useful in the study of institutional logics, the controlled use of schemas for reasoning and classes of goals. In Institutional Logics perspective, the diverse logics have different pragmatic reasoning schemas that aid in decision making and action. If we look further into permission '8753e21w7schemas, they describe how behavioural regulation requires the satisfaction of certain preconditions that can be achieved through particular actions (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). An obligation requires that a certain situation is satisfied through the execution of a subsequent action. Causations provide evidence of cause-and-effect relationships (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Causations provide schemas for relationships between events and the problems they may generate. The solution to those problems is an example of permissions, which is invoked in this context of problems and opportunities. An example of obligations are social norms. All these are from Institutional Logics where distinct permission, causation and obligation schemas are provided (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

3 Method

In our study, we employed an inductive research approach, drawing knowledge and insights from empirical observations gathered during our investigation. We collected data from various sources, including reports, articles, second-hand interviews, and more. By analysing this data through the lens of Institutional Theory, with a particular focus on institutional logics, and applying our research method, we aim to address our research question.

In the methodology section, we will outline the types of data collected, primarily reports, second-hand interviews, and more. By combining these diverse sources, we ensure the accuracy and reliability of the information gathered for the case.

Additionally, we chose to conduct a case study, drawing inspiration from document analysis for data collection. This approach aligns with our focus on a specific case, making it suitable for a case study. However, rather than relying on traditional interviews, we emphasize the changes that have occurred over time in the case. Thus, combining it with document analysis is more appropriate for studying these long-term changes (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.1 Choice of case

The case we have chosen to examine is the Notre Dame, with a focus on decision-making processes in renovation projects of culturally significant buildings, viewed through the lens of Institutional Theory, particularly institutional logics. We believe this theory provides an excellent framework for analysing how decision-making flows in renovation projects of such historically and culturally important structures.

We selected this case because the incident had a profound impact, affecting many people, especially the residents of Paris, those with religious connections to the church, and many others.

Additionally, we chose a past event rather than a current one because we found the case compelling and believed it would be insightful to observe Institutional Logics over time, allowing us to trace the decision-making process as it evolves. This approach is important, as we cannot conduct contemporary interviews but can reflect on those held at the time. The Notre Dame incident is also a critical case that illustrates the dynamics of institutional logics, providing clear evidence of how change has occurred (Flyvbjerg, 2020).

3.2 Empirically collected data

In the following chapter, we will describe how we collected and processed the data that serves as the foundation of our project. We began by exploring various topics of interest and, during this process, we came across the Notre Dame case. Given its global significance, we found it compelling and decided to focus our study on this event.

We then conducted searches for relevant academic papers using platforms such as Google Scholar, Scopus, and others. To obtain diverse perspectives on the case, we also reviewed news articles and interviews from mainstream media. Additionally, we sought building-specific reports to gain insight into the decision-making process surrounding the renovation.

Finally, we broadened our research by examining international news coverage to identify whether similar incidents had occurred in other culturally significant buildings.

3.3 Case study

The study we are conducting is a case study. There are many definitions of what constitutes a case study, and Merriam-Webster's online dictionary defines it as "an intensive analysis of an individual unit (such as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment" (Meriam Webster, 2024). According to this definition, a case study can focus on a specific individual unit or subject (Flyvbjerg, 2020).

Data collected in a case study can be analysed through various methods, including qualitative, quantitative, analytical, or hermeneutic approaches, or a combination of these. In our study, we employ qualitative and hermeneutic methods to analyse the data we have gathered (Flyvbjerg, 2020).

A case study offers a more detailed, in-depth analysis than studies that examine multiple "units" simultaneously. Additionally, case studies emphasize the developmental factors of how the case unfolds, the events connected to it, and its relationship with the surrounding environment (Flyvbjerg, 2020).

3.4 Document study

Furthermore, another type of study relevant to our project is a document study. The purpose of document studies is to examine aspects such as processes, development, practices, establishment, change, techniques, and stability. This is achieved by gathering various documents, including articles, reports, books, videos, laws, and interviews, which may be produced by both professionals and civilians, from different sources or countries. Once

collected, the documents are systematically organized, often in a table format, to provide a clear overview of the information (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.4.1 Structure

The table will be organized into three categories of documents: Primary, secondary, and tertiary. Primary documents include items like private letters or documents restricted from public access. Secondary documents consist of publicly available materials such as laws, articles and newsletters. Tertiary documents encompass sources like scientific papers and books, which are also publicly accessible (Lynggaard, 2020).

However, the distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary documents is not always clear-cut, and their classification will depend on the purpose of the analysis. It is also important to note that primary and secondary documents are not necessarily more reliable than tertiary sources. The goal is to access different types of information. Since our focus is to understand the decision-making process of the renovation of Notre Dame, secondary documents are the most relevant for our research (Lynggaard, 2020).

To organize and gain a clear overview of the documents used, it is helpful to structure them in a table or matrix. This can include relevant metadata, such as document type, number of documents, and the document sender, as well as whether each document is classified as primary, secondary, or tertiary. Additionally, the documents can be organized based on their relevance to the research question (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.4.2 Advantage of document studies

Documents serve a different purpose compared to interviews. The key distinction is that documents can trace the progression of an event over time, something an interviewee may struggle to do, as they would need to rely on memory to recount a full historical event. In our case, documents are particularly relevant, as we are examining a past event and analysing how changes have occurred over time (Lynggaard, 2020).

The primary goal of a document study is to identify patterns within the documents being analysed. There may or may not be a discernible pattern, and determining this is a central aim of this type of study. Additionally, document studies help assess whether development or, in this case, change has occurred, and how that change unfolded (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.4.3 Method of collecting documents

A valuable method for collecting documents in a document study is the snowball method¹. This approach begins with identifying a "mother document"², which can be any type of document. You then examine its references and incorporate those additional documents into your analysis. The snowball method also involves reaching a saturation point³, where you have gathered enough documents to effectively answer your research questions. There is no specific number of documents that is considered right or wrong; the key is to ensure that the documents contain accurate and relevant information (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.5 Case-document study

As mentioned in the introduction to the methodology section, we have chosen to combine both a case study and a document study to effectively address our research question. Our research question centres on understanding the decision-making process, and we believe that a document study is an ideal tool for this purpose. Additionally, since we are focusing on a single case, we refer to this as a **case-document study**. The case serves as our primary analysis, incorporating insights from the various actors involved.

3.6 Table of documents

To provide an overview of our collected data, we will create a table summarizing the documents we have utilized. This table will include information on the release dates of the documents, the entities that released them, and whether each document is classified as primary, secondary, or tertiary.

We have organized the table chronologically, from the earliest to the most recent release dates, to illustrate the timeframe of our case effectively.

Table 1

Year of Release	Title	Sender	Primary, secondary, or tertiary
1988, December	Journal of Cultural Economics	Chartrand, H. H.	Secondary

¹ The snowball method = Sneboldmetoden (Lynggaard, 2020)

² The mother document = Moderdokumentet (Lynggaard, 2020)

³ The saturation point = Mætningspunktet (Lynggaard, 2020)

2000	Catholicism, Politics, and Society in Twentieth-Century France	Chadwick, K.	Secondary
2009	Uses of Heritage	Smith, L.	Tertiary
2011	Perceptions on cultural significance and heritage	Adeniran, J., & Akinlabi, F.	Secondary
2013	A History of Architectural Conservation	Jokilehto, J.	Secondary
2017	Introduction: The state and historic buildings: preserving 'the national past'	Thatcher, M.	Secondary
2018, September 3	Brazilians see metaphor for their struggles in museum fire	Prengaman, P., & DiLorenzo, S.	Secondary
2018, September 18	With the flames barely out, the finger-pointing begins as massive fire engulfs famed Rio museum	Los Angeles Times	Secondary
2019	Heritage significance and the identification of attributes to preserve in a sustainable refurbishment	Havinga, L., Colenbrander, B., & Schellen, H.	Secondary
2019, April 15	Parisians watched in tears and stunned	Lou, M., & Griggs, B.	Secondary

	silence as their beloved landmark burned		
2019, April 16	Notre Dame Cathedral By The Numbers	McCarthy, N.	Secondary
2019, April 16	Børsen Brænder	Scheef, M., & Heigl, M.	Secondary
2019, April 16	Fashion Luxury groups Kering and LVMH pledge combined €300 million to repair Notre-Dame	Yotka, S.	Secondary
2019, April 16	In Aftermath of Notre-Dame Fire, Macron Urges Unity in Fragmented Nation	Nossiter, A.	Secondary
2019, April 18	LVMH's billionaire boss Arnault defends Notre-Dame donations	Reuters	Secondary
2019, April 19	World leaders react to devastating Notre Dame fire in Paris	Busby, M.	Secondary
2019, April 19	Five Things We've Learned in the Aftermath of the Notre-Dame Fire	Solly, M.	Secondary
2019, September 26	It's official: French tycoons finalise €300m donations for	Sansom, A.	Secondary

