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**IDENTITY DRIVEN INSTITUTIONAL WORK:
EXAMINING THE EMERGENCE AND EFFECT OF A
PRO BONO ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE ENGLISH
LEGAL PROFESSION**

MICHAEL J. GILL

Jesus College
Saïd Business School, University of Oxford

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ABSTRACT

Although a growing number of scholars suggest that the construction of identity is an important form of institutional work, the complex interactions between identities and institutions remain under-explored. In particular, few studies consider how the affective aspects of identities may inform institutional work. This thesis examines the experiences of lawyers who volunteered to create and support a legal charity. As these volunteers grew to more than twenty thousand over fifteen years, the charity gradually centralized charitable work across law firms for the first time. In this way, it transformed the institution of pro bono work within the English legal profession. Drawing on this case study, this thesis employs a grounded theory methodology to generate a conceptual framework that connects emotion work, identity work and institutional work. This framework suggests that some professionals work to re-assert and ‘remember’ aspects of their traditional identities that compete with some contemporary demands. This can prompt identity contradictions that inspire reflection on professional practices. This identity work may also encourage professionals to evoke emotions of guilt that can imbue contradictions with enough significance to create a purpose for remedial institutional work. When enabled by meso-level processes, such micro-level work can reinvigorate traditional practices and accomplish institutional change.

Keywords: Emotion work; Identity work; Institutional work; Professionals

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In memory of one and hope for another.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVATION OF THE THESIS: AN EMPIRICAL PUZZLE

This thesis emerged from a desire to solve a puzzle. During explorative interviews with English legal professionals, many lawyers described their commitment to working voluntarily and without payment to provide advice to impoverished clients. The lawyers referred to this as working *pro bono*, shortened from the Latin term *pro bono publico* or for the public good, which has been an established part of the profession since the 1200s (Miller & Hard, 1993).

During their accounts, the lawyers described how they often performed *pro bono* work through one legal charity, which connected each lawyer to a disadvantaged client. Further research revealed that this charity emerged in the late 1990s and embedded itself in the legal profession in little over a decade by attracting more than twenty thousand volunteer lawyers. The charity was one of the first organizations to organize *pro bono* work centrally across law firms whereas, for hundreds of years previously, each law firm managed their own *pro bono* activities internally. In doing so, the charity transformed the established institution of *pro bono* work in England despite initial apathy from most law firms. Yet this charity offered very limited material benefits to legal professionals and virtually none to its founders. Not only was this work unpaid but it did not contribute towards lawyers' billable hours and represented a further commitment to their long working days. As such, why and how did these lawyers decide to transform the institution of *pro bono* work?

1.2 CENTRAL CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

How and why individuals create, disrupt and maintain the institutions in which they are embedded is the focus of an increasingly prominent body of research known as institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). In recognition of the duality of structure and agency (Giddens, 1984), these studies pay particular attention to the recursive¹ relationship between individuals' actions and institutional arrangements (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). As such, the corpus of institutional work is appropriate to orient this thesis' investigation into the empirical puzzle of why and how lawyers transformed the institution of pro bono work.

Institutional work research is not limited to the study of individuals seeking to change or maintain institutions for economically rational or overtly self-interested reasons. When they first posited the concept of institutional work, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) identified the potential of both reason and emotion to shape institutions. Elaborating the collective role of reason and emotion, a small but growing number of scholars have responded to calls to examine more explicitly the subjective aspects of individuals' institutional work (Suddaby, 2010). In particular, this scholarship has examined the subjective sense of identity (Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Leung, Zietsma, & Peredo, 2013; Lok, 2010; Watson, 2008) and emotions (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Voronov, 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). Given the recent emergence of institutional work and associated research, however, our understanding of the link between these subjectivities and institutions remains limited.

¹ Giddens (1984: xxiii) describes the recursive nature of social life as the idea that "the structured properties of social activity – via the duality of structure – are constantly recreated out of the very resources that constitute them." That is, individuals' activities create the structures that make their activities possible.

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Initially, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) posited that the construction of an occupational identity plays a significant role in the creation of institutions by defining the relationship between an actor and the field (Lounsbury, 2001). Yet recent studies suggest that an individual's self-identity and their associated emotions such as shame can play a more sophisticated role in shaping institutions and are crucial not just in the creation of institutions but also in their disruption and maintenance (e.g., Creed et al., 2010). Scholars have highlighted that an individual's identity can simultaneously resist and enact institutional pressures as it can 'act back' (Lok, 2010) and 'work' (Watson, 2008) to influence different aspects of institutions at the same time. Similarly, recent theoretical work suggests that institutions rest on both a cognitive and emotional investment, with different levels of each generating different forms of institutional work (Voronov & Vince, 2012). As such, the relationship between identities, emotions and institutions appears to be complex and multifaceted.

Given the small number of relevant empirical studies, however, the complex interactions between individuals' identities, emotions and institutions remain under-explored. This may appear surprising in light of the significant attention that the subject of identity has received in organization studies (Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008). Organization scholars have focused on the process of identity work², where individuals draw on a variety of values to construct their self-identity (Sturdy, Brocklehurst, Winstanley, & Littlejohns, 2006; Watson, 2008), as a largely internal process. It is only in recent years that researchers have begun to explore the external outcomes of identity work and its implications for institutions. As a consequence, scholars have called for

² Drawing on the work of Lawrence (2009), this thesis employs the term 'work' to mean mental or physical effort, which connects to a goal i.e. an effect on an emotion, identity or institution.

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more research to support the “development of a comprehensive theory of the role of identity work in institutionalization processes” (Lok, 2010: 1331). In particular, scholars suggest that future research should examine how individuals construct their identity by drawing on durable sources of meaning or values (see Leung et al., 2013: 21) and how these processes may bring about institutional change (Creed et al., 2010; Ramarajan, 2014). This thesis, therefore, suggests that identity is an important topic for further research to deepen and refine our understanding of institutional work and change.

There is also a significant opportunity to develop our understanding of institutional work through an examination of emotions. Although organizational research has traditionally neglected emotionality (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Sturdy, 2003), it has become an increasingly popular topic. Yet the concept of emotion work, which refers to individuals trying to cognitively focus on and manage their feelings (Hochschild, 1979), has rarely been connected to identities or institutions. Despite the fact that feeling is not free of thought and thought is not free of feelings (Zajonc, 1980), most accounts present identity workers and institutional workers as emotionless or phlegmatic actors. Indeed, “the emotional and experiential aspects of identity are undertheorized and almost unstudied” (Howard-Grenville, Metzger, & Meyer, 2013: 131; Sturdy et al., 2006). Similarly, there have been growing calls to examine empirically the relationship between emotions and institutions (Voronov & Vince, 2012). In particular, Creed et al. (2014): 297 point out that the “examination of the role of discrete social emotions in what we see as the twin processes of institutionalization and subjectification would advance our understandings of the microfoundations of institutions.” In this way, investigating how

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emotion work and identity work interact with one another as well as with institutions is likely to reveal new insights into how and why individuals pursue institutional work.

The objective of this thesis is therefore to explore how and why a recursive relationship may operate between identity work, emotion work and institutional work. In particular, it explores the mechanisms and micro-processes that enable emotions and identities to inform macro-level institutions from the ‘bottom up.’ To focus its scope, this thesis considers the identities of professionals and, in particular, legal professionals. Scholars have noted that few studies pay attention to the potential interdependence of professional identity and professional institutions (e.g., Chreim, Williams, & Hinings, 2007), such as the relationship between lawyers’ identities and legal traditions. Nonetheless, researchers have emphasised the importance of identity to professionals (Brock & Hinings, 1999) and recognized professional organizations as highly institutionalized settings (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006) and common sites of institutional work (Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013). As such, the interdependence of identities, emotions and institutions is likely to be more apparent in a professional setting. Reflecting this focus and the opportunities for research access, this study examines the relationship between lawyers’ identities and the legal profession in England.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overarching research question that guides this thesis asks ‘how do the micro-processes of professionals’ identity work and associated emotion work contribute to their institutional work?’ In other words, the research asks how lawyers’ identity constructions and intertwined emotional experiences may, in part, reciprocally create, maintain, or

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disrupt the institution of the legal profession. Given the broad nature of this question, three subordinate research questions help to direct and focus the research.

First, ‘How do professionals ascribe meaning to and construct their professional identity when engaging in institutional work?’ It is important to establish the nature of lawyers’ professional identity work to understand how this may guide their institutional work. Therefore, this first sub question necessitates a consideration of the processes through which lawyers draw on meanings and values to construct their professional sense of self, such as salient customs and traditions within the English legal profession.

Second, ‘Why do professionals enact or perform particular professional identities within an institutional field?’ This question explores why the particular identities that lawyers construct in the context of their profession may prompt them to perform particular actions. The decision to work on institutions and to perform what scholars refer to as purposive action is central to institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). It is therefore it is necessary to discern why lawyers’ professional identities may inform their activities. That is, why do particular identity constructions become meaningful and prominent? This question encourages the research to understand the significance of particular professional identities.

Third, ‘How does the enactment of a professional identity help to create, maintain, or disrupt professional institutions?’ This question considers how professional identities inform the actions and roles that may shape professional institutions. This final question therefore attempts to connect micro-level motivations to macro phenomena by examining changes to institutional arrangements or professional social structures. It also remains sensitive to the idea that identity work may simultaneously change and preserve

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the integrity of an institution (Creed et al., 2010; Lok, 2010) and that certain actions may both disrupt and maintain aspects of a profession.

1.4 RESEARCH APPROACH AND OUTCOMES

This thesis aligns itself to the ontological and epistemological assumptions of an interpretivist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Schultz & Hatch, 1996). This means that this researcher is more closely aligned to a subjectivist than a realist ontology, and more closely aligned to a interpretivist than a positivist epistemology. These assumptions are also commensurate with the assumptions of the sociological concepts which this study employs (i.e., institutional work, identity work and emotion work).

Interpretivist approaches and studies of emotion, identity and institutional work lend themselves to qualitative methodologies that appreciate context (Bouma, 1998; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011; Voronov & Vince, 2012). As such, this thesis employs a qualitative case study and an overarching grounded theory methodology to address its research questions. A grounded theory methodology (specifically Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) underpins the collection and analysis of case study data. Grounded theory is an apt choice as it offers a series of guidelines and procedures that enable this research to develop a theory to explain the social process of why and how professional identities and associated emotional experiences inform professional institutions.

A key tenet of grounded theory is theoretical sampling. This refers to “sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 176). Sampling therefore changes and develops along the lines

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of inquiry stemming from emergent concepts and cannot be pre-determined. During early and explorative interviews with English legal professionals, many lawyers described the role of their identity and emotions in working voluntarily and without payment to provide advice to those in need, particularly in terms of one charitable organization. As a result, the case in this study is a charitable legal organization, referred to as the Pro Bono Group. This thesis focuses and reports on this single case study to provide a contextualized and rich account (Siggelkow, 2007) that grounds the development of a theory.

The Pro Bono Group operates within the context of the English legal profession. Its core purpose is to connect individuals who cannot afford to pay for legal help with lawyers who wish to volunteer their expertise. The Group emerged in the late 1990s, through the efforts of a small collection of lawyers across several law firms. Initially, the Group relied on the financial support of a small number of law firms and utilized several hundred volunteers. By 2010, it had grown into an organization at the heart of the English legal profession, with hundreds of law firms providing funding of nearly one million pounds and tens of thousands of lawyers volunteering their support without pay. This is a particularly novel research setting as the charity was one of the first organizations to operate across law firms whereas, traditionally, law firms had managed their own pro bono activities internally. This unusual or ‘extreme case’ provides particularly visible dynamics to facilitate theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pratt et al., 2006).

This study entailed interviews with many of the Pro Bono Group’s current and former trustees, who oversaw the direction of the Group and set its policies. Several of these trustees founded the Group and almost all of these trustees work or worked as lawyers in law firms. The study examined the Group’s day-to-day operations by

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interviewing its current and former Chief Executives, employees and volunteer lawyers. It also draws on observations of meetings and interactions between volunteer lawyers and their clients. In addition, to develop a broader perspective, it employs interviews with other and retired lawyers and representatives from professional bodies and student groups who interacted with the Group. To complement and contextualize these accounts, the study collected document data (e.g., annual reports, meeting minutes, newspaper articles, press releases). Drawing on this array of data, the thesis pieces together a chronological account of the Pro Bono Group to produce a detailed case study of the Group's development. To develop a theory – an explanation about how ideas relate to one another – the study develops a conceptual framework to link together the themes or conceptual categories that emerged through analysis of this case study (as per Dey, 1993). It is important to appreciate the limits of this theory, as it is not a general or grand theory but, rather, a substantive theory. A substantive theory is a theory linked closely to the empirical situation that has been the subject of study (Denscombe, 2003).

This conceptual framework identified the potential of both affective and cognitive aspects of individuals' identities to drive institutional work and create opportunities for institutional change. An analysis of the case study revealed that several professional lawyers experienced a contradiction in terms of their professional identity. This contradiction stemmed from past notions of professionals performing pro bono work that competed with current commercial commitments. For the lawyers who founded the Pro Bono Group, pro bono work was a central and enduring element of their professional self that they actively reflected on and remembered. They therefore drew on the historical tradition of pro bono work to re-imagine a different way of performing pro bono work.

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However, it was only when these lawyers experienced acute guilt in terms of these contradictions that they pursued institutional work, through the formation of the Pro Bono Group. This thesis suggests that the Pro Bono Group emerged as a meso-level mechanism for some individual lawyers to resolve or reconcile, in part, their identity contradictions and associated emotional difficulties.

Over time, other law firms and lawyers increasingly volunteered their support to the Pro Bono Group for a variety of additional and alternative motivations (e.g., corporate social responsibility, image, training opportunities for junior lawyers). The collective efforts of legal professionals to enact pro bono roles enabled the Pro Bono Group to expand and embed itself within the English legal profession. Thus, this thesis posits that professional identity contradictions can drive professional institutional work with the potential to accomplish institutional change.

1.5 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

In the broadest sense, this thesis attempts to contribute to our understanding of the duality of structure and agency, which is the central problem of social theory (Archer, 2003). It does so through a contribution to the growing corpus of institutional work, which examines how individuals and institutions inform one another. In particular, the thesis intends to develop our understanding of how and why professionals' identities and emotions facilitate institutional work. It follows Jon Elster's suggestion that social scientists "should concentrate on specifying small and medium-sized mechanisms for human action and interaction – plausible, frequently observed ways in which things happen" (Elster, 1989: viii).

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More specifically, this thesis attends to the overlooked ‘microfoundations’ of institutional theory by examining the micro-processes through which professionals’ identity work and emotion work shape institutions (Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Suddaby, 2010). It does so through the development of a conceptual framework that connects the micro-level concepts of professional identity work and emotion work to professional institutional work. This framework posits that an emotionally charged identity contradiction can generate reflection on and the intention to pursue institutional work. When facilitated by certain meso-level process, this institutional work can accomplish institutional change. As such, this thesis helps to illuminate not only *how* individuals perform institutional work but also *why* individuals elect or decide to perform this work. In this way, it provides one answer to the continuing question of what inspires the reflective purposefulness or motivation for institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2013). As the framework is grounded in the accounts of legal professionals, it also provides much needed empirical evidence for the largely theoretical research into the relationship between emotions and institutions (e.g., Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). Furthermore, it responds to calls from institutional scholars to deepen our understanding of the ‘interdependence’ between institutions and individual identity in organizational settings (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002).

Although this thesis adopts an institutional work ‘lens’ to frame its findings, the research also hopes to contribute to identity work scholarship. In particular, the thesis responds to the plea for more nuanced considerations of professionals’ identity constructions (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006) by examining the meanings that lawyers draw on to construct and maintain their professional identities.

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Unlike other studies that detail how individuals undertake identity work to accept or reconcile internalized contradictions (e.g., Creed et al., 2010), this thesis identifies a new form of identity work that sustains such contradictions: *identity re-asserting work*. This concept helps to explain why some professionals resist some facets of contemporary pressures by recalling or ‘remembering’ professional traditions of the past to re-assert one aspect of a valued sense of self. The thesis therefore begins to illuminate the temporal element of identity, which has been overlooked by most researchers of identity work (Brown, 2014).

Beyond attempting to contribute to theories of institutional work and identity work, this thesis also hopes to make a practical contribution by providing insights into how professionals can support the development of pro bono activities. At the heart of this research is the story of professionals’ collective efforts to change one aspect of their profession. These efforts resulted in many thousands of individuals receiving the help that they desperately needed but were unable to afford. Indeed, this researcher observed how volunteer lawyers were able to protect young families by preventing their landlords evicting them from their rented homes. The thesis provides some insights in terms of how lawyers enacted this change to inspire reflection on how similar change may be possible in other professional settings to help other disadvantaged people. It does so through the presentation of a rich case study, which details how the Group operated and how it interacted with a variety of stakeholders to achieve growth, acquire legitimacy and accomplish change.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis contains eight chapters. Following on from this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the limited interaction of three increasingly popular topics of organizational research: institutions, identities and emotions. It points out that future studies could advance each of these topics by investigating how individuals' processes of identity construction (identity work) and emotion management (emotion work) may relate to the creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions (institutional work). In particular, the review highlights that the role of professional identities in shaping their professional settings remains an underexplored but valuable area for further investigation as it can illuminate the processes of institutional work. As such, this chapter concludes by setting out several specific research questions to address these research gaps.

Chapter 3 discusses the assumptions and approach of the research. By articulating the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study, the thesis justifies its selection of an interpretive and qualitative approach. It argues that an overarching grounded theory methodology is appropriate to address the research questions as it lends itself to qualitative and exploratory research that focuses on a micro-level. It details how grounded theory's principles of constant comparison and theoretical sampling inform the study's research site (a legal charity situated within the English legal profession) and process of data collection. It concludes by describing the study's analytical process of developing a substantive grounded theory.

Chapter 4 describes the case study data. It initially outlines the historical and institutional context of the English legal profession and pro bono work. It then reports the story of the Pro Bono Group, structured temporally into periods of emerging, expanding,

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embedding and effecting institutional change. As far as possible, the case study attempts to illuminate the lived experiences of the professionals who developed the Group to reveal the subjective experiences involved in institutional work.

Chapter 5 abstracts the collected case study data into key themes or conceptual categories. It begins by developing conceptual categories from the ‘emerging’ period of the case study that attend to the micro-processes of identity and emotion work. It then examines the ‘expanding’, ‘embedding’ and ‘effecting institutional change’ periods to develop categories that relate to the meso processes that enabled institutional change. These abstracted conceptual categories provide the building blocks of a theory.

Chapter 6 discusses the conceptual categories in light of the broader literature. In doing so, it draws on other studies to deepen and broaden the theoretical connection between the identity work, emotion work and institutional work that this study identified. This discussion culminates in the construction of two conceptual frameworks that connect all of the conceptual categories, which represent a substantive theory of identity driven institutional work.

Chapter 7 briefly reflects on the trustworthiness of the study. It demonstrates why the thesis is credible, its findings are confirmable and its methods are dependable. It also considers the opportunity for other scholars to transfer the insights of this study to other contexts to develop new insights or draw new conclusions.

Chapter 8 summarizes the main empirical findings alongside the theoretical contributions and practical insights of the study. It focuses on how the thesis advances our understanding of institutional work, specifically in terms of what motivates

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

individuals to become institutional workers. It also identifies the study's limitations and outlines several directions for future research.

CHPATER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW – INSTITUTIONS, IDENTITIES AND EMOTIONS

This chapter introduces the potential of one stream of institutional scholarship known as institutional work to explore the relationship between institutions, identity work (e.g., constructing a professional identity) and emotion work (e.g., managing experiences of guilt and pride). Researchers have employed institutional work as an ‘orienting concept’ as it can appreciate the varieties of work that inform institutions and integrate them into models of institutional dynamics (Lawrence et al., 2013; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). It therefore lends itself to the study of emotion work and identity work. The exploration of these different forms of work is valuable, as recent studies have begun to emphasize the important role of identity and emotion, alongside cognition, in creating, maintaining or disrupting institutions (Voronov & Vince, 2012). However, a review of the relevant literatures highlights the need for further research to address three significant gaps that limit our understanding of this relationship between types of work.

First, only a limited number of empirical studies consider the lived experience of individuals who shape institutions. As the section entitled ‘Institutions and institutional theory’ in this chapter will argue, the large corpus of institutional research contains very few studies that examine both the identities and emotions of institutional workers. Similarly, there is little evidence of how identity and emotion, as bodies of research, may inform institutional dynamics. As such, our understanding of the micro-processes that underpin institutions remains incomplete. Nonetheless, the recent emergence of institutional work as one stream of research offers an opportunity to study the interplay of these concepts.

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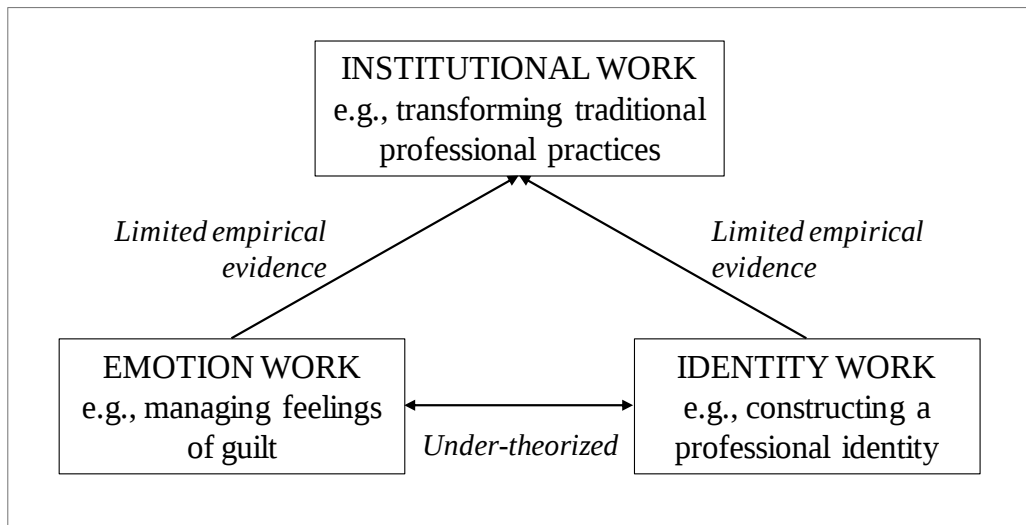
Second, the possible nexus between emotions, identities and institutions remains under-theorised. As the ‘Identity’ and ‘Emotion’ sections in this chapter will point out, recent theoretical research has begun to highlight the crucial role of individuals’ identity work and emotion work in sustaining and transforming institutions. However, institutional theorists have largely studied emotions and identities separately. Yet many other fields of research, including psychology and sociology, suggest that identities and emotions are inseparable and intertwine one another (e.g., Burke, 1991; Tajfel, 1978). This suggests that our current understanding of the relationship between the concepts of institutional work, identity work and emotion work is incomplete. In particular, the interplay of specific social identities and discrete social emotions and their collective role in constraining or encouraging individuals’ institutional work remains unclear.

Third, organizational scholars have accorded little attention to the relationship between the lived experience of professionals and the professional institutions that embed them. The section entitled ‘Professionals and professions’ in this chapter will stress that this omission is most notable from the ‘bottom up’, in terms of how professionals’ sense of self and associated emotional experiences inform their professional institutions. Professionals therefore provide one occupational group to focus the investigation of how the micro-processes of identity work and emotion work interact to inform institutional work.

Figure 1, below, illustrates the focus of this research i.e. the relationship between emotion, identity and institutions. It is important not to over-emphasize the role of identities and emotions in institutional work. As this chapter elaborates, emotions and identities are not the sole factors that inform institutions but rather the specific focal

points of this research. Furthermore, whilst the focus is on the ‘bottom up’, this thesis does not deny the recursive relationship between micro action and macro structure.

FIGURE 1: The Potential Relationship between Emotions, Identities and Institutions



The following sections in this chapter review the extant literature to elaborate these gaps and substantiate the value in their exploration. They also serve to clarify the key concepts used throughout this thesis (e.g., institution, institutional work, identity, identity work, emotion and emotion work). The review of these concepts and associated literatures culminates in the formulation of a focused research question, which asks ‘how do the micro-processes of professionals’ identity work and associated emotion work contribute to their institutional work?’ This research question addresses the three gaps and provides the opportunity to reveal more of the micro-processes that drive institutional work.

2.1 INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

The study of institutions and investigations into how institutions shape, and are shaped by, social actors have become increasingly popular in the field of organization studies. Indeed, modern or neo-institutional theory is the dominant perspective in organization studies (Clegg, 2012; Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008). Given this immense popularity and the burgeoning body of related publications in the field of organization studies, this introductory section begins by clarifying the term ‘institution’ and then explores briefly the evolution of institutional theory. This thesis does not seek to repeat the numerous articles, book chapters and texts that detail this evolution (e.g., Hirsch, 2008; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Instead, this section posits that institutional theory has gradually drifted away from its phenomenological focus on the subjective experience of institutional actors and the values replete within institutions. In making this argument, this section contextualizes and traces the recent emergence of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) as one particular and prominent stream of institutional research that offers the potential to bring individuals back into the study of institutions.

Definitions of institutions abound and typically refer to enduring social patterns (Hughes, 1936) or social structures possessing a high degree of resilience (Scott, 1995). In this thesis, institutions are defined as shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities or relationships (Burns & Flam, 1987). As per Barley and Tolbert (1997), this thesis adopts this definition because it applies to various levels of analysis and makes no assumption about the identity of relevant social actors, which may include individuals, groups or organizations. In this

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sense, examples of institutions include marriage (Lawrence et al., 2009), the nuclear family, democracy and the Christian religion (Friedland & Alford, 1991)³.

The study of institutions in relation to organizational analysis reaches back to the conceptual work of Talcott Parsons (e.g., Parsons, 1949; 1960b) and the subsequent empirical studies of Philip Selznick (e.g., 1948, 1949). Their breakthrough work demonstrated how “institutions function to integrate organizations with other organizations in society through universalistic rules, contracts, and authority” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 100). In their work, both scholars highlighted the role of affect, emotion and values, albeit to varying degrees.

Parsons’ work (Parsons, 1949) focused on two elements: actor and system. He suggested that actors act to fulfill their desires or ‘ends,’ and, when successful, they repeat these acts to create norms. When society shares these norms, they form a system. The system then goes on to shape the expectations and norms of actors within the system.⁴ Whilst building on (and translating) the work of Weber and attempting to maintain scientific rigor, Parsons acknowledged that social institutions require a consideration of both “objective” and “subjective” dimension (Parsons, 1990: 319). He suggested that different systems rest on different values and affective states. For instance, he suggested that subsystems like the economy emphasize values of performance and affective neutrality. In contrast, subsystems such as social communities involve affectivity or the expression of emotions (Parsons, 1960a).

³ This thesis views institutions and organizations as distinct (see Bouma, 1998). However, the difference is ambiguous. For example, Etzioni (1964) describes them as synonymous whilst Meyer and Rowan (1977) implicitly treat the two as different.

⁴ Giddens’ (1984) concept of structuration (which would become integral to later institutional approaches such as institutional work), emerged as a correction to Parsons’ theory. Giddens suggested that Parsons emphasized constraint over agency and therefore failed to account for individuals who change the system. Giddens also saw agents (instead of actors) and structure (system) as connected rather than discrete entities.

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Selznick “emphasized the role of leadership and agency in creating and shaping institutions” (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997: 412) and stressed the importance of individuals and their values in institutional theory (see Kraatz, 2009). Indeed, he noted in his text *Leadership in Administration* (1957: 17) that perhaps the most significant aspect of institutionalization is the infusion of value beyond the technical requirements of a task. Furthermore, Selznick (1949: 250) urged researchers to consider individuals as ‘wholes’, with motives and purposes, in the development of their theories about organizations and institutions:

“Abstractions deal harshly with ‘the facts,’ choosing such emphases and highlighting such characteristics as may seem factitious, or at least distorted, to those who have a stake in an historically well-rounded apprehension of events themselves. This is especially true in the analysis of individual personalities or social institutions, for these demand to be treated as whole, with reference to their own central motives and purposes, rather than as occasions of the development of theoretical systems.”

Subsequent institutional theorists, however, re-focused their research away from emotions, values and ‘whole individuals’ and towards the organizational and field level. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, several seminal articles led to the development of a ‘new’ approach to institutional studies. Unlike the ‘old’ approaches of Selznick and colleagues (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997) that examined change, norms and values, ‘new’ institutionalism emphasised cognition, culture and persistence (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997).⁵ John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan’s (1977) article *‘Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony’* demonstrated

⁵ Some scholars have also drawn a distinction between the functionalist approach of Selznick and Parsons and the more interpretivist approach of new institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).

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how formal organizational structures incorporate rules from institutions into their own structures, thereby creating organizational homogeneity within a particular context or field (Dacin, 1997). Meyer and Rowan posited that organizations' structures become isomorphic with the institutional environment to reflect rituals of conformity and thereby acquire legitimacy, which yields a variety of benefits. For example, the "incorporation of structures with high ceremonial value, such as those reflecting the latest expert thinking or those with the most prestige, makes the credit position of an organization more favourable" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977: 351). In this way, organizational success often depends on factors other than efficient coordination and control of productive activities as survival necessitates becoming isomorphic with institutional environments to gain legitimacy and associated resources (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Perpetuating this focus on the organizational and field level, Paul DiMaggio and Woody Powell (1983) developed Meyer and Rowan's (1977) concept of isomorphic convergence that refers to the idea of organizations tending to become similar. They did so by identifying three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphic change occurs. First, coercive isomorphism results from "both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 150). Second, mimetic isomorphism refers to the powerful force of uncertainty that encourages imitation as organizations may "model themselves on other organizations" that appear successful (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 151). Third, normative isomorphism is associated with professionalization, where professionalization describes the "struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their

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work” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 152). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) emphasised the importance of studying the motive forces of homogenization and incremental change. Their research led to an “explosion of empirical analysis” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008: 100).

Subsequently, what DiMaggio and Powell (1991) termed ‘the new institutionalism’ rejected rationality as a sole explanation for organizational structure, and emphasised legitimacy as well as efficiency to explain the persistence and success of organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). As such, new institutional theorists were initially preoccupied with the pressures institutions exerted to produce similarities across industries or organizations within institutional fields.⁶ Numerous studies examined the notion that organizations attain legitimacy and associated benefits by aligning with their institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). For instance, (Deephouse (1996), 1999)) provided empirical support for the popular idea that the achievement of legitimacy can improve organizations’ performance by enabling the acquisition of resources (Parsons, 1960b; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Suchman, 1995). He did so by demonstrating how isomorphism in the strategies of commercial banks relates to legitimacy conferred by bank regulators and the media, even in the presence of organizational age, size, and performance.

Over time, the institutional literature broadened its focus to account for the ability of actors with sufficient resources to change institutions. DiMaggio (1988) coined the term institutional entrepreneurship to explain how actors can contribute to institutional change despite institutional pressures towards isomorphism. Institutional entrepreneurs

⁶ An organizational field refers to sets of organizations that directly interact with one another and shares similarities with Bourdieu’s (1993) concept of habitus.

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are social actors seeking to establish a new institutional form, which they may achieve with sufficient resources and if they are able to “infuse new beliefs, norms, and values into social structures” (Rao, Morrill, & Zaid, 2000: 241). The infusion of values harks back to the old institutionalism and its emphasis on agency. As Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum (2009): 66 point out, whilst early institutional studies such as the work of Selznick accounted for agency, “later studies tended to overlook the role of actors in institutional change, focusing instead on the influence of exogenous shocks.” As such, institutional entrepreneurship sought to develop a theory of action and actors to explain their role in institutional change.

Institutional entrepreneurship gained popularity amongst institutional scholars (Hardy & Maguire, 2008), fuelled by a renewed interest in agency within institutional theory (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997; Lawrence, 1999). It generated empirical studies of how individuals could initiate change from the centre of a field, such as investigations into accountancy firms that introduced practices from other professions such as consulting and law (e.g., Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). Institutional entrepreneurship was criticised, however, for over-emphasising the power of particular actors to enact change and for failing to recognise agency as embedded in an institutional context (Delmestri, 2006).

In this way, there appeared to be a dichotomy within institutional scholarship. On the one hand, an emphasis on ‘top down’ isomorphism and institutions affecting organizations (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). On the other hand, a ‘bottom up’ emphasis on actors shaping institutions and effecting institutional change (e.g., DiMaggio, 1988; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). As Lawrence et al. (2009)

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point out, both of these approaches tended to present somewhat stylized representations of the relationships between actors and institutions. These possibly overstated positions did not account fully for the notion that actors are embedded in an institutional context or what institutional scholars refer to as the paradox of embedded agency (Seo & Creed, 2002). This is a paradox because, as Holm (1995): 398 explains: “How can actors change institutions if their action, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change?” Thus, there is a tension between institutional determinism of isomorphism and the agency of institutional actors or entrepreneurs. In an attempt to attend to the agency of actors highlighted by scholars of institutional entrepreneurship, whilst also recognising the embedded nature of these actors, two popular streams of institutional scholarship have emerged; institutional work and institutional logics.

2.1.1 Institutional work and current streams of institutional scholarship

“Two important streams in institutional theory” are institutional logics and institutional work (Gawer & Phillips, 2013: 1063). Although this thesis adopts an institutional work perspective, which it will go on to examine in more detail, it is important to introduce and distinguish it from the institutional logics perspective. By detailing the distinction between these parallel and prominent bodies of institutional research, this thesis is able to clarify the conceptual boundaries of institutional work.

Institutional work emerged recently as an approach to the study of institutions but has become increasingly prominent (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2011; Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Developed by Thomas Lawrence and Roy Suddaby (2006:

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217), the concept of institutional work refers to “the broad category of purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions.” In this way, the focus of institutional work shifts away from the traditional interest of ‘new’ institutional scholarship in the relationship between organizations and fields and, instead, examines how individuals’ action affects institutions (Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional work may take a variety of forms as Appendix 2 details. For example, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) suggest that individuals’ identity constructions can create new institutions, as this process can define the relationship between actors and their field (Lounsbury, 2001). Other forms such as enforcement, auditing and monitoring (Schuler, 1996) can maintain institutions.

Institutional work emerged as a response to institutional scholarship’s previous emphasis on macro dynamics. As Lawrence et al. (2011): 52 explain of earlier research, “Somewhat lost in the development of an institutional perspective has been the lived experience of organizational actors, especially the connection between this lived experience and the institutions that structure and are structured by it.” Institutional work therefore appreciates the ‘paradox of embedded agency’ (Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002) by suggesting that actors engage with contradictions (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2009) and that a recursive relationship exists between actors and institutions (Battilana & D’unno, 2009).

Institutional work seeks explicitly to understand the effect of individuals’ actions, efforts and intentions on institutions. To build this understanding, scholars of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 219-220; Lawrence et al., 2011) suggest that associated research should be oriented around three key elements:

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- (1) highlighting “the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors”
- (2) generating “an understanding of institutions as constituted in the more and less conscious action of individual and collective actors”
- (3) adopting an approach that suggests “we cannot step outside of action as practice - even action which is aimed at changing the institutional order of an organizational field occurs within sets of institutionalized rules.”

These three elements are helpful to distinguish the focus of institutional work from other approaches that study institutions. In particular, they help to position institutional work as a ‘middle ground’ in terms of agency (Lawrence et al., 2009), situated between deterministic isomorphism and heroic entrepreneurship. In contrast to institutional entrepreneurship research that has an interest in agency only so far as the successful actions associated with institutional change, Lawrence et al. (2011): 52-53 state that institutional work is interested in:

“the myriad, day-to-day equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represent a complex *mélange* of forms of agency—successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises, and rife with unintended consequences.”

These three elements of institutional work and the focus on the constrained and constricted forms of agency serve as a helpful starting point to clarify the differences with another prominent stream of institutional scholarship known as institutional logics.