	fire-ravaged Notre Dame		
2019, November 14	Notre Dame chief architect told to 'shut his mouth' on reconstruction	Guy, J.	Secondary
2019, December 24	Notre Dame unable to host Christmas service due to fire damage	Herald Scotland Online	Secondary
2020	A multicriteria approach to identify the Highest and Best Use for historical buildings	Ribera, F., Nestico, A., Pasquale, C., & Maselli, G.	Secondary
2020, December 24	Notre Dame: Christmas concert in an empty cathedral	Oelze, S.	Secondary
2021, June 18	Paris archbishop: Notre-Dame Cathedral repairs a symbol of Christian renewal	Mares, C.	Secondary
2022, September 2	After a devastating fire in 2018, the National Museum of Brazil unveils restoration project	Angeleti, G.	Secondary
2022, December 5	Clarifying Catholicism	Evans, E.	Secondary
2023, February 15	Notre Dame Cathedral is rising from the ruins: how	Querelle, J.	Secondary

	is the restoration going?		
2023, September 11	Notre-Dame progress update 2023	Friends Of Notre-Dame De Paris	Secondary
2023, October 9	Reconstruction of Notre Dame is 'sign of hope for everyone'	De Sury, C.	Secondary
2023, October 14	Mourning, reconstruction, and the future after heritage catastrophes	Isnart, C., et al.	Secondary
2023	Gathering, integration, and interpretation of heterogeneous data for Notre Dame reconstruction	Jacquot, K., & Saleri, R.	Secondary
2024, April 14	Paris' Notre Dame: 5 years after fire, restoration on track	Dege, S.	Secondary
2024, April 16	Historiker om Børsen: - Jeg er i chok	Kuhlman, V.	Secondary
2024, April 16	Rørende scener ved Børsen: Alle hjalp til med at bære ikonisk Krøyer-maleri ud	Frandsen, L.	Secondary
2024, August 9	The Restoration of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris:	Sonnen, J.	Secondary

	the New Iconic Spire is Revealed		
2024, September 16	The reconstruction of Notre-Dame de Paris	Putzolu, J.	Secondary
2024, October 7	Meriam-Webster Dictionary - Case Study	Merriam Webster	Secondary
2024, October 30	Revivre Notre Dame	Revivre Notre Dame	Secondary
2024, November 17	Heritage at Risk: Rebuilding Notre-Dame	Europeana	Secondary
2024, November 17	Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris	Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris	Secondary

We have utilized a total of 39 documents, all of which are secondary sources. These include newsletters, reports, and other publicly accessible materials but also one book.

We did not include primary documents, as they are restricted from public access.

Additionally, we only included one tertiary document, which was a book. This decision was made because there are no other books relevant in the way that we want to take our analysis, and the available scientific papers present particular viewpoints on the case. We aimed to take our analysis in a different direction.

Our primary objective is to determine what conflicts the Social Actors faced in the renovation of the Notre Dame Cathedral (Lynggaard, 2020).

3.7 Our approach on the theory

Our approach will begin by analyzing the important Social Actors in this case and examining their identities, goals, and schemas. This will provide a clearer understanding of why these individuals or groups are key Social Actors, what their objectives are, and how they aim to achieve them (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).



Figure 2 - Developed by Lene Maria Nyambura Grønlykke & Selvi Celik

After identifying the Social Actors, we will gain deeper insight into the logics at play, as the cathedral fulfills a multifaceted role in society. By exploring these perspectives, we can better capture the full complexity of its significance, the dynamics of its preservation, and its broader societal impact here. Finally, we will investigate the conflicts that arise, analyzing how they act as barriers to cooperation and contribute to power struggles during social interactions. Combined with our analysis of Social Actors' identities, goals, schemas, and the prevailing logics, this approach will enable us to better understand their decision-making processes and identify potential areas of conflict and how they adapt the potential solution (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4 Analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to clarify the challenges that the Social Actors face in balancing the decision-making process and cultural imperatives during the reconstruction of Notre Dame Cathedral. We will be using the theory of the Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) with the help of our method; case-document study (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2020). The analysis section is based on collected documents such as interviews, reports, articles, various websites, etc. We will be carrying out an in-dept analysis of the involved Social Actors by identifying them. Thereafter we will be identifying the institutional logics. Next, we will dive into the decision-making process and analyze the different conflicts that the Social Actors face during the restoration of the cathedral where we hereafter will examine the compromises that the Social Actors had to make during the process. Finally, we will look at the Social Actor's adaption overtime and how the dynamics of the Social Actors came to reality through the various Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1 Identifying the Social Actors

To begin with, we would like to identify the various Social Actors involved in the renovation of Notre Dame. By doing so, we will be able to categorize the Institutional Logics involved in the renovation of the cathedral and thereby be able to gain a clearer understanding of what conflicts they may face and what compromises they would have to deal with. By examining the Social Actors, we can also analyze how the organization adapts over time, providing insight into the organizational dynamics and clarify the Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

When identifying the Social Actors, we examine their identities, goals, and schemas, as these three factors help us understand who they are, what they want, and how they plan to achieve it. Understanding their identities allows us to uncover the roles they play within the renovation process and the perspectives they bring. Analyzing their goals helps us to identify their priorities and determine how these align or conflict with those of other Social Actors. Lastly, exploring their schemas - the frameworks they use to interpret and act upon the situation - provides insight into the strategies they are likely to employ. Together, these elements offer a comprehensive view of the Social Actors, enabling us to anticipate potential challenges and opportunities in their interactions (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Finding Social Actors in the context of a major restoration project, like that of Notre Dame Cathedral, involves identifying all the parties or groups that have a direct or indirect interest in the project and its outcomes. In *Figure 3* we have identified the five Social Actors that we find relevant. Social Actor mapping is an essential part of any large-scale project like this, ensuring that all parties with an

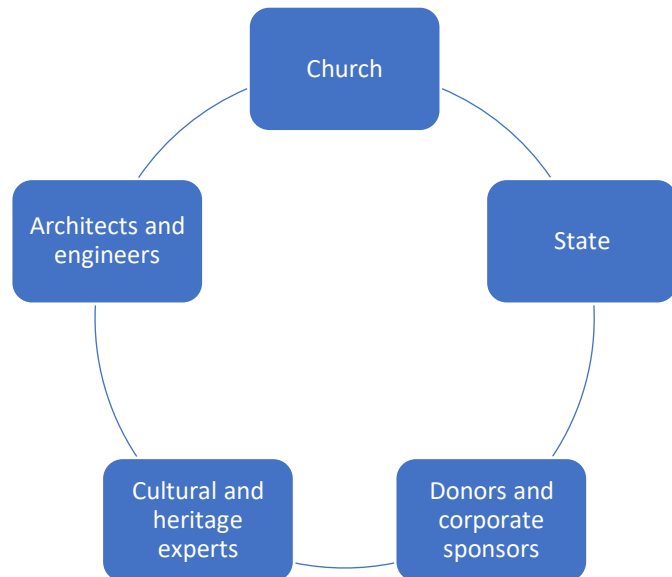


Figure 3 - Developed by Lene Maria Nyambura Grønlykke & Selvi Celik

interest in the restoration are identified and their needs are addressed. In the case of Notre Dame, this process involves balancing the religious, historical, cultural, and social significance of the cathedral with modern restoration practices and public expectations.

4.1.1 Catholic church

The catholic church is a central Social Actor in the renovation of Notre Dame, reflecting its historical, spiritual, and institutional ties to the cathedral. As an iconic symbol of Catholicism and a place of worship for centuries, Notre Dame holds profound religious and cultural significance for the Church. This connection places the Church in a unique position as both a custodian of the site's spiritual heritage and a key factor in decision-making during its restoration (De Sury, 2023).

4.1.1.1 Social identity

As the institution overseeing the liturgical and pastoral activities within Notre Dame, the Catholic Church primary concern is preserving the cathedrals function as a sacred space. The Church's identity as a spiritual institution shapes its priorities, emphasizing the restoration of the altar, chapels, and other elements integral to religious ceremonies. The Church also seeks to ensure that the renovated structure continues to inspire devotion and reverence, aligning with its mission to serve the faithful and uphold Christian traditions (Putzolu, 2024).

4.1.1.2 Goals

The Church's role as a Social Actor extends to practical considerations. It collaborates with other Social Actors, including the state, architects, engineers, cultural and heritage experts

along with donors and corporate sponsors, to balance the preservation of the cathedral's religious character with broader cultural and historical objectives. Additionally, the Church advocates for the incorporation of its goals into the renovation process, such as safeguarding sacred artifacts and ensuring that the design reflects Catholic values (Mares, 2021).

The Church's involvement also brings obligations to the broader community. As Notre Dame is a cultural landmark that attracts millions of visitors annually, the Church must navigate its dual role as both a religious institution and a steward of an international heritage site. This includes addressing the needs of tourist, art historians, and local residents while preserving the cathedral's sacred purpose (Mares, 2021).

4.1.1.3 Schemas

The Church's position as a Social Actor often requires negotiating with other parties whose interests may differ. For instance, proposals to modernize certain elements of the cathedral might conflict with the Church's desire to maintain traditional designs and liturgical functions. Similarly, debates over the allocation of resources between religious restoration and cultural preservation highlight potential tensions in Social Actor priorities (Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris, 2024).

Ultimately, the Catholic Church's involvement in the renovation of Notre Dame reflects its commitment to the cathedral's dual identity as a house of worship and a symbol of French and global heritage. The Church's dedication to its mission ensures that Notre Dame will continue to serve not only as an architectural marvel but also as a living testament to the enduring role of faith and tradition in shaping society (Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris, 2024) (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.2 The State

It is important to note that when looking into the French government as a Social Actor, we are well aware that there are multiple sectors within the government itself that each have their own subgroups. However, in the interest of the renovation project, the government acts as a single Social Actor known as the State.

4.1.2.1 Social Identity

We will be focusing on the French Prime minister at the time of the renovation project, Édouard Philippe, when conducting the analysis of the Social Actor Identity. To be able to make a successful analysis of Philippe's social identities, we must acknowledge that he has

multiple social identities, both in terms of group and category membership. Category identities include his occupation, his employer, the organizational affiliations, race, gender and nationality. These are all examples of his identities within an organization whereas parent, spouse and friend are separate identities outside of organizations.

Keeping these organizational identities in mind, we must also look into how Philippe may try to achieve identity verification through symbolic exchanges with other Social Actors. For example, as a prime minister, Philippe can gain more validation through the speech he had held addressing the French people after the fire of the cathedral. Through the speech he addresses the burning of a very spiritually and culturally significant building.

"The fire is an immense tragedy for our collective heritage, and we must transform this emotion into action." (Guy, 2019)

In the above quote, Philippe's use of language carries symbolism, with that there is an exchange that is created between the public and Philippe, with this his identity becomes positively verified. The more Philippe's identity is verified there, the more that he will be committed to his role. That being said, the level of commitment an actor has affects their connections to other actors that share similar identities (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). In the context of the renovation project, Social Actors that share similar identities within the same organization such as a government could be the prime minister and the minister of Interior. Both are high ranking members of parliament. Then we also have actors that are committed to different identities, and here we can expect identity conflicts. For example, the Prime minister and the director of UNESCO heritage sites. Each of these actors have different categories of identities (Thatcher, 2017).

4.1.2.2 Goals

When looking into the goals of an individual or an organization, we must take into account that there are often multiple conflicting goals. These goals help guide cognition and action in situations and domains that are diverse (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). If we take a look into the main goals of the French state with respect to the renovation of the cathedral, we can look at their main goals. Their top priority was to restore the cathedral as both a cultural and religious landmark. This also led to another important goal for them, which was the historical accuracy of the cathedral. During the renovation process, it was also very important that safety was applied on site as well as sustainable practices, this included both building methods and materials. There was a strict timeline that the project was also made to follow,

the restoration was to be complete before the Paris 2024 Olympics, leaving the renovation process with a total of 5 years for completion. In order to achieve all these goals there was a need for funding and most importantly transparency on how the funds were being used (Solly, 2019).

Now if we take a look into Institutional Logics and reflect on how they can have an effect on an organization's shift in goals, we can see how market logic has had an effect on the goals of the state. According to an institutional logic's perspective, goals are culturally embedded in alternative Institutional Logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). If we take a look into the market logic, sustainability is a requirement for many building and renovation projects, this in turn has made it a goal for several organizations within the building sector to adopt sustainable practices into their goals. The same can be said about other logics such as religious and cultural. Preservation of cultural heritage is a goal that is heavily embedded within the cultural logic (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

In Institutional Logics perspective, it is said that goals and social identities affect both the cognition and actions of an individual and organization. Looking at the renovation of the cathedral, we can see how the goals have motivated the state's actions and decision making. For example, the renovation of the spire was a big debate, whether or not to redesign or to reconstruct it as an identical copy of the previous spire. One of the main goals of the state was to preserve the heritage however at the same time implement more sustainable designs and materials, so a compromise was made where the spire was to be reconstructed as it was, however it was also to have more sustainable and safer materials (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

It is also to be noted that the identities of actors may not always align with certain goals. With regulative pressure, an actor may be more inclined to conform to these goals as to avoid normative sanctions. For example, the EU has certain sustainability goals that countries within the EU are to adhere to, that leave the French state with the normative pressure to adhere to these sustainability goals as to avoid any penalties, but also to maintain legitimacy. In this way we can see how regulative and normative pressure can act as a complement to social identity in describing the individual conformity to goals that are embedded within institutional logics. This is because of the Social Actors' need for approval and status from those they are accountable for, both individuals and organizations want to avoid punishment and receive either symbolic or material rewards (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.2.3 Schemas

Schemas are generated with the help of Institutional Logics to help individuals and organizations process information and guide them in decision making (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The government is a large organization with several overlapping schemas that have been influenced by several institutional logics. Below we will look into several schemas that the French government used to help guide their decision-making processes.

Having a political schema is one that will help with building public accountability and maintaining the government's legitimacy. The renovation of the cathedral is a responsibility that the government took responsibility of for its citizens, and to do this, they created frames in which they would work under to help guide the future decision they would have to make throughout the process, such as transparency to the public, ensuring inclusivity to the public opinions and responding to the public sentiments (Solly, 2019).

Given that the Notre dame is a major tourist attraction, the cathedral acts as a critical asset to the French economy. Having an economic schema can help guide the government when making decisions that will ensure that the renovation of the cathedral can maximize long-term financial benefits (McCarthy, 2019). The renovation project was one that also received multiple donations, to ensure a proper allocation of these donations, there is a schema that should be put in place to help with decision making regarding donor involvement, partnerships, both public and private.

The cultural significance of this project is a major factor, the Notre Dame is a symbol of France's cultural and historic identity, so it is essential to create a schema. With the help of UNESCO, there are frameworks that have been developed to ensure that the renovation of the cathedral align with the global standards of preserving and conserving heritage sites through safeguarding the traditional architecture and maintaining authenticity (Querelle, 2023).

Sustainability and environmental concerns are schemas that are also generated to ensure that the renovation is done in accordance with several environmental organizations' frameworks, such as the EU's guideline on sustainable building regulations. With an environmental schema, it will help aid the decision-making process in selecting solutions that will ensure that the renovation is up to standard with the building regulations.

4.1.3 Donors

The donors have had a great influence on the project. Through their donations they were able to ensure the renovation of the cathedral at a faster rate, they have as well had an influence on the decision-making process of the redesign of the cathedral where they opted for the preservation of the spiritual and historical aspects.

4.1.3.1 *Social Identities*

The renovation of the cathedral drew a lot of attention internationally, and with that there came several donations, both private and corporate donors. They have a place as Social Actors in this renovation project because of how great of an impact they made in relation to the budget for the renovation. If we take an individual in particular that made a large donation, we can have a look into their social identities and begin to identify their category identities.

Shortly after the fire of Notre Dame, Bernard Arnault, the chief executive of LVMH and the wealthiest man in France agreed to sign a donation to the Foundation Notre Dame with a donation of 200 million euros for the renovation of the Cathedral (Sansom, 2019). Looking into Arnault's category identities, he is a chief executive of a multinational luxury good conglomerate, he does not have an employer and works towards creating products for high earning customers. So how does Arnault try to achieve identity verification?

Through an exchange of symbolism with other Social Actors through diverse situational contexts, Arnault is able to attain a form of validation. If we take the large donation, he made toward the renovation of the cathedral as an example of a symbolic exchange with not only the French public but also the cultural community. This donation, as material as the exchange is, it is also a symbolic action that will be able to positively verify his identity, thus deepening his level of commitment, putting him on a higher level of hierarchy amongst other Social Actors within this situational context (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.3.2 Goals

The goals of donors vary according to the individual or the organization. We can look at two different examples of donors, private donations and corporate donations. Donors as Social Actor in this renovation project are not as involved as other Social Actor given that they make a single donation, or in some cases multiple, and have no further relation to the project.

With private donations we can assume several goals that they may help guide their actions. Taking the previous example of Arnault, he stated his goals for the donation was the

preservation of French heritage, reinforcing national unity and being an example for other wealthy donors to contribution to the cause (Sansom, 2019). There are however other articles that speculate that he had other goals with his donations, such as enhancing the reputation and name of his brand, as well as strengthening his personal legacy (Reuters, 2019).

With corporate donors we can see that their goals are heavily embedded in the market logic. Where making donations can place the companies on a competitive advantage through the use of positive marketing. Other goals that corporate donors have include maintaining legitimacy within their markets, strengthening local customer relationships and improving brand name.

4.1.3.3 Schemas

The donors' schemas are heavily influenced by their personal interests and motivations. For example, with Arnault, his cultural schema is more driven with his personal attachment to the cathedral, given that he is a French man, he's motivated by his nationalistic perspective on preserving his culture and ensuring that it is maintained. However, it can also be motivated from a corporate perspective, where through the donation, he can emphasize the company's dedications to national heritage (Reuters, 2019). This introduces us to the corporate social responsibility schema, in which the organization has a responsibility to demonstrate their commitment to social values to maintain legitimacy.

4.1.4 Cultural and heritage experts

Cultural and heritage experts are pivotal in ensuring that Notre Dame Cathedral's restoration respects its historical significance, architectural integrity, and symbolic value. This group of Social Actors includes historians, conservationists, architects, and archaeologists who collaborate to safeguard the legacy of the cathedral as a global heritage site. Their work is critical in balancing historical authenticity with modern restoration needs (Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris, 2024) (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.4.1 Social Identities

Cultural and heritage experts bring diverse identities tied to their professions and specializations. These identities shape their roles in the restoration process, from art historians focusing on the preservation of stained glass and sculptures to architects ensuring the structural soundness of the cathedral. These experts also connect with the public as educators and advocates, reinforcing the cathedral's importance as a shared cultural asset. Their professional identities often overlap with their personal commitments to heritage preservation, creating a strong sense of duty to Notre-Dame's legacy (Europeana, 2024).