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Institutional logics refer to the frames of reference that guide actors' behaviours and cognitions. An institutional logic is the "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804). Friedland and Alford (1991) introduced the term institutional logic to describe the contradictory beliefs and practices within the institutions of modern western societies (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested that certain institutions, such as the capitalist market, democracy, families, and religion each possess a central logic. These logics both constrain individuals' actions whilst also providing individuals with cultural resources for transformation.

The idea that institutional logics define the content and meaning of institutions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) stemmed from the accumulation of empirical and theoretical research over the past two decades (e.g., Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). Whilst this approach rests upon prior work that considered how culture shape organizational structures, logics re-focused attention away from the idea of isomorphism. Instead, it sought to understand the effects of different institutional logics on individuals and organizations. It also recognized that actors inform institutional logics. In this way, an institutional logics perspective seeks to connect the macro to the micro process of institutions and shares some similarity with institutional work. Indeed, both an institutional logics perspective⁷ and institutional work share a number of philosophical and theoretical assumptions. For instance, both build on the structurationist notion

⁷ The institutional logics perspective rests on four principles: the duality of structure and agency; institutions' possession of material and symbolic elements; the historically contingent nature of institutions; and the operation of institutions at multiple levels of analysis (Thornton et al., 2012).

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(Giddens, 1984) that all action is embedded in institutional structures (Lawrence et al., 2011).

However, the focal point of institutional work is the agency and experiences of institutional actors and not the frames of reference (or logics) that guide actors' actions. Whilst the concept of institutional work does not "deny nor ignore the effect of institutions on action", its "analytical focus in the study of institutional work, unlike most institutional studies of organization, is on how action and actors affect institutions" (Lawrence et al., 2009: 7). As such, institutional work is "clearly based on a bottom-up approach" (Lawrence et al., 2013: 1024; Zilber, 2013). This approach distinguishes it from institutional logics, which is often criticised for a 'top down' perspective (see Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Scholars of institutional logics also encourage further studies of micro-processes and state that they 'embrace institutional work' (Thornton et al., 2012: 180), which could enhance research on institutional logics (e.g., see Gawer & Phillips, 2013). In this way, institutional logics scholars acknowledge their research is distinct from but commensurable with institutional work. As such, this thesis echoes their suggestion that the two streams could engage with one another.

This focus on everyday actors' successful and unsuccessful attempts to 'work' on or affect institutional arrangements distinguishes institutional work from other streams of institutional scholarship. Furthermore, institutional work's inclusion of both strategic and emotional considerations strengthens this distinction by encouraging the examination of actors' lived experiences within institutional contexts. In this way, institutional work offers a unique approach that can consider explicitly the experiences and meanings of actors in creating, maintaining, and disrupting of institutions. Institutional work is

therefore an appropriate approach to re-focus on the subjective experiences of institutional actors, such as their identities and emotions, which this thesis suggests institutional scholarship has overlooked in recent decades.

2.1.2 Institutional work's conceptual boundaries

This subsection elaborates some of the key assumptions that underpin the concept of institutional work but that may not be apparent through comparisons with other streams of institutional scholarship. This elaboration is important because it helps to clarify how the concept of institutional work can illuminate individuals' identities and emotional experiences. In particular, this section considers the three ideas of activity, intentionality and effort, which are essential to the conceptualization of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence et al., 2011). It also considers some of the criticisms associated with these ideas. These considerations help to elucidate what institutional work is and what it is not.

A primary aspect of understanding the concept of institutional work is the idea of activity. One subtle yet critical issue is the “distinction between ‘creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions’ and the ‘creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions’ (Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional work scholars urge researchers to consider the former, emphasizing the importance of activities that may succeed or fail, rather than just accomplishments. The study of these activities may also reveal the unintended consequences of institutional work and thereby provide a fuller account of the nature of the work that underpins institutions. Given institutional work's predilection for action and

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gerunds⁸, it seems reasonable to suggest that scholars could re-label the concept as ‘institutional working.’

A second, important aspect of institutional work is the idea of intentionality⁹ or the ‘purposive action’ that is part of Lawrence and Suddaby’s (2006) definition of the term. As such, for ‘work’ to be categorized as institutional work it must be motivated by its potential to inform or shape institutions. In this way, “without intentionality, actions may have profound institutional effects but still not be institutional work” (Lawrence et al., 2009: 13). The inclusion of intentionality represents a ‘more radical shift’ in understanding institutions and organizations as it focuses on institutional work itself as the primary object of analysis (Lawrence et al., 2009), rather than the institutional outcomes.

This idea of intentionality, or the purposive element of institutional work, has received criticism from other scholars who suggest that it obscures some of the mundane or routine origins of change (Smets, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, Forthcoming). Smets and Jarzabkowski (2013), for instance, describe how the everyday work of actors can prompt improvisations that drive institutional work even though this work is not performed with the intention of shaping an institution. Whilst this may be a limitation, it does serve to illustrate that unintentional work on institutions does not qualify as institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) and therefore to clarify the conceptual boundaries of institutional work.

A third idea that is central to institutional work is effort, which reflects the ‘work’ component of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2013). Lawrence et al. (2009) stress

⁸ Gerunds: in English grammar, adding –ing to create a non-finite verb form that can function as a noun

⁹ This notion of intentionality is distinct from Husserl (2012) and Heidegger’s (1996) phenomenological notion.

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that the notion of work entails mental or physical effort, which connects to a goal such as an effect on an institution or institutions. As actors' unconscious routines can support institutions, institutional work therefore requires some degree of cognitive effort and reflexive thought to highlight the social nature of institutions and the associated possibility of change. Thus, conscious effort is a further way to establish what does and does not constitute institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2011). Such effort or work may take a variety of forms, such as emotion work or identity work (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012) if it relates to shaping an institution. For instance, one form of effort is an agent recognizing the contradictions that highlight the taken-for-granted and socially constructed nature of institutions. Given the variety of efforts involved in shaping institutions, Lawrence et al. (2009) suggest that researchers should focus on a single institution and explore the associated forms of actions that change or sustain it.

2.1.3 Opportunities for institutional work: The lived experience of 'work'

Consistent across introductions to and summaries of institutional work by Lawrence and colleagues (Lawrence et al., 2013; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence et al., 2011) is a call for more research that explores the lived experience of institutional workers. This call is echoed in recent studies, which have begun to highlight the importance of subjective experiences in understanding institutions (Creed et al., 2014). This subsection argues that, specifically, there is a limited exploration of how individuals' sense of self and associated emotional experiences may inform their institutional work.

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To indicate the importance of further exploration, this subsection reflects on how the study of identity and emotion would begin to realize four of the opportunities identified by scholars to develop our understanding of institutional work (see particularly Lawrence et al., 2013; Lawrence et al., 2011). These four opportunities or issues are (1) bringing individuals back into institutional theory, (2) re-examining the relationship between agency and institutions, (3) building a bridge with critical perspectives and (4) exploring the concept of work.

Bringing individuals back into institutional theory. Institutional work emphasises the importance of individuals' activities and intentionality in creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions. Unlike institutional entrepreneurship that focuses on institutional change as the 'object of explanation', institutional work encourages studies that explain the experiences and motivations of individuals (Lawrence et al., 2011). This is in contrast to much of the new institutionalism (but see Hallett & Ventresca, 2006). Yet, as Lawrence et al. (2011) point out, early thinking of institutions recognised the importance of this relationship. For instance, new institutional theory draws on the phenomenological insights of Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Schütz (1999), who argue that individuals' action and agency reproduce and sustain institutions. Similarly, new institutional theory draws on Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration, which argues institutions depend on the action of individuals and organizations for their reproduction over time. Institutional work therefore provides an opportunity to bring individuals back into institutional theory.

Whilst the focus of institutional work centers on the experience of individuals, the extant body of institutional work scholarship has provided a very limited number of

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empirical studies that examine the micro-processes of individuals' lived experiences (for a notable exception see Creed et al., 2010). This is not to suggest that institutional work has failed to examine the actions of individuals in shaping institutions, on the contrary, it has begun to reveal many micro-level processes (e.g., Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013). However, many of the subjective experiences that accompany individuals' performances of institutional work often remain unexamined.

Despite an apparent focus on lived experience, conscious action and reflexivity, institutional scholars have only recently begun to pay attention to the implications of identity constructions for institutional work. Whilst identity is an increasingly important theme within institutional theory (e.g., Chreim et al., 2007), only a small number of studies have begun to address identity explicitly in terms of institutional work (Creed et al., 2010; Lok, 2010). In one rare example, Leung et al. (2013) demonstrated how Japanese middle-class housewives' identity work informed successful institutional work. These housewives conformed to, and were reasonably content with, their roles but began to engage in a process of identity work to change their own self-concept (internal identity work). Furthermore, through external identity work, they changed others' conceptions of their institutionally prescribed roles leading to a new social structure, when facilitated by an 'enabling collective.' Yet, these authors emphasised the need for future research to understand if durable institutional elements, such as role values, can act as resources for changing other institutional elements. As such, the processes of identity work in institutional work remains under-explored, particularly in terms of their relationship to emotions and values.

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To ‘bring individuals back into the institutional theory’ requires that research examine individuals as “wholes” (Selznick, 1949: 250), replete with emotions, identities and values. Whilst the role of emotions in institutional work has received some theoretical attention (Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012), there appears to be little in the way of empirical and substantiating evidence. Feeling is not free of thought and thought is not free of feelings (Zajonc, 1980) and, therefore, individuality rests on the cognitive and affective construction of an identity. Thus, the study of emotions and identity is one powerful way to bring individuals back into institutional theory and is appropriate to the aims of institutional work scholarship.

Re-examining the relationship between agency and institutions. The “concept of institutional work insists on the need to consider the permanent recursive and dialectical interaction between agency and institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2011: 55). An important concept that institutional work draws on in this regard is Bourdieu’s (1993) concept of habitus. Habitus refers to a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata, sensibilities, dispositions (Scott & Marshall, 1998), or a ‘collective unconscious’ (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005) that social groups acquire through experience and existence in a particular environment. Scholars often employ the concept of habitus in relation to the concept of the ‘field’, which describes the contextual environment (Özbilgin & Tatli, 2005). Habitus therefore “links macro-processes occurring at the field level with micro-level processes occurring at the individual level” (Battilana & D’Aunno, 2009: 44).

Previous institutional scholarship focused on the relationships between organizations and the fields in which they operate, providing strong accounts of the logics

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or processes through which institutions govern action and inform schemata (Thornton et al., 2012). As institutional work focuses, instead, on how action affects institutions, it has a natural emphasis on agency. Drawing on the work of Battilana and D’unno (2009), institutional work views agency as a multi-dimensional concept. Agency is an actor’s engagement with the social world that, through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgement, can both reproduce and transform an environment’s structures (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998: 970). The notion of agency is prominent in institutional work scholarship. For example, Hargrave and Van de Ven (2009) examine how contradictions can inspire agency and institutional work. Lawrence et al. (2011) suggest that institutional work’s focus on the relationship between actors and their social world highlights two neglected issues: *emergence* and *the distributed nature of agency*.

Emergence refers to the nondeterministic and nonlinear nature of institutional processes. This is problematic for traditional forms of institutional scholarship, which seek to identify the role of particular actors. Institutional work, however, seeks to understand how and why institutional work occurs and with what effect (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). As such, it offers an opportunity to attend to the complexity and unintended consequences of institutionalization. Lawrence et al. (2011): 55 note that institutional work therefore bears some resemblance to social movement research, but “where social movement researchers might highlight the importance of collective action, research on institutional work would examine how individuals change institutions both as parts of and alongside social movements.” Whilst respecting these differences, research on social movements has revealed that emotions “are a core part of action and decisions” (Jasper, 2011: 298) and that shame or guilt can motivate social change (Jasper, 1998). As

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such, it seems reasonable to believe that the study of institutional workers' emotions may help to shed light on the processes of emergence. Indeed, whilst Kraatz (2009) highlights the important role of individual leaders in the emergence of organizational institutions through institutional work, he does so with reference to Selznick and thereby, implicitly, reminds us that emotions and meanings are likely to bound up in the agency of leaders.

The distributed nature of agency describes the agency that is central to institutional work occurring through the efforts of a potentially large number of actors or individuals (Lawrence et al., 2011). As such, different actors may operate at different levels (e.g., the individual or group or organizational level). Furthermore, given the variety of actors that may be involved in institutional work, it is likely that there will be complementary and contradictory forms of institutional work occurring simultaneously (Delbridge & Edwards, 2008; Lok, 2010). Given this variety of actors and forms of work, the individuals involved are likely to experience institutional work in different ways. Exploring the role of subjective experiences like identity constructions and emotions would help to illuminate the different actions of different actors and reveal the complexity of institutional change and stability.

Bridging critical and institutional views of organization. Historically, there has been a gulf between critical management studies (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992a, b) and institutional theory. Critical management studies (CMS) seek to de-naturalize (Fournier & Grey, 2000) or interrogate the assumption of management as a self-evident force for good (Alvesson, Bridgman, & Willmott, 2009) and to scrutinize managerial discourses and practices. For critical scholars, this is with the intention of opening up a dialogue about power and exposing the mechanisms of control to facilitate the emancipation of

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those individuals who suffer in the workplace. This is contrast to the traditional focus of institutional scholarship on explaining and naturalizing the status quo (Cooper, Ezzamel, & Willmott, 2008). As such, it would seem that the ambitions of institutional and critical scholars are incommensurable.

However, both institutional scholars (Lawrence et al., 2011) and critical management scholars (Willmott, 2011) suggest that it is possible to bridge institutional and critical research traditions to some degree. Both ‘camps’ of research suggest that the connection of their respective bodies of research would help to clarify the ideological and theoretical assumptions of institutional work. The rapprochement of critical approaches and institutional scholarship is possible through an examination of the notions of intentionality and effort that underpin the concept of institutional work. Both these concepts reflect the agency of institutional workers and studies that examine the oppression of intentionality would lend themselves to a critical approach (Lawrence et al., 2011). Willmott (2011), as a leading critical management scholar, welcomes the interest of institutional scholars but stresses the importance of retaining the emancipatory intent of critical analyses.

To emphasise the importance of emancipation, Willmott (2011) suggest that scholars of institutional work should reconsider their use of the term ‘individual.’ Instead, they should employ the term human being or social being. As he explains, “the term individual signifies difference and implies autonomy. The term human or social being(s), in contrast, suggests commonality and continuity with other beings and/or nature” (Willmott, 2011: 69). This choice of language also reflects the paradox of embedded agency and, in the opinion of this researcher, serves to remind readers that institutional

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workers are human and possess feelings. This notion has found popularity in recent publications, where studies of institutional work refer to ‘persons’ (e.g., Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). As such, one way that institutional work could integrate a more critical edge is by focusing on persons and their personal experiences such as their social identities and social emotions. Indeed, critical studies have examined individuals’ identities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and emotions (Fineman & Sturdy, 1999) to reveal a whole host of micro-processes to expose mechanisms of domination that underpin broader social structures.

Exploring the concept of work. ‘Work’, as opposed to the outcomes of work, is an important but under-examined issue within the institutional work literature (Lawrence et al., 2013). In one example, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) examined the British Columbia coastal forest industry and demonstrated how individuals performed different forms of boundary work to change logging regulations, which became ratified by the government to effect field-level change.

Phillips and Lawrence (2012) describe such studies as a ‘turn to work’ and discuss a variety of different forms of work that occur within organizations. Many of these forms are very subtle, such as identity work and emotion work. What “connects these kinds of work is that they ‘involve actors engaged in a purposeful effort’ to manipulate some social-symbolic facet of the context in which they operate” (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012: 224). Yet the extant literature often obscures these more subtle forms of work. Indeed, institutional workers are often portrayed as “experts skilfully manipulating their institutional environment, but this view might underestimate the cognitive and emotional efforts necessary for actors to gain reflexive awareness and engage in work to

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maintain, disrupt and create institutions” (Lawrence et al., 2013: 1029). In pointing to our partial understanding of cognitive and emotional work in terms of institutional workers, Lawrence highlights the importance of studying identity work and emotion work to understand reflective purposefulness, on which institutional work depends.

Through a consideration of these four broad opportunities to progress institutional work scholarship (individuals, agency, critical perspectives, and ‘work’), this thesis highlights the potential value of research that explicates the lived experience of institutional workers. In particular, it highlights how the study of individuals’ emotion work and identity work may illuminate the mechanisms and motivations of their institutional work. Whilst identities and emotions are relatively under-explored in the context of institutional research, institutional work is amenable to, and broadly encouraging of, their examination. Indeed, as Lawrence and colleagues advise researchers, “we need to attend to the experience of individuals as they engage in, and are subjected to, institutional work” (Lawrence et al., 2013: 1029). Given this lack of attention, it is important to draw on the existing insights of the identity and emotion literatures to establish the potential connections and gaps between identity work, emotion work and institutional work.

2.2 IDENTITY

In his historical survey of the concept of identity, Baumeister (1986) suggested that it was sometime around the year 1800 when scholars became preoccupied with individual selfhood. As interest in this concept has continued to grow (McAdams, 1996), the field of identity theory has become ‘huge’ (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003: 1166). Further

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accelerating this growth was the idea that identity could reside at many different levels. Indeed, various studies have examined identity at the level of institutions (e.g., Czarniawska, 1997), organizations (e.g., Corley, 2004) and individuals (e.g., Thornborrow & Brown, 2009). It is important, therefore, to specify that the primary concern of this thesis is the individual level of identity or self-identity. However, it is likely that different levels of identities will influence or intersect one another as the organizational identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985) of a firm may mediate the individual identity of its employees. As such, whilst this research remains focused on individuals' self-identity it will examine the context of identity construction.

Individual or self-identity, as a research topic, has received significant attention with interpretations ranging from anthropological to psychoanalytical perspectives (see Gleason, 1983). Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to detail this rich history, it is important to clarify the definition of identity given the numerous and contradictory meanings that have emerged (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). In line with much of the organization studies literature on which this thesis seeks to build, this thesis draws inspiration from sociological theories of identity and Giddens' (1991) conception of self-identity as an ongoing reflexive project or process. Giddens suggests that self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual. Instead, it is the self as interpreted reflexively by the agent. Agents reflexively construct their self from cultural raw material: language, sets of meanings, symbols and values (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

This thesis therefore reflects many sociological theories of identity that conceptualize the individual identity process as narrative construction. Giddens (1991)

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suggests that a self-identity presumes a narrative and the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. These narratives or autobiographical stories serve as vehicles with which to render ourselves intelligible (Gergen, 1994). Indeed, storytelling “may be the way through which human beings make sense of their own lives and the lives of others” (McAdams, 1995: 207). As such, identity refers to subjective meanings and experiences, and attempts to address the twin questions, ‘Who am I?’ and ‘how should I act?’ (Alvesson et al., 2008; Cerulo, 1997).

Other sociological thinkers such as Archer (2003): 19 also emphasize the importance of reflexivity in understanding identity, defining it as the interaction of structure with agency or “the ability to know ourselves to be ourselves.”¹⁰ As Czarniawska (2004) notes, we are not the sole authors of our personal identity projects. In this way, identity is not just a personal story but instead a struggle between the self-view and external demands (Alvesson, 2010). Identity is therefore an ongoing construction and constantly undergoing work. It is this process of ‘identity work’ that will be a key focus of this research.

2.2.1 Identity work and alternative streams of identity research

As this thesis specifically employs the concept of identity work, which it will go on to examine in much more detail, it is important to clarify how its associated body of research is both similar and different to other approaches to the study of identity. In doing so, the thesis hopes to clarify the conceptual boundaries of identity work. This subsection therefore traces briefly identity work’s similarities and differences with other popular

¹⁰ Structure – institution, organization, patterns of social practice – is continually recreated by social actors via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors (Giddens, 1984: 2)

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bodies of identity research known as identity regulation, identity control theory, social identity theory and self-categorization theory.

Each of these streams of research is popular in the field of organization studies but is not fully commensurable or compatible with one another. Various scholars have drawn distinctions between types of identity research or theories. For example, Alvesson et al. (2008) position identity work, identity regulation and social identity theory as three distinct approaches to the study of identity. Stets and Burke (2000) emphasize the differences between identity (control) theory and social identity theory. Similarly Turner and Oakes (1986) separate social identity theory from self-categorization theory. In this way, several concepts or theories of identity with associated bodies of empirical research have emerged over the past thirty years. Table 1 below outlines and foreshadows the discussion of the distinctions between these streams of identity research.

TABLE 1: Comparing Streams of Identity Research

	Identity work	Identity regulation	Identity control theory (ICT)	Social identity theory (SIT)	Self-categorization theory (SCT)
Disciplinary origin	Sociology	Organization studies	Sociology	Social psychology	Social psychology
Key proponents (publication years)	David Snow and Leon Anderson (1987); Tony Watson (2008)	Mats Alvesson and Hugh Willmott (2002)	Peter Burke (1991)	Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979)	John Turner and Penelope Oakes (1986)
Focus	Construction of self-identity - a reflexively organized narrative (Giddens, 1991)	Regulation of self identity – identity as a locus of organizational control (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002)	Role identity - a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or as a member of a social group that define who one is (Burke, 2007)	Social identity - the individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002)	Self-categorization - the categorization processes that produce prototype-based depersonalization of self and others (Hogg & Terry, 2000)
Examines	The processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity	The more or less intentional effects of social practices upon processes of identity construction and reconstruction	Individuals' role-related behaviors (i.e., the internal dynamics of self-processes as these affect social behavior)	Group processes and intergroup relations (i.e., intergroup discrimination in terms of the need for positive social identity)	The social psychological basis of group phenomena (i.e., individual - group relationship)
Key concepts	N/A	Three patterns – 'managerial', 'cultural-communitarian' and 'quasi-autonomous'	Identity standard, identity comparator	In-group, out-group, positive distinctiveness	Perceiver readiness, comparative fit, normative fit
Typical research approaches	Interpretive case studies (e.g., Creed et al., 2010; Watson, 2008)	Interpretive case studies (e.g., Brown & Lewis, 2011)	Questionnaires / Surveys (e.g., Burke & Reitzes, 1991)	Experiments (e.g., see Corneille, Klein, Lambert, & Judd, 2002)	Experiments (e.g., Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher, 2002)

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Identity work. The sociologists Snow and Anderson (1987) were amongst the first to employ the term identity work as a concept or metaphor (Brown, 2014). They described identity work as “the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept” (Snow & Anderson, 1987: 1348). Similarly, Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) describe how identity work refers to forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising a sense of self. As such, there is broad consensus that identity work refers to individuals’ ongoing attempts to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive personal self-identity. Thus, most definitions emphasize identity work as an ongoing process of constructing a sense of self.

Given the subtly different definitions of identity work that exist (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Snow & Anderson, 1987), this thesis employs Watson’s (2008) definition. It does so because Watson’s (2008: 129) definition reflects the idea that identities have both internal and external aspects:

“Identity work involves the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identities which pertain to them in the various milieu in which they live their lives”

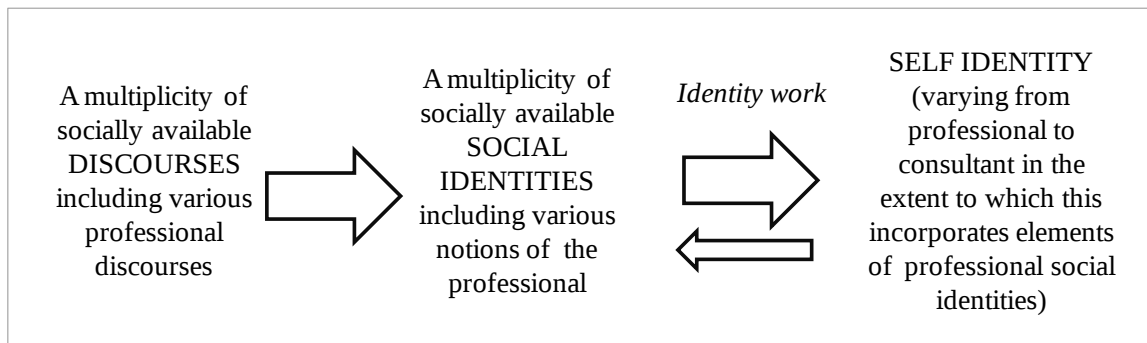
Watson’s definition emphasizes that identity work can inform social identities and that identity operates in a recursive relationship with discourses and social identities. In this way, the identity work that underpins the identity process draws upon a range of meanings and different social identities which individuals can identify with or resist (Fleming & Spicer, 2003; O’Mahoney, 2012). An individuals’ identity-work thereby

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involves a negotiation between individuals' communities and networks' (e.g., organization and professions) proffered identities and their own sense of self derived from current work as well as other work and non-work identities (Handley, Sturdy, Fincham, & Clark, 2006). Moreover, as Watson's definition allows, individuals' identity work may also inform social identities and act back on them. For example, individuals may draw on their work or profession to construct their sense of self and, in doing so, may shape their profession, within limits. Figure 2 below provides a schematic for the concept of identity work.

FIGURE 2: The Concept of Identity Work

(Adapted from Watson, 2008)



This thesis employs the concept of identity work to focus its investigation into the broad concept of identity. The concept of identity work is also amenable to engagement with the body of institutional work studies. For example, both identity work and institutional work share a common disciplinary heritage in sociology and the work of Giddens (1984; 1991). Both identity work and institutional work share an interpretivist epistemology, as demonstrated in their use of interpretivist case studies. Furthermore,

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identity work – in Watson’s (2008) definition – acknowledges that micro-processes inform macro phenomena thereby reflecting the key premise of institutional work.

Whilst this sub-section has introduced briefly the concept of identity work, subsequent paragraphs will compare and contrast this stream of identity research with other identity concepts and theories. These comparisons serve to clarify the boundaries of identity work research but, also, to highlight how many ideas in other fields of identity research may illuminate the connection between identity and institutions.

Identity regulation. Alvesson and Willmott (2002): 625 developed the notion of identity regulation, describing it as “the more or less intentional effects of social practices upon processes of identity construction and reconstruction.” Within employment settings, identity regulation may be one mechanism of organizational control over employees. Although not the focus of this research, identity regulation is an important form of identity research within organization studies. It incorporates the concept of identity work as the ongoing process of identity construction presents the possibility of identity regulation – that is, if identities develop then others can seek to shape this development in particular ways.

As with studies of identity work, researchers of identity regulation tend to emphasize the role of discourse (Parker, 1992) and discursive regimes in regulating identities (Alvesson et al., 2008). Alvesson and Willmott (2002) outline three patterns of identity regulation; ‘managerial’, ‘cultural-communitarian’ and ‘quasi-autonomous’. Each of these represents discourses or sources of inputs to identity regulation. For instance, managerial discourses supply employees with a standardized construction of how managers may act. Cultural-communitarian discourses refer to broadly shared

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understandings and convictions, such as patriotic, paternalistic, professional and religious ideals. Quasi-autonomous discourses describe moves towards ‘micro emancipation’ and recognize that “other processes are present that may discredit or impede managerial identity regulation” (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002: 637).

Researchers have investigated specific discursive mechanisms and organizational practices of identity regulation. These have included status distinctions (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002), and routines (Brown & Lewis, 2011) all of which can produce identity work. Whilst largely viewed as a form of control and oppression, researchers have noted that organizational attempts to shape employee identities are not necessarily detrimental due to their potential to foster desired identities (Anteby, 2008). Nonetheless, research that focuses on the processes of identity work within an organizational or professional context is likely to benefit from some consideration of the subtle mechanisms of regulation that inform or prompt these processes.

Both streams of identity work and identity regulation research suggest that individuals struggle with discursive regimes and rest on the belief that reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) and that discourse provides rules that define what is appropriate (Grant & Hardy, 2004). Whilst very similar in this regard, the concept of identity work does not necessarily entail an examination of control. Most studies of identity regulation pursue an emancipatory or critical approach. In contrast, numerous studies of the processes of identity work do not consider explicitly how organizations or managers may intentionally use social practices to shape the construction of identity or the associated dynamics of control (e.g., Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006).

Identity control theory (ICT). Identity control theory focuses on the nature of individuals' identities (who they are) and the relationship between the person's identities and their behavior within the context of the social structure within which the identities are embedded (Burke, 2007). Identity theory, which underpins identity control theory, is principally "a micro-sociological theory that sets out to explain individuals' role-related behaviors" (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995: 255). Peter Burke (2007) explains the premise of the theory he developed through the example of possessing the identity of a father:

"Thinking about myself as a father (the stimulus) calls up in me a set of responses (set of meanings) similar to those called up in others. These responses define for a person what it means to be a father, e.g., being strong, being caring, or being the breadwinner. These common responses lead to common expectations and understandings about what a father is and what a father does, as well as shared understandings about the relation of father to son or daughter and the position of father in the family."

In this way, whilst the stream of identity work research focuses on 'self-identity', identity control theory examines 'role-identities'. There is significant overlap here, as identity work entails individuals interpreting "the role given to them in the 'script' of any given social-identity" (Watson, 2008: 129). Indeed, identity control theory is likely to provide a range of insights into how roles may shape the self-concept and processes of identity work. However, the concept of identity work acknowledges that individuals construct their self-identity from a variety of different social identities of which formal roles are just one type.

Furthermore, identity work and identity control theory differ in their conceptualization of identity. Identity work scholars view identity as a reflexively

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organized narrative (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). In contrast, Burke (1991) suggests that identity is a control system with four components. The first component is the *identity standard*, which is the set of meanings for a given role identity. The second are *perceptions* of meanings in the situation that are relevant to our identity (which typically come from the feedback from others about how we are coming across in the situation). The third is a *comparator* that functions to compare the perceived meanings with the meanings in the identity standard. The fourth is an output function of the comparison, sometimes called an *error* or *discrepancy* that represents the difference between perceptions and the identity standard. Thus, the focus of identity control theory is to understand how individuals' perceptions and comparisons of particular identities or roles inform their behaviors. This definition lends itself to the measurement and quantification of identity, as evinced in the use of surveys and questionnaires in identity control theory studies (e.g., Burke & Reitzes, 1991). In contrast, identity work's conceptualization of identity as a narrative or story lends itself to qualitative and interpretative studies.

Social identity theory. Social identity theory (SIT) is “a social psychological theory that sets out to explain group processes and intergroup relations” (Hogg et al., 1995: 255). This theoretical approach to the study of identity emerged through the research of Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) in the United Kingdom. Hogg et al. (1995) explicate the underlying ideas of SIT. They explain that when an individual feels that they belong to a particular social category (e.g., nationality, sports team), this category provides a definition of who they are in terms of the defining characteristics of the category. Individuals possess a repertoire of discrete category memberships or social identities that vary in relative importance in the self-concept. These social identities both

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describe and prescribe individuals' attributes as a member of that group – what one should think and feel, and how one should behave. Thus, “when a specific social identity becomes the salient basis for self-regulation in a particular context, self-perception and conduct become in-group stereotypical and normative, perceptions of relevant out-group members become out-group stereotypical” (Hogg et al., 1995: 260; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

There is, however, an epistemological distinction between the concept of identity work and social identity theory. Identity work rests on the notion of social construction, which Watson (2008) suggests distinguishes it from the socio-psychological basis of the social identity theory approach, which conceptualizes the self as containing two separable elements of ‘personal identity’ and ‘social identity’. This epistemological distinction is reflected in the positivist approaches adopted in studies which underpin social identity theory, such as experiments (e.g., see Corneille et al., 2002).

Whilst identity work examines individuals' process of self-identity construction, social-identity theory considers more explicitly the external groups or social categories on which individuals draw to construct their self-concept. Indeed, Watson articulates this point when setting out his sociological notion of identity work – “this having at its centre an analytical distinction between people's ‘internal’ self-identities and the ‘external’ social-identities to which they relate (Watson, 2008: 123).

It is important to emphasize, however, that identity work does incorporate external processes. Watson conceptualizes it as a “coming together of inward/internal self-reflection and outward/external engagement – through talk and action – with various discursively available social-identities” (Watson, 2008: 130). Watson emphasizes that

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identity work is only possible when individuals draw on a multiplicity of available social identities, with social identities being seen as a “link or bridge between socially available discourses and self-identities” (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Watson, 2008: 121). For example, Watson notes that within various discourses of professionalism we would see social-identities such as ‘a lawyer’ that inform identity work. As such, there is some convergence between these two streams of research. Thus, many of the ideas of social-identity theory, such as ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ may have relevance for understanding aspects of identity work.

Self-categorization theory. Self-categorization theory (SCT) evolved from Tajfel's and Turner's (1979) social identity theory. Following Tajfel's death in 1982, Turner and colleagues sought to move beyond the intergroup focus of SIT and to also examine intra-group processes (Hornsey, 2008). Through a variety of texts and articles (e.g., Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner & Oakes, 1986), these scholars developed a separate theory of self-categorization to account for these intra-group processes.

In a departure from identity work's emphasis on discourse and narratives shaping identity, Turner and colleagues posit three levels of self-categorization that inform the self-concept. The first is the superordinate category of the self as human being (or human identity). The second is the intermediate level of the self as a member of a social in-group as defined against other groups of humans (social identity). The third is the subordinate level of personal self-categorizations based on interpersonal comparisons (personal identity) (Hornsey, 2008; Stets & Burke, 2000). Categorization is a function of relative accessibility, comparative fit and normative fit (Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). Turner

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later described accessibility as perceiver readiness, which reflects an individual's experiences, present expectations, and current motives, values, goals and needs that collectively inform their readiness to use particular categorizations (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Comparative fit describes how people are more likely to believe that a collection of stimuli represents a category to the degree that the differences between those stimuli are less than the differences between that collection of stimuli and the remaining stimuli (Turner et al., 1994). Normative fit describes the extent to which perceived representations of a category conform to the perceiver's knowledge-based expectations of a category. For example, "to categorize a group of people as Catholics as opposed to Protestants, they must not only differ ... from Protestants more than from one another (comparative fit) but must do so in the right direction on specific content dimensions of comparison" (Turner et al., 1994: 455). The central notion of categorization creating identities, as opposed to discourse and narratives, separates SCT from the concept of identity work.

Whilst SCT is distinct from SIT, the two theories share most of the same assumptions and methods, which emerge from the same ideological and meta-theoretical perspective (Hornsey, 2008). Indeed, these streams of identity research fall under the banner of the social identity approach. As such, many of the distinctions between the concept of identity work and SIT also apply to SCT. For instance, scholars of both SCT and SIT tend to adopt a more positivist approach to research as reflected in their use of experiments (e.g., Levine et al., 2002). In this way, SCT is distinct from the interpretivist underpinnings of identity work.

Whilst this sub-section has attempted to clarify the concept of identity work by drawing distinctions with other approaches to the study of identity, it is important to emphasize that there are significant commonalities. For example, all of these theories acknowledge that ‘self identities’ are social phenomena (Watson, 2008) and that any approach cannot treat the self as independent of and prior to society (Hogg et al., 1995). Furthermore, all of these approaches view the self as composed of multiple identities with varying degrees of salience. In contrast to many of these approaches discussed here, identity work is a nascent concept with its theorizing at a relatively early stage (Brown, 2014). As such, the potential exists to elaborate and extend the concept of identity work by considering many of the ideas within alternative streams of identity research.

2.2.2 Opportunities for identity work: Process and implications

This section demonstrates our limited understanding of the temporal processes and the implications of identity work. It argues that it is possible to develop this understanding by considering how identity work may intersect with other forms of work. This section highlights how identity work may interact with institutional work and emotion work as two promising avenues for further research.

A variety of scholars have emphasised the importance of identity work, particularly in terms of socialization within organizations or professions (Ibarra, 1999). Indeed, studies have demonstrated the importance of identity work for lawyers (Brown & Lewis, 2011), MBA students (Sturdy et al., 2006) and priests (Kreiner et al., 2006) amongst many others. Yet, as Brown (2014) points out in his survey of identity work, whilst scholars have drawn connections between identities and a whole host of

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phenomena, such as entrepreneurship and leadership, there is little consensus around the ‘generic’ processes of identity work.

In particular, whilst identity work necessarily involves a temporal aspect, we know little about the processes of identities in terms of time. Brown (2014): 5 notes that whilst identity work occurs in the present, it “must be understood in the context of the entire life course of individuals, and that identity crafting in the ‘now’ is connected strongly to past remembered and future projected selves.” In making this point, Brown cites McAdams (1993) and Ricoeur (1984). Both these authors suggest that narratives or stories of our lives are essential in understanding who we are. McAdams (1985): 11 suggest that we “seek to provide our scattered and often confusing experiences with a sense of coherence by arranging the episodes of our lives into stories.” Similarly, Ricoeur argued that because we all live in a temporal world, the process of constructing narratives – such as our self-narratives – help us to bring meaning to constant change. This ‘temporal continuity’ is vital to identity work (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Yet these temporal aspects of identity work have received little empirical attention in organization studies and warrant further attention.

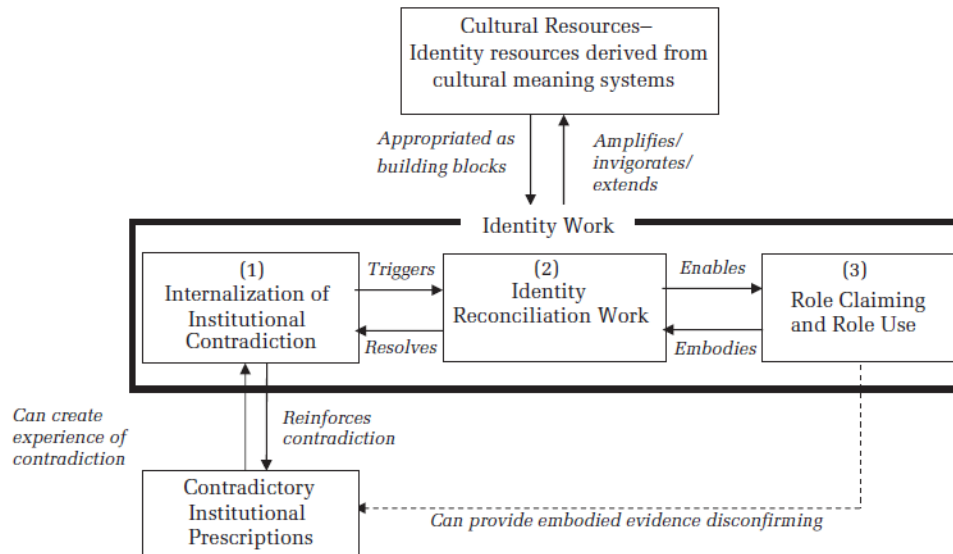
Some recent studies of identity have begun to examine the issue of time. Although at the level of collective identity, and not individual, Howard-Grenville et al. (2013) employ temporal bracketing over three periods to explain how identity reproduction and resurrection depend on interactive processes of resource mobilization and authentications of experience. Nonetheless, the trend of removing time from theoretical accounts within the field of organization studies (Langley, Smallman, Tsoukas, & Van de Ven, 2013), has meant that most identity theorizing does not explore temporality.

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The implications of individuals' ongoing identity work have only recently become a focus for empirical research. It is not surprising, then, that explorations of the relationship between identity work and institutional work are rare. One exception is Creed et al.'s (2010) investigation of ministers in two US Protestant denominations. They explored the relationship between ministers' personal identities and the established institution of the Anglican Church. Their work revealed how gay and lesbian Protestant church ministers experienced and internalized a contradiction as their churches prescribed a heterosexual orientation. This triggered the process of identity reconciliation work. This process describes how these ministers were able to maintain their sexual identity (as one identity resource) whilst, at the same time, preserving many of their churches religious traditions such as the tradition of inclusion (which provided a further, cultural or identity resource). This led the ministers to draw on their sexual identities to promote acceptance of different sexual orientations that their churches had typically opposed. Creed et al. (2010) found that "individuals' notions of who and what they are, accomplished through personal identity work, can act back on the institutional notions of who or what any individual might or should be, thus affecting institutional structure" (2010: 1356). This occurred through the roles the ministers claimed and used which could challenge and change the institutional logics of their churches. Figure 3 below demonstrates this process.

**FIGURE 3: Identity Work as an Enabler of Endogenous Change Agency by
Marginalized Insiders**

(Creed et al., 2010)



Nonetheless, Creed et al. (2010) note the tentative nature of their work and call for greater attention to be paid to explicate this process, particularly in terms of actual institutional change. Similarly, Lok's (2010) institutional focus on identity challenges Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) assumption that identity work is responsible only for the creation of new institutions. Lok suggests that future research should consider the role of identity across all categories of institutional work. Specifically, he calls for more research to support the "development of a comprehensive theory of the role of identity work in institutionalization processes" (Lok, 2010: 1331). While scholars have theorized that identity can change institutions or social structures (Watson, 2008), there is little empirical evidence of such implications of identity work. Thus, a key opportunity for this thesis is to ascertain the role of identity work in institutional work that accomplishes institutional change.

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A further and significant opportunity for future research is the examination of the emotional and internal implications of identity work. For example, Gill (2013) detailed how some management consultants felt acute status anxiety when they experienced contradictions during their elite identity work. In this way, identity work is not emotionally neutral (Beech, 2008). Indeed, numerous theorists in other streams of identity research have advanced the notion that identities and emotions are strongly related (Burke, 1991). However, little empirical research within organization studies has explored the link between identity work and emotional experiences or ‘emotion work.’ The call to understand how emotions and identities interact is consistent across almost all forms of identity research (Brown, 2000; Sheldon & Burke, 2000). Yet, the extant research tells us little about the emotions bound up in the processes identity work, especially in terms of institutional workers.

2.3 EMOTION

Given the variety of definitions of emotion that exist across multiple disciplines, this article adopts the broad and inclusive definition of an emotion as a subjective and transient feeling state (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman & Sturdy, 1999) with an identified cause or target (Grandey, 2008; Maitlis, Vogus, & Lawrence, 2013). Emotions are distinct from moods, which describe a state without a known cause that tend to be weaker in intensity than emotions.

To categorize and characterize specific emotions, scholars often employ the notions of arousal and valence (Grandey, 2008). Arousal refers to activation or being reactive to stimuli. For example, the emotion of fear prompts high levels of arousal whilst

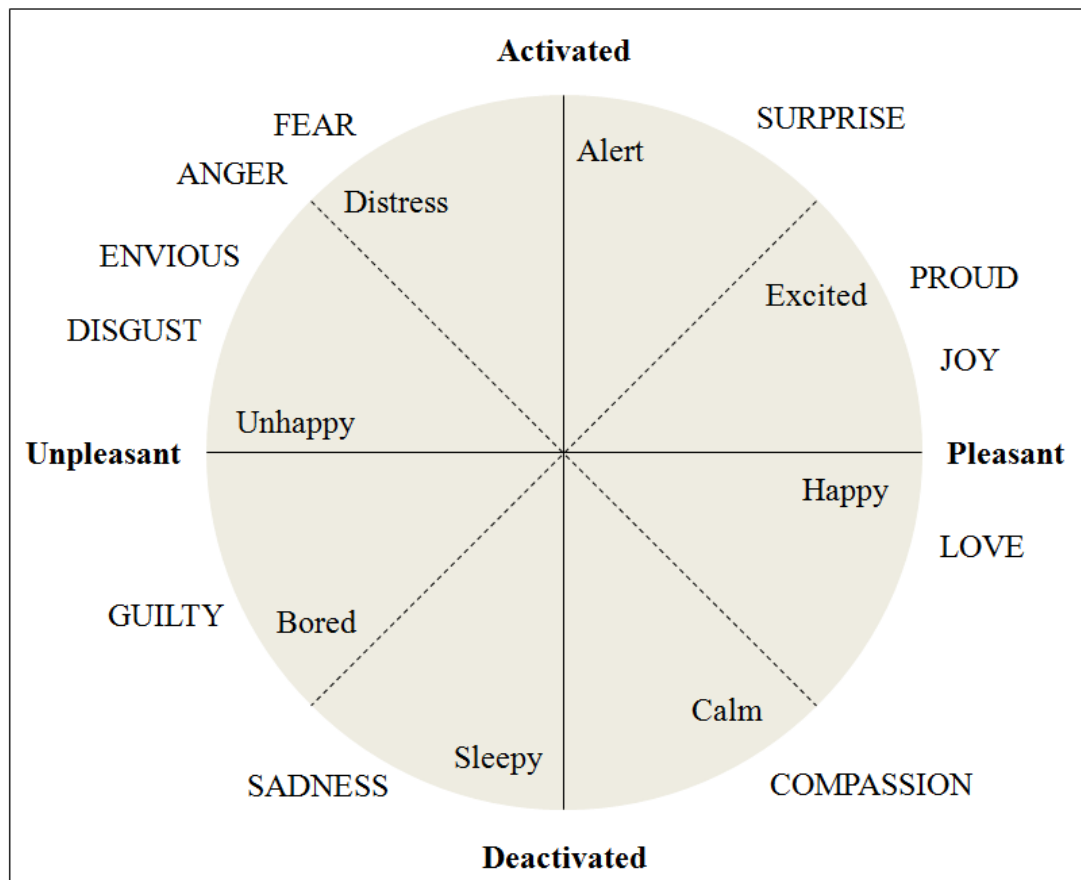
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compassion generates little arousal. Valence describes pleasantness, so, for instance, emotions often referred to as negative, such as fear, have negative valence whilst joy has positive valence.

Figure 4 below helps to clarify these ideas by categorizing individuals' emotional states or experienced affect. In the figure, the words inside the circle represent mood states while the words outside the circle represent prototypical emotions (similar emotions are closer together). The figure shows the pleasantness (valence) two-dimensional structure with straight lines; the activation (arousal) two-dimensional structure with dashed lines.

FIGURE 4: Conceptual Structure of Experienced Affect

(see Grandey, 2008: 237)



Scholars have only recently begun to theorize the role of emotions in various forms of work but suggest that they are intimately involved in both institutional work (Voronov & Vince, 2012) and identity work (Beech, 2008). Yet, few empirical studies examine how the processes of emotion ‘work’ may inform identities or institutions. Furthermore, there are very limited insights into how these three forms of work may interact. As such, this thesis seeks to examine these interactive processes.

2.3.1 Emotion work

Emotion work refers to the “act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling” (Hochschild, 1979: 561). This incorporates, but is not limited to, attempts to control or suppress emotions, as emotion work describes evoking or shaping feelings. *Evocation* of a desired feeling that is initially absent and *suppression* of an undesired feeling that is initially present are therefore two types of emotion work. More than merely stifling feelings, emotion work entails a cognitive focus on either desired or undesired feelings. In this way, an emotion is something that we ‘do’ and not simply as a product of biology. This sociological conception is in contrast to “the organismic model [that] defines emotion as mainly a biological process. For the early Freud, emotion (affect) is libidinal discharge, for Darwin it is instinct, and for James it is the perception of a psychological process” (Hochschild, 1983: 205). As such, the concept of emotion work suggests that emotions are not fixed or purely biological responses across all individuals. In line with this thesis’ sociologically grounded assumptions about institutions and identities, individuals can also ‘work’ on emotions.

In each case of emotion work, the “individual is conscious of a moment of ‘pinch,’ or discrepancy, between what one does feel and what one wants to feel (which is, in turn, affected by what one thinks one ought to feel in such a situation)” (Hochschild, 1979: 562). Emotion work may therefore occur as a form of obeisance to a given ideological stance and ‘lax’ emotion management may provide insights into to an ideology lapsed or rejected (Hochschild, 1979).

Emotion work is distinct from emotional labor, with the latter describing the “effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotions during

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interpersonal transactions” (Morris & Feldman, 1996: 987). Whilst emotion work entails the same act, it occurs in a private context. In contrast, individuals use emotional labour to create publicly observable displays that is often sold for a wage (Hochschild, 1983).

In defining the concept, Hochschild (1979) stresses that emotion work refers to effort and not the outcome, which may or may not be successful. This emphasis on effort and work, as opposed to outcomes, is also a focal point in the concepts of institutional work and identity work. Indeed, Phillips and Lawrence (2012) outline emotion work as one of fifteen different forms of work, alongside institutional work and identity work.

2.3.2 Self-conscious and social emotion work

Whilst varieties of different theoretical lenses conceive of emotions in different ways, many researchers suggest that there is a distinction between ‘basic’ emotions such as anger and love and social emotions such as guilt and shame (Jasper, 1998; Thoits, 1989). Guilt and shame are often described as social emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995) because they relate to social standards of conduct that were internalized during an individual’s early development (Payne & Cooper, 2001).

Guilt refers to a subjective emotional state that arises from “blaming ourselves for the adversity of others” (Payne & Cooper, 2001: 9) or transgressing a moral imperative (Grandey, 2008; Higgins, 1987). **Shame** refers to failing to live up to an ego ideal or possessing an unwanted identity (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000; Grandey, 2008; Payne & Cooper, 2001). In this way, guilt and shame are very similar emotional processes because both serve to maintain individuals’ attachments to others within social environments (O'Connor, Berry, Weiss, Bush, & Sampson, 1997). However, they remain distinct as

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“shame involves feeling that one has been lowered in the esteem of others because one has disappointed them by failing to accomplish their hopes and wishes for one, whereas guilt involves feeling that one has broken one's own rules concerning how one ought to conduct one's life” (Higgins, 1987: 323).

More pleasant social emotions also serve to support social structures. For instance, **pride** can be conceptualized as the opposite emotion to guilt and refers to taking credit for a valued object or achievement of self or group (Grandey, 2008). As such, pride can often reward normative and moral conduct (Shott, 1979). These social emotions of guilt and pride are also known as self-conscious emotions, as they relate to our cognitive ability to reflect on our sense of self and our consciousness of others' reactions to us (Lewis, 1993). In this way, social emotions both reflect and support our social institutions.

Significant psychological research details the strategies people employ to evoke or suppress social emotions, referred to here as social emotion work. For instance, Baumeister, Stillwell, and Heatherton (1994): 259 outline several different strategies used to suppress feelings of guilt. Some individuals derogate their victims to remove any sense of fellow feeling – ‘de-humanizing’ the victim. Some individuals may focus on the subjective interpretation of the event rather than on the interpersonal relationship – ‘deconstructing’ the incident. A related form of deconstruction is temporal bracketing, which describes treating a prior transgression as an isolated incident unrelated to ongoing issues in one's life or to one's identity. One further example is minimizing the consequences of one's actions or emphasizing mitigating circumstances – ‘denial of intentionality’.

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Some scholars have suggested that the self-conscious emotions of shame, guilt, and pride are the most commonly identified and studied (e.g., Maitlis et al., 2013: 12). Perhaps this is because these emotions drive people to behave in appropriate ways and to work hard in tasks (Tracy, Robins, & Tangney, 2007: 4) that are particularly visible. Indeed, the experience of guilt has been associated with a desire to rectify or repair inequities and redistribute emotional stress (Baumeister et al., 1994). Social emotions are therefore important because they can motivate, and sometimes dictate, individuals' actions. Psychologists have long emphasised that social emotions influence social behaviour (McDougall, 2013). Similarly, sociologists insist that emotions "are a core part of action and decisions" (Jasper, 2011: 298) and that shame or guilt can motivate social change (Jasper, 1998). Social emotions are therefore crucially involved in the structure and change of whole societies (see Scheff, 2000). It seems reasonable to believe, then, that social emotions play a crucial role in the composition of organizations and institutions. Yet institutional scholars know little about how people 'work' on these social emotions or the associated implications for institutional work, and these questions represent a key focus for this thesis.

2.3.3 Social emotion work and institutional work

Despite significant attention in cognate disciplines, organizational research has traditionally neglected emotionality (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Sturdy, 2003) and been inattentive to the emotional subtext of organizations (Domagalski, 1999). Scholars suggest that this neglect reflects organization studies separation of emotional processes from cognitive processes and its emphasis on rationality (Fineman, 1998). The omission

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of emotionality also extends to institutional scholarship. As Creed et al. (2010) point out, institutional scholars frequently portray institutions as rational, rhetorical or strategic achievements rather than an emotional ones (e.g., Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

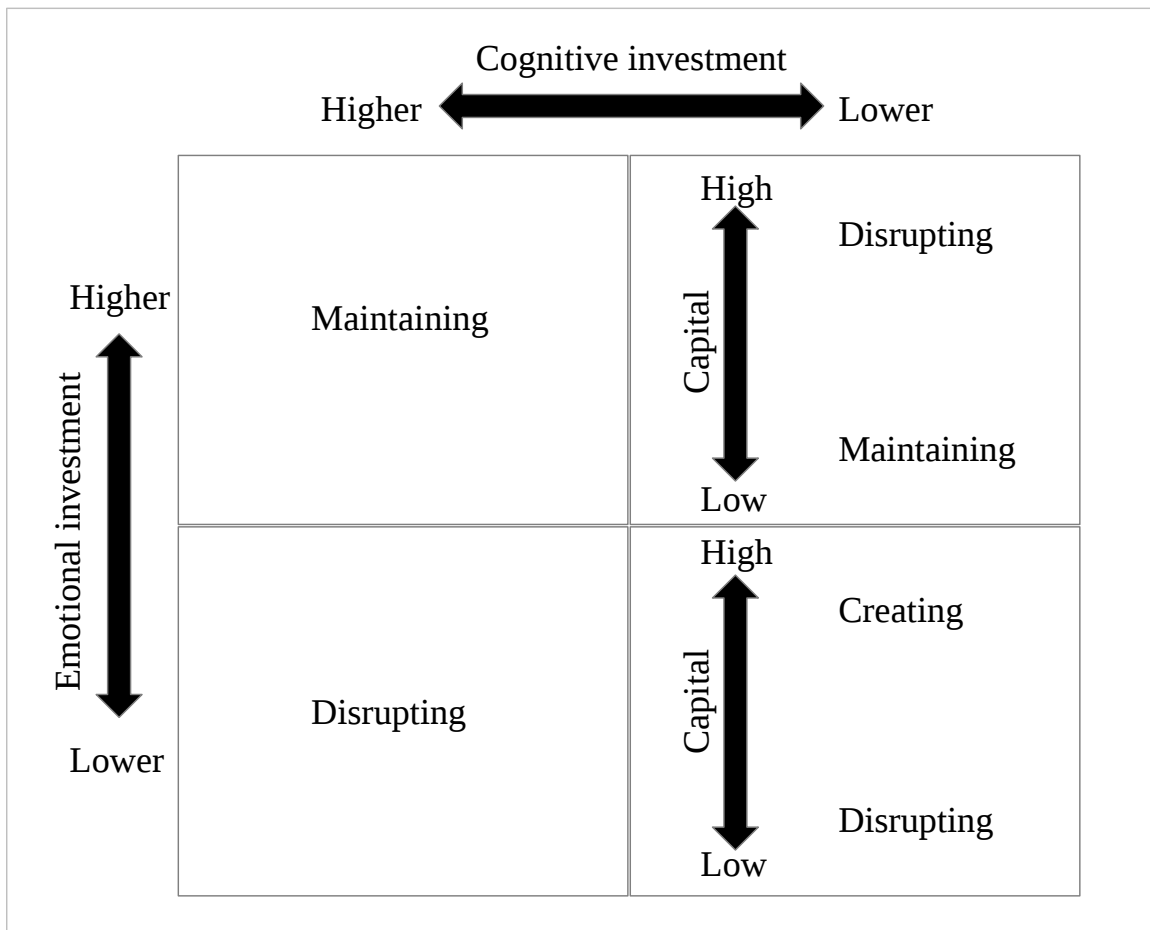
Reflecting the broader institutional scholarship, institutional work has also tended to emphasize the cognitive and strategic. Nonetheless, the concept of institutional work is amenable to the study of self-conscious emotions. For instance, Lawrence and Suddaby suggest that to understand the effect of actions on institutions, researchers should “highlight the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors” and recognize that institutions are constituted in “conscious action of individual and collective actors” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 219; Lawrence et al., 2011). Given that social emotions relate to our cognitive ability to reflect on our sense of self and our consciousness of others’ reactions to us, institutional work lends itself to the study of emotional experiences even if it has not frequently done so.

Recent institutional research has begun to re-focus away from simplistic considerations of actors as boundedly rational ‘cognitive misers’ (Jackson, 2009) to incorporate more emotional and nuanced considerations. Several scholars contend that emotions may operate across the institutional pillars of regulative, normative, and cognitive processes (DiMaggio, 1997; Scott, 2008a) and that institutional life is sustained through “moments of located passion” (Friedland, 2013: 44). Creed et al. (2014) also theorized the importance of shame in the process of institutional work. Advancing such ideas, Voronov and Vince (2012) theorized that creative forms of institutional work may only be possible when individuals possess lower levels of both cognitive and emotional investment in institutional arrangements. In contrast, higher levels of cognitive and

emotional investment serve to maintain existing institutional arrangements – see figure 5 below.

FIGURE 5: Typology of Interactions between Emotional and Cognitive Investment and Capital

(Voronov & Vince, 2012)



Whilst Voronov and Vince's contention appears reasonable, there is a lack of empirical evidence to substantiate their claims. Although several studies refer to emotions (e.g., Toubiana, 2012), there is little empirical research that examines explicitly the

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relationship between emotions and institutional work. Furthermore, examining Voronov and Vince's (2012) idea of emotional investment is difficult as it tends to consider all emotions collectively, thereby theorizing the role of emotion rather than of discrete emotions. As scholars (Creed et al., 2014: 279; Scheff, 2000) note, discussing emotions in such broad and general terms relies on rarified abstractions, whereas researchers are better able to understand specific felt emotions because they are "more able to identify differences in their origins, objects, appearances, and trajectories". This thesis shares this belief, particularly as it is likely to support more focused investigations of emotions and illuminate different emotional processes.

One empirical study of particular emotions in an institutional context, although the authors did not describe it as such, is Creed et al.'s (2010) examination of how several Protestant ministers experienced shame as a result of the contradictions between their gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) sexual orientation and their churches' traditions. Little empirical research beyond this study examines how particular emotions connect to institutional work or institutions. Given that a central task in the study of emotion is to ascertain discrete emotions (Keltner, 1996), particularly in organizational research (Brief & Weiss, 2002), identifying the role of specific emotions is a significant opportunity for studies of institutional work. As Voronov (2014) points out, if institutional scholars are seeking to understand how people experience various institutional arrangements (Suddaby, 2010), then acknowledging the role of emotions in these processes becomes increasingly important.

Furthermore, the potential of micro-level social emotional experiences to prompt institutional work that may produce actual social macro-level institutional change

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remains unclear and has received scant attention (Creed et al., 2010). As Voronov (2014): 181 suggests the “study of emotions may offer an opportunity for institutional scholars to gain genuine insights into how people engage with institutions and how they change their agentic orientation.”

Whilst there is a limited pool of institutional work scholarship that considers emotions, almost all of the extant theoretical and empirical studies point to the importance of identity in understanding emotional experiences (Creed et al., 2010; Voronov & Vince, 2012). For instance, Creed et al. (2014) suggests that an individual's identity acts as a source of the shame that underpins institutional reproduction. In this way, this thesis holds that emotion work and identity work are likely to be interconnected, intertwined and perhaps inseparable for the individual. Thus, this thesis anticipates that an understanding of the connection between emotions and institutions will incorporate an appreciation of the relationship between identities and emotions.

2.3.4 Social emotion work and identity work

Emotions often reflect an individual's central, salient, and valued identity (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). An identity is an individual's subjectively constructed narrative or understanding of who they were (Brown, 2014) and is intimately involved in the experience of emotions. Indeed, Giddens (1991) asserts that it is self-identity that makes the experience of guilt and shame possible as individuals worry about the adequacy of their own narrative. For this thesis, therefore, an appreciation of emotions requires an appreciation of identities.

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Many sociological theorists have posited that the process of identity construction plays a crucial role in the experience of emotions. For instance, Burke (1991) suggests that the more individuals define themselves in terms of their organization or work, the more distress they will feel if they are unable to fulfill related obligations. This is because failures interrupt the continuous verification of one's social identity. Burke's work has inspired many further empirical studies (Marcussen, 2006; Stets & Carter, 2011) demonstrating links between disruptions to identity and different emotional outcomes ranging from anxiety to guilt. These studies suggest that identity discrepancies produce certain emotions that serve to reduce tensions and preserve the social structures within which their identities exist (Stets & Burke, 2005).

Management scholars have begun to theorize the importance of identity for emotions. For example, Alvesson and Willmott (2002): 626 theorized that when the sense of 'being myself' becomes unsettled, or when individuals experience a sense of contradiction in terms of their identity, "feelings of tension, anxiety, shame or guilt arise." Although limited in number, recent empirical studies have corroborated and elaborated this thesis within an institutional context (Creed et al., 2010). Whilst not an institutional study, Maitlis et al. (2013) also suggest that identity and emotions are closely connected and that individuals' emotional reactions to events provide them with the energy to engage in sense-making, which effect their identities. These studies note that identities have powerful implications for individuals' behaviours and feelings (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006) and that emotions intertwine individuals' identity work.

In this way, there is an "intrinsic connection between emotions and self-identity" and the analysis of emotional processes can also be taken as an analysis of identity

processes (Yang, 2000: 594). Yet, recent institutional scholarship has tended to examine emotions and identities as independent concepts, seldom paying attention to their interaction and collaborative effect on institutions. Indeed, Voronov and Vince (2012): 74 note that future research into emotions could examine identity as the “tensions between aspired to and ascribed identities may motivate different forms of institutional work”.

2.4 PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONALS

This section demonstrates why this thesis’ focus on professionals is appropriate to examine the interaction of the concepts of institutional work, identity work and emotion work. It does so by highlighting that professionals often perform institutional work. Furthermore, it details how professions may produce specific identities and particular emotions.

It is important to begin by defining the terms ‘profession’, ‘professional’ and ‘professionalism’ that have become ubiquitous in modern society. Indeed, clear and consistent definitions are vital because, as Freidson (1994): 169 argues, “much of the debate about professionalism is clouded by unstated assumptions and inconsistent and incomplete usages.” As a folk or general concept, a profession refers to full-time paid work that requires task proficiency and often includes a degree of prestige (Leicht & Fennell, 2001). Such criteria, however, are applicable to countless forms of work and do not help to distinguish professions from countless other occupations.

For a more precise definition of a profession, this research draws on Andrew Abbott’s (1988a) sociological research into the system of professions. Towards the end of his book, Abbott (1988a: 318) wrote:

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“Finally, many will feel that I have dodged the central and classic problem of defining my fundamental term itself. What is a profession? But as I argued in the first chapter, a firm definition of profession is both unnecessary and dangerous; one needs only a definition strong enough to support one’s theoretical machinery. My loose definition – professions are somewhat exclusive groups of individuals applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases – works well enough.”

Although a ‘loose definition,’ Abbott (1988a): 8 provides a more nuanced interpretation of professions than folk or general definitions. Indeed, Abbott convincingly posits that it is the control of the abstract systems of knowledge, which generates particular skills or techniques, which characterize professions. This is similar to Freidson’s (1994: 10) interpretation of a profession as an “occupation that controls its own work.” By controlling the abstractions that govern a knowledge system, a profession can re-define its tasks, thus separating it from occupations in general. For example, professions can seize new problems as “medicine has recently seized alcoholism, mental illness, hyper-activity in children” (Abbott, 1988a: 9). Therefore, law is also a profession as it can control the abstractions that inform its tasks and can seize new problems such as pharmaceutical or technological patent disputes.

Professionals are, by extension, those individuals with the expertise to undertake the tasks or perform the skills generated by their profession. Freidson (1994) offers a helpful conception of professionalism by describing it as the ideology of expertise, or expert knowledge, that sustains a profession. This is useful because it suggests that there is a particular way of thinking or acting as a professional. The notion of professional groups sharing an ideology is also suggestive of homogeneous values and viewpoints (Evans, 2008) and links to Freidson’s (2001) description of a shared identity within

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particular professional communities (see Empson, 2004). However, the content of a profession's ideology - or the meaning of professionalism – is not static. As Cooper et al.'s (1996) study of law firms demonstrated, professionalism develops to reflect changing cultural values, such as the importance of commercial success and being businesslike. In this way, the continually developing discourse of professionalism can induce identity work (Kosmala & Herrbach, 2006) but can also be the target of institutional work.

2.4.1 Professional institutional work

Earlier streams of institutional scholarship recognized that professionals were intimately involved in the institutionalization process (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Indeed, Professional Service Firms (PSFs) have played a valuable role in the development of institutional theory due to their 'highly institutionalized' settings (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002). Whilst there is organizational variation between professions (Malhotra & Morris, 2009), the PSFs within each profession are highly institutionalized in the sense that they draw on mature and established templates of legitimate organizational form with stable boundaries of occupational and professional communities (Lawrence, 1999). Indeed, scholars have described professionals as 'institutional agents' (Scott, 2008b). The legal profession has received particular attention from institutional researchers who have highlighted the prominent institutional features present within law firms such as billing practices (e.g., Empson, 2007).

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that scholars have identified professionals as one occupational group that frequently engage in institutional work (see Lawrence et al.,

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2013). One example, amongst many, is professionals employing institutional work to protect their power, as in the case of doctors in the National Health Service in the United Kingdom (Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012). Suddaby and Viale (2011) suggest that professionals are key drivers of institutional change as professionalization projects are inherently associated with projects of institutionalization. To explicate this change they posit “four distinct and sequential mechanisms through which professionals and professionalization projects help shape organizational fields” (Suddaby & Viale, 2011: 428):

1. Professionals define a new uncontested space; professionals initiate institutional change as an inherent component of redefining their own professional projects
2. Professionals populate the new space with new actors; processes of professionalization tend to generate new types of actors or legitimate formerly marginalized actors into dominant roles
3. Professionals promulgate new rule systems that redefine the boundaries of organizational fields; by expanding their knowledge base and their jurisdiction, professionals’ efforts reverberate throughout the social and organizational fields within which they are situated
4. Professionals manage the reproduction of professional capital; professionals use their unique access to social, cultural and symbolic capital to change the social order within a field, employing rhetoric and categorization strategies.

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This thesis' examination of professionals performing institutional work could develop insights into this process through a consideration of how identity work and emotion work play a part in each stage.

The trend of situating institutional research in professional settings continues with the recent work of Micelotta and Washington (2013). Their work examined how two Italian professional associations rebuffed the intervention of the Italian Government to reform the professional service sector. Their study thereby demonstrated the role of maintenance and repair work to preserve and reinforce institutional arrangements. The authors point out that the repair process entails different types of work that are to some extent interrelated but that “the extent to which these types of work are sequentially or temporally interconnected has been overlooked” (Micelotta & Washington, 2013: 1159). Similarly, scholars urge further research to address the ‘scant attention’ toward how professionals’ work affects institutional processes (Daudigeos, 2013). As such, professionals provide an appropriate context in which to explore how particular forms of institutional work may interact with other forms of work.

2.4.2 Professional identity work

Professional identity is an individual’s self-definition as a member of a profession (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt & Dutton, 2000). As such, a broader personal or self-identity embeds a professional identity (Slay & Smith, 2011) and is one of the multiple social identities an individual holds.

The importance of the concept of professional identity lies in the assumption that “who we think we are influences what we do, i.e. there is a link between professional

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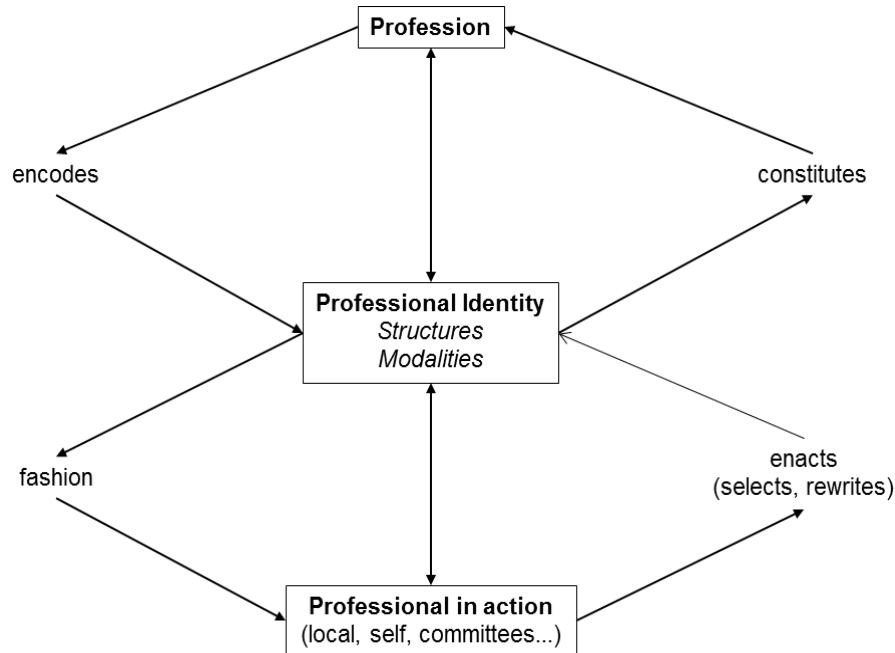
identity and professional action (in a sense, professional action is doing professional identity)” (Watson, 2006: 510). A professional identity depends on a professional role (Barley, 1989), where enacting a role gives rise to certain beliefs and norms (Ashforth, 2001). A profession, as an institution, provides the scripts from which individual professionals draw to form the knowledge that informs their action (Hotho, 2008).

Although there is a variety of research exploring work roles and identities, professional roles and identities have received little attention. “Theorists have largely ignored the micro (often individual) level at which professional identities, talents and attributes are constructed and reproduced” (Suddaby & Viale, 2011: 431). Similarly, Chreim et al. (2007): 1517 note research that does address professional identities “generally demonstrate a macro sociological perspective and tend to ignore the individual dynamics associated with professional role identity reconstruction.” Consequently, dynamic and nuanced considerations of identity construction for professionals are lacking (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006). Moreover, the recursive relationship of a professional identity and a professional institution has received scant attention. Addressing this gap is important as it likely to support the development of a more sophisticated understanding of embedded professional institutional workers that provides an antidote to overly deterministic accounts of their actions.

Hotho (2008) produced a first, tentative step in explicating the relationship between situational social practice (human agency) and macro-level phenomena (social structure) for professionals. As displayed in figure 6 below, Hotho draws on Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory to argue that medical professionals reproduce and modify the structures that shape their action by using and rewriting scripts of their profession.

FIGURE 6: Mapping Recursive Relationships of Professional Identity

(Hotho, 2008)



Further studies that examine both the identity processes of professionals and the effect (and affect) of these identity constructions are likely to illuminate the recursive relationship between identities and institutions. This is therefore a key focus of this thesis.

2.4.3 Professional emotion work

Whilst different forms of professional work exist (institutional-, identity-, and emotion-work), each form has received different degrees of attention. As detailed in earlier sections, scholars have documented a variety of the institutional work of professionals

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but only a small amount of their identity work. Studies of the emotion work of professionals are even more limited in the field of management and organization studies.