4.1.4.2 Goals

The primary goal of cultural and heritage experts is to restore Notre Dame in a way that remains faithful to its historical and architectural essence. This includes replicating medieval construction techniques, sourcing materials that match the originals, and preserving the intricate artwork that defines the cathedral. Additionally, these Social Actors aim to balance the needs of modern safety requirements with the preservation of historical authenticity. They also work to ensure that the restoration aligns with international standards, such as those set by UNESCO, while advocating for public engagement in the process (Europeana, 2024).

4.1.4.3 Schemas

Heritage experts rely on schemas—established frameworks and knowledge systems—to guide their decision-making. These schemas include historical precedents, conservation methodologies, and innovative technologies such as 3D scanning. These tools help them analyze the cathedral's damage and plan restoration strategies. Permission schemas, for instance, dictate how restoration actions must respect historical and cultural contexts. Obligation schemas drive experts to prioritize preserving the cathedral's authenticity and cultural memory. These schemas enable them to address ambiguities, navigate conflicts among Social Actors, and ensure the project's alignment with heritage principles (Europeana, 2024) (Friends Of Notre Dame De Paris, 2024).

This structured approach ensures that Notre Dame's restoration is not just a reconstruction of a building but a reaffirmation of its identity as a cultural and historical beacon (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.5 Architects and engineers

The architects and engineers played a very important role in the renovation of the cathedral. With their contributions, it was made possible to have an understanding of the previous drawing of the roof and spire, where they were able to properly analyze the building technique, as well as the materials used. They were as well responsible for making an identical reconstruction of the cathedral possible.

4.1.5.1 Social Identities

Through analyzing their social identities, we will be able to gain an understanding of their roles, values and behaviors throughout the renovation process and how they aligned with the specific frameworks they were obligated to work within.

Looking at the Social Actors' industry, we see how they as experts have a dedication towards their craft, in which they work towards the preservation and innovation of their craft. In relation to the renovation project, their identity is heavily influenced by the expectation to apply technical work, problem-solving thinking and historical accuracy. Given that they in the construction industry, they are influenced by the professional logic where certain working techniques are embedded in the logic, for example, working with advanced tools, such as laser scanning systems that they used to create a 3D model of the church (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

In the renovation process, the architects and engineers' multiple social identities, all in which are influenced by different institutional logics, for example, looking at the religious logic, we can identify them as the agent of sacred heritage, as it is them that are responsible for aligning the structural and design aesthetics with liturgical needs. If we look at the market logic, we see their identity takes the role of participant in a commercial framework, where they have the responsibility of working efficiently with their given resources. They as well have a social identity as civilians in which they are responsible for fulfilling their civic duty, where they can be seen as the guardians of the French cultural heritage. (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.1.5.2 Goals

The architects and the engineers have various goals in which are influenced by multiple factors, such as professional goals, cultural stewardship, and civic duty, all which have the primary focus of respecting the legacy of the cathedral and ensuring that it remains a vibrant symbol for French culture (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

The professional and technical goals that the architects are made to meet are heavily embedded within both the professional and market logic. Where many of the goals are driven by the trend of the industry. For example, use of innovative techniques such as new materials that are made to be more sustainable, robust and safe. The implementation of more sustainable materials is a goal that is driven by multiple factors, reducing environmental impact as well as ensuring a long-term preservation (Havinga, Colenbrander, & Schellen, 2019). Preserving the structural integrity of the cathedral is another important goal. To ensure that the cathedral not only is a safe and stable site but one that will also hold over time. To achieve this, they are also to meet another goal from internationally recognized heritage conservation organizations, which is to implement the best conservation practices. With organizations such as UNESCO there are certain guidelines that they are made to meet, for

example the use of materials that replicate that of the original construction (Querelle, 2023). This, however, creates another goal of ensuring a healthy balance of innovation and authenticity. There are religious goals that architects and engineers are made to meet, such as the preservation of a sacred space. The cathedral must be restored to its original function as a place of worship, all the while maintaining the historical aesthetics (Sonnen, 2024).

Finally, there are the regulatory frameworks, the main goals that are imposed onto the architects and engineers are the heritage conservation as well as the budget and timeline constraints. These are important goals that they must meet to ensure that the project can be successfully completed without any regulatory sanctions.

4.1.5.3 Schemas

Architects and engineers are working with schemas that are influenced by the professional standards including specific goals for the renovation project, and cultural expectations. Given that the renovation project is one with a big focus on preserving the cultural and historic authenticity of the cathedral, it is a given that there should be a schema that help guide the architects and engineers. This schema will help guide the decisions made to be aligned with the traditional methods and materials being used. This however needs to be balanced out with the use of technology where there is a need for accuracy and safety measure must be taken into account, thus creating a technology schema. Having a schema for religion is as well important to ensure that the architects and engineers are guided to make decision that will maintain the preservation of the religious space, whilst enhancing functionality to allow for contemporary use.

4.2 Identify the Institutional Logics in play

Analyzing Notre Dame through the lens of religious, market and state/democratic logics is crucial because each logic offers unique insights into the cathedral's multifaceted role in society. Understanding these perspectives helps capture the full complexity of its significance, the dynamics of its preservation, and its broader societal impact. We could have chosen to include other logics such as cultural, professional, corporate, etc. We could even add our own logics, to nudge the project in the right direction, but we thought that the following three logics; religious, market and state/democratic, would help us answer the research question in the best possible way (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) see *figure 4* for further detail.

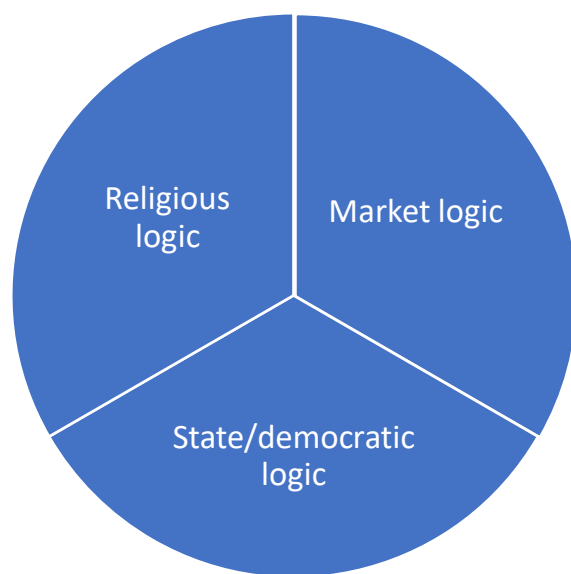


Figure 4 - Developed by Lene Maria Nyambura Grønlykke & Selvi Celik

Religious Logic: Frames Notre Dame as a sacred site central to Catholic worship, pilgrimage, and spiritual meaning and safeguards the cathedral's spiritual purpose, respecting the Church's involvement and traditions.

Market Logic: Highlights its economic role as a major driver of tourism, a source of local and national revenue, and a cultural commodity with global appeal and encourages sustainable funding models, such as partnerships with private donors or leveraging tourism revenue.

State/Democratic Logic: Positions Notre Dame as a symbol of national identity, cultural heritage, and public good, emphasizing its role in uniting diverse communities under shared civic values and ensures restoration projects honour cultural heritage and public accountability.

By examining all these logics, we avoid reducing Notre Dame to just one dimension of its identity, appreciating its significance in a broader, interconnected context. This holistic view ensures restoration strategies align with multiple priorities and avoid privileging one logic at the expense of others (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Different logics often conflict or overlap, creating tensions that shape decision-making for example, the state's responsibility to preserve Notre Dame as a public good can clash with market pressures to commodify its heritage for profit (e.g., tourism or branding). While the Catholic Church's spiritual claim over Notre Dame might sometimes conflict with the French state's secular stance and governance over cultural monuments. And the influx of tourists for non-religious purposes can dilute the cathedral's sacred atmosphere, raising questions about its primary function. Acknowledging these tensions allows for more thoughtful, balanced decisions about the site's restoration, use, and future (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

Looking at Notre Dame through the lenses of religious, market and state/democratic logics is essential because it reveals the cathedral's rich, layered significance and the complex interplay of interests shaping its restoration and future. This approach fosters deeper understanding, more equitable decision-making, and a comprehensive appreciation of its place in history, culture, and society (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.2.1 Religious logic

“A key principle of the Institutional Logics perspective is that each of the institutional orders in society has both material and symbolic elements.” (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

In the case of Notre Dame, the religious logic is not considered a part of the state or the market sphere, but the religious logic still plays an important role regarding the operation of the church, decision-making and the religious services that are being offered as it is not only a tourist attraction, but a place where local Parisians and international pilgrims would visit (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

In the religious logic we see how faith, religious institutions and services, and community within the respective sphere together form the institutional logic. The institutional logic creates a framework where we can analyse the interrelationships within the involved actors (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). With Notre Dame religious logic plays a significant role as it is a church. With the purpose of worshipping and spiritually connecting with the Christian faith especially amongst Catholics. This religious logic shapes its core values and functions, as seen in its focus on devotion, community gathering, and the preservation of religious heritage (Revivre Notre Dame, 2024).

To begin with the religious logic of Notre Dame is deeply rooted in its identity as a cathedral and sacred space within the Catholic Church. This logic dives into its purpose, practices, design, and the values. If we look deeper into these factors we can see of how religious logic manifests in Notre Dame.