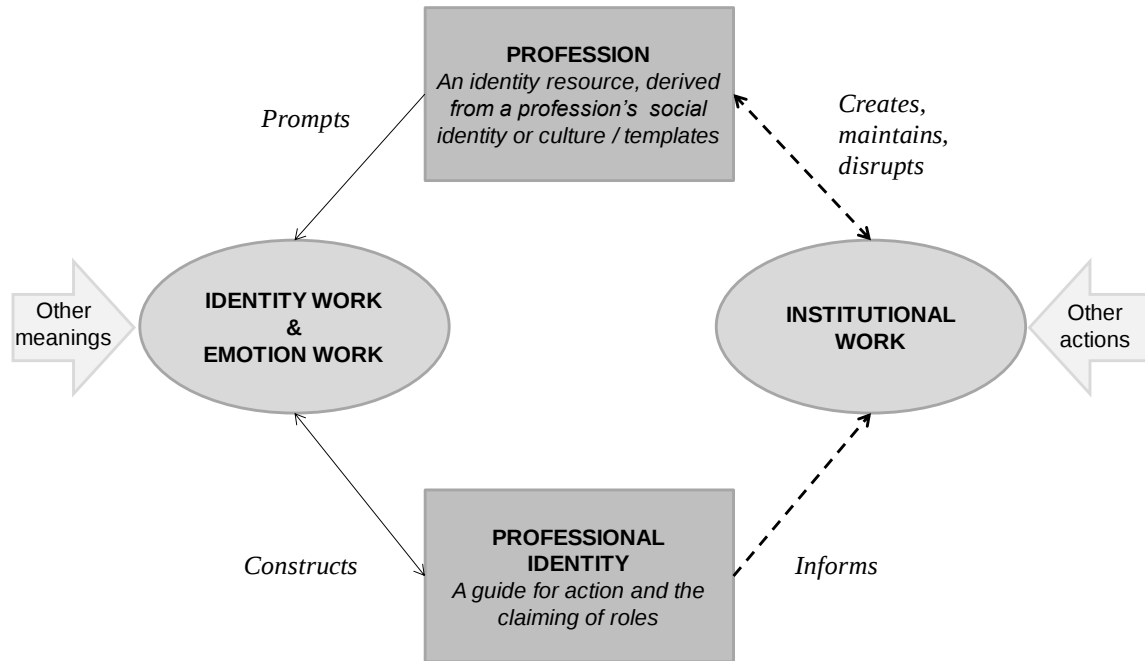
The absence of such studies may reflect the stigma surrounding the expression of emotions in the workplace (Haslam et al., 2005). Indeed, in one of the few investigations of professionals' emotional processes, Gill (2013) described how professional management consultants perceived the discussion of emotions like anxiety as 'career limiting.' This study also demonstrated how emotional experiences operate in conjunction with the processes of professional identity work. Moreover, the study touched on how these two forms of work, collectively, may sustain particular working practices. This is similar to Creed et al.'s (2010) identification of the emotional identity work that is involved in institutional work. Both these studies highlight the need for further research to understand how emotional work may interact and intersect with other forms of work, particularly in a professional setting. This thesis seeks to meet this important yet overlooked research opportunity.

2.5 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

A conceptual model is a visual or written presentation that describes how a study engages with and contributes to existing theories and concepts (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Such models, or frameworks, are useful because they support the identification of specific theoretical gaps and the development of associated research questions. The conceptual model in figure 7 below draws heavily from the preceding literature review and is what Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to as rudimentary

framework. The model is designed to provide an initial focus and to iteratively develop and direct the research in light of ongoing observations (Suddaby, 2006).

FIGURE 7: Preliminary Conceptual Model



The conceptual model suggests that long-standing professional practices, as an institution, are one resource from which professionals can derive a sense of self and construct an individual identity (Chreim et al., 2007). Indeed, one of the tenants of institutional theory is that individuals are embedded in, and shaped by, their institutional environment. Identity work mediates the process of identity construction, whereby an individual may identify or dis-identify with a range of other meanings (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Lok, 2010; Watson, 2008). For example, individuals employed in the legal profession may also draw on a unique assortment of other salient meanings, such as

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those provided by family or employing organization, to construct their professional identity. Emotion work may also inform this process, particularly when there is a disparity between how a professional feels and how they want to feel (Hochschild, 1979).

Whilst institutional scholars have begun to examine how institutions (the macro) influence individuals and their identities and emotions (the micro), there is little insight as to how these micro processes inform the macro (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that institutions could change when actors disconfirm institutionalized identities. Creed et al. (2010) study lends some empirical support to this notion by suggesting that individuals' identity constructions enable them to claim certain roles and perform particular actions that can inform their institutional environment. Similarly, Watson (2008) suggested that through personal identity work actors could influence their institutionally prescribed social identities. In this way, individuals' notions of who and what they are, accomplished through personal identity work, can act back on the institutional notions of who or what any individual might or should be, thus affecting institutional structure (e.g., Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003).

The model acknowledges that the actions that stem from an individual's professional identity work and emotion work do not necessarily create or transform institutions. As Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define institutional work as the action of individuals and organizations, there will numerous other actors and actions that collectively create, maintain or disrupt institutions. Nonetheless, just as a profession is one input into an individual's identity work, a professional identity is one input into institutional work. However, the mechanisms through which this process occurs are unclear. As Creed et al. (2010): 1358 posit, the questions of whether and how the micro-

processes of identity work can “bring about actual institutional change need to be addressed in future research.” The processes that enable a professional identity to shape a professional institution, producing a recursive relationship, are therefore the focus of this research as indicated by the dotted lines.

2.6 CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

A central or overarching research question emerged from the preceding literature review, which asks ‘how do the micro-processes of professionals’ identity work and associated emotion work contribute to their institutional work?’ In other words, the research asks how lawyers’ identity constructions and intertwined emotional experiences may, in part, reciprocally create, maintain, or disrupt the institution of the legal profession. Three subordinate research questions separate this central question into specific and actionable areas of investigation. These questions intend to support the theoretical and empirical development of emotion, identity and institutional scholarship.

1. How do professionals ascribe meaning to and construct their professional identity when engaging in institutional work?

As the central research question asks how identity constructions can influence institutions, it is important to establish the nature of professionals’ identity constructions. Therefore, this first sub question necessitates a consideration of the processes through which lawyers draw on meanings and values to construct their professional sense of self, such as salient customs and traditions within the English legal profession. This question seeks to understand individuals’ sense of being a lawyer at a micro-level, through identity

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work, of what it *means* to be a professional. This question directly addresses Powell and Colyvas (2008) and Suddaby and Viale's (2011) call for greater attention to everyday identity processes of the existing members of an institutional field and is integral to addressing the broader research question.

2. Why do professionals enact or perform particular professional identities within an institutional field?

This question explores why professionals' identity constructions motivate them to claim specific roles and to perform particular actions. Purposeful action is central to institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) and therefore it is necessary to discern why lawyers' professional identities may inform their activities. That is, why do particular identity constructions become *meaningful*? As discussed earlier, the literature suggests that emotional experiences accompany identity constructions (Beech, 2008; Burke, 1991) and that these emotions may drive effort (Jasper, 2011). This question considers the under-explored notion that the emotions, which intertwine identities, have a significant impact on the ways in which professionals act or interact (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006), within an institutional field.

3. How does the enactment of a professional identity help to create, maintain, or disrupt professional institutions?

This question considers how the particular actions that stem from lawyers' professional identities may shape their envioning institutional practices. This final question therefore attempts to connect micro-level motivations to macro phenomena by examining changes

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to institutional arrangements or professional social structures. Whilst Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) suggest that the construction of identities support the creation of institutions, Creed et al. (2010) argue that individuals' identities may simultaneously change and preserve the integrity of an institution. As such, this research question remains sensitive to the idea that certain actions that both disrupt and maintain a profession. It intends to unravel the complex role of identity within institutional work and responds to calls to provide an understanding of the mechanisms of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2011). In particular, it seeks to understand how identity and emotions may generate the motivation necessary for individuals to pursue institutional work and ultimately accomplish institutional change.

The collective intention of these three research questions is to contribute to the field of institutional work by building on the very limited studies which have tentatively developed links between emotion work, identity work and the processes by which individuals maintain or change institutions (Creed et al., 2010; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lok, 2010). In particular, it addresses the under-researched recursiveness between professionals and their profession (Hotho, 2008) from the bottom up. A consideration of professionals' identities and emotions will shed light on the micro-foundations that inform the macro structures of professional institutions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY – ASSUMPTIONS AND APPROACH

This chapter outlines the assumptions of the research philosophy that underpins this thesis. Reflecting on these assumptions, it justifies the selection of a qualitative research design to address the research question (i.e., to examine how the micro-processes of identity work and emotion work contribute to institutional work). A consideration of various qualitative research strategies highlights the suitability of a case study and overarching grounded theory methodology to address multi-level research that considers both individuals and institutions. The chapter then details the process of fieldwork, including sampling and the collection of document, interview and observation data relating to a charitable legal organization. The chapter ends by explicating the analytical process of this study, which facilitates the development of substantive grounded theory and an associated theoretical framework.

3.1. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND PARADIGM

Underpinning this research is a set of epistemological and ontological assumptions. It is important to delineate these philosophical assumptions to ensure that they are commensurate with the chosen research approach. Several authors have argued that researchers' assumptions have direct implications for methodological choices and the conduct of research (Bryman, 2004; Crotty, 1998). Perhaps the most notable of these are Burrell and Morgan (1979) who organized existing social theories into four research paradigms, each with inherent assumptions and appropriate methodologies. Burrell and Morgan's work has been subject to a variety of criticisms (e.g., Deetz, 1996; Willmott,

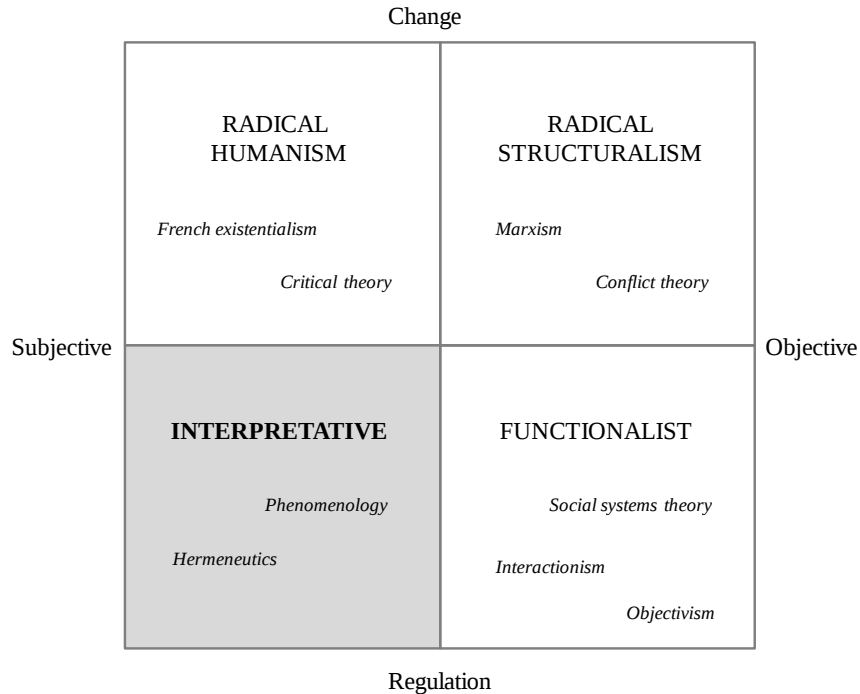
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1993), particularly in terms of their assertion of the incommensurable nature of the paradigms and for boxing theorists into positions (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). This researcher has some sympathy for these criticisms and shares the view of Schultz and Hatch (1996) that the interplay, though not integration, of paradigms can provide new perspectives, despite a variety of barriers (see Bryman, 2007).

Nonetheless, Burrell and Morgan provide a framework with which researchers can clarify their assumptions within four research paradigms: functionalism, interpretivism, radical structuralism, and radical humanism (see figures 8 below - this thesis' selections are shaded in grey). This research situates itself within an interpretivist paradigm and there follows a consideration of the phenomenological assumptions that underpin interpretive approaches and a brief discussion of the researcher's associated ontological and epistemological assumptions.

FIGURE 8: Four Sociological Paradigms and Associated Theories¹¹

(Adapted from Burrell and Morgan, 1979)



3.1.1 Phenomenological foundations of interpretive approaches

Phenomenological philosophy and its focus on lived experience underlies the tradition of interpretivism. Phenomenology is a philosophical movement and refers to the study of phenomena, where a phenomenon is anything that appears to someone in their conscious experience (Moran, 2000). Whilst a variety of philosophers have advanced and developed phenomenology, most forms of phenomenology draw principally from the work of Edmund Husserl or Martin Heidegger. Given the large amount of literature that discusses

¹¹Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigms are organized by two dimensions. First, an ontological continuum with two ends: objective and subjective. Second, the nature of society, which ranges from regulation to change. Regulation focuses on social order and cohesiveness in society whilst change refers to the study of domination and conflict.

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their ideas (e.g., Holt & Sandberg, 2011), the aim of this brief section is to acknowledge these two philosophers' profound influence on the research approach of this study.

Edmund Husserl is the putative founder of phenomenological philosophy. His work in the early 1900s centred on investigating the essence of individuals' experiences by examining how individuals subjectively understood their world (Husserl, 2001, 2012). Husserl's focus on the individual consciousness inspired many other thinkers, notably Alfred Schütz. Schütz developed a critical synthesis of Husserl's phenomenology and Max Weber's sociological understanding to create a philosophical basis for the social sciences (Schütz, 1999). Though a number of Schütz's concepts exist (e.g., the lifeworld, provinces of meaning and relevance), intersubjective knowledge is recognised as central to his work (Calhoun, Joseph, James, Steven, & Indermohan, 2007). There are two key ontological assumptions that underpin his notion of inter-subjectivity: i) that reality is comprised of shared meanings created during individuals' interaction with one another, and ii) that there is a natural reality not dependent on us, upon which these interactions take place (Schutz, 1966). Schütz's ideas were further developed by two of his students, Peter Ludwig Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Their seminal work '*The Social Construction of Reality*' (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), has become a mainstay of much social and organizational research and is central to this thesis in terms of epistemological assumptions.

Martin Heidegger's phenomenological work has also been central to the development of interpretive research approaches. Heidegger posited that interpretation is not a choice but an integral aspect of research (Heidegger, 1988, 1996). As Dreyfus (1991) notes in his reading of Heidegger's work, Heidegger introduced the hermeneutic

method into modern philosophy by explicating the necessity of interpretation in the study of 'human being'. Heidegger suggested that individuals are "always already in an environing world" (Heidegger, 1988: 164) meaning that everyone exists in a culturally and historically conditioned environment from which they cannot step outside. Existence is always set against a background that contextualises experience. In this way, an individual's culture and traditions influence their understanding of an experience. As such, Heidegger challenges the notion that we can ever be free of assumptions arguing that an "interpretation is never a presuppositionless apprehending of something to us" (1996: 141). Heidegger's interpretive approach to studying human existence denies the possibility of fully detached reflection and has informed the interpretive assumptions that are central to organization studies today (Holt & Sandberg, 2011). The ideas of these phenomenological philosophers underpin the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the research.

3.1.2 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Ontological questions consider the form and nature of reality. Burrell and Morgan (1979) conceptualize ontology as a continuum with two ends: objective and subjective. In line with phenomenological assumptions, this researcher adopts a subjectivist ontology, asserting that truth is socially constructed and relative to the knower (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This belief views meaning as constructed through human interaction and that the social reality individuals experience does not always correspond with objective description. This is because objectivity often requires trying to explain an event or experience as separate from its contextual setting (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Critics of

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this perspective cite the failure of social construction to account for natural facts (see Holstein & Miller, 1993). This researcher assumes a ‘weak’ version of social constructionism (Burr, 1995) and accepts that natural facts like a mountain exist independently of and shape social constructions. Nonetheless, in the opinion of this researcher, there is not an entirely objective social world but a largely subjective one constantly undergoing construction.

These ontological beliefs have profound implications for epistemological assumptions or the nature of knowledge. In rejecting an objective social world, this researcher holds an interpretive epistemology whereby researchers are not observers but interpreters of meaning. As such, this research requires the adoption of inductive reasoning where the researcher can generate or develop a pattern of meaning shared by participants. Inductive researchers tend to draw upon qualitative data as they begin with observations instead of hypotheses (Tucker, Powell, & Meyer, 1995) and often explore complex or unknown phenomena (Maxwell, 1996). Given the exploratory nature of the research questions, this thesis is guided toward a qualitative investigation with a design that seeks to interpret the experiences of individuals (Creswell, 2003) in a context-specific setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

This researcher views quantitative and qualitative research as two distinct groups of research strategy and as different orientations to the conduct of social research (O'Connor, 1999). Interpretive and qualitative approaches are subject to criticisms, and in particular, their inability to provide causal explanations or generalizable data, which can be statistically analysed (Silverman, 2001). However, this is to misunderstand the role of qualitative research, which can help researchers understand how individuals construct

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and experience their social world. Unlike quantitative researchers, who perform tests of prediction and control, qualitative researchers endeavour to understand their objects of interest (Lindlof, 1995). In this way, qualitative approaches possess a different set of assumptions about research purposes (Charmaz, 2000) and are suitable for the specific research questions.

Whilst the assumptions of this researcher, and therefore this study, lend themselves to qualitative research, it is also important to note that many scholars of the topics under study (institutions, identity and emotion) have employed qualitative research approaches. For example, qualitative approaches are common in developing interpretative accounts of institutional processes (Zilber, 2006). The identity work literature is replete with examples of qualitative research approaches. For instance, Thornborrow and Brown (2009) examined the identity work of paratroopers within the British Parachute Regiment through rich interview and observation data (see also Watson, 2009). Indeed, the process of identity work does not lend itself to measurement or quantification given its complex meaning (Harding, 2008). Similarly, scholars of emotions have also employed qualitative case studies, such as Hunter (2004) who examined the emotion work of midwives. As such, this study selects a qualitative approach, as it is apposite to the assumptions and suitable to needs of this research.

3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

This section introduces a case study and grounded theory research design to address the needs of the research and as the most appropriate choice from a range of qualitative strategies. At a practical level, research requires appropriate methodologies or strategies,

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which specify how to conduct research. Crotty (1998): 3 defines methodology as “the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes.”

Researchers have suggested different numbers and types of strategies (Creswell, 1998; Tesch, 1990; Wolcott, 2001). Whilst there is no authoritative basis for any collection (Creswell, 2003), it is beyond the scope of this essay to consider all strategies. Therefore, Creswell et al.’s (2007) consideration of five key traditions of qualitative inquiry facilitates the selection of an appropriate research design for this research as it helps to provide a range of strategies to choose between. Table 2 below outlines these five traditions and distinguishes between them in terms of the type of problem each is best suited for, their analytical focus and analytical processes (this thesis’ selections are shaded in grey).

TABLE 2: Contrasting Characteristics of Five Qualitative Research Designs

(Adapted from Creswell et al., 2007)

Characteristic	Narrative	Case Study	Grounded theory	Phenomenology	Participatory/ action research
Type of problem best suited for design	When detailed stories help understand the problem	When researcher has a case bounded by time or place that can inform the problem	When no theory exists or existing theories are inadequate	When the researcher seeks to understand the lived experiences of persons about a phenomenon	When a community issue needs to be addressed so that change can occur
Unit of analysis	One or more individuals	An event, program, activity or more than one individual	A concept (an incident in the data)	Several individuals who have shared the experience	An entire community
Data analysis strategies	Chronology, elements of as story, restorying	Description of the case and themes of the case as well as cross-case themes	Open coding, axial coding, selective coding	Bracketing, statements, meaning units or themes, textual description, structural description, essence of the phenomenon	Involve the community in decisions as to how to analyze the data
Applications to organization studies	(Currie and Brown (2003); Rhodes and Brown (2005))	Fitzgerald and Dopson (2009)	(Locke (2001); O'Reilly, Paper, and Marx (2012))	Sanders (1982)	(Coghlan and Brannick (2004); Reason and Bradbury (2001))

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Through a review of various research strategies, case study and grounded theory emerge as the most suitable qualitative approaches for this study. Some scholars have viewed these strategies as distinct and separate (Creswell et al., 2007). However, others have emphasised the value of their interaction and the opportunity to use case studies to develop theory (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

Whilst subsequent sections detail the tenets and utility of case study and grounded theory strategies, their appropriateness to the needs of the research is also evident when reviewed against other qualitative approaches. For example, narrative analysis focuses on how individuals use stories to interpret the world (Czarniawska, 2004; May, 2002). As this study's research questions do not focus on the use of stories, or on how narrative accounts are constructed, this study does not adopt such a design. Another strategy is to take a phenomenological approach, which seeks to understand individuals' lived experiences (Sanders, 1982). However, in focusing on the very rich detail of a few individuals' experiences, the results of phenomenological studies do not lend themselves to the construction of theories. Given the desire of this research to develop theory and to do so through a potentially large number of participants' experiences, phenomenology does not appear suitable. Although it is beyond the scope of this work to contrast all qualitative strategies, let alone their varying interpretations and potential interactions, for the purposes of this research case study and grounded theory strategies appear complementary to the research questions. The subsequent sections consider the benefits and limitations of these strategies respectively.

3.2.1 Case Study

Case studies are empirical descriptions of phenomenon and their real-world context drawn from multiple data sources (Yin, 1994; Yin, 2009). Cases are both a method and an object of

study (Charmaz, 2000) defined by a ‘bounded context’ (Miles & Huberman, 1994) of particular aspects including location, time or actors (Stake, 1995). The value and relevance of case studies to this study lies in their recognition of the importance of context in shaping the phenomena of study. As little is known about how identities and emotions are intertwined with institutional work it is important not to divorce them from the “social structure that shapes and is recursively influenced by them” (Voronov & Vince, 2012: 58). Indeed, for this reason there has been a call to return to the richly contextualized case studies when studying institutions (Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer, & Zilber, 2010) and particularly when investigating the institutional work of individuals (Lawrence et al., 2011). By attending to the context of lawyers, case studies enable complex questions of ‘how’ to be addressed (Yin, 1994) and are appropriate to the needs of the research questions. Indeed, researchers have used case studies to explore individual identity (Watson, 2009) and to collect rich data about other levels such as organizational identity (Corley, 2004). Scholars of institutional work (Suddaby, 2010) also argue that research should provide rich and detailed case studies.

Whilst case studies can be quantitative or qualitative (Stake, 1995) there is a rich tradition of interpretive and qualitative case studies where the researcher is intimately involved in the research process (Creswell, 1998; Morgan & Smircich, 1980). There is not, however, a single approach to conducting an interpretive case study. This study adopts a holistic, single case design (Siggelkow, 2007; Yin, 2009). Miles and Huberman (1994) define a case as a phenomenon occurring in a bounded context. In this study, the subjects of the case study (the phenomenon) are the individuals working for or with a charitable legal organization. The data external to the case (the bounded context) of particular interest is the English legal profession.

Case studies have been subject to criticisms of lacking rigour (Gibbert, Ruigrok, & Wicki, 2008). However, case studies typically employ multiple data sources, as is the case in

this study, which enhances data credibility (Patton, 2002). As such, case studies present a flexible and powerful research design that can integrate a number of forms of data collection and can work with other methodologies like grounded theory to facilitate analysis and theory building.

3.2.2 Grounded theory

Grounded theory is a methodology or design that seeks to generate theories inductively that are grounded in empirical data to explain social processes (Bryman, 2004). Grounded theory is useful for qualitative and exploratory research (Denscombe, 2003) and to generate theory where little is known (Goulding, 2002). Langley (1999) argues that a grounded theory strategy is most powerful when focused on a ‘micro-level’ to explore the experiences of different individuals. Indeed, researchers have employed forms of grounded theory to explore identity (Charmaz, 1994b; Komives, Longerbeam, Owen, Mainella, & Osteen, 2006) and micro-level institutional work (Smets, Morris, & Greenwood, 2012). With this in mind, grounded theory appears appropriate to the needs of this research, which is concerned with theorizing the micro processes that relate lawyers’ identities and emotions to their professional practices.

Before continuing, it is important to explain the key terms used in grounded theory, particularly as Suddaby (2006) describes a strong relationship in research between rigor in language and rigor in action. When researchers collect and analyze data, key phenomena, incidents or central ideas may emerge. A researcher can represent these incidents as concepts and give them conceptual labels. A researcher may group related concepts together to become sub-categories that pertain to a category – or a more abstract or higher level concept. Properties are the characteristics that define these categories whilst dimensions are the variations within properties that give specificity and provide a range along which general

properties vary, perhaps by size or degree. For example, in this study contradictions within lawyers' professional identity emerged as a category. One of the properties of this category is 'professional pride.' This property runs along the dimensions of 'frequency' and 'intensity', so a lawyer may experience professional pride on a range from frequently to infrequently and so on.

However, there is no universally accepted or standardized application of grounded theory. This is, in part, because the original authors (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) incorporated a certain degree of flexibility but also because Glaser and Strauss have diverged in the application of grounded theory (see Charmaz, 2006). Furthermore, new types of grounded theory that are explicitly constructivist have emerged (Charmaz, 2000). Given the confusion surrounding the nature of grounded theory (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the author acknowledges Denscombe's (2003) call for researchers to describe and defend the selection of a particular version. As such, this research adopts the tenants of Strauss' later work (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998).

In adopting Strauss and Corbin's (1998) interpretation, and those who have developed it further (e.g., Scott, 2004), there are understood to be a number of key principles which underpin grounded theory: coding, constant comparison, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation, and theoretical sensitivity. Table 3 below outlines the iterative process and outcomes of grounded theory, which draws upon these concepts.

TABLE 3: Grounded Theory Processes and Outcomes

(Bryman, 2004)

Process	Outcomes
↓ 1. Research questions ↑	
↓ 2. Theoretical sampling ↑	
↓ 3. Collect data ↑	
↓ 4. Coding →	Concepts
↓ 5. Constant comparison →	Categories
↓ 6. Saturate categories	
↓ 7. Explore relationships between categories →	Hypothesis
↓ 8. Theoretical sampling ↑	
↓ 9. Collect data ↑	
↓ 10. Saturate categories	
↓ 11. Test hypotheses →	Substantive theory
↓ 12. Collection and analysis of data in other settings →	Formal theory

Theoretical sampling is “sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 176). For the purpose of this thesis, theoretical sampling means ensuring that the concepts that emerge from interviews and observations with lawyers shape the continuing sampling. Sampling, therefore, changes and develops along the lines of inquiry stemming from emergent concepts and cannot be pre-determined. This thesis concludes sampling at the point of theoretical saturation: when no additional data or insights can be found with which to develop properties of a category.

Coding refers to the analysis of data and the various forms and stages of coding (i.e., open, axial and selective – these are explained later in this chapter) are used to distil data to a set of concepts or categories. Constant comparison underpins the process of coding. The constant comparative method involves comparing elements such as emergent concepts and categories throughout the duration of the research and ensures the researcher is grounded in

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the data. In this way, sampling, data collection, and analysis proceed concurrently from the first interview.

Theoretical sensitivity is linked closely to theoretical sampling and refers to the need for the researcher not to force theoretical concepts or to ascribe meaning on to the data (Dey, 1999). This has generated criticisms that researchers must be blank slates and ignore established theories. This is a misinterpretation of the principles of grounded theory, which calls for an open mind, as opposed to a blank one. Strauss argues, albeit against other interpretations, for a literature review before data collection and for emergent findings to be compared with other evidence (Silverman, 2005; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Suddaby (2006) reminds researchers that the methodological tenants of grounded theory are often violated through partial application. With this in mind, grounded theory as both a methodology and a form of data analysis will inform each stage of this research.

This selection of Strauss and Corbin's approach to grounded theory, instead of Charmaz's constructivist approach, may appear at odds with this researcher's interpretivist assumptions. Indeed, whilst Charmaz notes that Strauss and Corbin's work progresses away from positivism she states that their approach "assumes an objective external reality, aims towards unbiased data collection, proposes a set of technical procedures, and espouses verification" (Charmaz, 2000: 510). Yet, Strauss and Corbin (1994): 279-280 not only reject positivism but clearly state that they believe truth is enacted and that theories are embedded in history. Moreover, they note that it is impossible to be free from bias (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As detailed and discussed by Mills, Bonner, and Francis (2006), there is a discernible thread of constructivism in their approach to research that corresponds to the assumptions of this thesis.

Strauss and Corbin's (1990) form of grounded theory is subject to a range of more nuanced criticisms from advocates of other interpretations. Glaser (1992) rebukes Strauss'

divergent approach and argues that it forces categories on to the data as opposed to facilitating their natural emergence. Whilst acknowledging such opinions, the value of Strauss' approach lies in the recognition of the role of the researcher in actively seeking meaning, more so than Glaser (1992), and the embracing of an interpretivist philosophy. To be clear, this thesis does not suggest that the selected form of grounded theory is perfect or free from limitations but, rather, that Strauss' approach attunes to the needs of this research. Moreover, at a practical level, Strauss' work provides more direction and guidance, though not rigid rules, to support the analytical phases of the research.

3.3 MULTI-LEVEL DYNAMICS AND RESEARCH

Given the intention of this research to develop a grounded theory that connects a professional's micro-processes to a more macro professional institution, it is important to consider the different 'levels' of identities, emotions and institutions. A multi-level approach to analysis, or a 'levels perspective', holds that "micro phenomena are embedded in macro contexts and that macro phenomena often emerge through the interaction and dynamics of lower-level elements" (Klein & Kozlowski, 2000: 7). In other words, macro and micro phenomena exist in a recursive relationship. Thus, the levels perspective posits that to understand organizational behaviour, both individuals and individuals' broader context require investigation.

This perspective aligns with the theoretical tenets of institutional work. Indeed, numerous institutional scholars advise researchers to cross levels of analysis to produce richer conceptualizations (Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Chreim, Williams, and Hinings, 2007; Creed, DeJordy, and Lok, 2010; DiMaggio, 1988; Hotho, 2008). Moreover, a multilevel perspective is necessary to meet the needs of the research, which intends to explore how lawyers' micro-

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level identity work and emotion work can contribute to the macro-level institution of a profession tradition.

However, a multi-level approach to develop theory can prove difficult. Klein, Tosi, and Cannella (1999) point out that multiple levels can yield significant complexity with an array of mediating relationships. Thus, given the paucity of methodological guides for multi-level analyses, a key challenge for researchers wishing to examine different levels is how to conduct effective research. As such, this thesis draws from Klein and Kozlowski's (2000) text, *'Multilevel theory, research and methods in organizations'*, which outlines a levels approach. Whilst Klein and Steve Kozlowski's work is largely positivist, in contrast to this thesis's interpretivist assumptions, their principles are helpful in clarifying the focus of this study in light of limited guidance. Table 4 below distils their key considerations and principles for multi-level theory building in terms of this research. This table elaborates the importance of considering what, how, where and when in terms of multi-level studies.

TABLE 4: Key Questions and Associated Principles for Multi-Level Theory Building

(Adapted from Klein and Kozlowski, 2000)

	Questions to focus multi-level research	Key principles for research	Implication for this study
What?	What phenomenon is the theory attempting to understand?	Theory building should begin with the designation and definition of the theoretical phenomenon and the endogenous construct(s) of interest.	Lawyer's professional identity work and emotion work: The research seeks to understand how micro-processes can contribute to the institutional work that informs the English legal profession (specifically pro bono work)
How?	Top down or bottom up (or both)?	Conceptualization of emergent phenomena at higher levels should specify, theoretically, the nature and form of bottom up processes.	Bottom up: By focusing on how the micro-process of identity and institutional work influence the macro profession, the research seeks to develop a bottom up theory
Where?	Where do processes originate / culminate?	Linkages across levels are more likely to be exhibited for proximal, included, embedded, and / or directly coupled levels and entities.	Lawyers / the legal profession: Given that lawyers are embedded in the legal profession it is likely that both entities exist in a recursive relationship, thus it is vital to be sensitive to context
When?	What is the temporal scope?	Time-scale differences allow top-down effects on lower levels to manifest quickly. Bottom-up emergent effects manifest over longer periods. Research designs must be sensitive to the temporal requirements of theory.	Longitudinal: Given the bottom up focus of the research, analyses must have significant temporal scope to consider the emergence of effects.

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Whilst clarifying the focus of the research is useful, it is important to specify how the research will practically proceed given the lack of an established method to conduct multi-level studies. As such, this research draws inspiration from the work of Chreim et al. (2007) and Currie et al. (2012) who conducted research into professions and institutions at multiple levels of analysis. Chreim et al.'s (2007) consideration of professionals' identities, albeit from a top-down perspective, is relevant to the subject of this research. Whilst Currie et al.'s (2012) research did not explicitly consider identity, it considers the bottom-up micro-processes by which professionals conduct institutional work. This is particularly valuable, given the rarity of bottom-up studies that explore the role of individuals in shaping their institutional context (Klein et al., 1999). Both sets of these researchers adopted a naturalistic, case study approach to reveal phenomena in their natural settings, which enabled them to comprehend the interacting dynamics and processes. In line with these researchers, this study adopts a case study approach that employs a variety of methods including the use of interviews with individuals over time, as well as observations and document analyses. Observations and documentary evidence provide further context and triangulation. Observations, for example, allow the researcher to see how an environment may influence social processes (Maitlis, 2005) and yield a richness and depth to the study. These methods serve to clarify the bottom up and potentially multi-level processes of institutional work that this thesis seeks to examine.

3.4. FIELDWORK

This section considers how this study has gathered the empirical evidence to produce a case study and to construct a grounded theory. This includes the selection of participants, the process of data collection and associated materials as well as associated ethical requirements.

3.4.1 Research setting

The case study is a charitable pro bono organization (hereafter the Pro Bono Group or the Group).¹² Based in England, the context that bounds the Pro Bono Group is the English legal profession. This is a particularly novel setting as the charity was one of the first organizations to operate across law firms whereas, traditionally, law firms had managed their own pro bono activities internally. Furthermore, the Pro Bono Group emerged through the voluntarily action of lawyers. Over fifteen years the Group has become a legitimate and essential part of the English legal profession by directing a large number of lawyers in the provision of their legal services to those in need. Thus, this thesis set out to examine the micro-processes of the lawyers who created and sustained this charitable organization, which changed the English legal profession's organization and performance of pro bono work.

3.4.2 Theoretical sampling

The study utilized a law firm, Law Firm A, as an initial research setting as it was the first to respond to requests for interviews and this researcher recognized the potential

¹²Whilst there is a rich tradition of pro bono work within the legal profession (Boon and Abbey, 2007), dedicated pro bono organizations that reside outside of law firms are a recent phenomenon in the United Kingdom.

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difficulties in achieving research access elsewhere. However, in the early stages of analysis and coding, it became apparent that the performance of pro bono work was central to many of the interviewed lawyers' sense of professional self. This highlighted an intriguing puzzle: why would lawyers volunteer to support the pro bono group when it appeared to offer little benefit to individual lawyers? Thus, adhering to grounded theory's tenet of theoretical sampling, this thesis re-focused on pro bono work and the Pro Bono Group.

Theoretical sampling relates only to the development of theories and is not concerned with representing a population or generalizability (Charmaz, 2006). This is distinctly different from sampling on quotas to ensure a mix of age, race or gender. Instead, theoretical sampling necessitates sampling according to the categories developed during analysis. Without the construction of concepts and categories, a researcher cannot conduct theoretical sampling. In this way, sampling should seek to support the concepts that emerge from the analysis of data. It is important, however, to make initial decisions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and to have a start point, to begin the research hence the initial focus on a cross section of a law firm. The site of study and the selection of participants evolved, progressing to the Pro Bono Group and the legal professionals who supported it.

3.4.3 Research participants and recruitment strategy

Strauss and Corbin (1990) described the importance of explaining how and why study participants were selected, emphasizing the need to select the individuals or organizations most representative of the phenomena under study. Given this research is concerned with the experiences of lawyers in a pro bono organization, the recruitment of participants

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centered on the stakeholders of the Pro Bono Group. It gradually broadened to include other participants who could share insights into the Group.

In 2011, this researcher contacted the Pro Bono Group and, following initial emails and a meeting, the current chief executive agreed to let this researcher study the Group. The Chief executive then emailed the employees and trustees of the Group inviting them to participate in the study and to contact the researcher if they wished to be involved. Following interviews with the self-selecting employees and trustees who came forward (approximately one third of the Group), the Group then provided details of this researcher's project and contact details in their monthly email newsletter to invite volunteer lawyers to participate in the study. This researcher then interviewed all of the UK lawyers who responded to this newsletter. Further snowball sampling continued as some participants recommended colleagues to take part in the study.

Table 5 below provides an anonymised count of the participants in this study. This researcher focused on the Pro Bono Group, conducting interviews with the trustees who founded and played significant roles in the administration of the Group. This researcher also engaged with several of the Group's chief executives and paid employees to understand the day-to-day operations of the Group. Crucially, the theoretical sampling entailed speaking to the volunteer lawyers who support the Pro Bono Group. As law firms employ these volunteers, this researcher spoke with volunteer lawyers across three different law firms. Research participants within these law firms included lawyers who volunteered for the Pro Bono Group as well as those who did not volunteer for the Group. To achieve contextual understanding, the study also conducted further interviews with

individuals not directly linked to the Pro Bono Group but situated within the English legal profession, such as law students.

TABLE 5: Breakdown of Participants

POSITION / ORGANIZATION	# INDIVIDUALS	# INTERVIEWS ¹³
The Pro Bono Group		
Chief Executives	2	7
Trustees	9	13
Paid employees	4	5
Law Firms (providing volunteer lawyers)		
Law Firm A	30	31
Law Firm B	14	14
Law Firm C	2	2
Further interviews		
The Law society	1	1
University law students	2	2
Retired lawyers	2	2
	66	77

There is no typical sample size in grounded theory studies as the participant numbers are dependent upon achieving theoretical saturation. The study continued to add participants until this researcher was confident that no new information emerged. By this stage, a collection of themes had emerged that this researcher felt represented the data (these themes or categories are located in Chapter 5: Findings).

3.4.4 Data collection and methods

The research collected data through semi-structured interviews, observations and document analyses. Whilst grounded theory does not prescribe a particular set of methods

¹³Please note that whilst all of these interviewees agreed to participate in the research, not all interviewees allowed this researcher to quote them in this study.

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(Strauss, 1987; Turner, 1983) certain approaches are more suitable than others. As Denscombe (2003) notes, methods that allow the collection of data in a raw state are preferable given the need to generate theories as opposed to testing them.

Semi-structured interviews have therefore proved popular in grounded theory as they enable the research questions to be addressed whilst providing the flexibility to explore new and rich avenues of discussion (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). This researcher considered these interviews as a “conversation with a purpose” (Kahn & Cannell, 1957: 149), using an interview schedule as a guide where questions can be developed or reordered (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2006). Probing and using reflective summaries of participants’ points (Kvale, 1996) assisted the participants in sharing their experiences.

The study generated an interview schedule from the literature review (see Appendix 4). This provided open-ended interview questions and associated prompts around their experiences, motivations and institutional work. The development of interview plans and schedules also considered how best to begin and end the interview (Charmaz, 1994a; Robson, 2002) to manage the interview process effectively. As such, the interview schedule also contained reminders of information for this researcher to relay to the participants, including; an overview of the project and ethical considerations to ensure the participants are comfortable with the process.

In considering logistics, this researcher organized suitable interview times and locations in advance to provide a private and quiet spaces to facilitate a face-to-face interviews. All but one of the interviews was face-to-face, though email exchanges occasionally supplemented interview discussions. Prior to any interview, this researcher

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explained the research project, provided an associated information sheet, and then requested each participant's signed consent to participate in the study and to record the interview (see Appendix 3). Upon conclusion of each interview, and where possible, this researcher wrote up any supplementary notes and recordings transcribed verbatim as soon as possible in accordance with the principles of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

The research did not limit itself to interviews and recognized that observations and documentary evidence provide context and triangulation. Observations, for example, allow the researcher to see how social processes are influenced by their environment (Maitlis, 2005) and yield a richness and depth to the study (Charmaz, 2000). Thus, research heeded the advice of numerous institutional scholars to consider multiple data sources and multiple levels of analysis to produce richer conceptualizations of processes (Chreim et al., 2007; Creed et al., 2010; DiMaggio, 1988; Hotho, 2008). Whilst this thesis explicitly concerns an individual level of analysis it is important to collect data that considers the context of the law firm and legal institution that individual identities may influence. As such, this study collected data at a variety of levels – see table 6 below.

TABLE 6: Multi-Level Sources of Data

(Adapted from Chreim, Williams, and Hinings, 2007)

Levels	Sources of Data
Institution (legal profession)	• Interviews: focused on legal profession • Government reports • Studies of the UK legal sector • Newspaper publications • Legal professional association publications
Organization (Pro Bono Group)	• Interviews: focused on Pro Bono Group • Pro Bono Group publications and materials • Newspaper publications and press releases • Observations and field notes • Minutes of the Group's meetings
Individual and micro-dynamics (individual lawyers)	• Interviews: focused on individual lawyers' experiences • Observations and field notes of lawyers interactions • Email exchanges

3.4.5 Managing retrospective bias

As the investigation of lawyers' experiences necessitates the use of interviews, it is possible that their responses will be subject to retrospective bias. As Golden (1992) noted, participants with good intentions may misrepresent the past as a result of either hindsight or of subconscious attempts to maintain their self-esteem.

In an attempt to minimize the effect of such biases, this study draws on the advice of several scholars. First, the study adheres to Golden's (1992) suggestion to utilize multiple respondents by conducting interviews with a range of individuals, both inside and outside of the Pro Bono Group. Furthermore, in line with other institutional scholars who have recognized this issue (e.g. Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), the thesis draws on

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multiple sources of data. For example, publications and reports relating to the Pro Bono Group help to triangulate the interview data and reduce the impact of retrospective bias.

Given the philosophical assumptions of this research, it is important to note that bias is an inescapable aspect of individuals recalling and interpreting their experiences. As Heidegger argued “interpretation is never a presuppositionless apprehending of something to us” (1996: 141). As such, it is vital to appreciate the context and to gather rich data in an attempt to understand the accounts that individuals provide rather than to establish the ‘truth.’

3.4.6 Materials

This researcher recorded interviews on a dictaphone and produced associated transcripts in Microsoft Word. Due to the need for theoretical saturation, the interviews produced a large amount of text. As such, the thesis utilised the NVivo program to assist in the management of data.

3.4.7 Ethics

This research follows and has been approved by the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) guidelines (University of Oxford, 2012) to ensure appropriate ethical practice throughout all stages of the research. For example, this researcher asked for informed consent from all participants prior to conducting and recording interviews. In addition, this researcher always made participants aware that they could stop the interview at any time without requiring a reason.

Confidentiality and anonymity remain vital to the research. This thesis is dependent upon lawyers' accounts, and their engagement in this study required the assurance of anonymity. At no point, in any submitted work relating to this research, should it be possible to establish the identities of the participants unless they have authorised the use of their name. Thus, this study employs a system of anonymised reporting. For example, this thesis allocated each participant a position and a number and describes them accordingly (e.g. 'trustee 1' or 'partner, Law Firm A').

3.5. ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH OUTPUTS

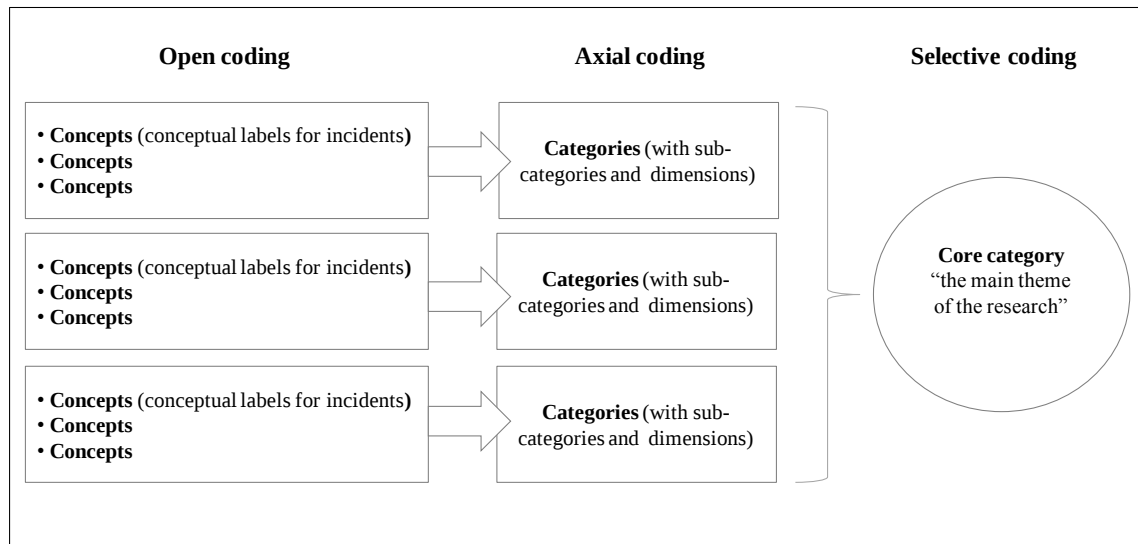
This section of the research design considers how data was analysed to support the formulation of theory.

3.5.1 Unit of analysis and analytical procedure

Wenger (1998): 146 argued that it is "a mistaken dichotomy to wonder whether the unit of analysis in identity should be the community or the person. The focus must be on their mutual constitution." Grounded theory as a form of data analysis establishes and connects concepts and therefore is appropriate to understand the relationship between individual lawyers' identities, emotions and their profession. According to Corbin and Strauss, concepts are the basic units of analysis in grounded theory research. They go on to state that only by "comparing incidents and naming like phenomena with the same conceptual term can a theorist accumulate the basic units for a theory" (1990: 420). The coding process is therefore central to the development of such concepts and researchers can code both interviews and documents (Charmaz, 2006).

Following Corbin and Strauss, this study utilized three different forms of coding: open, axial, and selective. Figure 9 below provides a simple graphic representation of these stages of coding.

FIGURE 9: The Analytical Process of Grounded Theory



Open coding requires researchers to develop initial concepts and distinct units of meaning (Goulding, 2002). These are conceptual rather than just descriptive codes. Through the method of constant comparison, this study usually¹⁴ coded each interview or observation before the next to incorporate any new concepts that emerge into subsequent stages of data collection. In practical terms, this meant that this researcher initially read the transcribed interviews, line-by-line, and assigned codes or labels to pieces of the text that shared an apparent significance to the topic of study.

¹⁴ In several cases, multiple interviews occurred on the same day preventing transcription and coding taking place before conducting a further interview.

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Axial coding involves the development of patterns and relationships between the concepts and examining how the concepts relate to one another.¹⁵ Strauss and Corbin (1998): 123 refer to this process as ‘axial’ because coding occurs around the axis of a category, at the level of properties and dimensions to establish how codes are connected within a category. This called for the researcher to group open codes into categories and subcategories. Then, to identify relationships between these categories, this study made use of a conditional-consequential paradigm or coding paradigm¹⁶ (Locke, 2001). This paradigm is a tool for researchers and “a set of questions that can be applied to data to help the analyst draw out the contextual factors and identify relationships” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 89). Thus, by answering these questions, the researcher was able to plot the relationships between categories. Although this paradigm tool has undergone many changes (see Urquhart, 2013: 26), the basic components of this paradigm are conditions, (inter)actions and emotions, and consequences. Table 8 below details the components of the coding paradigm, which guided this study’s analysis of data to establish relationships between categories.

¹⁵ In their later work, Strauss and Corbin suggest using axial coding at the same time as open coding, as opposed to a distinct second stage of analysis.

¹⁶ The conditional-consequential paradigm is distinct from the conditional-consequential matrix, the latter is a heuristic diagram to assist the researcher in identifying conditions and consequences.

TABLE 7: Coding Paradigm

(Adapted from Corbin and Strauss (2008))

Coding paradigm	
What are the conditions?	The circumstances that lead to a particular response?
What are the interactions and emotions?	The responses made by individuals or groups to situations?
What are the consequences?	These are outcomes of inter/actions or of emotional responses to events. Consequences answer the questions about what happened as a result of those inter/actions or emotional responses?

Selective coding entails identifying the central phenomenon, or a small number of core categories in the data (Dey, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This central or core category represents the main theme of the research and is the category that all other categories are related to. As Urquhart (2013): 49 describes “put simply, selective coding is a process of scaling up your codes into those that are important for your research problem”. Selective coding therefore formalizes the relationship between all the theoretical concepts into a coherent whole or theoretical framework (Langley, 1999). The selective coding process and development of a formal theory is much simpler for scholars to describe than to achieve and researchers should not view this process as easy or as simply following a series of rules (Suddaby, 2006). This process calls for consistent effort on the part of the researcher to reject ideas that participant data does not support (Morse, 1994) and for creativity and interpretation (Locke, 2001) to understand the relationships between multiple concepts. Table 9 below details the criteria for selecting a central category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 105), which was used to direct this study’s analysis.

TABLE 8: Criteria for Choosing a Central Category

Corbin and Strauss (2008)

Criteria for choosing a central category	
1	It must be abstract; that is, all other major categories can be related to it and placed under it.
2	It must appear frequently in the data. This means that within all, or almost all, cases there are indicators pointing to that concept.
3	It must be logical and consistent with the data. There should be no forcing of data.
4	It should be sufficiently abstract so that it can be used to do research in other substantive areas, leading to the development of a more general theory.
5	It should grow in depth and explanatory power as each of the other categories is related to it through statements of relationship.

It is important to re-emphasise that grounded theory is an iterative process that draws upon the constant comparative method. As Dey (1999) notes, the analysis is systematic and begins as soon as data is available with data collection and analysis occurring concurrently. By moving between transcripts this study ensured that interpretations remained grounded in the data and plausible (Silverman, 2005) pieces of analysis. Therefore this research did not move in a linear fashion as the sections of this written design suggest i.e., from fieldwork to analysis to theory. Nonetheless, the research involved each stage of analysis.

3.5.2 Theory development and building on theory

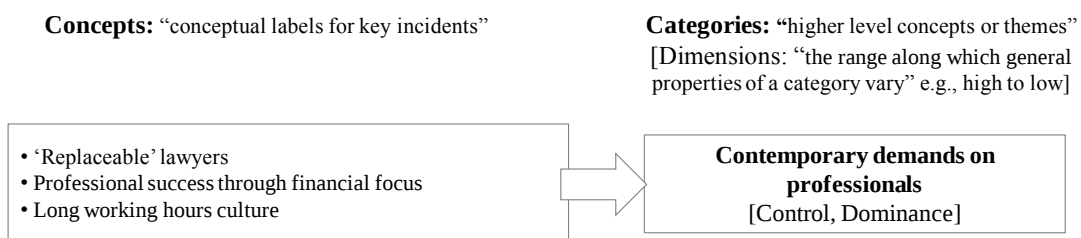
Given the intention of this thesis to develop a theory, it is important to clarify the meaning of ‘theory’. Strauss and Corbin (1998) define theory as a set of related concepts or categories that together form a framework that can explain or predict phenomena.

To develop the conceptual categories that form the building blocks of a theory, this thesis applied the analytical stages outlined earlier in this chapter to the case study

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data. Figure 10 below, known as a ‘data structure’, provides a graphic representation of how this study progressed from raw data to concepts and categories, thereby demonstrating rigour in qualitative research (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013: 21). The figure below is an extract of the complete data structure in the findings chapter (chapter 5) of this thesis and illustrates how this researcher grouped together different concepts or ideas that stood out in the case study to form abstracted conceptual categories. These categories were refined and developed through a consideration of their dimensions¹⁷. For example, in this study, one conceptual category is ‘*demands on professionals*.’ The dimensions of this category include control and dominance. This means that the demands on professionals may vary along a continuum of strongly controlling to weakly controlling. In the Pro Bono Group case study, it became apparent that commercial pressures exerted a high level of control over lawyers. By considering each category’s dimensions, it is possible to achieve a more nuanced theoretical model.

FIGURE 10: Extract of a Static Data Structure - The Classification and Abstraction of Case Study Data into Categories



¹⁷ To clarify the meaning of dimensions, Strauss and Corbin (1998: 20) utilize the example of guidebooks that use a rating system (for restaurants, hotels, monuments, landscapes, cities, etc.) involving several dimensions such as cost, service, or historical value.

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Each of the categories and their underlying concepts appear as incidents in the case study (as presented in the following case study chapter 4), which can then be abstracted in categories (as elaborated in the findings chapter 5). As this thesis is wary of the risk of producing distorted abstractions (Selznick, 1949), it ensures all interpretations remain grounded in the participants' accounts and actions. It does so by employing extracts from the transcribed interviews or observation notes that appear in the case study serve to support and illustrate each category. Ultimately, when considered in light of the extant literatures, each of the categories connects to one another to create a conceptual or theoretical framework (in the discussion chapter 6).

However, it is important to appreciate the limits of this theoretical framework, as it is not a general or grand theory but, rather, a substantive theory. A substantive theory is a theory linked closely to the empirical situation that has been the subject of study (Denscombe, 2003). As Langley (1999) notes, a grounding in the raw data can make it difficult to transform a substantive theory of a specific phenomenon into a general theory or one which can be applied to other settings (Morse, 1994). Thus, this thesis' emergent theoretical framework provides an insight into the relationship between lawyers' identities, emotions and the performance of pro bono work without necessarily generalizing further. Considering the emergent theory in the context of the extant literature is seen to enhance and strengthen a theoretical contribution (Eisenhardt, 1989). As such, following the case study and findings chapters that develop a range of conceptual categories (chapters 4 and 5), chapter 6 discusses these categories in terms of the wider literature to develop a conceptual framework and refine this thesis' theoretical contribution.

3.5.3 Evaluation and trustworthiness

This section argues that the criteria of quality and rigor in research are a function of the underlying philosophical and methodological assumptions. Reliability and validity are criteria often imposed upon qualitative research yet these reflect a positivist point of view (Winter, 2000). In adopting an interpretivist paradigm, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that a more suitable measure for establishing confidence in qualitative research is trustworthiness, which encapsulates a different set of assumptions and sets out four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This criterion of quality for qualitative research contrasts with their quantitative counterparts' criteria in the below table. Table 7 below also incorporates Creswell's (1998) eight verification procedures for qualitative researchers to provide a broader range of techniques to support the pursuit of trustworthiness.

TABLE 9: Criterion of Quality for Qualitative Research

(Adapted from Lincoln, 1985)

Qualitative	Quantitative	Qualitative verification procedures
Credibility	Internal validity	Member checks (semi-structured interviews and use of participants' language) Prolonged engagement Persistent observation Triangulation of data (constant comparison) Peer debriefing
Confirmability	Objectivity	Practice reflexivity Confirmability audit (transparency)
Dependability	Reliability	Triangulation of methods (constant comparison) Dependability audit
Transferability	External validity	Theoretical sampling Thick description

Credibility, according to Beck (1993), is the 'believability' of the research findings or how faithfully the phenomenon is described. Research is therefore credible when individuals who experienced the subject recognize the description. As such, this study sought feedback from the participants. It adopted open-ended interview questions and utilized the constant comparative method to enable participants to shape the data collected. It also used participants' own language during coding to further ground theory and add to the credibility of findings (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, & Gardner, 1991).

Dependability, based upon the notion of consistency, and confirmability, or the extent that research findings derive from the data, require similar procedures. These include transparency (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) or an audit trail, where others can follow the researcher's steps. Qualitative researchers have claimed that rigorous and

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auditable processes ensure high-quality research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Following the suggestion of Strauss (1987), this study utilized memos to facilitate this process. Memos, or the writing-up of ideas about codes and relationships while coding, are recognized as important (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Memos can help keep track of emerging interpretations of the data and theory (Cutcliffe, 2000) and enable moments of surprise to be captured. In addition, this researcher attempts to explicate thoroughly the process of abstracting and classifying contextual and case study data into categories and, ultimately, a conceptual or theoretical framework (see appendix 5 and chapter 5).

This study provides the opportunity for other researchers to transfer its findings to other settings through rich descriptions. In the findings chapter, this thesis therefore provides rich and thick contextual descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the case study to allow others to compare their settings to that of this research. Through these comparisons, other researchers can infer the suitability of this study's findings to other situations.

It is vital to remember that in qualitative research, the researcher is the research instrument (Patton, 2002) and therefore any analysis is inherently subjective. This is crucial to the true application of grounded theory where the theory must emerge from the data. The researcher should recognize that they could unduly shape the analysis through their assumptions. As such, this researcher aims to 'own one's perspective' (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999) by disclosing his background and any experiences that may be relevant in shaping the findings. These stand in addition to his philosophical beliefs detailed at the outset of this chapter. The researcher is a male, white-British doctoral student in the field of management and organization research currently enrolled in an

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English university. He has therefore received training in a variety of sociological and organizational theories. Although he has never studied or worked in law, he has experience of working in professional service firms as a management consultant for several years. Whilst he attempted to ‘bracket’ any knowledge that may have unduly shaped the analysis of data, it is possible that these experiences will have informed his interpretations.

In summary, this chapter has discussed the assumptions of the researcher and situated the research approach within an interpretivist paradigm. As an interpretivist approach lends itself to qualitative research, several sections of the chapter justified the selection of qualitative case study and grounded theory methodologies to address the research questions. The chapter also reflected on the importance of multi-level dynamics in light of these methodological choices. The chapter then outlined how the research conducted its fieldwork, describing the research setting of a charitable pro bono organization (the Pro Bono Group) alongside the theoretical sampling and methods of data collection. In a final section, the chapter detailed the study’s analytical process that facilitates the development of a trustworthy theoretical framework. Whilst the subsequent chapters present the analytical process and outcomes in a linear order and progressive fashion, it is important to stress that these outcomes emerged gradually through an iterative process that adhered to the tenet of constant comparison that is central to a grounded theory approach.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY – THE PRO BONO GROUP

This chapter provides an account of the Pro Bono Group (the ‘case’ in this study). Scholars recommend contextualized and rich accounts for single case studies (Crotty, 1998) and particularly for studies of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2011; Suddaby, 2010). Detailed accounts that situate the case in its unique context help to convince readers of any associated findings. Thus, to contextualize the case study, the first section in this chapter begins by describing briefly the current context of the English legal profession and the history of pro bono in English law. It then draws on an array of document, interview and observation data to piece together a chronological account of the Pro Bono Group. This account chronicles the emergence of the Group through the actions and beliefs of a small group of lawyers. It then considers how the Group expanded and embedded itself within the broader English legal profession. It then concludes by detailing how the Group effected of institutional change by transforming how hundreds of law firms and tens of thousands of lawyers perform pro bono work.

4.1 CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDY

As Guba and Lincoln (1994) point out, to build a grounded theory a researcher should understand as much as possible about the phenomenon under investigation (in this case, the professionals working for or with a pro bono organization). This means locating the phenomenon contextually. Researchers should therefore provide an account of the macro conditions (e.g., the wider legal profession) that intersect with micro level (e.g., the experience of individuals) and how these change over time. Previous or parallel events are not just ‘interesting background material’ but also an integral part of the analysis.

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These conditions and events help to explain the actions and experiences that follow and are part of the analytical story. For instance, as this chapter will reveal, the historical tradition of pro bono work continues to play a role in the English legal profession today.

Given the tremendous amount of contextual information that relates to the English legal profession, this section focuses on information that emerged as being relevant to the study during the collection and analysis of data. For example, almost all of the interview participants described their views on pro bono activities in relation to the current economic climate of the legal profession. Furthermore, many interview participants described their involvement in pro bono work in historical terms, citing the rich tradition of pro bono work within the English legal profession. Therefore, an outline of the envioning English legal profession and the historical roots of pro bono work are essential in an analysis of lawyers' professional identities.

4.1.1 The current English legal profession

This section argues that, in recent years, the English legal profession has become increasingly commercially competitive and law firms have become more demanding of their lawyers. The profession of solicitors remained largely insulated from political intervention or the pressure of public opinion throughout the nineteenth century and for three quarters of the twentieth century (Burrage, 2006). However, in 1979, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government ushered in a period of change that redefined the relationship between the state and legal profession. Ostensibly, the government's changes sought to ensure efficiency and value for money for the public (Burrage, 2006) through increasing competition within the legal sector. A 'legal big

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bang’ (Dezalay, 1990) followed the financial big bang as the government de-regulated financial markets in 1986. This led to increased competition in the legal sector and less governmental protection for the legal profession. In 1989, a green paper¹⁸ laid before parliament rejected the idea that the professions were different from, or superior to, industry and commerce (Burrage, 2006). In 1990, the government passed the Courts and Legal Services Act, which abolished solicitors’ conveyancing¹⁹ monopoly and created the occupation of licensed conveyancers. The government did not shelter the legal professions from the increase in competition.

Successive Conservative and Labour governments continued to challenge lawyers’ arguments that they would be subject to unreasonable commercial pressures if competition grew²⁰. Indeed, a further and more recent example is the Legal Services Act of 2007, which intended to open up the closed world of legal services through the creation of ‘alternative business structures’ (ABS). ABSs enable any business – not just law firms – to offer a full range of legal services as long as they received a license and employed at least one qualified lawyer. It is unsurprising, then, that the English legal profession has become increasingly competitive as established law firms face an increasing number of competitors.

The intensifying competition has affected both law firms and lawyers dramatically over the past two decades. The UK’s one-hundred largest law firms generated combined profits of more than five billion pounds for the first time in 2012 –

¹⁸ A green paper is a tentative government report and consultation document of policy proposals for debate and discussion, the first step in changing the law.

¹⁹ Conveyancing is the transfer of legal title of property from one person to another. In England and Wales, this was usually performed by a solicitor but can now be completed by a licensed conveyancer.

²⁰ For example, Burrage (2006) highlights the case of the second Labour government in 2003. The government commissioned a report from Sir David Clementi, chair of Prudential Insurance, on the regulatory framework of legal services. His report also dismissed the idea that there was a difference between a profession and industry.

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an eight-fold growth over twenty years (Grierson, 2012). Mergers and acquisitions drive much of this growth. Indeed, half of the largest twenty-five English law firms anticipate mergers with other law firms in the next three years (PwC, 2012). Thus, many law firms increasingly compete and consolidate at a global level with an ever-greater scrutiny on their billable hours (law firms ‘bill’ or charge their clients for each hour of legal work). As more hours equate to greater revenues, billable hours have become a key measure of each solicitor’s productivity (Landers, Rebitzer, & Taylor, 1996), alongside generating new clients and creating intellectual capital.

Lawyers have described the ‘tyranny of the billable hour’ as billable hours continue to increase across law firms desperate for growth (Fortney, 2003). Indeed, participants in this study with more experience in the legal profession often noted this commercial perspective as something ‘new’ and increasingly dominant. Their accounts described the increasing emphasis across law firms to account for every few minutes of lawyers’ time and how increasingly complex measurement systems and metrics aided this accounting processes. Through improved technology, law firm partners generated and monitored reports that tracked each lawyers’ performance. This led to the law firms possessing greater control over each individual lawyer, whilst lawyers felt they had less and less control over their own time. As one participant in this study explained:

“They [associates] know that we monitor how they are performing. It’s even easier to see how well they are achieving their targets with the reporting software these days. So, it’s certainly a lot more pressure on them to bring in the money. Hitting these figures dominates what you do, whatever your seniority and there’s no getting away from it.”

Partner, Law Firm A

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To the lawyers participating in this study, ‘bringing in the money’ was certainly an important aspect of their professional lives. Furthermore, this did not appear to vary with age, experience or seniority. Both senior equity partners and relatively junior associates in the law firms all described their clear focus on generating revenue for their law firms. Whilst for the junior lawyers this was a way to progress to a more senior position, for the partners generating revenues was necessary to maintain their positions.

To meet these commercial commitments, the lawyers described how they usually worked very long hours and often had little spare time. In this way, their success at work came at great personal cost:

“You give up a lot to make it as a partner. I think it’s even worse for the associates these days. Your time is not your own, it belongs to the firm. Cancelling holidays and not being able to see your friends is common. More than common. Don’t even ask about the number of failed marriages.”

Partner, Law Firm A

“Thank god for online shopping. I don’t have time to leave my desk during the week and I work late so it’s one way to actually spend the money I earn.”

Lawyer 4, Law Firm A

These time commitments stemmed not just from law firms seeking to drive top and bottom line growth but, also, from increasingly savvy and experienced clients. Many of the interview participants described how their clients demanded huge amounts of their expertise and time. These demands had increased as clients recognized that numerous other law firms could provide similar services. In this way, the commercial demands on lawyers had become increasingly dominant and appeared to be at the expense of much of their personal lives.

As a result, many lawyers appear to perform ‘extreme’ amounts of overtime to meet their billable hours targets with a long-hours culture that can lead to stress and poor health, as well as less time to spend away from the office with friends and family (BBC, 2007; Rothwell, 2010). These increased commercial pressures on both law firms and lawyers suggest that it would be increasingly difficult for most legal professionals to support non-profit driving activities such as performing pro bono work.

4.1.2 Pro bono and legal aid in the English legal profession

Given that the main site of this study is a legal pro bono charitable organization, it is important to outline the tradition of pro bono work within the English legal profession. This section suggests that there is a powerful ideal within the English legal profession of lawyers employing their legal skills charitably. Shortened from the Latin term *pro bono publico* (for the public good), pro bono refers to professionals providing their services voluntarily and without payment. For lawyers this typically means providing legal advice for free or at a reduced rate.

There is a strong tradition of pro bono work within the English legal profession. Indeed, Miller and Hard (1993) contend that the roots of English pro bono lie in the Magna Carta²¹ of 1215 and this appears reasonable, given its statement that “to no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice”. Scholars have traced the tradition of pro bono work back to “early Roman tribunals, medieval ecclesiastical courts, and thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Scottish and English legal proceedings” (Rhode, 2005: 4). The closest parallels to contemporary pro bono activities appeared in British

²¹Magna Carta (Latin for Great Charter) was the first document imposed upon a King of England by a group of his subjects, the feudal barons, in an attempt to limit his powers by law and protect their rights.

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ecclesiastical courts where clerics represented the poor. As the English common law system²² continued to develop during the thirteenth century onwards, courts could deny the rights of legal practitioners to practice if they did not meet obligations to support the poor (Rhode, 2005). This trend continued when, in 1495, the *in forma pauperis* statute of Henry VII required judges to assign counsel to represent individuals in court who required support, with no requirement that the lawyer be compensated (McLeay, 2008). Collectively, these sources suggest that pro bono has long been an aspect of English legal work and a feature of English common law.

Whilst historians acknowledge that there are numerous pieces of legislation that require lawyers to perform some pro bono work, it is important to note that scholars disagree over the strength of the pro bono tradition within English law. For example, Shapiro (1980) suggests that there is not a strong tradition in the Anglo-English legal history of lawyers undertaking pro bono work for the poor. This argument emphasizes that legislation did not apply to all members of the legal profession and was not always a significant feature for those barristers to whom it did apply. However, few scholars would suggest that, historically, all lawyers provided pro bono services or that these services represented a major part of their work. Instead, it is the ideal of pro bono work that has remained and remains firmly entrenched in the history of the English legal profession. This thesis concurs with McLeay (2008): 264, who argues:

²² In 1166, King Henry II issued a Declaration at the Assize of Clarendon, providing his officials with the power to make all laws in Westminster and to replace local customs with new national laws. These officials, known as judges, who worked in the court of the King then applied laws to every person in England. Thus, these laws assumed the title of common law. *Judiciary-of-England-and-Wales*. 2013. *History of the judiciary*, Vol. 2013. Online: Judicial Office.

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“The empirical reality is that throughout (at least) the common law histories of the US and England, pro bono has been an ideal that some, many or most lawyers have failed to live up to. However, this does not diminish its value and potential as a motivating force – a beautiful myth – of the profession.”

The pro bono and legal aid distinction. Whilst the concepts of pro bono and legal aid in English law appear similar, it is important to draw a distinction. The tradition of lawyers volunteering to provide their legal expertise to those in need through pro bono work stands in contrast to legal aid, where the government provides financial support for those in need to pay for lawyers’ legal advice.

Unlike the hundreds of years of pro bono work, it is only in the last sixty years that the British government has provided financial support for legal aid. Following the Second World War in 1945, radical changes to the nature of government sponsored legal support began to take place (for a detailed overview see Abel-Smith & Stevens, 1967; Morgan, 1994). In 1949, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee’s government introduced the Legal Advice and Assistance Act. This act began to operate in 1950 and provided a comprehensive system of state funded legal aid (Moorhead, Sherr, & Paterson, 2003). This aid provided legal advice, family mediation and representation in court for those individuals who could otherwise not afford this help. Running in parallel to lawyers providing pro bono work, the inception of legal aid in 1949 was an attempt by the Labour government to widen access to justice and represented an important aspect of the British government’s new welfare state (Abel-Smith & Stevens, 1967).

The British government distributed most of their legal aid funds to solicitors’ law firms but also supported legal charities. Miller and Hard (1993) note that at the beginning of the Second World War, the British government, with assistance from the Law Society

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and other charitable groups, established Citizen Advice Bureaus (CABs) to meet growing demand for financial and legal advice. These bureaus delivered legal advice from paid staff and volunteers across a range of community locations, including doctors' surgeries, courts and prisons. These proved incredibly popular and by the end of the war there were 1,000 bureaus that had handled 9 million inquiries (Abel-Smith & Stevens, 1967). CABs operated – and continue to operate – as a charity with offices throughout the UK²³ that provide free and confidential information and advice to help people with their financial problems. Legal aid is an important source of CABs funding and allows CABs to provide advice for individuals to manage their legal difficulties.

Since the introduction of legal aid, the British government has struggled to fund the demand for legal advice (see figure 11 below). Initially, in the 1950s, legal aid was available to 80% of the population with a means tested entitlement (Jackson, 2009). As the state became one of the most important patrons of the legal profession (Abel-Smith & Stevens, 1967), the government gradually sought to control the escalating costs of legal aid. The Legal Aid Act of 1988 wrested control of legal aid away from the Law Society (lawyers' professional association) to the government. This was followed by the Access to Justice Act of 1999, which created the Legal Services Commission (LSC), to administer and target legal aid according to need (Grimwood, 2012). This effectively capped spending on civil legal aid (Goswami, 2007) and further Whitehall reviews have suggested more competitive tendering of legal aid. Indeed, by 2008, legal aid's availability to the population had dropped to 29% due to the economic pressures of

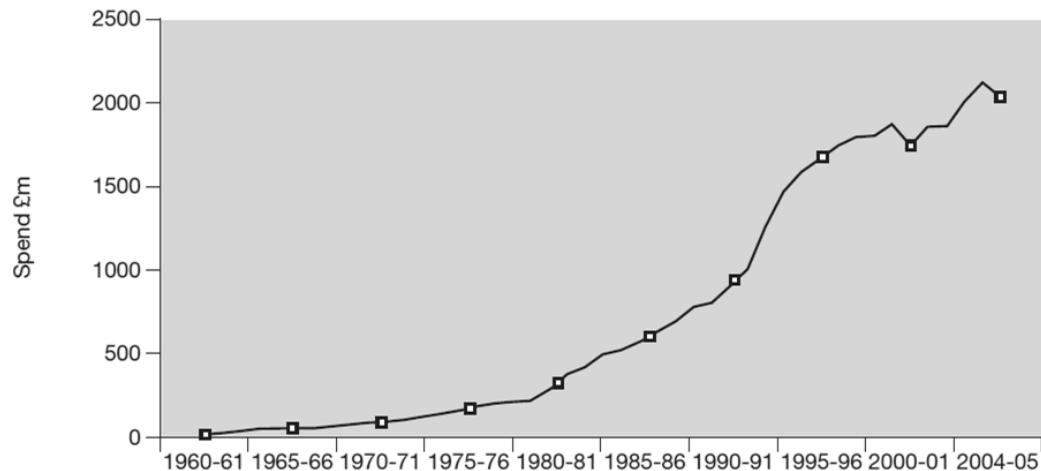
²³ Each local advice bureau or office is a separate independent charity but possess membership to Citizens Advice, the operating name of The National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux.