1. Purpose

The purpose is first and foremost to serve as a place for prayer, mass, sacraments, and other religious ceremonies. As a cathedral, it is the seat of the Archbishop of Paris, making it central to the life of the Catholic community in Paris. The cathedral welcomes both local parishioners and Catholic pilgrims from around the world, who come to participate in or

witness liturgical rites and to experience a sense of spiritual connectedness. The religious logic here places value on fostering a communal and spiritual gathering space (Revivre Notre Dame, 2024).

2. Religious practices

Religious practices are a part of the church Notre Dame hosts regular masses, with special services during Christian holy days like Easter, Christmas, and All Saints' Day. These services connect the community to the liturgical calendar, embodying a rhythm that marks religious time and significance. Sacraments such as baptisms, weddings, and confirmations are celebrated here, reinforcing the cathedral's role as a space for sacred rites that accompany key moments in the lives of individuals and families (Revivre Notre Dame, 2024).

3. Design

Design wise, every aspect of Notre Dame's architecture—from its stained-glass windows to the sculptures and chapels—reflects religious symbolism. The famous rose windows, for example, depict biblical stories and saints, serving as visual theology for visitors and worshippers. This aligns with the religious logic of using art and architecture to uplift, educate, and spiritually inspire. The cathedral's cruciform layout (in the shape of a cross) is a reminder of Christian theology, symbolizing Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection. Its towering spire, pointing to the heavens, reflects the aspiration of connecting the earthly with the divine (Evans, 2022).

4. Values

The values of religious logic exist in both education, history and pilgrimage. Notre Dame serves as a space where Catholic teachings are communicated through sermons, homilies, and educational sessions, aimed at moral and spiritual formation for congregants. This educational role is central to the religious logic of the church as it seeks to foster and deepen the faith of its attendees. Notre Dame stands as a testament to centuries of continuous faith practice, representing both the endurance of Catholicism and the historical continuity of the Church's role in France. It reflects the religious logic of preserving and passing down sacred traditions and values. As one of the most significant sites in the Catholic faith, Notre Dame serves as a pilgrimage destination. This is a common expression of religious logic, as places with deep spiritual significance attract the faithful who seek a connection with the divine (Revivre Notre Dame, 2024).

If we dive into the renovation process of Notre Dame with focus on religious logic, we will be analysing how religious logic has an impact in the renovation process.

1. Purpose, practices and values

Right after the 2019 fire, religious practices, services and masses were temporarily moved to nearby churches, including Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, to allow the faithful to continue worshipping while the cathedral was under repair (Herald Scotland Online, 2019). In 2020, for the first time since the fire, a small mass was held inside the cathedral to mark its anniversary. This was a symbolic gesture, with only a handful of people present, mostly clergy and restoration workers, all wearing hard hats for safety. Additionally, the annual Christmas Eve mass has been celebrated in other locations, often accompanied by virtual services that allowed people worldwide to join remotely (Oelze, 2020). The purpose of the cathedral once reopened, will resume its dual role as both a place of worship and a major tourist attraction, with improved safety features and careful restorations that maintain its historical and architectural significance (Dege, 2024).

2. Design

Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris has been undergoing a careful restoration to rebuild it as close to the original as possible. The goal has been to preserve its historical authenticity, so architects and artisans are using traditional materials and methods to restore it. Key architectural elements, such as the wooden roof structure known as the “forest” and the iconic spire, are being reconstructed to match the originals. However, there have been some modern adaptations for safety and structural integrity. For instance, improved fireproofing techniques and fire-detection systems are being installed, and some materials are being fortified with modern reinforcements to prevent future damage. The aim is to reopen the cathedral to the public by the end of 2024, so people can experience it much as it was before the 2019 fire, with enhanced protections (Friends Of Notre-Dame De Paris, 2023).

The religious logic of Notre Dame thus influences everything from its physical structure to its function in society, fostering a space where the sacred meets the everyday, where religious tradition meets cultural identity, and where faith is continually renewed through rituals, symbols, and community.

4.2.2 Market logic

According to Institutional Logics, Market logic is referred to as the beliefs, practices and norms that both shape and govern the economic interactions as well as their transactions with a special focus on the efficiency, competition and profit maximization (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). In market logic we can see how corporations, organizations and states act within an institution with self-interest and individualism. With a special focus on competition and exchange, we can gain an understating on how market logic relies on the competitiveness amongst actors to drive innovation and efficiency (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

So, when we look at the renovation process of Notre Dame through the lens of market logic, we will be looking and analysing several examples of how market logic is embodied in the renovation project.

1. Private donations to the renovation project

As previously mentioned in section 4.1.3.2, shortly after the Notre Dame fire, Bernard Arnault, the CEO of LVMH and France's wealthiest man, promised to donate 200 million euros to the Foundation Notre Dame for the Cathedral's repair (Sansom, 2019). There have been several speculations from the public as to why Arnault would agree to donate such a large sum to the renovation project, many believing it to be due to benefiting from tax breaks. If we look into market logic and address the possibility of self-interest and individualism Arnault may be working in, we can find that through making such a great donation, what this does is tie both his name and company's name with such a large culturally significant project.

Arnault is not the only billionaire to make a large donation, with Francious-Henri Pinault following suit with a donation of 100 million euros to the renovation project as well. His donation was granted through his family's company Artemis (Yotka, 2019). These two are just an example of many other companies and organisations that made donations to the renovations project. With such large donations, both Arnault and Pinault can ensure that they can tie their legacy that to the legacy of Notre-Dame, an act through the lens of market logic can be viewed as an act of self-interest with the purpose of increasing the company's equity and visibility, which in turn would boost business. This can be seen as a grand gesture of public relations and brand-building opportunities.

2. Media and Marketing

The previous point leads us to this next point. Due to the large amount of media coverage that this fire brought, both locally and internationally, this creates opportunity for corporations and organisations to tie their names to the project. With several companies, especially French, they are able to make donations to the renovation projects and quote their donation with words that can provide their company with good media coverage. For example, Pinault in a press conference was quoted by Yotka in Vogue (2019) that “Faced with this tragedy, everyone wishes to give life back to this jewel of our heritage as soon as possible”. This statement by Pinault is targeted to the local community with an aim to appeal to the cultural heritage of the French community, Parisians in particular. What this statement can give to him and his company is a positive association and a reputation as a responsible corporation with good values, which is in align with Market logic as it addresses both the self-interest of the company, but also gives them an added advantage in relation to the competitive market.

3. Tourism

The Notre Dame cathedral is one of France’s largest tourist attractions with over 13 million visitors a year. It is estimated that a visitor is to wait an average of 120 minutes in line before being admitted (McCarthy, 2019). If we approach this with the perspective of the state, we can see that with such high numbers of visitors, it attracts a high tourist revenue. This acts as a big incentive in market logic to prioritize the reopening of the cathedral due to the financial benefits.

4. Reconstruction process

During the reconstruction process, there were many suggestions of new technologies, construction techniques and even materials, all with the aim to better improve the cathedrals durability and safety as well as time efficiency. In the interest of market logic, the more efficient and effective methods are selected to allow for cost benefits. However, in this specific case there were multiple disagreements on how the reconstruction process would be carried out where multiple of the decisions made were not aligned with the interests of market logic. For example, the identical reconstruction of the cathedral relied heavily on the collection of widely scattered documentation. The process of identical reconstruction is a highly inefficient and time-consuming process that requires a heavy amount of resources to carry out the necessary research.

4.2.3 State/democratic logic

Institutional logic refers to the organizing principles and practices that govern the behaviour of institutions, shaping how people and organizations act. The state/democratic logic emphasizes collective governance, public accountability, civic values, and the role of institutions in serving the common good (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

1. Notre Dame as a civic monument

Notre Dame is more than a religious site; it is deeply intertwined with French history and identity. In a state/democratic logic framework, it represents a civic monument that belongs to the public. Its significance is tied to collective memory and the preservation of cultural heritage. Despite its religious roots, the cathedral has been positioned as a cultural and historical site accessible to all. This aligns with democratic principles of inclusivity and equal access to cultural landmarks (Jokilehto, 2013).

2. Responsibility and Governance

After the 2019 fire, the French government took a leading role in mobilizing resources for Notre Dame's restoration. This reflects the state/democratic logic, where public institutions assume responsibility for protecting shared heritage. President Emmanuel Macron's call for rapid reconstruction underscores the state's role in ensuring that cultural heritage is preserved as a national and public priority. The restoration efforts have involved extensive public input and funding through global donations. This participatory element reinforces democratic principles of collective action (Nossiter, 2019).

3. Representation of Civic Values

Under a state/democratic lens, Notre Dame transcends its religious function to embody universal values like solidarity and resilience. This was evident in the global outpouring of support after the fire, which highlighted shared human concern for preserving cultural symbols. The fire became a rallying point for French citizens and the international community, demonstrating how a public institution can act as a symbol of unity and common purpose (Smith, 2009).

4. Challenges and Controversies

The state's significant financial investment in Notre Dame's reconstruction raised questions about the allocation of resources. Critics argued that state funds might be better spent addressing urgent social issues like poverty or housing. This tension is a critical point in

state/democratic logic, where accountability and prioritization of public welfare come under scrutiny. While Notre Dame is a French monument, its restoration drew global attention and funding. Balancing the national identity of the site with its global significance reflects democratic logic's tension between local and universal obligations (Chartrand, 1988).