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citizens seeking more and more legal advice and the government's unwillingness to shoulder this growing financial burden (Jackson, 2009).

FIGURE 11: British Government Expenditure on Legal Aid (2005 prices)

(Department-for-Constitutional-Affairs, 2005)



Several organizations, such as Citizens Advice, have noted that these legal aid cuts will have a devastating impact by preventing those in need from receiving legal support (Citizens-Advice, 2012). As the British government has sought to reduce the costs of providing legal aid, it has increasingly called on law firms to provide more pro bono work (Langdon-Down, 2012). In response, large legal firms and the Law Society have emphasised that pro bono is not a replacement but rather a complement to legal aid (Robins, 2010). John Wotton, the president of the Law Society, stated that pro bono should only be an “adjunct and not a substitute for a properly funded legal aid system” (Baksi, 2012). Thus, pro bono and legal aid remain distinct but closely related elements of the current legal profession.

It seems reasonable to believe that law firms would oppose filling the legal aid gap with pro bono work, as this would hinder their financial performance in an increasingly commercial and competitive legal sector. Nonetheless, law firms in England increasingly communicate their pro bono efforts. Perhaps this reflects the growing presence of many North American law firms operating in the English legal profession, which have made notable efforts to publicize their pro bono activities (particularly in the USA, see Boutcher, 2010). This may, in turn, reflect many legal publications' (e.g., the *American Lawyer*, *The Lawyer*) rankings of firms based on their annual hours of pro bono activity alongside growing societal expectations of corporate responsibility.

For many lawyers, though, pro bono is simply an essential aspect of being a lawyer. Michael Smyth, a partner at one of the largest UK law firms Clifford Chance, described pro bono as one of the enduring characteristics of the legal profession: "It's what I think distinguishes a noble profession from other forms of employment - some vision beyond the next chargeable hour" (Rozenberg, 2002). Whilst the widespread performance of pro bono work may lack historical evidence, it appears that pro bono work has remained an important aspiration or ideal throughout the history of the English legal profession.

4.2 THE CASE STUDY: THE PRO BONO GROUP²⁴

This section examines the development of a legal charity called the Pro Bono Group, situated within the context of the English legal profession and its tradition of pro bono work. The Pro Bono Group acts as a 'clearing house' or brokerage, which connects

²⁴Appendix 5 introduces the more technical aspects of the Pro Bono Group – how the Group organizes and operates.

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lawyers who wish to volunteer their legal skills to those individuals and community groups who need advice but cannot afford to pay for legal help. This research setting is novel as the charity was one of the first organizations to operate across law firms whereas, traditionally, law firms had largely managed their own pro bono activities internally.

The Pro Bono Group emerged and is sustained through the voluntarily action of lawyers. Despite the immense commercial and time pressures of working in law firms, these volunteer lawyers support the Group without receiving any payment or contribution to billable hours²⁵. This is not to suggest that all volunteers lack self-interest. Indeed, the Group gradually provided law firms with the effective management of pro bono clients alongside a socially responsible image. It also afforded junior lawyers the opportunity to practice working with clients and to develop their expertise. Nonetheless, the emergence and success of a new and voluntary organization within an established profession is an intriguing case study of change.

In articulating the novel story of the Pro Bono Group, this section provides an ‘extreme case’ with particularly visible dynamics to facilitate theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pratt et al., 2006). In particular, this section highlights the importance of professional identity in understanding how the Pro Bono Group developed from the efforts of a small group of lawyers to an organization working with hundreds of law firms and an annual budget of nearly one million pounds. By changing how lawyers manage and perform pro bono work, the case study of the Pro Bono Group appears to demonstrate a clear instance of institutional work.

²⁵In recent years, a small number of law firms have begun to include their lawyers’ pro bono hours for the Pro Bono Group into their total billable hours.

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As this case study extends from the late 1990s to 2012, this section draws upon a variety of interviews, observations, and reports which relate to the Group over time. To synthesize the large volume of collected data into an account of the Group's development, this section divides the case study into four overlapping stages: emerging, expanding, embedding and effecting institutional change²⁶.

4.2.1 Emerging (1997 – 2000)

This subsection describes the emergence of the Pro Bono Group and considers the efforts of a small number of individuals who were responsible for its launch. Where relevant, it employs quotes from these individuals or other actors intimately involved in its formation. The subsection also draws on the accounts of those outside the group and on published reports relating to the early stages of the Group. Table 10 below outlines the associated milestones.

²⁶ These sub-section titles reflect Lawrence et al.'s (2009) plea to consider the activities rather than just the accomplishments of institutional workers.

TABLE 10: Emerging: History and Milestones of the Pro Bono Group

Stage	Year	Key events of the Pro Bono Group
EMERGING	1997	The Pro Bono Group launches. Initially, eight law firm partners personally fund the operations of the group and organize its charitable status. Secures funding from 11 top law firms, raising a £100,000 budget for two years of operations. Arranges a Board of Trustees and appoints a President and Chairman. Employs a Chief Executive and one secretary.
	1998	Secures first premises in a large UK city. Establishes website and produces a pro bono magazine to communicate to legal professionals. Holds its inaugural conference in June. Launches its first clinic (where individuals in need can meet with lawyers to receive advice).
	1999	Holds first Annual General Meeting and appoints new Chief Executive (an ex-lawyer). Pursues further financial support from law firms. Launches initiative to encourage undergraduate Law students to perform Pro Bono. Produces first Directors Report.
	2000	Starts free pro bono training programme for law-firm members. Runs 15th Meeting of the Board of Trustees. Launches annual luncheon program promoting Pro Bono in a global Environment. Moves to new, larger premises in a large UK city.

Almost all of the legal professionals who were intimately involved in the early development of the Pro Bono Group described their attempts to pursue pro bono work in the late 1990s as fraught with difficulty. Throughout the 1990s in England and Wales,

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Citizen Advice Bureaus (CABs) provided legal advice across England and Wales to those individuals in need. Many lawyers who sought to perform pro bono activities would do so through their local CABs, attending clinics where they could meet face to face with individuals in need of assistance. However, the lack of organization and inefficiency within CABs often frustrated volunteer lawyers. One trustee of the Pro Bono Group recalls:

“That was how you helped back then, you’d go to the CAB. But trying to organize your time was bloody difficult. They often didn’t respond, they weren’t very good so it wasn’t easy to actually do pro bono”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 2

There is a great deal of corroborating evidence to suggest that CABs were likely to be struggling in their operations. Numerous media outlets have highlighted the steady decline in their financial support as the government began to cut legal aid spending from the late 1990s (e.g., Bowcott, 2014). Furthermore, the increased competition in the legal markets provided further difficulties for lawyers seeking to perform pro bono work. Many of the lawyers who went on to found the Pro Bono Group described how, in the 1990s, the large law firms that employed them viewed pro bono work as ‘a bit pinko’ (Trustee 2), an ‘afterthought’ (Trustee 4) and as distant from their commercial focus.

For many of the lawyers who participated in this study, there appeared to be a discrepancy between traditional conceptions of being a lawyer and the ‘new’ needs of the legal profession. In particular, numerous legal professionals spoke of the tradition of ‘upholding the law’ for everyone yet acknowledged that meeting commercial commitments took precedent.

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“Doing law became a lot more about moving money around and making money than upholding the law. That’s certainly true in my firm and it’s not how it used to be”

Lawyer 18, Law Firm A

Many of the lawyers who would go on to become trustees of the Pro Bono Group spoke with reference to time; ‘remembering’ and ‘recalling’ different customs of being a lawyer. For instance, trustee 3 stated “I remember it [pro bono work] being different, more important.” These recollections highlighted how legal work had changed and that, as a result, many of the responsibilities lawyers felt were central to their profession had eroded. In particular, many of the legal professionals spoke about the weakening tradition of helping those in need through pro bono work.

The increasing difficulty in being able to perform pro bono work affected both disadvantaged clients and many lawyers. Numerous lawyers in this study articulated their guilt in working for successful commercial law firms without helping others:

“I felt guilty as a commercial lawyer – just moving money around. Winning a case for one client was taking money away from another. It didn’t mean very much to the individuals instructing you. And the thing that got me [...] was when you are advising someone across a desk with a real problem that is affecting their life, there is a significant difference in the input of the lawyer and the way you can improve the quality of their life”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 2

“Lawyers always like to say they’re part of a noble profession. That’s all well and good but if you look at what they actually do, there’s not a lot of nobility there. You can’t have it both ways. We are supposed to help but we didn’t. That isn’t right”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 5

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In this way, many of the eventual pro bono group founders appeared to hang onto the ‘noble’ traditional notions of being a lawyer. Whilst this appeared to provide a sense of pride and positive sense of self, it also generated an internalized tension with competing, commercial and contemporary notions of being a lawyer.

In 1996, against this backdrop, at least two lawyers (Trustee 1 and Trustee 2) sent letters to the Law Society (lawyers’ professional body in England and Wales). These letters expressed their belief that the larger law firms should organize and perform more pro bono activities. Trustee 1 remembered emphasizing that pro bono was “dying out” and urged a meeting to discuss this issue. As a result, the Law Society agreed to provide their offices to convene a meeting of those lawyers who wished to discuss the ‘pro bono issue’ further.

Trustee 1 canvassed many of the largest law firms and invited their lawyers to attend this Law Society meeting. Two attendees recalled independently in interviews that approximately sixty lawyers attended. Even though tens of thousands of lawyers operated in London, the participants in this study viewed this turnout as a surprising success given its timing on a Saturday morning and its ‘extracurricular’ nature.

Several of the individuals who would go on to become founders of the Pro Bono Group met for the first time during this gathering and recalled the events of the meeting. They described how many of the attendees argued that lawyers were not equipped to perform pro bono work, as large commercial law firms did not train their lawyers in ‘everyday’ legal problems.

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“A lot of the bigger firms had this problem with pro bono work as they knew – in inverted commas – that their lawyers did a lot of abstract work that wasn’t helpful for the everyday person”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 4

In contrast, a smaller contingent of the attendees asserted that lawyers could, and already were, performing some pro bono work for communities and individuals. This smaller contingent of lawyers consisted of eight senior lawyers in large law firms. These eight “disparate” individuals had not worked together previously but organized a series of follow up meetings. During these meetings, they decided to try to form a charitable organization that could organize lawyers who wished to perform pro bono work and connect them to individuals or communities in need of legal advice.

“The intention was to increase the delivery of pro bono to those who needed it. So we thought the [Pro Bono Group] should be there to facilitate and encourage lawyers to perform pro bono work, on a voluntarily basis.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 2

In 1997, the group of eight lawyers formally launched the ‘Pro Bono Group’, organizing themselves as a board of trustees and appointing a president and a chair²⁷. This chair had recently retired as a partner in a leading law firm whereas the remaining trustees continued in senior positions in their respective firms. Trustee 2 recalled how these founders initially used their personal finances to rent an office space in a large UK city. The trustees then registered the group as a charity with no share capital or debentures, which meant that no trustees would receive any financial gain from their participation. In addition to this lack of financial motivation, the trustees’ decision to create the group becomes even more puzzling when considered in terms of the

²⁷ Company registration and tax documents corroborate this date.

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competitive climate of the English legal profession. The majority of trustees performed senior roles as partners in large law firms and faced intense pressures to meet the demands of their clients and to maintain billable hours:

“It’s hardly new to point out how many hours you have to work as a lawyer. It’s still just as bad as when you’re a partner. For the trustees to be involved, especially in the early days ... it was a massive commitment simply because they already had so much going on in their day-to-day job”
Pro Bono Group Chief Executive 2

Almost all of the legal professionals who participated in this study described their daily work-life focus on generating revenues and maximizing billable hours. Several lawyers described how making money had become a chief priority in their working lives. Lawyers’ progression through the profession hinged on commercial success. As one senior lawyer working for nearly a decade described:

“if you're not going to make the money, you're not going to make it. It’s more important than your legal skills to some extent.”
Lawyer 2, Law Firm A

When probed about their motivations behind creating the group, the trustees appeared to describe it as a response to their emotional experiences of guilt and their beliefs about what lawyers ‘should’ do. To these lawyers, pro bono was an integral aspect of their professional identity.

“Why did we create the Pro Bono Group? I suppose some of it was guilt, most of us are not poor. But also... being a lawyer is about – should be about – the law. Not just for wealthy clients. So pro bono in its many forms is part of what and who I am as a lawyer.”

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Pro Bono Group Trustee 1

“I would think about that [why they joined the Group] a lot. Probably a bit of my politics. I used to ruminate on it, all these people struggling when I could help them. Every now and again it would make me feel... hmm... I don’t know. It wasn’t pleasant.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 3

“We were all similar in a way because we felt we should help. It might just be me but I thought its part of being a professional.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 7

Probing the founders around their decisions of launching the Group over time highlighted that the Group helped to resolve a strong tension between operating as a commercially successful lawyer and being a ‘traditional’ professional lawyer. A commonality across all the accounts of the initial founders and trustees of the Pro Bono Group was their belief and pride in the legal profession but also that pro bono was a central and enduring element of being a professional lawyer. They were unable or unwilling to cede this aspect of professional self. Indeed, one trustee noted that the group stemmed from professional beliefs and not from political or economic factors.

“It [The Pro Bono Group] was absolutely not a response to legal aid or ministers suggesting ...threatening...that law firms should do more. That’s not the case at all. I agree we have a professional responsibility but not because a politician says we should.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 1

Whilst a professional identity or a sense of professional self was an important aspect of the participants’ broader self-identity, the meaning of this identity appeared to vary across different lawyers. To the lawyers who were intimately involved in the Pro Bono Group, the professional traditions of English law represented an important and

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powerful source of meaning that shaped their notions of what it means to be and behave as a lawyer.

“I could not just drop it. I could not say, well being a lawyer used to be about upholding the law and doing pro bono but now it isn’t, no problem.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 1

“For them [Group trustees], volunteer work is a big part of their professional lives. It is who they are, they’ve been doing it for years and wouldn’t just stop”

Group chief executive 2

Similarly, for the individual lawyers who volunteered to support the Pro Bono Group following its launch, contradictions between commercial targets and volunteering appeared to be frequent source of concern. As one volunteer described, *“how can you not think about it?”* Several lawyers recalled how that these tensions often weighed heavily on their minds. Many lawyers described it as ‘unfair’ for society or as a ‘corruption’ of their profession.

“As a lawyer you have to believe in the law, it’s part of who you are. At least it is for me. You learn it, practice and protect people with it. So, to use it to make money – and only money – seems to be corrupting it a bit.”

Lawyer 17, Law Firm A

In this way, though the frequency and intensity of these contradictions varied by individual, these contradictions appeared to induce reflection and thought for many of the lawyers who would take an active and early role in the Pro Bono Group.

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“I wasn’t at the very start but I was onboard [with the Pro Bono Group] pretty early. It was the right thing to do and part of what I believe law is about.”

Pro Bono Group Trustee 5

It is important to stress that whilst the lawyers who were involved in the Pro Bono Group re-asserted the pro bono aspect of their professional identity in the face of commercial pressures, this was not the case for all lawyers in the wider legal profession. In contrast, some lawyers appeared to acquiesce in the new commercial order: “I think... well... pro bono was something I thought was a good idea but I don’t think it’s what I am ... what I am supposed to do as a lawyer now” (Lawyer 6, Law Firm A). Similarly, other lawyers were willing to accept contradictions: “I feel bad, sometimes. Maybe not bad. I could do more but my job is to bill hours and get the revenue” (Lawyer 18, Law Firm A). These accounts suggest that many lawyers’ ‘job’ dictates their decisions and often subjugates their role and beliefs about what a lawyer should do. In this way, the emotional and identity related contractions of the pro bono workers were not necessarily common across the profession and varied by individual.

Indeed, the Group appeared to face an uphill battle to succeed in encouraging more pro bono work. Trade publications in 1998 and 1999 indicate that several lawyers had expressed further concerns that the Law Society was not doing enough to support pro bono work and that solicitors did not view pro bono work as a core part of their practice (Malpas, 1999).

During its first year of operation, to supplement their self-investment, the Group approached several large law firms and requested two years of funding to support ongoing rent and running costs. The Group also asked these law firms to communicate

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the opportunities for pro bono work to their lawyers. In return, the Group provided these sponsors with membership of the Pro Bono Group. As Trustee 2 recounts, the executives made a concerted effort to ‘get around’ city law firms (i.e., to sell the benefits of membership to Pro Bono Group and receive further funding) and utilized their relationships to open up doors to magic circle law firms²⁸, in particular. In its first year, the Pro Bono Group received approximately £100,000 of funding from eleven large law firms for two years. These eleven law firms were the primary source of funding, though the group did receive a small one-off grant from the Law Society.

In its first year of operation, the Group employed a secretary and a chief executive to oversee the day to operations of the Group. Minutes from the Group’s trustee meetings detail how, in 1998, the Group opened its first clinic and therefore began to deliver pro bono work. The clinic was located in a city community centre, where individuals in need of legal help could drop in or book an appointment. Volunteer lawyers (or law students) staffed this Pro Bono Group clinic and provided free initial advice on housing matters, social welfare issues, employment law and consumer disputes.

The Pro Bono Group was particularly novel because it operated outside of an individual law firm whilst utilizing volunteer lawyers across several firms. Until that point, each law firm tended to maintain their own portfolio of pro bono work and employed their own lawyers to perform these tasks. The Group’s internal reports show that over the space of three years, the trustees had met fifteen times. These meetings reflected the continued effort of the trustees to organize the Group and to lay the foundation for its expansion.

²⁸ The ‘Magic Circle’ is an informal term to describe the five leading law firms headquartered in the United Kingdom.

4.2.2 Expanding (2000 – 2005)

This subsection describes the growth of the Pro Bono Group and considers how the Group began to collaborate with the wider legal community to deliver pro bono. It therefore draws on interviews with volunteer lawyers, senior partners in law firms as well as employees within the enlarged Pro Bono Group. Table 11 below outlines the milestones that reflect the Pro Bono Group's growth.

TABLE 11: Expanding: History and Milestones of the Pro Bono Group

Stage	Year	Key events of the Pro Bono Group
EXPANDING	2001	The Group appoints a new Chair. Increases staff numbers from 2 to 5. Provides pro bono training to over 1,000 individuals in law firms. Begins to undertake pro bono projects (e.g., web based advice project and community initiatives).
	2002	Establishes over 2,000 volunteering opportunities (for lawyers to volunteer their help to those in need). Launches student conferences throughout England. Launches an international pro bono directory (to help individuals find legal help around the world). Launches first Summer Ball, an event where law firms pay to attend to support the Group. Introduces the 'Forum', where volunteer lawyers come together to discuss pro bono activities each month. Launches National Pro Bono Week along with The Law Society and several government agencies.
	2003	Advises 16,000 people through Clinics.

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		Provides legal advice to 200 Community groups. Launches first Awards dinner, awarding Law Firms for their pro bono efforts.
	2004	Launches a series of talks to provide practical advice for Community Groups. Manages its 500 th Community case. Organizes further student conferences around the country. Hosts International Pro Bono breakfast in Prague. Inaugurates seniors project, seeking to involve recently retired lawyers in pro bono.
	2005	Appoints new Chief Executive. Helps 25,000 individuals through clinics. Helps 250 Community Groups. Sets up London bombings helpline. Introduces Pro Bono Protocol (to promote and support consistently high standards of pro bono work).

The second major stage of the Pro Bono Group is a sustained period of expansion. This began in late 1999, when a new chief executive joined the Group. This chief executive received a salary. Several trustees described in interviews how this new chief executive, having previously been a lawyer, utilized their network of contacts to approach more law firms. In a series of meetings with large law firms, typically in the city of London, the new chief executive began to grow the base of law firm support by articulating the benefits of the Pro Bono Group. These benefits included the provision of pro bono training for volunteers. The Group also offered to organize the demand for each law firm's pro bono activities, thereby preventing individuals in need of legal support inundating the law firms directly. This was particularly valuable, as many leading law

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firms did not employ any coordinators to manage this time consuming and difficult practice. As a subsequent chief executive of the Pro Group described:

“A lot more law firms started to get on board as they realized that this [the Pro Bono Group] was something that could help them. Back in 2000 or so, there weren’t pro bono co-coordinators in these law firms. And the membership [to the Pro Bono Group] was thousands of pounds so just a drop in the ocean to the large law firms.

Pro Bono Group Chief Executive 2

From the perspective of the law firms, the Pro Bono Group’s offering was valuable but in a slightly different way.

“At the time I was in charge of pro bono for the firm, we were already doing that sort of work. But what you need to remember is that a lot of partners would do pro bono work for their own interests. Maybe for their local parish community centre in [an affluent area of England]. That’s not really in the....spirit of pro bono work. What [the Pro Bono Group] offered was a way of removing these conflicts of interest and funneling the right sort of work to us.”

Ex-partner, Law Firm B

In addition to the efforts of the new chief executive to garner new interest from law firms, many of the trustees began to approach the government for greater financial support. These attempts met with some success, as one government agency provided a grant to assist in the provision of pro bono work. Given the decline in the provision of legal aid, the British government’s ministry of justice (then the Lord Chancellors Department) was prepared to demonstrate its support for pro bono initiatives through a small investment. As one lawyer intimately involved in the process described:

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“I think, from the department’s [of Justice] point of view, it was an easy sell. They want people to get legal help and they can give this group [the Pro Bono Group] some funding and they can run it”

Trustee 6

With the increase in funding coming from a variety of sources, the Pro Bono Group began to recruit more staff. By 2001, the Group had increased its employees from two to five according to their internal records. These paid staff reported to the Chief Executive and began to manage discrete areas of the organization. For example, specific employees managed membership from law firms, organized legal clinics and handled casework or applications from both individuals and community groups. This demonstrates how the Group began to formalize its expanding operations.

This new staffing also helped to formalize the processes of providing pro bono work, thereby producing more opportunities for legal volunteers. In particular, the Group developed a series of steps to ‘filter’ and organize individuals’ requests for pro bono help. The Group also launched web-based advice, which became the first port of call for individuals in need by providing legal information guides or factsheets. For individuals requiring more specific help, the website also provided a list of clinics for individuals to visit. If an individual required further support to manage a legal issue, they could then contact the Pro Bono Group directly through its website, by phone or by post to apply for a solicitor or mediator to support their legal casework. This application process asked individuals about their financial eligibility (i.e., whether they could fund legal advice by themselves) and examined the legal merit and suitability of the case for pro bono support. If an individual met the appropriate criteria, then the Pro Bono Group would connect volunteer lawyers to their particular case. In creating a series of stages to establish the

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needs of individuals, the Pro Bono Group was able to provide support to more people and with greater efficiency. As a result, by 2002 the Group had created 2,000 cases or opportunities for volunteer lawyers to share their legal skills with individuals in need, again demonstrating its continuing expansion.

The Group also began what one interview participant described as an “information campaign”. The Group’s trustees and chief executive attempted to communicate the importance of pro bono work across the entire legal profession. This included the creation of ‘forums’, where volunteer lawyers could meet and discuss their work. The Group’s trustees also attempted to explain the role of the group to judges, barristers and those lawyers working outside of law firms.

“The group really made an effort to bring in and involve all sorts. They recruited trustees to the board from the legal departments of big corporations [...] and they involved the bar, too. I’m not sure if it was pushing against an open door but most of us accepted that pro bono was important”

Trustee 7

As detailed in numerous legal publications, one of the Group’s most significant communication initiatives was the launch of National Pro Bono week in 2002. In conjunction with several government agencies and the Law Society, the Pro Bono Group organized a weeklong series of events throughout cities in England and Wales. Press releases from the time describe some of the events, including exhibitions, presentations and training sessions for lawyers on relevant pro bono topics (e.g., disability legislation). This weeklong activity across England showcased what different law firms were doing in terms of pro bono and explained the nature of legal pro bono work. As one senior lawyer

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(Lawyer 20, Law Firm A) remarked, “national pro bono week made a massive difference in getting the word out about pro bono and reminding lawyers that it is part and parcel of their responsibility”.

The Group’s trustees and employees attempted to ‘spread the word’ and to provide a call to action for more pro bono work. As one of the founder of the Pro Bono Group described:

“Getting the word out, definitely one of the key concerns of the Group. Pro bono won’t happen without volunteers. Volunteers won’t appear unless you make a compelling case for them to help. We wanted [the Pro Bono Group] to succeed so you have to tell the profession.”

Trustee 2

In this way, the creation of the Pro Bono Group did more than just articulate a desire for change. The Group also proffered a process or way that this change could occur (i.e., the Group filtered and organized potential cases to manage demand for free legal advice and then matching this with the supply of volunteer lawyers). This appeared to be crucial throughout the development of the Pro Bono Group, particularly in terms of its growth. In this way, whilst ideals appeared to explain the emergence of the Group, it was pragmatism that allowed it to expand.

“It was more than just expressing what we and [the Pro Bono Group] wanted. It was about explaining how we could work with law firms to make it happen. More of a call to action.”

Lawyer 12, Law Firm A

The nature of the Pro Bono Group’s calls for change shifted over time. It slowly gradually sought greater numbers of lawyers and law firms to support its cause. It also

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progressed from soliciting small financial support to requesting more sustained financial investment to support an array of projects.

“I remember at the start [of the Pro Bono Group], we would ask a handful of law firms for investment. Now there are hundreds of law firms and government agencies and bodies that [the Group] talks to try and get them on board and involved in doing pro bono activities.”

Trustee 2

Beyond law firms, the Pro Bono Group also attempted to inform students of the role of pro bono by initiating student conferences in 2002 and 2004. This call to action appeared to connect with at least a few trainee lawyers on an emotional level: “That was definitely a big part of it, feeling a bit a bit like I should really be helping... that made me want to get involved [in the Pro Bono Group] (Student lawyer)”. In contrast, however, many junior lawyers recognized the career benefits of free training offered by the Group.

The Group also began to expand geographically, opening an office in another large city.

“we...grew steadily after 2001...then... then further growth, both in terms of more members and in breadth of operations. For example, we opened a branch in the North of England”

Chief Executive 2

In this way, the formation and strengthening of the Pro Bono Group communicated both professionals’ desire for change and a way to achieve change. The Group enjoyed significant expansion from 2000. By 2005, it had helped over 25,000 individuals through clinics and over 250 community groups. Moreover, the Group was

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beginning to communicate with a variety of individuals within the English legal profession.

4.2.3 Embedding (2006 – current)

Following a sustained period of expansion, the Pro Bono Group gradually began to embed into the English legal profession. This subsection employs extracts from a variety of interviews and reports to reflect the Pro Bono Group's engagement with a wide variety of legal professionals as it achieved a central position in the English legal profession. Furthermore, this subsection draws on observations, which the researcher was able to employ during the most recent years of the Group's operation. Examples of observations include viewing volunteer lawyers performing pro bono work and attending pro bono meetings. Table 12 below outlines some of the Group's key events that occurred during this stage.

TABLE 12: Embedding: History and Milestones of the Pro Bono Group

Stage	Year	Key events of the Pro Bono Group
EMBEDDING	2006	The Queen of Great Britain and Northern Island awards a Trustee a CBE. Launches 50 th Clinic. Helps 33,000 people through clinics. Receives accreditation from the Civil Mediation Council to provide mediation. Publishes Students Pro Bono Report. Launches pro bono student awards - attorney general involved (award ceremony in houses of parliament).
	2007	The Queen of Great Britain and Northern Island awards several trustees

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		a CBE or OBE. Provides pro bono advice to individuals worth £338,000,000. Receives funding from the Law Society for Student Project Manager post. Starts mediation Advisory Clinics. Trained (cumulatively) 775 lawyers. Launches National Pro Bono Conference (bringing together people interested in pro bono to show law firms how pro bono could expand). Celebrates Tenth anniversary.
	2008	Organizes further students awards ceremony. Holds Annual Awards Ball at the Inner Temple. Holds 50th Trustee Meeting.
	2009	Receives Ministry of Justice matched funding of £50,000.
	2010	Receives direct funding from the Law society. Employs 10 employees. Moves to new, larger offices. Launches 100th advice clinic. Reaches membership of nearly 100 law firms with financial support of ~£1,000,000.

Following 2005, the benefits of engaging with the Pro Bono Group became increasingly obvious to many law firms. For example, the Group offered an effective way of organizing the demand and managing the supply of pro bono legal advice to those in need. It also conferred a positive image onto its members, as interactions with the Group demonstrated a degree of corporate social responsibility. This was a particularly important feature as law firms became increasingly aware of their external image. As virtually all the participants in this study noted, lawyers' clients increasingly demanded

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that law firms supported some form of charitable work and invested effort into wider social responsibility. One partner in a law firm started that “*clients don’t just want CSR, they expect it*”. Pro bono is the essence of that for the legal firms:

“Most firms these days have to do some sort of social responsibility and that’s true for law firms too. We could paint houses but as a profession, we possess a unique set of skills by being able to provide legal advice. Pro bono is a logical way to be responsible”

Lawyer 7, Law Firm B

It was only through collaboration with other organizations that the Pro Bono Group was able to function and enact the change it desired (i.e., performing more pro bono work through a centralized system). Such collaboration happened in a number of different ways. For example, large law firms provided financial support to the Pro Bono Group in return for the Group organizing some of their pro bono work. In a further example, lawyers within these law firms collaborated with the Pro Bono Group to volunteer their legal expertise and, in return, received professional experience and personal satisfaction.

“Although it might not seem it, [the Pro Bono Group] is a two way process Yes I help them and manage cases for people who couldn’t afford help or legal aid but I get benefits too. Obviously it can be personally rewarding but it’s also good opportunity to really work directly with a client. Most of my normal work is part of a team and a bit removed.”

Lawyer 12, Law Firm A

The motivations behind law firms’ collaborative efforts to support the Pro Bono Group varied. For example, some of the senior lawyers spoke of altruistic reasons such as believing in the “pro bono cause”. Other lawyers in the firms spoke of the organizational benefits that the Group provided, such as providing a socially responsible image to clients

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and organizing the supply of legal help for those in need. In this way, there appeared to be a mix of both ‘noble’ and self-interested motivations.

“Law firms saw that joining [the Pro Bono Group] offered a good image and also appealed to a lot of their lawyers who wanted to do pro bono work. From a management point of view, it also gave junior lawyers a chance to gain some invaluable experience, with levels of responsibility they wouldn’t have until much later in their careers. So it was definitely mutually beneficial”

Trustee 2

Over time, greater number of lawyers and legal firms pledged and provided their support to the Pro Bono Group. These law firms recognized the Pro Bono Group’s call for change and, eventually, more and more firms felt that they had to respond.

“By about 2006 or around then, I’m not sure, the bigger law firms could not ignore [the Pro Bono Group]. So many other firms were connected to it. It was kind of a tipping point. Why would you not want to support pro bono work?”

Partner, Law Firm A

Given the increase in interest, the law firms became more and more involved and worked increasingly closely with the Pro Bono Group. For example, several firms appointed pro bono coordinators who would work directly with their Pro Bono Group colleagues. In addition to increases in investment of people and time, law firms also increased their financial investment. As a result, the Pro Bono Group’s collaboration with the legal professional community widened and strengthened over time.

In this way, membership of the Pro Bono Group not only demonstrated law firm’s societal commitments to their clients but also enabled them to manage the process of

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performing pro bono work more easily. Thus, there continued to be growth in the number of law firms paying for membership to the Group. As a result, funding continued to increase, leading to the launch of the fiftieth clinic. As the number of clinics continued to climb, so too did the number of opportunities for lawyers to help those in need. By 2006, the Group had helped 33,000 people through its clinics.

On the back of sustained growth over several years, the Pro Bono Group gradually achieved a significant presence in the English legal profession. For example, through reoccurring annual events like National Pro Bono Week, the Group had become ‘the voice’ of pro bono in the profession.

“I think in... 2006...a few years after the...instigation of the national pro bono week. [The Group] had become the legitimate voice of the solicitor’s profession for pro bono. It highlighted pro bono to the legal profession because it represented about sixty law firms, demonstrated pro bono going on in law firms to the rest of the profession and demonstrated the possibilities of properly organized pro bono work.”

Pro Bono Group Chief Executive 2

Indeed, numerous participants in this study noted that the Pro Bono Group had become a legitimate organization and an established part of how the English legal profession managed and performed pro bono work. Trade publications (e.g., the Law Gazette, the Lawyer) and national newspapers (e.g., The Guardian) often discussed the Group and acknowledged it as one of the largest legal charities in England. Several of the participants in this study described how the Group became the ‘new’ approach to pro bono, particularly in terms of the larger London city law firms.

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“Most law firms – certainly the larger ones – now have pro bono co-coordinators who organize the firm’s pro bono efforts. Although law firms tend not to usually collaborate, these co-coordinators do speak to each other across law firms to figure out who can do what pro bono work. Naturally, they speak to [the Pro Bono Group] as they can screen and provide the work”

Law Firm partner 7

A series of observations of the Group’s forum meetings (where legal volunteers met to discuss their pro bono activities) demonstrated the significant role the Pro Bono Group now played in the legal profession. A large number of leading law firms employed pro-bono coordinators to manage their pro bono activities. Invariably, the Group supplied these coordinators with cases and communicated on a frequent basis. During monthly forum meetings, the coordinators would discuss the progress of managing cases referred by the Pro Bono Group and their attempts to encourage lawyers to take on more pro bono work. Gradually, the Group had become a “hub”, connecting hundreds of collaborating law firms to one another through pro bono work. As such the legal profession had embedded the Group.

In further recognition of the Group’s central role in the English legal profession, the Law Society provided further funding of £120,000 for the Group in 2007-2008. This investment was to enable the Group to organize and train law students in welfare law to perform pro bono work. According to the Law Society’s corporate governance board minutes, students’ exposure to welfare law in law school pro bono clinics “may have the positive effect of encouraging greater numbers to adopt legal aid as a career”. This investment in law students strengthened the Group’s efforts to engage with students, in addition to awarding prizes to students who had performed outstanding pro bono work. In

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2007, the Group held the awards ceremony in the Houses of Parliament, demonstrating, yet again, the central role that the Group had taken within the wider English society.

In perhaps the most obvious sign of the Pro Bono Group's acquisition of legitimacy, the Queen of England awarded four of the group's trustees with CBEs or OBEs²⁹ across 2005 and 2006. The Queen bestowed these awards based on these trustees' efforts in supporting and enabling pro bono work for the benefit of the community.

Government records also document that the British government continued to support the Group's efforts when, in 2009, the Ministry of Justice provided matched funding to the Group. Matched funding meant that the Ministry provided £50,000 alongside a range of other legal firms who also provided £50,000. In total, therefore, the Group received £100,000 of further funding to support their pro bono efforts.

The benefits offered by membership of the Group alongside recognition from a range of professional and public bodies certainly contributes to explaining why, at the time of writing, the Pro Bono Group works with nearly 100 member law firms. The Group counts 25,000 volunteer lawyers as assisting it each year. These volunteers support hundreds of voluntary organizations (approximately 350) and tens of thousands of individuals (over 40,000 people) annually. In yet a further example of its growing influence, in recent years several law firms allowed their lawyers who give their time to the Group to count these hours towards their billable hours.

²⁹ Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) and Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (OBE). The Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland awards CBEs for having a prominent but lesser role at national level or a leading role at regional level or for a distinguished, innovative contribution to any area. The Queen of England awards OBEs for having a major local role in any activity, including people whose work has made them known nationally in their chosen area (British government, 2013, <https://www.gov.uk/honours/types-of-honours-and-awards>).

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Looking back on the journey of the Pro Bono Group over more than fifteen years, several of the original trustees suggested that the success of the Group has shaped the performance of pro bono in the English legal profession.

“Yes, [The Pro Bono Group] has been successful in raising the profile of pro bono to lots of lawyers. When we started, pro bono used to be seen as quite left wing and something hidden away in law firms. But now, law firms see the benefits of pro bono for their image with clients and recruiting young lawyers. Now there is an enthusiasm amongst lawyers to give something back and an opportunity for them to do so through [the Group].

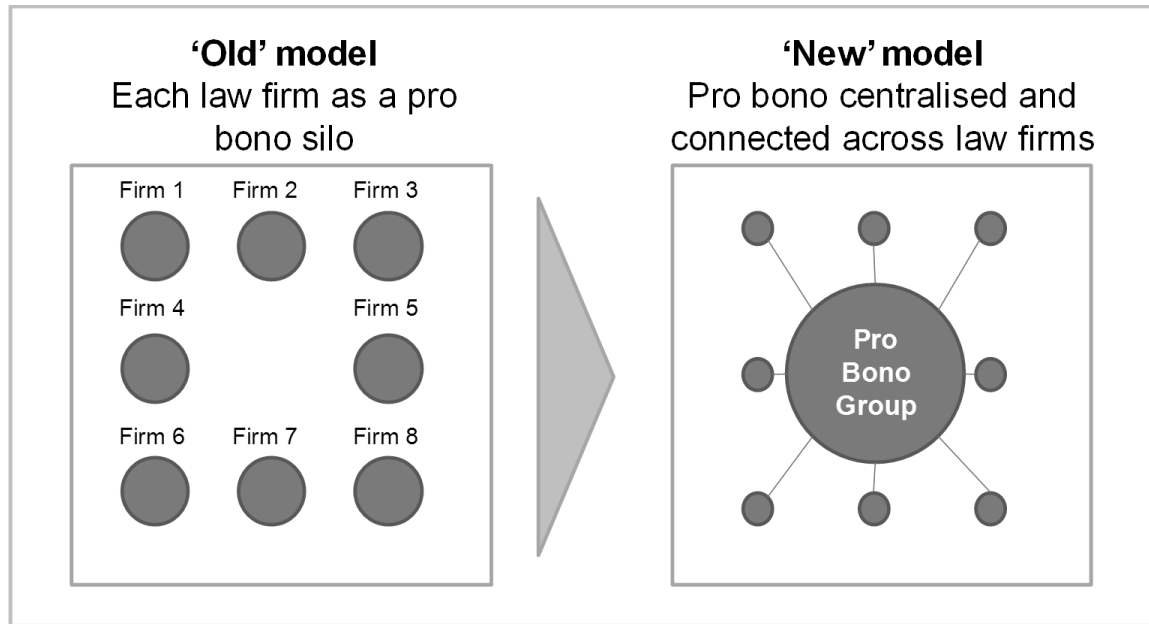
Trustee 2

As detailed in their internal charter and public relations information, the Pro Bono Group sought to be England’s leading legal pro bono charity for solicitors and students. Through the combined efforts of numerous volunteers across the legal sector, the Group appears to have achieved this aim. The individuals and member organizations who volunteer their efforts and finances do so for a variety of reasons. Whilst altruism appears to be a significant explanation, law firms also benefit from membership in terms that are more practical. For example, the Group helps to manage the complex process of organizing pro bono work and provides another example of law firms’ corporate and social responsibility. Yet, as one trustee pointed out, it is through the collective efforts of the legal community that *“our desire to do more pro bono and to do it in a better way became a reality”*. The case study of the Pro Bono Group thereby appears to recount the efforts of institutional workers.

4.2.4 Effecting institutional change (current)

As the Pro Bono Group grew and developed into a legitimate organization, it began to have a wider impact by re-shaping the institution of pro bono work within the English legal profession. Indeed, the group's legitimacy facilitated the transformation of how law firms delivered and organized their pro bono work. As illustrated in figure 12 below, in the 'old' model, law firms often operated in silos by managing their own pro bono work. In the 'new' model, following the success of the Pro Bono Group, law firms communicated and worked together through the Group to perform pro bono work. This is not to suggest that each law firm stopped all of their independent pro bono work but, rather, that they allocated much more of their efforts into a centralized system. Furthermore, the rise of the Pro Bono Group led to an increase in communication between law firms in terms of pro bono work. This was most obvious in the Group's forum meetings where a variety of law firms' pro bono coordinators and volunteer lawyers would openly discuss pro bono matters.

FIGURE 12: Effecting change: Transformation of the Pro Bono Institution within the English Legal Profession



Many of the lawyers that took part in this study performed pro bono activities through the Pro Bono Group. This work provided a range of benefits, such as training, a good 'image' to clients and more efficient pro bono operations for law firms. For the original founders, the success of the Group allowed them to address, at least in part, their contradictions and emotional experiences of guilt.

"Cathartic in many ways. It is nice to do actually get a thank you from someone in need and to know that you have made a difference. You are truly being a lawyer, that's what it feels like"

Trustee 2

As highlighted in the extract above, the Pro Bono Group, with the support of other legal organizations, provided the opportunity for legal professionals to enact traditional

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professional roles in new ways. Through these performances, some individuals were able to reconcile contradictions within their professional identity.

“It balances out. Working with a bank and working on a deal for millions. Then working in a clinic and helping someone for nothing. Feels like I’m a decent lawyer.”

Lawyer 7, Law Firm A

The Group gradually attained legitimacy and integrated into the English legal profession. During its early stages, the Pro Bono Group lacked legitimacy in the eyes of its profession. It received some small funding from a limited number of law firms and relied on a few dedicated lawyers to operate. Aside from relying on a few law firms and lawyer volunteers, it had limited interaction with its professional body or government agencies.

“I think the politest way to put it is that they [the Law Society] were...distant. Certainly when we started out. We did get some money at the start but it only become regular support years later.”

Trustee 10

Eventually, however, more and more lawyers, law firms and legal professionals began to engage with and support the Pro Bono Group. Indeed, many legal professionals’ descriptions typified how the new ways of managing pro bono had replaced the old:

“It’s not an exaggeration to say that [the Pro Bono Group] took centre stage for providing pro bono in the legal profession”

Trustee 2

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“If you wanted to do pro bono, now you go to [the Pro Bono Group]. It’s not all in-house these days.”

Lawyer 29, Law Firm A

The collective efforts of the professionals shaped their profession. Indeed, the profession reflected the work of its professionals. As one trustee of the Pro Bono Group posited:

“What we do is what we are. So, if more and more of us [lawyers] are working pro bono, then pro bono is an important part of our profession.”

Trustee 1

Although the Pro Bono Group had initially lacked professional recognition and legitimacy, it eventually found it as numerous newspapers and legal publications began to reference the group. Moreover, it began to work more closely with greater numbers of law firms and tens of thousands of lawyers. In doing so, the Group changed the nature of pro bono in the English legal profession by creating a new process to deliver pro bono help. In this way, the Group’s new ways of managing pro bono achieved integration into its professional field and exerted a strong normative influence on how professionals should behave in terms of their pro bono efforts. Indeed, the Group has focused the efforts of volunteers to raise the profile of pro bono beyond law firms and to transform the process of delivering help to those in need within the English legal profession.

The new way of performing pro bono was a subtle change and did not completely override or replace all existing practices. For example, interviews with lawyers revealed that law firms did not necessarily perform all of their pro bono work through the Pro Bono Group. Furthermore, the new practices of pro bono work continued to operate

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alongside other established objectives, such as billable hours. Many lawyers performed this change (i.e. engaged with the Pro Bono Group) relatively infrequently a few times a month often for a few hours each time. As such, the Pro Bono Group and its supporters simultaneously changed and maintained aspects of the English legal profession.

Nonetheless, as greater numbers of lawyers committed their energies and efforts to supporting the Pro Bono Group, they were able to develop a new way of performing old roles. They were also able to integrate the changes to pro bono practices into their current ways of working. Indeed, as one volunteer lawyer (Lawyer 26, Law Firm A) described, *“The Pro Bono Group is synonymous with legal volunteering now. If you want to actually help people in need that’s where you go.”* In this way, the Group represented more than just a new legal organization as it also established a new way of managing and organizing the institution of pro bono work within the English legal profession. The Pro Bono Group therefore helped lawyers to reclaim old roles and reinvigorate eroding traditions.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS - CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

In accordance with the process of grounded theory (O'Reilly et al., 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), this chapter abstracts and conceptualizes significant incidents or ideas found within this case study to generate key themes (known as conceptual categories). This chapter separates into two main sections. The first develops conceptual categories from the 'emerging' period of the case study. These conceptual categories focus on the micro-level processes of identity and emotion and help to explain how and why the Pro Bono Group emerged. The second section examines the 'expanding', 'embedding' and 'effecting institutional change' periods of the case study. This examination leads to conceptual categories that focus on the meso and macro-level processes, which enabled the Pro Bono Group to accomplish institutional change.

To ensure all of the interpretations that led to the development of each conceptual category remain grounded in the participants' accounts and actions, this chapter refers to some illustrative examples or instances from the case study. However, as it seeks to avoid excessive repetition of the case study, many more examples of key incidents that substantiate each concept and conceptual category are available in the appendix (see appendix 5).

5.1 CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES OF EMERGING WORK

Figure 13 below provides a visual representation of the inductive analysis, showing how this thesis moved from the descriptions in the preceding case study to identifying more

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abstract or ‘second-order’ micro-processes of institutional work. This section considers each of the categories displayed in the figure 13.

FIGURE 13: A Structure of Identity Work and Emotion Work in Response to Contradiction



5.1.1 Contemporary demands on professionals

One of the theoretical categories that emerged through the analytical process is entitled ‘contemporary demands on professionals.’ At an abstracted level, this refers to the expectations that professionals experience when performing their work. At the empirical level, this category captures the increasingly commercial commitments of being a lawyer. In the case study, almost all of the legal professionals described their daily work-life focus on generating revenues and maximizing billable hours. Several lawyers described how making money had become the number one priority in their working lives. Indeed, lawyers’ progression through the profession hinged on commercial success.

Participants with more experience in the legal profession often noted this commercial perspective as ‘new’ and increasingly dominant. This dominance stemmed from the idea that lawyers achieved professional success through a financial focus. As Lawyer 18 (law firm A) described, “Doing law became a lot more about moving money around and making money than upholding the law. That’s certainly true in my firm and it’s not how it used to be.”

These contemporary demands exerted significant control over professionals. Lawyers accounts described the increasing emphasis across law firms to account for every few minutes of lawyers’ time and how increasingly complex measurement systems and metrics aided this accounting. This led to lawyers feeling that they had less and less control over their own time. Ultimately, these commercial demands could exert such a dominating influence on the individuals in this study because there were many other individuals eager to trade places with the current crop of lawyers. As such, lawyers often felt easily replaceable:

“I know, I know. You think, why put up with all this hard work when you’re not even a partner? Well, you think you will get there one day and make a lot of money. But, it’s also a nice status thing to be able to say you are a city lawyer. And you’re well paid compared to most. If I quit today someone else would be in my chair tomorrow.”

Lawyer 14, Law Firm A

In the broader context of the English legal profession, lawyers appeared to possess little control over the increasingly dominant commercial demands. As highlighted in the case study, law firms’ practices and law firms’ clients exerted considerable pressure on lawyers to compete on commercial aspects of their work. This often manifested in lawyers’ long working hours. These pressures were not simply limited to junior lawyers. As a former Chief Executive of the Pro Bono Group remarked “It’s hardly new to point out how many hours you have to work as a lawyer. It’s still just as bad as when you’re a partner.” This suggests that it would be difficult for lawyers to perform non-commercial activities such as pro bono work.

5.1.2 Eroding professional traditions

One of the key theoretical categories that emerged during the analysis was ‘eroding professional traditions’, which refers to deteriorating customs and ways of working within a profession. At an empirical level, the case study highlighted that many lawyers believed that there was an established and rich tradition of performing pro bono work within the legal profession. Indeed, the institution of pro bono within the English legal profession appeared to be incredibly durable, dating back to the Magna Carta. Although the actual widespread performance of pro bono work appeared uncertain, many lawyers

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held that pro bono “distinguishes a noble profession from other forms of employment - some vision beyond the next chargeable hour” (Rozenberg, 2002). Indeed, numerous secondary sources such as legal publications and texts proclaimed the history and importance of pro bono work (e.g., Boon & Abbey, 1997; Hilsenrath, 2012; Miller & Hard, 1993).

However, in the 1990s – prior to the launch of the Pro Bono Group – there appeared to be many barriers that prevented lawyers performing pro bono work. Law firms often labeled this work as ‘a bit pinko.’ As trustee 4 of the Pro Bono Group recalled, “A lot of the bigger firms had this problem with pro bono work, as they knew – in inverted commas – that their lawyers did a lot of abstract work that wasn’t helpful for the everyday person.” Furthermore, many of the mechanisms of pro bono work appeared to be faulty, such as the network of CABs that lacked funding and could not or did not respond to lawyers’ requests.

There therefore appeared to be a discrepancy between ‘traditional’ conceptions of being a lawyer and the ‘new’ needs of the legal profession. In particular, numerous legal professionals spoke of the tradition of ‘upholding the law’ for everyone yet acknowledged that meeting commercial commitments now took precedent. As one trustee acknowledged, in the 1990s, these changing professional practices were often at the expense of pro bono work.

“It [Pro Bono] was afterthought in [Law Firm]. It was an unnecessary extra”

Trustee 4

In reviewing the case study data, several of the trustees of the Pro Bono Group spoke of these inconsistencies with reference to time; ‘remembering’ and ‘recalling’ different customs of being a lawyer. There was a recognition that legal work had changed and that, as a result, many of the responsibilities lawyers felt were central to their profession had eroded or taken a back seat. In this way, the participants in this study recognized a high level of inconsistency around the nature of being a professional lawyer in England. On the one hand, it was vital to meet their commercial commitments yet, on the other, some lawyers felt that they should seek to continue the tradition of performing pro bono work.

5.1.3 Contradiction within a professional identity³⁰

In this study, ‘contradiction within a professional identity’ refers to a tension or opposing set of meanings that problematizes how individuals understand their professional selves. For the participants in this study, this tension related to lawyers experiencing and internalizing competing pressures between their commercial commitments and their traditional obligations to uphold the law for everyone (i.e., by performing pro bono work).

The intensity of these contradictions appeared to relate, at least in part, to lawyers pride in their profession. Almost every lawyer who participated in this study described their pride in being a professional lawyer and recognized their profession as an important aspect of their sense of self. For example, numerous participants described the high social

³⁰ As discussed later, this category represents the core category or the main theme of the research, which links all the other categories together into a coherent story (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). This is the key indicator or explanation of behaviour that occurs in a specific context.

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status and significant salary of being a lawyer. Moreover, the participants believed that being a lawyer was an important role in English society, as lawyers upheld the law and ensured there was justice. This pride in their profession also stemmed from the important role of lawyers throughout history. In this way, many of the participants in this study expressed their belief that lawyers are essential for maintaining law and order in society and that they were, therefore, part of a noble profession.

“You get well paid and there is....a status. You know, when people are in trouble it the lawyers they’ll ask for help. There’s a long history of law in our country and I like the fact that I am a part of it.”

Lawyer 22, Law Firm A

Almost all of the participants explicitly stated that their work as lawyers made them a ‘professional.’ When probed, many of the participants found it difficult to explain what it meant to be a professional. However, they tended to emphasize that being a legal professional meant being in an exclusive occupation, which required intelligence and academic achievement. They also noted that they possessed unique skills. In this way, the lawyers identified their profession as being elite and affording them high social status.

This notion of playing a valuable role in society emerged as a constant theme across the lawyers participating in this study. Numerous interviewees described law as the ‘noble profession’ and their pride in supporting the profession. Bound up in many of these individuals’ notions of being a lawyer was a belief that they should provide justice. Yet, most of the lawyers explained that the majority of their time was spent working on commercial cases for their employing law firms. This produced a tension or contradiction about who they felt they were as lawyers - what a lawyer ought to do and what they

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actually did. In particular, this contradiction related to the contrast between new commercial pressures and old traditional expectations of being a lawyer.

“Lawyers always like to say they’re part of a noble profession. That’s all well and good but if you look at what they actually do, there’s not a lot of nobility there. You can’t have it both ways. We are supposed to help but we don’t. That isn’t right.”

Trustee 5

These contradictions were a very frequent feature in the accounts of the founders of the Pro Bono Group. These legal professionals appeared to hang onto traditional notions of being a lawyer. Whilst this provided a sense of pride and positive sense of self, it also emphasized and highlighted a tension related to the competing and commercial notions of being a lawyer. For the individual lawyers who volunteered to support the Pro Bono Group, the constant prioritization of commercial commitments over the ideal of upholding the law served as pieces of contradictory or disconfirming evidence to their expectations of being a professional lawyer. As one volunteer described, “how can you not think about it?” Furthermore, for those individuals who founded the Pro Bono Group, these contradictions were important and significant. In this way, though the frequency and intensity of these contradictions varied by individual, these contradictions appeared to induce reflection on the legal profession for many of the lawyers involved in the early stages of the Pro Bono Group.

5.1.4 Identity re-asserting work

The theoretical category of ‘identity re-asserting work’ refers to individuals actively reflecting on their professional identity contradictions, and drawing on traditions to re-

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affirm certain notions of what it means to be a professional. In this study, this process took the form of some lawyers recalling or remembering the tradition (or perhaps myth) of pro bono work and drawing on these memories as a source of meaning to sustain their notion of what it is to be a professional lawyer. This re-asserting identity work maintains some of the traditions that compete with the prevailing commercial expectations, thereby sustaining the contradiction within a professional identity. In this way, the micro-process of identity re-asserting work serves to reinforce and strengthen the contradictions that some professionals experience.

In this study, the trustees of the Pro Bono Group often described how they ‘remembered’ or ‘recollected’ the tradition of pro bono work.

“I remember voluntary work being different, more important. Certainly an aspect of our law.”

Trustee 2

“I can recollect when...when I was starting, there was more of it [pro bono work]. That stayed with me.”

Trustee 3

For many of these trustees and early supporters of the Pro Bono Group, the tradition of pro bono work was more than a memory but, instead, a particularly salient meaning of their professional self-concept. They therefore continued to draw actively on this tradition as a source of meaning, even as the tradition itself appeared to erode:

“I could not just drop it. I could not say, well being a lawyer used to be about upholding the law and doing pro bono but now it isn’t, no problem.”

Trustee 1

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Through this identity re-asserting work, the early supporters of the Pro Bono Group appeared to reject or resist some aspects of contemporary professional norms. In particular, they appeared to reject the notion that they, as lawyers, should focus on billable hours and commercial concerns at the expense of other professional obligations. Instead, they worked to maintain their constructions of a professional self to re-emphasize pro bono work as a crucial criterion of being a lawyer. One of the trustees suggested that this belief in pro bono work was an essential element for many of those involved in the Pro Bono Group:

“I believe the volunteers of [Pro Bono Group] would find some way to volunteer, even if it wasn’t through [the Group]. No matter how much work they were battling through.”

Trustee 2

It is important to emphasize that this process of identity re-asserting work only appeared to be present in the accounts of the lawyers who were intimately involved in the early stages and launch of the Pro Bono Group. Though the identity work of other lawyers, who were not involved directly in the Group, is not the focus of this research, reflecting on their differing approaches to professional identity work helps to clarify the process of identity re-asserting work. These differing responses appeared to take two forms. First, identity work was a remedial process for some of the lawyers in the case study as it helped them to correct or remedy the contradictions of commercial and traditional obligations. For example, some of the lawyers in this study adjusted their professional identity significantly by aligning to the prevailing commercial norms. These lawyers appeared to align their professional self more closely to commercial commitments

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thereby constructing a different professional sense of self, which reduced or removed the strength of their professional identity contradictions. Second, several lawyers appeared to distance their professional identity from their professional work. These lawyers acknowledged and performed their commercial commitments but believed that they were ‘wrong.’ In this way, some lawyers managed their professional identity contradictions by separating their actions from their sense of professional self.

In contrast to these two approaches, almost all of the founders of the Pro Bono Group appeared to perform a significant amount of identity re-asserting work regularly by describing their active resistance to the prevailing commercial focus when it was at the expense of pro bono work. These individuals searched for ways to reconcile the contradictions or tensions they experienced without adjusting their beliefs about a professional identity. It is noteworthy that all the founders and early trustees of the Pro Bono Group described their active attempts to pursue pro bono work rather than adjusting their professional identity to a more commercial focus. To this small group of lawyers, identity work was a process that re-affirmed and re-asserted traditional meanings of a professional identity and reemphasized pro bono work as a central element of a professional lawyer.

“Pro bono is a foundation of English law...we shouldn’t forget that. It’s part of us.”

Trustee 8

In terms of the dimensions of the conceptual category of identity re-asserting work, the importance and strength of this process appeared significant. Whilst other lawyers may have experienced this process to some degree, for the founders of the Pro Bono

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Group it was felt very strongly. A commonality across all the accounts of the initial founders and trustees of the Pro Bono Group was their pride in the legal profession and a view that pro bono was an integral part of their profession. Whilst a professional identity or a sense of professional self was an important aspect of the participants' broader self-identity, the meaning of this identity appeared to vary across different lawyers. To the lawyers who were intimately involved in the Pro Bono Group, the professional tradition of pro bono work in English law represented an important and powerful source of meaning that shaped their notions of what it means to be and behave as a lawyer. In this way, the strength of lawyers' identity re-asserting work appeared to inform and mediate the power of the contradictions they experienced.

5.1.5 Guilt evoking work

The lawyers who founded the Pro Bono Group worked on their emotions and, specifically, the emotion of guilt. They appeared to evoke guilt, as one discrete emotion, not only because the participants employed words such as 'guilty' and 'guilt', but also because they would relate their feelings of discomfort to contravening their moral beliefs – thereby corresponding to definitions of guilt (see Grandey, 2008).

Unlike many other lawyers who sought to assuage their guilt through a variety of mechanisms, these lawyers appeared to try to evoke the negative or unpleasant feelings of guilt within themselves. They did so by focusing on what they perceived to be their professional responsibilities. For them, the experience of guilt was an important part of how they believed they should feel as professional lawyers when they did not perform pro bono work:

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“We were all similar in a way because we felt we should help. It might just be me but I thought its part of being a professional... that tinge of guilt.”

Trustee 7

“I think...you should feel guilty if you’re not doing pro bono work. That’s what we are supposed to do.”

Trustee 4

This reflects not only the process of guilt evoking work but also the strong connection of this process to the concept of identity re-asserting work. That is to say, if lawyers felt they possessed and defended a particular identity (or aspect of an identity such as pro bono work) then they appeared to believe that they should feel guilty if they were unable to live up to this sense of self.

Many of those intimately associated with the Pro Bono Group appeared to elicit and evoke these feelings of guilt by actively reflecting on their identity and the broader social environment. For instance, one lawyer described their ‘ruminations’ on their moral responsibilities and the plight of those in need of legal advice:

“I would think about that [why they joined the Group] a lot. Probably a bit of my politics. I used to ruminate on it, all these people struggling when I could help them. Every now and again it would make me feel... hmm... I don’t know. It wasn’t pleasant.”

Trustee 3

Several lawyers went as far as to say, “How can you not think about it?” These ruminations appeared to leave some lawyers with a sense that they should feel guilty.

5.1.6 Professional guilt

Unlike the previous conceptual category that described some lawyers' attempts and efforts to evoke feelings of guilt, this conceptual category refers to lawyers' actual experience and feeling of guilt. This guilt appeared to be professional, as opposed to personal, in nature. Indeed, whilst many lawyers felt that they were not doing anything wrong they felt that their professional roles remained too focused on financial considerations. Several lawyers disclosed that these tensions often weighed heavily on their minds.

"I felt guilty as a commercial lawyer – just moving money around. Winning a case for one client was taking money away from another. It didn't mean very much to the individuals instructing you. And the thing that got me [...] was when you are advising someone across a desk with a real problem that is affecting their life, there is a significant difference in the input of the lawyer and the way you can improve the quality of their life."

Trustee 2

The lawyers who helped to develop the Pro Bono Group in its early stages appeared to feel this professional guilt in relation to the individuals who were in need of legal advice or guidance. For example, many lawyers felt that it was 'wrong' or transgressed a moral principle not to help more people and to live up to professional standards:

"Why did we create the Pro Bono Group? I suppose some of it was guilt, most of us are not poor. But also... being a lawyer is about – should be about – the law. Not just for wealthy clients. So pro bono in its many forms is part of what and who I am as a lawyer"

Trustee 1

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They were clear, however, that they did not experience guilt constantly. That is to say, whilst the lawyers would often experience feelings of guilt, these feelings tended to be experienced for short durations.

“I did feel like that, a bit ashamed a bit guilty but it wasn’t all day every day. It didn’t stop me doing my job. I wasn’t racked by guilt when I was at home. It did... nag at me and hit home from time to time.”

Trustee 4

Nonetheless, though brief, these experiences of guilt also appeared to be quite frequent and sometimes intense. As quoted above, many of the Pro Bono Group founders provided vivid descriptions of their sense of guilt. As these professionals continued to evoke and experience these feelings of guilt in themselves, these emotions served to magnify the importance of their professional identity contradictions. As one trustee disclosed, the efforts to perform more pro bono work and to found the Group were not selfless but offered an opportunity to resolve the experience of often-painful emotional experiences of guilt.

5.1.7 Reflective purposefulness

A final theoretical category that emerged through the analytical process is entitled ‘reflective purposefulness.’ At an abstracted level, this refers to professionals contemplating their social situation and desiring change. At the empirical level in this study, this category captures lawyers’ reflections on their roles in society and their possession of a purpose for more pro bono work.

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In this case, the founders of the Pro Bono Group appeared unwilling to perform internal change in terms of their pro bono beliefs, such as removing contradictions through identity work or feelings of guilt through their emotion work. Indeed, these professionals actively chose to re-assert their traditional identities and to evoke, rather than suppress, associated feelings of guilt. These processes appeared to inspire their contemplation and reflection on their role in the legal profession that embedded them. In particular, they reflected on their role in providing more pro bono work.

“I did consider myself to have a role to play to put right the lack of help available to people who needed it.”

Trustee 3

Emotions appeared to infuse these reflections and to provide the legal professionals with a purpose to act. In this case, the Group’s early supporters’ beliefs and feelings led them to seek more pro bono work and to transform aspects of their profession.

“I wasn’t at the very start but I was onboard [with the Pro Bono Group] pretty early. It was the right thing to do and part of what I believe law is about.”

Trustee 5

“It was a shared idea and principle. We felt that there needed to be more and better pro bono work”

Trustee 8

Whilst ‘purpose’ refers to the reason or motivation for an action, such as an emotionally charged need for change, it also describes an intended or desired result. In

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this case, the intended result was the reinvigoration of pro bono work. Pro bono work had been a prominent part of English lawyers' work and the trustees of the Pro Bono Group sought to reclaim this role, rather than to create a new one. In this way, the past acted a source of new ideas to inform and inspire their desire for change. This change took the form of the creation of a charitable organization – the Pro Bono Group – to revitalize the legal profession's pro bono efforts.

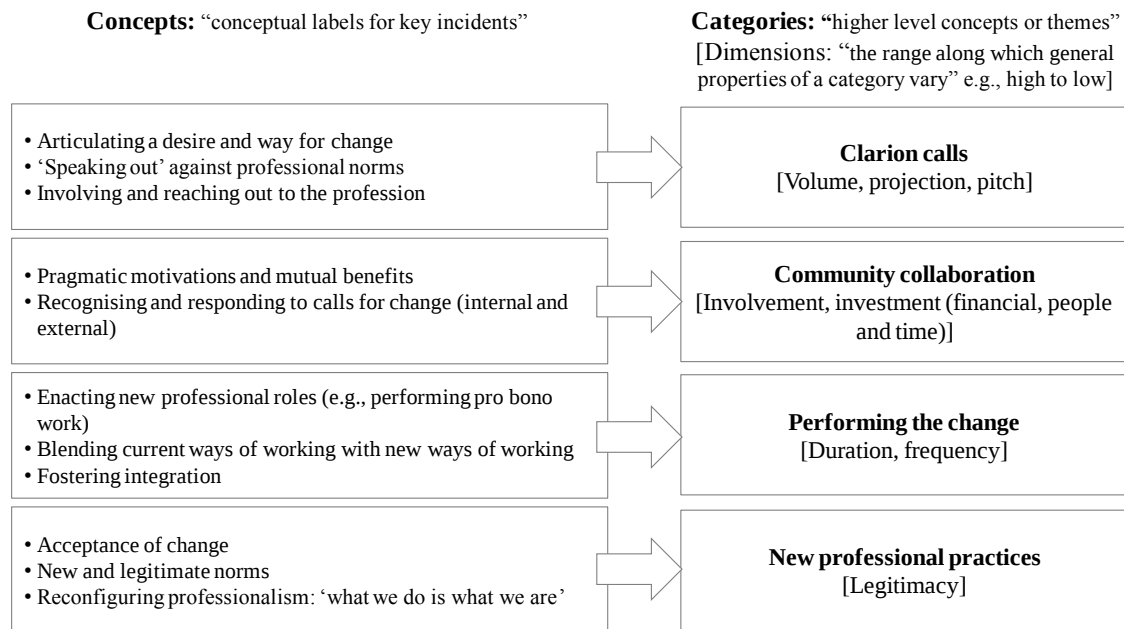
“The intention was to increase the delivery of pro bono to those who needed it. So we thought the [Pro Bono Group] should be there to facilitate and encourage lawyers to perform pro bono work, on a voluntarily basis.”
Trustee 2

Many of the founders, trustees and early supports of the Pro Bono Group appeared to dwell frequently in this state of reflective purposefulness. This state led them to consider and eventually create the Pro Bono group. Trustee 4 explained his thoughts prior to launching the Group, “I wouldn't say constantly but a lot, thinking about what I could do to get somewhat more of a pro bono presence.” The high levels of guilt experienced by these professionals may also help to explain their desire to act on their reflections. Indeed, unpleasant feelings of guilt appeared to infuse these reflections with a desire or purpose to effect change. The construction of the Pro Bono Group offered an opportunity for these professionals to reconcile their identity contradictions and remedy their associated feelings of guilt by reinvigorating the tradition of pro bono work.

5.2 CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES OF EXPANDING, EMBEDDING AND EFFECTING INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Figure 14 below provides a visual representation of how this thesis moved from the descriptions in the preceding case study chapter to identifying more abstract or ‘second-order’ processes through a process of inductive analysis. This section examines the meso and macro processes of expanding, embedding and effecting institutional change that stem from the prior micro-processes of emergence. This section goes on to consider each of the categories displayed in the figure below.

FIGURE 14: A Structure of the Meso and Macro Processes Implications of Micro-Level Contradictions



5.2.1 Clarion calls

The theoretical category of ‘clarion calls’ relates to professionals articulating a desire for change and making requests for others to take action to enable this change. For those

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interview participants who distanced themselves from or rejected their law firms' sole emphasis on commercial commitments within the legal profession, several described their attempts to 'talk about' alternative approaches and their desire for change. These calls for change took many different forms. For example, some lawyers described how they would discuss performing more pro bono work within their law firms and with colleagues. In a further, stronger example, several lawyers launched the Pro Bono Group.

In this case, the creation of the Pro Bono Group did more than articulate a desire for change. As one of the trustees in the case study described, it provided a 'compelling case.'

"Getting the word out, definitely one of the key concerns of the Group. Pro bono won't happen without volunteers. Volunteers won't appear unless you make a compelling case for them to help. We wanted [the Pro Bono Group] to succeed so you have to tell the profession."

Trustee 2

The Group also proffered a process or way that the desired change could occur (i.e., the Group filtered and organized potential cases to manage demand for free legal advice and then matching this with the supply of volunteer lawyers). This appeared to be crucial throughout the development of the Pro Bono Group, particularly in terms of its expansion, as it offered a pragmatic plan for growth.

"It was more than just expressing what we and [the Pro Bono Group] wanted. It was about explaining how we could work with law firms to make it happen. More of a call to action."

Lawyer 12, Law Firm A

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The nature of the clarion call of the Pro Bono Group changed gradually over time. It slowly gained in volume as more lawyers and law firms supported its cause. Its projection also altered, moving from a target of a small number of law firms to the wider legal community. For instance, as one of the trustees of the Group recalled, over time they sought to involve barristers and lawyers who worked outside of law firms:

“The group really made an effort to bring in and involve all sorts. They recruited trustees to the board from the legal departments of big corporations [...] and they involved the bar, too. I’m not sure if it was pushing against an open door but most of us accepted that pro bono was important.”

Trustee 7

Finally, the Group’s pitch also changed, as it progressed from soliciting small financial support to requesting more sustained financial investment to support an array of projects. For instance, the Group eventually began to create and communicate through events like national pro bono week:

“National pro bono week made a massive difference in getting the word out about pro bono and reminding lawyers that it is part and parcel of their responsibility.”

Lawyer 20, Law Firm A

In this way, the formation and strengthening of the Pro Bono Group represented a particular and powerful clarion call that communicated both professionals’ desire for change and a way to achieve such change.

5.2.2 Community collaboration

A key theoretical theme that emerged throughout the analysis of the case study was the notion of community collaboration. This refers to individuals within the same professional community working together to achieve particular ends. In terms of the empirical story of the Pro Bono Group, it was only through collaboration with other organizations that the Pro Bono Group was able to function and enact the change it desired (i.e., performing more pro bono work through a central organization).

Such collaboration happened in a number of different ways. For example, large law firms provided financial support to the Pro Bono Group in return for the Group organizing some of their pro bono work. Similarly, governmental departments that provided funds to law firms also recognized the benefits of working with the Group:

“I think, from the department’s [of Justice] point of view, it was an easy sell. They want people to get legal help and they can give this group [the Pro Bono Group] some funding and they can run it”

Trustee 6

The motivations behind law firms’ collaborative efforts to support the Pro Bono Group varied. For example, some of the senior lawyers spoke of altruistic reasons such as believing in the “pro bono cause.” Several lawyers described how they would volunteer their legal expertise and, in return, received professional experience and personal satisfaction. Other lawyers in the firms spoke of the organizational benefits that the Group provided, such as providing a socially responsible image to clients and organizing the supply of legal help for those in need. Such pragmatic motivations and mutual

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benefits appeared to be a crucial explanation of the support that the Pro Bono group received from the legal community.

“A lot more law firms started to get on board as they realized that this [the Pro Bono Group] was something that could help them. Back in 2000 or so, there weren’t pro bono co-coordinators in these law firms. And the membership [to the Pro Bono Group] was thousands of pounds so just a drop in the ocean to the large law firms.”

Group Chief Executive 2

Over time, greater number of lawyers and legal firms pledged and provided their support to the Pro Bono Group. Indeed, the case study demonstrated how the initial support for the Group began with a handful of law firms and eventually developed into nearly one hundred law firms alongside government agencies and professional bodies. These legal organizations recognized the Pro Bono Group’s call for change and, eventually, more and more firms felt that they could benefit through collaboration. In this way, there came a ‘tipping point’, where law firms felt they should respond to the growing success of the group as a logical step.

“By about 2006 or around then, I’m not sure, the bigger law firms could not ignore [the Pro Bono Group]. So many other firms were connected to it. It was kind of a tipping point. Why would you not want to support pro bono work?”

Partner, Law Firm A

“Most firms these days have to do some sort of social responsibility and that’s true for law firms too. We could paint houses but as a profession, we possess a unique set of skills by being able to provide legal advice. Pro bono is a logical way to be responsible.”

Lawyer 7, Law Firm B

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In addition to increases in investment of people and time, law firms also increased their financial investment. This further strengthened the Group's clarion calls. As a result, the Pro Bono Group's collaboration with the legal professional community widened and strengthened over time.

5.2.3 Performing the change

The theoretical category of 'performing the change' refers to professionals conducting new activities or enacting new ideas. In this study, the performance of change refers to volunteer lawyers providing legal advice through the Pro Bono Group, instead of purely through their law firm, and thereby changing the way pro bono work is organized and delivered to those in need.