Through the state/democratic logic, Notre Dame emerges as a powerful symbol of public good, civic responsibility, and collective identity. Its restoration highlights the role of the state in safeguarding cultural heritage while navigating the complex interplay between national pride and global solidarity. At the heart of this analysis is the idea that Notre Dame belongs not just to France, but to humanity, representing values that transcend borders and generations (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

4.4 Conflicts

Conflicts amongst Social Actors in their identities, goals and schemas act as barriers to cooperation, it creates conflict as well as power struggles in their social interaction (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The actors' schemas work as frames that help aid them with a gaining an interpretation of social reality.

With the analysis of the Social Actor's identities, goals and schemas, we are then able to gain better understanding of the Social Actor's background and create a basis of understanding in relation to their decision-making processes as well as possible areas of conflicts that may arise.

Tabel 2

	State	Church	Donor	Cultural & Historical experts	Architects & Engineers
State		Historical preservation	Historical preservation	Historical preservation, Regulation	Historical preservation, Timeline, Innovation, Regulation
Church	Historical preservation		Historical preservation, Religious preservation,	Historical preservation, Religious preservation	Historical preservation
Donor	Historical preservation	Historical preservation, Religious preservation		Historical preservation, Religious preservation	Historical preservation, Marketing
Cultural & Historical experts	Historical preservation, Regulation	Historical preservation, Religious preservation	Historical preservation, Religious preservation		Historical preservation
Architects & Engineers	Historical preservation, Timeline, Innovation, Regulation	Historical preservation	Historical preservation, Marketing	Historical preservation	

Table 2 is a visual representation of the goals of each Social Actor. We have highlighted the main goals that are discussed in the analysis, those goals being Timeline, Religious preservation, Innovation, Safety, Marketing, Historical preservation and Regulation. It is important to note that the information in the table is mirrored diagonally as this was the best visual diagram we could generate to best represent the data we collected. We have created a table to help visually represent the goals that the Social Actors have in common, and through doing that, one will also be able to see the Social Actors that have the least goals in common, which in turn can result in a possibility for conflict. For example, if we look at how the Church and the State only have one goal in common, there are many areas of conflict that may arise in relation to the many other goals that the individual Social Actors have for the renovation project.

It is also important to note that the levels of importance for these goals are also varying across the Social Actors, for example, the religious and historical preservation is in the interest of both the donors and the church, however it is a much larger goal for the church

than it is for the donor, given that the church's social identity is embedded much deeper and has been verified much more than that of a donor.

Let's take a deeper look at the table and begin to analyse how the gaps may cause areas of tension amongst Social Actors.

The state and the architects and engineers are the two Social Actor's that do not have the religious preservation as a main goal of theirs. This in contrast to the church, donors, and culture & heritage experts leaves room for conflict amongst the actors. For example, the Church's main interest is in the preservation of the cathedral as a sacred place of worship for Catholics internationally, whereas the architects have their interest in ensuring the structural integrity as well as the aesthetics of the cathedral. The architects and engineers then have to navigate through the high standards the church has set in terms of replicating and safeguarding the original designs that reflect catholic values. There needs to be a negotiation between the two Social Actors to ensure that both their goals can be met (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

The historical preservation and historical accuracy go hand in hand with the timeline of the renovation process. The historical preservation of the cathedral is a common goal amongst all actors; however, it is only the state and architects and engineers that are concerned with the speed of the renovation process. This can create a big conflict between them and the other Social Actors because to be able to maintain the historical accuracy of the cathedral, it requires time to gather enough information of the original designs and materials. This creates the conflict of time pressure against historical accuracy. The state is under public pressure to have the cathedral open as soon as possible, also due to the wealth the cathedral generates yearly due to tourism. With 13 million yearly visitors (McCarthy, 2019), there is a lot of money lost each year the cathedral is closed; however, this is a concern for the state primarily given that they are the most directly affected by the lack of these funds. The state and the church have different priorities for the renovation project, this can lead to a power struggle in the social interaction between the two Social Actors.

A conflict that is also generated with the two goals of maintaining historical accuracy and the timeline can be seen between the engineers and the historical experts. The historical experts have a goal of using the same materials and building techniques that were originally used, where are the engineers are more concerned with the structural integrity, safety aspect and innovative solutions to the renovation projects (Querelle, 2023). It is not in the interest of the

engineers to use material that no longer live up to contemporary building requirements in the name of “historical preservation” given that they have other regulations that they must ensure that they adhere to. For the historical experts, this frame is a constricting one to work within however with the help of organisations such as UNSECO, guidelines have been created to help guide the engineers and ensure that as much of the historical accuracy is preserved without having a damaging effect to the integrity of the cathedral itself (UNESCO, 2023).

On the topic of regulations, we can also point out that the architects and engineers, state, and cultural and historical experts have regulative restrictions that they must work within. It is a priority for these Social Actors that the renovation is done in accordance with these regulations for different reasons, for example the architects and engineers work under strict regulations from the state and organisation like UNSECO and the EU commission, where heavy penalties are paid for each violation (UNESCO, 2023). Social Actors such as the church are not too concerned with this regulative measure given that they do not affect them directly.

Safety is a priority for the state and the architects and engineers. The safety pertains to both during the renovation process and after. To ensure safety measures are taken into place, it means that there are certain tasks that cannot be put into practice, for example some of the traditional building methods that do not live up to contemporary site safety conditions (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023). This goes against the interest of historical experts that have a goal of ensuring that the building methods of the renovation is as close to that of the cathedral when it was first constructed. This therefore leaves opportunities of conflicts between the historical experts and the architects and engineers.

Besides these examples we have brought forth, there are as well real-life examples of conflicts amongst the Social Actors which we will further analyse in section 4.4.1. Institutional Logics are as well at play here and with multiple logics involved, there is bound to be a power struggle (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). In the renovation process, it is clear to see some of the logics that have had a very large influence. The religious logic is one that has a moderate influence on the renovation, not only because the case is that of a cathedral, but also because the French government and society is one that has historically been greatly influenced by the Catholic church (Chadwick, 2000). However, today the catholic church has little influence on the French government due to secularism, that being said the French population are still to a great deal Catholics, with the celebration of some

catholic holidays still being practiced by the vast majority of the population (Chadwick, 2000). The renovation of the Notre dame is one that holds a symbolic and sacred role in which the religious aspect cannot be denied, but it is also important to keep in mind the more dominant influencers at play such as the state, the owners and custodians of the cathedral (Guy, 2019), and the historical experts that have a great interest in the preservation of the historical significance of the cathedral. This renovation project is one that has multiple Social Actors at play with multiple institutional logic influencing the directives of the decision-making processes.

4.4.1 Conflicts amongst Social Actors

The restoration of Notre Dame Cathedral has brought to light significant tensions among the key stakeholders involved: The state, church, donors, cultural and historical experts, and architects/engineers. Each group brings unique perspectives and priorities to the project, which often clash, creating a complex web of challenges and negotiations.

State and Church: A Delicate Balance of Authority

The relationship between the French state and the Catholic Church in the context of Notre Dame is steeped in history, defined by the 1905 law that separates church and state. While the French state owns the cathedral as part of the nation's cultural patrimony, the Catholic Church holds the right to use it for worship. This duality has created significant friction in decision-making about the restoration (Chadwick, 2000).

For the state, Notre Dame represents a symbol of national unity and cultural identity. After the fire, President Macron's declaration that the restoration would be completed by 2024, in time for the Paris Olympics, reflected his desire to project resilience and renewal. However, this ambition often ran counter to the Church's perspective, which emphasized the cathedral's spiritual function and the need for a slower, more deliberate process to honour its sacred character. As Mares notes in the article "Paris archbishop: Notre-Dame Cathedral repairs a symbol of Christian renewal" (Mares, 2021), the Church viewed the restoration as an opportunity for Christian renewal, which at times felt sidelined by the state's broader secular agenda.

Moreover, the Church resisted efforts to frame Notre Dame purely as a national or cultural monument, fearing it would overshadow its religious significance. This tension is

exemplified in debates about the placement of liturgical elements like the altar, where decisions reflected competing priorities of national symbolism and spiritual integrity (Mares, 2021).

State and Donors: Collaboration or Control?

The influx of high-profile donations, particularly from luxury conglomerates like LVMH and Kering, introduced a new layer of complexity. While their contributions, totalling €300 million, were vital to funding the restoration, they came with implicit expectations of influence. The French government was wary of this dynamic, seeking to maintain control over the project and ensure accountability for how funds were used. Reuters highlights in their article “LVMH's billionaire boss Arnault defends Notre-Dame donations” how Bernard Arnault of LVMH had to publicly defend his donations amid accusations of attempting to wield undue influence (Reuters, 2019).

For the donors, the restoration was both an opportunity to support a cherished monument and to enhance their public image. Critics, however, accused them of leveraging the tragedy for corporate branding, framing their philanthropy as a strategic PR move. Chartrand contextualizes this tension in this following article “Journal of Cultural Economics” (Chartrand, 1988) within the broader phenomenon of cultural commodification, where heritage becomes entangled with market interests. The state, eager to present the project as a collective national effort, often found itself at odds with donor-driven priorities, especially when they conflicted with public expectations of impartiality and transparency (Chartrand, 1988).

State and Cultural/Historical Experts: Authenticity vs. Pragmatism

One of the most contentious issues during the restoration was the balance between authenticity and pragmatism. Cultural and historical experts advocated for meticulous, historically accurate methods, such as the use of traditional oak beams and limestone, even if these approaches would extend the timeline. As Havinga argue in the rapport “Journal of Cultural Economics” (Havinga, Colenbrander, & Schellen, 2019), preserving the cathedral’s authenticity is essential to its heritage value. However, the French government, motivated by Macron’s 2024 deadline, often leaned toward modern materials and techniques that could expedite the process (Havinga, Colenbrander, & Schellen, 2019).

This prioritization of speed created friction with experts who feared that shortcuts might compromise the cathedral's historical integrity. Dege captures these concerns in the article "Paris' Notre Dame: 5 years after fire, restoration on track" (Dege, 2024), highlighting criticism from preservationists who argued that Notre Dame should not be reduced to a symbolic political project at the expense of its authenticity. Furthermore, the state's emphasis on using the restoration to promote national unity often clashed with the experts' calls for a more inclusive, global framing of Notre Dame as a site of shared human heritage. Smith emphasizes in the book "Uses of Heritage" (Smith, 2009) how heritage sites are often politicized, with their meanings shaped by competing narratives.

Church and Cultural/Historical Experts: Sacred vs. Secular Narratives

For the Catholic Church, Notre Dame is first and foremost a sacred space, a living symbol of faith and worship. This perspective sometimes conflicted with cultural experts who viewed the cathedral as a universal cultural artifact. Evans underscores on the website "clarifyingcatholicism.org" (Evans, 2022) how decisions affecting the theological and architectural integrity of the cathedral required careful balancing to ensure that neither its spiritual essence nor its historical value was diminished.

The Church was particularly sensitive to any restoration choices that might secularize the cathedral's identity or prioritize tourism over its religious functions. For example, debates over how to restore chapels or integrate relics into the reconstruction often highlighted this divide. While experts focused on structural integrity and public engagement, the Church insisted that these efforts must not detract from the sacred atmosphere of the site. This tension was further amplified by differing approaches to how the cathedral's history should be represented in the restoration process, with the Church pushing back against narratives that minimized its Christian roots (Evans, 2022).

Donors and Cultural/Historical Experts: Influence and Ethics

The involvement of wealthy donors brought additional challenges to the restoration process. While their financial contributions were indispensable, their influence sometimes clashed with the priorities of cultural and historical experts. Donors, eager to leave a visible mark on the project, often supported modern design elements or high-profile features that experts felt were inconsistent with Notre Dame's historical character.

For instance, the controversy over the design of the spire became a flashpoint. Some donors backed proposals for a contemporary reinterpretation, while historians and preservationists argued for faithfully replicating Viollet-le-Duc's 19th-century Gothic design. Guy notes in his article "Notre Dame chief architect told to 'shut his mouth' on reconstruction" (Guy, 2019) how these tensions boiled over, with social actors publicly clashing over the direction of the project.

Ethical concerns also arose over the prioritization of donor-driven initiatives. Experts criticized how funding often skewed priorities toward visually impressive or marketable outcomes, sidelining less glamorous but equally critical restoration work. This dynamic underscored broader debates about the role of private wealth in heritage conservation, as explored by (Chartrand, 1988).

Architects/Engineers and Cultural/Historical Experts: Innovation vs. Tradition

The restoration process also exposed differences between architects and engineers, who focused on technical and structural solutions, and cultural experts, who prioritized historical authenticity. Architects, for example, often advocated for integrating modern materials such as fire-resistant steel or advanced fire suppression systems to prevent future catastrophes. While these innovations were pragmatic, they sometimes clashed with the desire to adhere to traditional building methods.

The spire's reconstruction became a microcosm of this conflict. Jacquot and Saleri detail in the following report "Gathering, integration, and interpretation of heterogeneous data for the virtual reconstruction of the Notre Dame de Paris roof structure" (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023) how advanced digital tools were used to recreate the roof's original structure, but debates over whether to modernize or replicate the spire revealed deeper divides. Architects tended to favour bold, forward-looking designs, while historians and cultural experts pushed for continuity with the cathedral's past (Jacquot & Saleri, 2023).

Church and Architects/Engineers: Preservation vs. Functionality

The Church's insistence on preserving the sacred atmosphere of Notre Dame often came into tension with architects and engineers tasked with making the structure safer and more functional. For example, installing modern fire suppression systems or creating new tourist access points raised concerns about disrupting the cathedral's spiritual essence. Oelze notes in the article "Notre Dame: Christmas concert in an empty cathedral" (Oelze, 2020) how

these practical challenges required sensitive negotiation to satisfy both safety requirements and liturgical needs.

In summary the restoration of Notre Dame is not merely about rebuilding a cathedral—it reflects deeper tensions between competing visions of identity, purpose, and ownership. For the **state**, it symbolizes national pride and resilience, while the **church** views it as a sacred space central to its spiritual mission. These perspectives often clash with those of **cultural/historical experts**, who prioritize historical authenticity, and **architects and engineers**, who must balance tradition with modern safety standards. Meanwhile, **donors** bring critical funding but raise concerns about private influence shaping public heritage.

The project highlights broader societal debates: Who defines the purpose of cultural landmarks? Is Notre Dame a national treasure, a religious symbol, or a global heritage site? These questions are further complicated by the interplay of politics, economics, and cultural priorities, where each social actors voice carries different weight.

Ultimately, the restoration underscores the fragility of cultural landmarks and the complexities of preserving them in a pluralistic world. Notre Dame's rising spire will not only stand as a testament to human resilience but also as a reminder of the compromises and conflicts involved in rebuilding an icon for future generations.

Throughout the analysis, we were gaining deeper understandings of the Social Actors' identities and motivations, which in turn helped us see that there were also possibilities for conflict resolution. By understanding where possibilities for conflicts may occur, one is also given the opportunity to find avenues of resolving those very conflicts.

5 Discussion

In the following section, we will reflect on the key insights gained from our study and offer recommendations for future research. We will also explore how these recommendations can extend beyond our specific case of Notre Dame to encompass similar instances of cultural heritage loss. By examining other cases, we aim to identify broader patterns, draw meaningful comparisons, and deepen our understanding of how societies respond to, interpret, and recover from such tragedies. This expanded perspective can provide valuable lessons for protecting and preserving cultural heritage globally, such as the shared and unique challenges of heritage preservation, the profound societal consequences of cultural loss, and the multifaceted routes to recovery and resilience. By adopting this comparative approach, we can develop stronger frameworks for protecting cultural heritage globally.

5.1 New Knowledge gained through the analysis

Institutional Logics is a tool that has helped us carry out an investigation of several stakeholders that were involved in the renovation of the Notre Dame. The purpose of this investigation was to help us gain a form of understating when it comes to conflict within renovation projects such as Notre Dame because of the delicate balance of reconstructing not only a cathedral but a national treasure as well, with so many opinions involved not only public, but within the renovation team as well, there are bound to be difference of opinions. We were interested in understanding the conflicts that may arise and how to possibly identify ahead of time.

Looking back at our research question, *“What challenged did the Social Actors face in balancing the decision-making process & cultural imperatives during the reconstruction of the Notre Dame cathedral?”* we find that through the analysis we have learnt many things about the social actors involved but also of how Institutional Logics is a theory that can be used to help get a great understanding of decision-making processes and how these decisions begin long before the renovation process.

To answer our first sub questions regarding on how Social Actors are identified, our analysis showed us that through identifying Social Actors, we have been given the ability to have an insight into how these actors both embody and represent the different Institutional Logics in

play. We can see this especially when analysing their goals through gaining an understanding of their values and priorities that are driving the conflicts.

We have as well been able to find that there are power dynamics at play between different Institutional Logics through understanding how power and resources available to certain social actors can have an effect on the logics that are enforced.

By analysing a Social Actor's identity, we were able to gain insight into the influences an actor is under and how it affects their decision-making process. By taking into account a Social Actor's role within their organisation and the institution, we have gained an understanding of how the decision made in a project don't always necessarily start when the project starts, but rather long before that. A Social Actor has a role to play within their organisation and have certain expectations that they must live up to. These professional roles that they conform to help positively reinforce their identity within the organisation and professional field that they work within. And with this, behavioural patterns are formed long before the project has started, therefore in a way we can assume that their decisions can be predetermined based on an analysis of their identity and the goals of their organisation.

An interesting find that was made when researching into the renovation process of the Notre Dame was the use of advanced technology to help with the identification of materials and how long they date back to. This practice was made possible with the introduction of a new actors in the renovation project, an actor that is not typically found in building sites, but rather in the conservation field. The interesting thing about this, is the introduction of this actor, and how the use of these advanced technologies on the reconstruction project is made possible through the large donations that were made. This brings us the point of how power through resource availability can have an effect on the development of technology on the building site, and how through this, new practices can be put in place and new Institutional Logics being introduced.

5.2 What we haven't learned

While our study has provided valuable insights into the impact of cultural heritage loss, there are several critical areas we have not fully explored, which could deepen our understanding.

Firstly, we haven't delved deeply into **preventive measures and risk management**.

Although we have focused on the aftermath and restoration efforts, it would be valuable to

investigate what could have been done to prevent such disasters. Exploring fire prevention systems, maintenance protocols, and funding mechanisms for historic sites could provide important lessons for safeguarding cultural landmarks in the future.

Another area that warrants further exploration is the **broader societal impact** of these heritage losses. While we have touched on the emotional and cultural significance of these events, we have not fully examined their long-term effects on communities. For instance, how do such events shape collective memory, and how do they influence cultural identity over time? Addressing these questions would provide a deeper understanding of the lasting consequences of heritage destruction.

Additionally, we have not fully analyzed the role of **community involvement** in heritage preservation and recovery. While governmental and institutional responses are critical, the role of local communities in both preventing and responding to disasters is essential. Investigating how grassroots efforts contribute to protecting and restoring heritage could highlight the importance of public engagement in safeguarding cultural sites.

Finally, our study has not explored the potential of **technological innovations in restoration**. Tools such as 3D scanning, AI-driven reconstruction, and virtual reality offer exciting possibilities for the preservation of cultural landmarks. These technologies could significantly enhance restoration efforts and open new avenues for heritage protection.

By addressing these gaps in future studies, we can enrich the discourse on cultural heritage preservation and develop more effective strategies for preventing and mitigating future losses.

5.3 Recommendations for further studies

As we bring our project on the Notre Dame fire and its implications to a close, we suggest expanding the research to encompass other instances of cultural heritage loss, such as the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro and Børsen in Copenhagen. Without concluding anything yet, examining these cases can provide valuable comparative insights and deepen our understanding of how societies react to, make sense of, and recover from such devastating events.

The National Museum of Rio de Janeiro

The fire at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro in 2018 highlights critical issues of systemic neglect, governmental responsibility, and public mourning. As explored in the article "With the flames barely out, the finger-pointing begins as massive fire engulfs famed Rio Museum" (With the flames barely out, the finger-pointing begins as massive fire engulfs famed Rio museum, 2018), this case underscores the importance of addressing underlying structural vulnerabilities in heritage preservation. Further studies could examine the socio-political dynamics that led to the museum's neglect and how such challenges might be mitigated in other regions. Additionally, "Brazilians see metaphor for their struggles in museum fire" (Prengaman & DiLorenzo, 2018) emphasizes the symbolic weight of the museum's destruction, reflecting broader societal struggles. Comparative research could explore how cultural heritage loss becomes a lens through which communities view their larger societal issues. Lastly, as highlighted in "After a devastating fire in 2018, the National Museum of Brazil unveils the first stage of its restoration project" (Angeleti, 2022), the museum's slow but significant progress in restoration efforts offers lessons on resilience and recovery in resource-limited contexts.

Børsen in Copenhagen

While less catastrophic in scale, the fire at Børsen provides an opportunity to study community-led preservation efforts and immediate reactions to cultural heritage under threat. As described in "Rørende scener ved Børsen: Alle hjalp til med at bære ikonisk Krøyer-maleri ud" (Frandsen, 2024), the coordinated effort to save artifacts during the fire reflects a strong sense of communal responsibility. Future research could focus on how local communities can play an active role in mitigating damage during heritage emergencies. Moreover, "Historiker om Børsen: - Jeg er i chok" (Kuhlman, 2024) captures the emotional impact of the fire on historians and the public, revealing the importance of heritage sites in shaping national identity. Research could delve into the psychological and cultural effects of such incidents on smaller-scale communities. Finally, "Børsen Brænder" (Scheef & Heigl, 2019) raises questions about the challenges of preserving historic buildings in modern urban contexts, which could lead to practical studies on fire prevention and risk management for heritage sites.

By studying these cases alongside Notre Dame, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the universal and context-specific challenges of heritage preservation, the societal

implications of cultural loss, and the varied pathways to recovery and resilience. This comparative approach can help create more robust frameworks for safeguarding cultural heritage worldwide.

5.4 Comparing Notre Dame to Børsen and Rio National Museum

To compare the three cases of Notre Dame, Børsen, and the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, it is helpful to focus on key themes such as public reaction, symbolic significance, responses to the fire, and restoration efforts. Below is an outline of this comparison:

1. Public Reaction

- **Notre Dame:** According to *"Parisians watched in tears and stunned silence as their beloved landmark burned"*, the fire evoked widespread emotional grief among Parisians and onlookers worldwide. People gathered in the streets to watch in despair, underscoring the cathedral's central role in Parisian identity and culture.
- **National Museum of Rio:** The article *"Brazilians see metaphor for their struggles in museum fire"* highlights that the museum's destruction was not just a loss of cultural heritage but also a reflection of Brazil's socio-economic struggles, governmental neglect, and deeper frustrations about systemic issues.
- **Børsen:** The article *"Historiker om Børsen: - Jeg er i chok"* notes that the fire was met with shock and disbelief by Danes, particularly historians and cultural enthusiasts, emphasizing its importance as an architectural and historical symbol of Copenhagen's commercial heritage.

2. Symbolic Meaning

- **Notre Dame:** As emphasized in *"A Christian Monument"*, Notre Dame represents a deep connection to French religious and cultural identity, standing as a monument of faith, artistry, and history for over 850 years.
- **National Museum of Rio:** According to *"With the flames barely out, the finger-pointing begins"*, the museum symbolized Brazil's scientific and historical legacy, housing invaluable artifacts that connected Brazilians to their national and global history.

- **Børsen:** In *"Børsen Brænder"*, the Børsen is depicted as a symbol of Denmark's economic and architectural history, particularly its Renaissance-style construction and long-standing role in Copenhagen's identity.

3. Response to the Fire

- **Notre Dame:** *"World leaders react to devastating Notre Dame fire in Paris"* shows that global leaders expressed solidarity, pledging financial support and cooperation for its restoration. The response was immediate, with significant funds raised almost overnight.
- **National Museum of Rio:** The article *"After a devastating fire in 2018, the National Museum of Brazil unveils the first stage of its restoration project"* reveals that the museum faced a slower response due to limited resources, bureaucracy, and political challenges. Nonetheless, restoration efforts eventually began as a symbol of resilience.
- **Børsen:** As described in *"Rørende scener ved Børsen: Alle hjalp til med at bære ikonisk Krøyer-maleri ud"*, there was a remarkable community effort during the fire, with people working together to save key artifacts, demonstrating a shared dedication to preserving the building's legacy.

4. Plans for Restoration

- **Notre Dame:** According to *"Mourning, reconstruction, and the future after heritage catastrophes"*, the reconstruction plan for Notre Dame is ambitious, aiming to restore the cathedral by 2024 while preserving its historical integrity and ensuring modern safety standards.
- **National Museum of Rio:** Restoration efforts described in *"After a devastating fire in 2018"* involve meticulous scientific work to recover and restore what remains of the collection, though the process is hindered by financial constraints and political challenges.
- **Børsen:** While *"Børsen Brænder"* emphasizes the cultural importance of preserving the structure, the article does not provide extensive details on the long-term restoration strategy, focusing more on immediate damages and public reactions.

While all three cases highlight the profound loss of cultural heritage, they differ in the scale of public and governmental response, the symbolic meanings attached to the sites, and the progress and challenges of restoration efforts. Notre Dame stands out for its global resonance and swift international support, the National Museum reflects Brazil's socio-political struggles, and Børsen showcases Denmark's communal efforts and historical pride. Each case underscores the fragility and value of cultural landmarks and the unique ways societies respond to their destruction.

6 Conclusion

The renovation of the Notre Dame is a project that involved several actors, including a very strong international and national public opinion. The project had several visions of execution which led to conflicts amongst the actors. The analysis we carried out was with the intention to help clarify how these challenges arise amongst the Social Actors in their decision-making process and how through an analysis of each actor, we would be able to gain insight in their sense making and how it would then later effect how each actor mobilised themselves accordingly. With the use of Institutional Logics perspective, we were able to gain insight into the Social Actors identities, goals and schemas and how the combination of these three reveal their individual agency and the interplay between them and broader institutional structures.

The analysis of the Social Actors' social identities revealed how they aligned their personal identity with the institutional expectations they had to live up to. By gaining a deeper understanding of the Social Actors, we were able to see how they each navigate with competing identities when working in multiple logics such as religion, market or state. What the analysis of their identities also made clear was how the role of identity can either reinforce or challenge institutional norms, for example the donors. Through understanding their philanthropic interests, we were able to see how they had reinforced their social identity within the renovation project with their donations.

Through the identification of the Social Actors' goals as well as the Institutional Logics at play, we see how the logics shape which goals are seen as legitimate or valued for the Social Actors. The goal matrix that we created is a visual representation for the goal conflicts amongst the Social Actors that are embedded in multiple logics, for example, the state having to balance the time and financial pressure along with the expectations of the public with an identical reconstruction. The schemas that we uncovered in the analysis revealed to us that Institutional Logics have an influence on the decision-making process and the behaviour of the social actors.

With a combined understanding of the social identities, goals and schemas, we gained a nuanced understanding of how Social Actors act as both the products and producers of institutional logics. Through embedded agency, we see how actors make decisions within given constraints while shaping the institutions they work within. There are also elements of institutional pluralism, where the complexity and tensions that rise when there are multiple

Institutional Logics at play and are made to coexist with one another. This leads to amalgamations of social identities, goals and schemas, and if they happen to shift, it can lead to innovation and transformation in institutional frameworks leading to institutional change.

But what is all this information useful for and where can it be applied? Having an Institutional Logics perspective of renovation project such as the Notre Dame give one the ability to manage stakeholder complexities, where understanding the social identities and goals can help with mediating any conflicts. It can as well be used to help identify possible conflicts in the future and allow for conflict resolution schemas to be created and design solutions that can balance the different competing priorities.

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