Many of the lawyers that took part in this study performed pro bono activities through the Pro Bono Group. As evinced in the case study, by 2010 there were tens of thousands of lawyers working for the Pro Bono Group each year, thereby enacting the Group's plans for pro bono work.

"Although it might not seem it, [the Pro Bono Group] is a two way process. Yes I help them and manage cases for people who couldn't afford help or legal aid but I get benefits too. Obviously it can be personally rewarding but it's also good opportunity to really work directly with a client. Most of my normal work is part of a team and a bit removed."

Lawyer 12, Law Firm A

This performance of change was subtle and did not override or replace all existing practices. Many lawyers performed this change relatively infrequently a few times a month often for a few hours each time. This meant simultaneously maintaining other

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established objectives, such as billable hours and older notions of pro bono as many firms continued to conduct internal pro bono projects. Nonetheless, as greater numbers of lawyers committed their energies and efforts to performing the new roles they were able to integrate the change to pro bono practices into their current ways of working in a mutually beneficial way.

“Law firms saw that joining [the Pro Bono Group] offered a good image and also appealed to a lot of their lawyers who wanted to do pro bono work. From a management point of view, it also gave junior lawyers a chance to gain some invaluable experience, with levels of responsibility they wouldn’t have until much later in their careers. So it was definitely mutually beneficial”

Trustee 2

Through lawyers’ enactment of the Pro Bono Group’s plans, which blended with lawyers’ current ways of working, the Group was able to foster its integration into law firms’ plans.

“Most law firms – certainly the larger ones – now have pro bono co-coordinators who organize the firm’s pro bono efforts. Although law firms tend not to usually collaborate, these co-coordinators do speak to each other across law firms to figure out who can do what pro bono work. Naturally, they speak to [the Pro Bono Group] as they can screen and provide the work”

Partner, Law Firm A

In this way, the Group came to enjoy a more prominent role within the English legal profession as lawyers performed its proposed ideas.

5.2.4 New professional practices

The theoretical category of ‘new professional practices’ describes the extent to which a profession incorporates a particular change. The key dimension of this category is legitimacy, where a change that attains high levels of legitimacy will assimilate into a profession whereas low levels will limit such integration. In this study, the change was the development of a new way to manage and perform pro bono work through the emergence and effect of the Pro Bono Group. The Group and its proponents gradually attained legitimacy and integrated a new way of managing pro bono work into the English legal profession.

During its early stages, the Pro Bono Group lacked legitimacy in the eyes of its profession. It received some small funding from a limited number of law firms and relied on a few dedicated lawyers to operate. As detailed in the case study, the Group’s relationship with the Law Society was initially ‘distant.’ Eventually, however, more and more lawyers, law firms and legal professionals began to engage with and support the Group as it attained acceptance. In a further signal of its newfound legitimacy, the Group also began to work together with lawyers’ professional body to deliver pro bono help.

“I think the politest way to put it is that they [the Law Society] were...distant. Certainly when we started out. We did get some money at the start but it only become regular support years later.”

Trustee 10

As the number of its collaborators widened, the Group achieved integration into its professional field and exerted a strong normative influence on how professionals should perform pro bono work.

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“The Pro Bono Group is synonymous with legal volunteering now. If you want to actually help people in need that’s where you go.”

Lawyer 26, Law Firm A

As detailed in the final period of the case study, the Pro Bono Group effected a change in how lawyers performed pro bono work and transformed the institution of pro bono work within the English legal profession. Indeed, many legal professionals’ descriptions in the case study typified how the new ways of managing pro bono had replaced many of the old. The pro bono silos within each law firm gradually began to connect to one another through the efforts of the Pro Bono Group.

“If you wanted to do pro bono, now you go to [the Pro Bono Group]. It’s not all in-house these days.”

Lawyer 29, Law Firm A

In many cases, lawyers no longer performed all of their pro bono efforts within their own law firms but often operated through the centralized organization of the Pro Bono Group. In this way, the Group created new professional expectations about the way in which lawyers could and should perform the institution of pro bono work. For the founders and early supporters of the Pro Bono Group, this accomplishment and the opportunity to perform pro bono work provided significant personal benefits:

“Cathartic in many ways. It is nice to do actually get a thank you from someone in need and to know that you have made a difference. You are truly being a lawyer, that’s what it feels like.”

Trustee 2

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This chapter has interpreted the documents, interviews and observations that relate to legal professionals' work for a legal charity (the Pro Bono Group). It summarised the process of analysis of the case study data to produce a variety of concepts, which it abstracted and classified into conceptual categories. Subsections explained each of these categories in turn and provided extracts from the data to ensure each category remained grounded in the case study data (detailed more thoroughly in appendix 5). Given that the findings presented in this chapter stem from a field based story (Jasper, 2011) of a single case study, it is important to establish how it could be developed by, or develop, other theoretical accounts. As such, the following chapter discusses these findings in light of the broader institutional, identity and emotion literatures.

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This chapter seeks to answer the overarching research question that inspired this thesis: How do the micro-processes of professionals' identity work and associated emotion work contribute to their institutional work? It does so by drawing on the findings of the previous chapter and discussing these in light of the relevant institutional, identity and emotion literatures. The consideration of this thesis' conceptual categories of analysis in the context of the extant literature is a crucial step of a grounded theory methodology as it enables and enhances the development of an emergent theory (Eisenhardt, 1989).

To summarize the findings, this thesis identified the potential of both affective and cognitive aspects of individuals' identities to drive institutional work and inspire institutional change. An analysis of the case study revealed that several professional lawyers encountered an identity contradiction. These contradictions stemmed from past traditions of professionals performing pro bono work that competed with current commercial commitments. When unable or unwilling to forget the traditional meanings which provided a valued sense of self, several lawyers experienced acute guilt, which infused these identity contradictions with the meaning and significance necessary to motivate action. In this case, the action was the formation of the Pro Bono Group. The Group enabled many of these lawyers to, partially, reduce their guilt and reconcile their identity contradictions. Although this micro-level identity and emotion work led to the emergence of the Pro Bono Group, a variety of other meso-level processes facilitated the expanding and embedding of the Group in the English legal profession. Nonetheless, ultimately the Group effected institutional change by transforming how many lawyers perform pro bono work in England.

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To focus the discussion of these findings in light of the literature, this chapter divides into five subsections. The first subsection clarifies why this case study is an instance of institutional work. It does so by demonstrating how the case contains the essential criteria of institutional work including intentionality and effort, distributed agency and unintended consequences (Lawrence et al., 2009). Demonstrating that the case study meets these criteria is important because subsequent sections seek to examine how particular findings contribute and relate to the corpus of institutional work scholarship.

The second subsection is entitled ‘professional identity in institutional work’ and answers the first research sub-question: How do professionals ascribe meaning to and construct their professional identity when engaging in institutional work? It does so by highlighting that the institutional workers who initially pursued institutional change in this study continually affirmed their traditional notions of being a professional through a process of *identity re-assertion work*. Although organizational scholars have largely overlooked the role of time in studies of identity (Brown, 2014), this finding highlights the strong temporal element of identity re-assertion work as it entails drawing on eroded traditions and largely lapsed meanings. As some professionals’ identities retain or ‘remember’ these traditions, their identities can act as a source of contradiction in the face of competing and contemporary pressures. The idea of individuals’ identities being a source of contradictions builds on extends our understanding of the sources of contradictions that inspire institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002). Furthermore, these insights also contribute to our limited understanding of the micro-level identity work of professionals (Chreim et al., 2007) and institutional workers (Suddaby & Viale, 2011).

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The third subsection is entitled ‘professional emotion in institutional work’ and answers the second research sub-question: Why do professionals enact or perform particular professional identities within an institutional field? In answering this question, this subsection highlights the powerful role of emotions and provides empirical evidence for recent theorizations of the role of emotions in institutional work (Voronov & Vince, 2012). The findings in this thesis go further by identifying the power of the discrete social emotions of guilt in enabling the process of identity re-assertion work. When professionals experience these emotions acutely, they can infuse meaningfulness and significance into their identity contradictions. In an effort to remedy these significant contradictions externally, when internal reconciliation is not viable, many professionals pursue external change through institutional work. These insights therefore build on and extend the research that explored how institutional workers’ emotional identity work is able to reconcile contradictions without leading to external institutional change (Creed et al., 2010).

The fourth subsection is entitled ‘interdependent emotions, identities and institutions’ and answers the third research sub-question: How does the enactment of a professional identity help to create, maintain, or disrupt professional institutions? In addressing this question, this subsection highlights how professionals ‘working’ on their identities and emotions can generate the reflective purposefulness that is necessary for the performance of institutional work. Identity contradictions lead many professionals to reflect on their envioning institutional arrangements. When these contradictions become emotionally infused, they provide the meaning or purpose for professionals to pursue institutional work to enact change. In this way, this thesis begins to explain how

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reflective purposefulness is developed and emerges, which remains one of the main puzzles within institutional work scholarship (Lawrence et al., 2013; Zilber, 2013).

The fifth section of the discussion closes the chapter by developing the theoretical relationship between institutional work, identity work and emotion work. By establishing the relationship between each of the conceptual categories, in light of the available literature, the thesis generates two connected conceptual frameworks that represent a substantive theory. This theory suggests that emotionally infused professional identity contradictions may generate the reflective purposefulness necessary to drive institutional work and change in professional settings.

6.1 THE CASE STUDY AS PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTIONAL WORK

Given the variety of theoretical lenses that organizational researchers could apply to the study of institutions, it is important to clarify why this thesis' case study and associated findings contribute specifically to the corpus of institutional work scholarship. In particular, why is the Pro Bono Group case study not an instance of institutional entrepreneurship? Similarly, what renders this study distinct from studies of institutional logics or social movement research? Whilst there is some overlap with these streams of research, the following paragraphs explicate and justify the categorization of this study as an instance of institutional work.

The case study in this thesis considered explicitly the emotions, experiences and motivations of the founders and supporters of the Pro Bono Group. In focusing on the lived experiences of these people, the thesis differs from studies of institutional entrepreneurship that typically focus on "the institutional change as the object of

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explanation” (Lawrence et al., 2011: 55). Furthermore, institutional entrepreneurship often presents the individuals who effect institutional change as ‘heroic’ or as possessing special skills (Fligstein, 1997). In contrast, this thesis has attempted to present the complexity and difficulties that the institutional workers involved with the Pro Bono Group experienced.

The case study employed a ‘bottom up’ approach, focusing on how the micro-processes of emotions and identities inform the macro institution of pro bono work in the English legal profession. This is distinct from many traditional studies of institutional logics that tend to adopt a ‘top down’ perspective (see Thornton et al., 2012), which connects the macro to the micro. Furthermore, the institutional logics perspective focuses on the frames of reference that guide actors’ behaviours and cognitions. In contrast, both this thesis’ and institutional work focus explicitly on the experience of individuals, and therefore on how individuals may experience these frames of reference, in shaping institutions.

The case study’s focus on individuals and their sense of self, specifically in terms of the emergence and growth of the Pro Bono Group, also helps to distinguish it from social movement research. Lawrence et al. (2011) note that institutional work bears some resemblance to social movement research as both consider the collective efforts of groups of individuals. However, “where social movement researchers might highlight the importance of collective action, research on institutional work would examine how individuals change institutions both as parts of and alongside social movements” (2011: 55). This thesis has attempted to examine and highlight the interplay of individuals’ micro-level experiences with collective or meso-level processes.

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This thesis shares the focus of institutional work scholarship (i.e., the lived experiences of individuals and groups in shaping institutions from the bottom up) when examining the case study. Furthermore, to demonstrate that the case of the Pro Bono Group is, itself, an instance of institutional work, the following subsections consider the case study in terms of several of the criteria of institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2013; Lawrence et al., 2011), including intentionality, distributed agency, failure and unintended consequences.

6.1.1 Intentionality and effort

The individuals who formed and supported the Pro Bono Group in this study are institutional workers because they intended to effect the institution of pro bono work. This purposeful pursuit of change is important because “without intentionality, actions may have profound institutional effects but still not be institutional work” (Lawrence et al., 2009: 13). As one of Group’s founders (Trustee 2) stated; “The intention was to increase the delivery of pro bono to those who needed it. So we thought the Pro Bono Group should be there to facilitate and encourage lawyers to perform pro bono work, on a voluntarily basis.” The regular meetings of trustees of the Group, who worked across multiple law firms, reflected their intent to grow the Group and bring about change with the English legal profession.

Furthermore, these individuals expended effort or ‘worked’ to achieve change. Lawrence et al. (2009) stress that the notion of work entails mental or physical effort, which connects to a goal i.e. an effect on an institution or institutions. In the practical sense, these lawyers spent many hours meeting, organizing and providing professional

guidance to those in need. Moreover, as subsequent sections will discuss in more detail, the founders and supporters of the Pro Bono Group also conducted identity work and emotion work continually.

6.1.2 Distributed agency

The concept of institutional work rests on the idea that the agency necessary to shape institutions is dependent on and distributed through a potentially large number of actors (Lawrence et al., 2011), rather than a select and skilled few. In the case study, the growth of the Pro Bono Group and its ultimate effect on the institution of pro bono work depended on the involvement and support of a large number of actors. Whilst a small group of lawyers led to the emergence and genesis of the Pro Bono Group, a variety of actors were necessary for its growth and embedded position in the English legal profession. These actors include thousands of volunteer lawyers, hundreds of law firms and governmental agencies amongst others. This mirrors Quack's (2007) study of transnational law-making in the context of commercial and corporate law, which emphasised the role of distributed agency across lawyers, courts and regulators in achieving institutional change.

6.1.3 Failure and unintended consequences

There is some risk in producing a condensed case study account of the Pro Bono Group that its emergence and growth may appear to be a simple and straightforward story of success. This is not the case, and the Group faced many challenges and struggled at various stages. It is important to briefly discuss these struggles as institutional work

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scholars urge researchers to consider the activities of institutional work – that may succeed or fail – rather than just accomplishments (Lawrence et al., 2009). Dwelling on activities rather than desired outcomes may also reveal the unintended consequences of institutional work, which have received limited scholarly attention (Lawrence et al., 2009). Indeed, institutional work is suited to the study of “muddles, misunderstanding, false starts and loose ends” (Blackler & Regan, 2006: 1843).

One of the major difficulties the Group experienced in its early stages was in securing long-term funding. As touched on in the case study, in its early years the Group was reliant on the financial support of a small number of legal organizations. On several occasions, potential funders including the government, other law firms and other professional bodies ignored or rejected the Group’s requests for further funding. Furthermore, whilst the Group continued to grow in both volunteers and corporate law firm membership, many law firms and lawyers did not and do not engage with the Group. As such, it is important to clarify that the Group did not enjoy straightforward success. Nor were its founders, trustees or volunteers individuals uniquely skilled or unusual talented outside of the legal profession.

In terms of unintended consequences, it remains uncertain if the effect of the Pro Bono Group is entirely positive. It has undoubtedly raised awareness of the pro bono cause within the English legal sector, trained many lawyers in performing pro bono and helped tens of thousands of citizens in need. The lawyers who supported it, and in particular founded it, gave generously of their time. However, it is feasible that some law firms have embraced the Pro Bono Group and became corporate supporters because it conferred the image of corporate and social responsibility. Such membership could have

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reduced the total amount of pro bono work each law firm undertook individually as the Pro Bono Group displaced responsibility from individual firms. Chief executive 2 of the Pro Bono Group disputed this point when this researcher put it to them in email correspondence:

“You say that the PBG [Pro Bono Group] MAY have reduced overall PB by firms. But this is not the case. I well remember many firms (at the monthly meetings) say that even partners who were not overtly interested in PB keen to ensure that their firm was keeping up with others in providing PB. What MAY have suffered was the non PB aspect of Corporate Social responsibility as law firms came to shift more of their effort to legal PB.”
Chief executive 2

This former chief executive offers a convincing response, especially given the increasing media attention and ranking of law firms’ pro bono activities (e.g., the American Lawyer trade publication) and formal surveys (e.g., the ALM annual report on the state of pro bono work). As such, it seems unlikely that law firms could escape their pro bono commitments. However, this study does not have access to sufficient data to substantiate the effect of the Pro Bono Group on total pro bono work performed. Readers of this thesis should therefore not assume that the effect of the Pro Bono Group was entirely positive. The chief executive also offers a more interesting point; even if total pro bono work increased then this may have been at the expense of other corporate social responsibility activities such as environmental sustainability. Without associated data, this thesis cannot validate this point but it seems reasonable to believe that if law firms invested in some activities then this would have prevented them pursuing others.

In clarifying this study as an instance of institutional work, the following subsections intend to develop theoretical insights that contribute to the institutional work

literature within the field of organization studies. These contributions centre on illuminating the role of identity and emotion.

6.2 PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IN INSTITUTIONAL WORK

This section responds to the first sub-question: How do professionals ascribe meaning to and construct their professional identity when engaging in institutional work? It examines the processes of identity work that occurred in the study. In doing so, it proffers a new form or process of identity work that the extant literature does not fully account for: *identity re-asserting work*. As some professionals' identities retain, 'remember' or re-assert traditional notions, aspects of their identities act as a source of contradiction in the face of some competing and contemporary pressures. This section therefore begins to attend to the overlooked role of time in the identity literature. Furthermore, the idea that individuals' identities may act as a source of contradictions builds on and extends our understanding of the genesis of contradictions that inspire institutional change.

6.2.1 The identity work of institutional workers

In line with Watson's (2008) conceptualization of identity work, the majority of lawyers in this study appeared to construct a distinctive sense of self over time by aligning aspects of their self-identity to the social identity of a professional lawyer. For instance, many of the lawyers who supported the launch of the Pro Bono Group spoke of the centrality and importance of being a professional and how their legal work was an integral aspect of 'who they were.' Many of these lawyers also suggested that they enjoyed a special status or value that their profession conferred on to them. A professional identity therefore

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appeared to provide a coherent and desirable sense of self, which therefore offered some degree of ontological security (Giddens, 1991).

It became clear that many lawyers ‘worked’ on their professional identity. These professionals did not simply achieve, acquire or attain a professional sense of self but strived to maintain this valuable identity. Different lawyers, however, performed different forms of identity work in terms of the institution of pro bono work and there appeared to be three different types of identity work that occurred. Although this thesis focuses on the identity work of institutional workers (i.e., the Pro Bono Group founders and volunteers), it is helpful to clarify their particular form of identity work by contrasting it with the two different forms of lawyers who did not pursue institutional work.

In a first form of identity work, the lawyers who went on to found the Pro Bono Group strived to maintain their traditional conception of what it meant to be a professional lawyer that viewed pro bono work as an integral aspect of being a professional. This meant that their identity work attempted to preserve this older conception in the face of competing commercial obligations in their employing law firms.

In a second form of identity work, many other lawyers who did not pursue pro bono work appeared to re-shape their notion of a professional identity to reflect a more commercial role of lawyers. As one lawyer explained, “I think... well... pro bono was something I thought was a good idea but I don’t think it’s what I am ... what I am supposed to do as a lawyer now” (Lawyer 6, Law Firm A). Many of the lawyers described how their identities developed to align to their profession’s prioritization of commercial commitments. A burgeoning body of research substantiates the idea that

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identities develop to accommodate their environment (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Chreim et al., 2007).

In a third form of identity work, some lawyers accepted the need to meet commercial pressures at the expense of pro bono work but recognized that there was a contradiction between their actions and beliefs. Reflecting on not doing pro bono work, one lawyer related, “I feel bad, sometimes. Maybe not bad. I could do more but my job is to bill hours and get the revenue” (Lawyer 18, Law Firm A). Rather than trying to alter their notion of self, however, some lawyers subtly resisted the pressure to align to newly proffered identities, from a cynical distance (Fleming & Spicer, 2003). In this way, lawyers appeared to perform at least three different sorts of identity work in relation to the competition between the tradition of pro bono work and current commercial pressures.

The literature on identity work provides little consensus on the processes or types of identity work (Brown, 2014). Nonetheless, scholars have explicated several broad forms of identity work that can categorize some of the different types found in this study. For instance, Kreiner et al. (2006) and Lutgen-Sandvik (2008) explored ‘demanding’ and ‘intensive’ situations that prompt tactics or types of identity work respectively. The tactic of integrating describes *merging* a role with an identity (Kreiner et al., 2006), which could also be called restructuring where an individual permanently *merges* an experience into restructured life narratives (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008). This categorization appears apt for the lawyers in this study who did not pursue pro bono work and appeared to re-shape their notion of what it means to be a professional in the face of overwhelming commercial commitments. The tactic of differentiating, where individuals segment their

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individual and occupational identities (Kreiner et al., 2006) is similar to the idea of stabilizing, where an individual regains equilibrium by coming to grips with injustice and rebuilding identity narratives with a set of altered beliefs (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008). The idea of differentiating or stabilizing reflects the experience of the lawyers who accepted the need to meet commercial pressures at the expense of pro bono work but recognized that there was a contradiction between their actions and beliefs.

However, the extant literature has little to say in terms of the type of identity work displayed by the lawyers who went on to found and launch the Pro Bono Group. These lawyers articulated a tension between the billable-hours culture within their corporate law firms and their conception of being a professional lawyer, often describing how this affected their sense of self. These lawyers did not restructure their sense of professional identity or get to grips with the need to focus on commercial targets at the expense of pro bono work. They actively sought to defend and maintain their traditional identities and, in doing so, rather than change their own professional self-identities they sought to change the social identities and social institutions that embedded them. This notion finds theoretical support from Watson (2008): 129 who states in his definition that people can strive “within limits, to influence the various social-identities which pertain to them.” Kunda (1992): 21 makes a similar point when suggesting that individuals are “active participants in the shaping of themselves and of others. They may—at various times—accept, deny, react, reshape, rethink, acquiesce, rebel, conform, and define and redefine the demands and their responses.” In this way, the institutional workers did not accept or amend wholly their professional self-identity in light of the commercially focused and dominant social identity.

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The idea that individuals' identity work can inform their surrounding social identities or structures has received limited empirical attention. In one rare example, however, Creed et al. (2010): 1356 suggest that "individuals' notions of who and what they are, accomplished through personal identity work, can act back on the institutional notions of who or what any individual might or should be, thus affecting institutional structure." To explain this micro-process, Creed et al. (2010) propose the concept of identity reconciliation, which describes actors attempts to re-establish coherence of the self internally by constructing self-narratives that deny or reject institutional contradictions. Yet this form of identity work still does not account for the identity work of the lawyers in this study. Indeed, the lawyers in this study did not seek to deny or reject the commercial and charitable contradictions within the English legal profession. Rather, they sought to construct and maintain self-narratives that challenge the prevailing commercial focus, thereby sustaining the contradiction and internalizing it to create an identity contradiction. This thesis, therefore, suggests that the lawyers who launched the Pro Bono Group experienced a further tactic or type of identity work: ***identity re-assertion***. Identity re-assertion implies a strong and sustained defense of an identity that is under attack rather than just maintaining a sense of self. The 're-' refers to an existing or previous identity, which in this study is the traditional notion of a lawyer as a practitioner of pro bono work. The identity re-assertion work is one micro-process of institutional work, in addition to Creed et al.'s (2010) concept of identity reconciliation work. In this study, it is a form of institutional work as it was performed by institutional workers i.e., those who intentionally exerted effort to shape an institution.

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Identity re-assertion suggests that a complex and often asymmetrical relationship is possible between identity work and institutional work. That is to say, the lawyers working to re-assert or maintain their professional identity appear to be working to change or transform some institutional arrangements. In the case study, when few opportunities to work pro bono existed, several lawyers re-asserted their traditional notion of a professional identity and created the Pro Bono Group to transform the institution of pro bono work in the English legal profession. In contrast, those working to change aspects of their professional identity by aligning to the dominant focus on commerce in the legal profession maintained and perpetuated the current institutional arrangements. Whilst this latter group of lawyers may not be institutional workers (as defined by Lawrence et al., 2009), their identity work contrasts with and helps to highlight the agency within the Pro Bono Group founders' identity re-assertion work.

In proffering the notion of identity re-assertion work, this thesis elaborates our understanding of identity work and its assumption that identity construction is more “interactive and more problematic than the relatively straightforward adoption of a role or category” (Pratt et al., 2006). Furthermore, this research meets the call for more fine-grained research that examines why and in what ways people engage in identity work (Brown, 2014). It does so by highlighting that identity work is not simply a process of reconciliation or socialization but that it can also act as a process of resistance against institutionally prescribed roles. As the next subsection will discuss, this concept also has important implications for our understanding of temporality and contradictions within institutional work.

6.2.2 Identity re-assertion work as a source of temporal contradiction

The concept of identity re-assertion work suggests that identities can contradict and actively resist seemingly dominant institutional logics. In this way, at least one form of ongoing identity work can act as a source of contradiction. In particular, identity re-assertion work suggests that such contradictions are temporal in nature, as individuals' draw on older meanings (or perhaps myths) that compete with contemporary institutions to maintain their sense of self. As lawyers remember these contradictory meanings that exist in professional identity constructions, identity constructions are themselves a source of contradiction. As this section will discuss, this is an important finding as the notion of identity as a source of contradiction does not feature in the extant institutional or identity literatures.

Scholars have emphasized the importance of contradictions or institutional incompatibilities in driving institutional change (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Seo & Creed, 2002) and therefore institutional work. Since Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested that contradictions among contemporary institutions create conflicts that transform institutional structures, institutional scholars have been increasingly interested in identifying other sources of contradiction that may inspire change. Seo and Creed (2002) theorized that multiple sources of institutional contradiction can form the basis of change-oriented praxis. They also pointed out that contradictions may emerge from "the internal misalignment between particular social arrangements and the interests of diverse actors who "enact," "inhabit," and "reproduce" those social arrangements" (Creed et al., 2010: 1338). Institutional scholars have identified a variety of sources of contradiction including competing working practices (Smets et al., 2012) and conflicting personal and

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work identities (Creed et al., 2010). Taking this idea of micro-level sources of contradiction further, this thesis suggests that professional identity constructions can themselves be a source of contradictions by acting as a bridge between past and present professional norms that can sometimes oppose one another.

In this study, several professionals appeared to construct their identities over time by drawing on the long established traditional meaning of pro bono work as an integral part of being a professional. Even as the sources of these traditional meanings erode in the face of contemporary meanings, identities are able to retain and ‘remember’ older meanings. For example, several lawyers in this study articulated how the institution of pro bono work had gradually diminished as it competed with the dominant billable-hours culture within their corporate law firms. Yet many lawyers continued to incorporate the performance of pro bono work into their conception of being a professional lawyer. Indeed, the study identified several professional publications in which lawyers emphasised pro bono as being a core aspect of legal work. Whilst existing scholarship suggests that because people are embedded in multiple structures or institutions, they face competing prescriptions and demands about who they are supposed to be (Giddens, 1991), identity constructions are also embedded in historical structures or institutions. By connecting individuals to historical meanings and spanning temporal boundaries, identities appeared to create both institutional contradictions and ideas for change.

The notion that old traditions re-emerge, survive and thrive in new forms has found support within institutional research. For example, scholars have noted that we can construct “new paths from the elements or ruins of old or forgotten orders” (Schneiberg & Lounsbury, 2008: 666). The finding that lawyer’s identities, in particular, remember

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and reproduce the past provides some empirical evidence for Giddens (1984) theorization that structures only achieve continuity through human agents' 'memory traces.' Giddens suggests that agents or individuals draw on structures through their memory to perform social action. In this study, legal professionals engaged in an effort to re-imagine the legal profession, drawing on historical images and meanings bound up in their identity constructions. By reinvigorating the traditions from which they derive significant meaning, several of the Pro Bono Group founders were able to reconcile the identity contradictions they experienced.

In this study, several lawyers undertook institutional work to create and sustain the Pro Bono Group, which reinvigorated the tradition of pro bono work. This is similar to, but distinct from, Micelotta and Washington (2013) and their study which demonstrated the role of maintenance and repair work to preserve and reinforce existing institutional arrangements. Whilst the institutional workers in this study seek to preserve the older institutional arrangements of pro bono work, this tradition that had already begun to erode and it was lawyers' identity that 'remembered' this alternative way of working. As such, the lawyers were not attempting to repair an existing institutional arrangement but to resurrect and reinvigorate past arrangements. In this way, temporality is not just between past and current identities but also between current and possible identities (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009). As such, this study suggests that identities can play a crucial and recursive role in the reproduction and reformulation of institutions over time.

Identities serve to reproduce or reformulate institutions by providing older meanings for individuals to draw on to inspire ideas or opportunities to reshape the future. As Ramarajan (2014) notes, individual identities can influence change at the

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collective level (Creed et al., 2010; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003). This is possible because, as Ramarajan (2014): 635 points out:

“identities can act as a resource by providing a novel perspective, a different set of experiences and relationships upon which to draw, as well as the commitment, belief, and security to ensure persistence in creating change [...] These formulations present change agents as dual identity holders, simultaneous insiders (committed to the organization), and outsiders (committed to their cause)”

Institutions embed identities as well as individuals, and the lawyers in this study remained committed to the broader English legal profession whilst also being committed to the cause of pro bono work. Lawyers’ sought to maintain a dual identity as an ‘outsiders within’ (Sturdy, Wright, & Wylie, 2014) and this provided different beliefs and perspectives to inspire opportunities for change. They were ‘outsiders’, as pro bono champions, whilst at the same time, committed to the wider legal profession and their law firms. This finding reflects the idea that an individual’s identity can simultaneously resist and enact institutional pressures as it can ‘act back’ (Lok, 2010) and ‘work’ (Watson, 2008) to influence different aspects of institutions at the same time.

In addition to contributing to our understanding of institutional work, the idea that identities can be a source of contradictions, through their temporal composition, that can drive institutional change provides several insights into the processes of identity work. Although limited in number, several empirical studies of identity have acknowledged the importance of time. For instance, Lutgen-Sandvik (2008): 104 noted that there is “evidence of a temporal process in identity work.” Similarly, Kreiner et al. (2006) noticed ‘temporal orientations’ within identity work, looking toward the short term and the longer

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term. However, as Pratt (2012): 28 notes, although identity work has an important temporal dimension, “any kind of explicit ‘theorizing about time in identity research is relatively rare.” Indeed, Brown (2014) highlights that the temporal processes of identity, and the trade-offs and sacrifices that may accompany these choices, are ‘virtually unexplored.’ Thus, the temporal aspects of identity re-assertion work warrant further attention for scholars.

This thesis theorizes that many lawyers’ professional identity constructions act as a temporal bridge, connecting them to traditional meanings that compete with current and more commercial conceptions of a professional self. The resulting identity contradictions prompt identity work, with some lawyers’ re-asserting their identities against the prevailing commercial norms. Previous work suggests that identity constructions develop over time by drawing on a range of meanings provided through socialization and social validation such as feedback and role modelling (Pratt et al., 2006) that interact with individual preferences (Kreiner et al., 2006). This thesis goes further, by emphasising the agency of individuals in preserving their past identity constructions and re-asserting aspects of their identities in the face of current forms of socialization.

This temporal aspect of identity work also emphasises the importance of historical context. Scholars have suggested that researchers “could also attend valuably to the identity work that connects past, present and projected future selves, to continuities and disjunctures between them, and the historical context in which they are embedded” (Brown, 2014: 13). Such context is more than simply a ‘background’ but an important factor in understanding the temporal element of identity work. The case study section of this thesis described how pro bono has been a feature of the English legal profession for

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hundreds of years. Lawyers exist in an historical professional context, where lawyers espoused pro bono work (if not always performed, see McLeay, 2008). As such, it seems reasonable to suggest that this tradition previously possessed some salience and provided significant meaning to professionals. For example, the lawyers in this study who went on to found the Pro Bono Group worked to re-assert their professional identities by drawing on pro bono work as meaningful aspect of their identities. The previous strength of the tradition of pro bono may provide durable meanings that identity work draws on to resist newer institutional pressures. In this way, strong institutions may ‘live on’ and survive through identities that remember or retain the meanings they provide.

Identity re-asserting work therefore reflects the embedded agency of institutional actors. In this case study, the Pro Bono Group founders resisted contemporary institutional identity prescriptions by drawing on older professional identity prescriptions. Yet, at the same time, most of these lawyers also worked in large law firms that perpetuated a commercial focus. In this way, their identity work simultaneously created and maintained different aspects of institutional arrangements. As such, their agency remains constrained and embedded in the context of the English legal profession. Nonetheless, the Pro Bono Group was a new and original approach that centralized, for the first time, the management of some pro bono work within the profession. In this way, older institutions and meanings informed but did not prescribe all of the lawyers’ actions.

One question, however, looms large over the identification of identities as one source of institutional contradiction. Given the array of potential identity contradictions that individuals may experience, why would individuals become motivated to undertake institutional work to address some contradictions and not others? For example, it would

be almost impossible to re-assert all aspects of our identity in the face of change. Drawing on the findings in this study and the relevant literature, this thesis suggests that the pursuit of institutional work to address identity contradictions becomes more apparent through a consideration of the relationship between identities and emotions. In particular, it argues that professionals will seek to resolve contradictions when they accompany acute and unpleasant emotional experiences.

6.3 PROFESSIONAL EMOTION IN INSTITUTIONAL WORK

This section responds to the second sub-question: Why do professionals enact or perform particular professional identities within an institutional field? In answering this question, this subsection highlights the powerful role of emotions and provides empirical evidence for recent theorizations of the role of emotions in institutional work (Voronov & Vince, 2012). The findings in this thesis go further by identifying the power of the discrete social emotion of guilt in enabling the process of identity re-assertion work. When professionals experience this emotion acutely, they can infuse meaningfulness and significance into their identity contradictions. In an effort to remedy these significant contradictions externally, when internal reconciliation is not viable, many professionals pursue and accomplish external change through institutional work when there are ideas, inspirations or opportunities to do so.

Such insights build on the research that has explored how institutional workers' emotional identity work is able to reconcile contradictions without leading to external institutional change (Creed et al., 2010). In this way, this thesis reminds institutional theorists of the early institutional scholars like Selznick who emphasised the important

role of emotions and values in inspiring action and the emergence of organizations and institutions.

6.3.1 The emotion work of institutional workers: guilt

In line with Hochschild's (1979) conceptualization of emotion work, the early supporters of the Pro Bono Group appeared to be trying to change their emotions to some degree. In particular, many of these lawyers were attempting to quell a sense of guilt that their identity contradictions evoked. Many of these lawyers explicitly stated that they felt guilty in relation to not performing enough pro bono work but also provided descriptions of themselves that conveyed this sense of guilt. For instance, one lawyer relayed how "I used to ruminate on it, all these people struggling when I could help them. Every now and again it would make me feel... hmm... I don't know. It wasn't pleasant (Trustee 3)." Such descriptions match the definitions of guilt as "blaming ourselves for the adversity of others" (Payne & Cooper, 2001: 9) or transgressing a moral imperative (Grandey, 2008).

Given the prominence of these emotional experiences in the analysis of interview transcripts alongside the advice of other scholars to focus on discrete emotions (Brief & Weiss, 2002; Keltner, 1996), this study centered on the emotion work that related to guilt. Indeed, as Creed et al. (2014) point out, the "examination of the role of discrete social emotions in what we see as the twin processes of institutionalization and subjectification would advance our understandings of the microfoundations of institutions."

As in the case of their identity work, different lawyers 'worked' on their emotional experiences of guilt in different ways in relation to pro bono work. Many lawyers, particularly those who did not interact with the Pro Bono Group, did not

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describe or suggest that they experienced any negative emotions such as guilt. Some lawyers who were not involved in the Pro Bono Group did express some sentiments of guilt. The main explanation of these individuals appeared to be that their legal work prohibited them from doing more pro bono work and that they would be unlikely to make a difference, even though they felt they should. Baumeister et al.'s (1994) work on identifying strategies to manage guilt appears helpful here to explain this response. One of these strategies includes the 'denial of intentionality,' which describes minimizing the consequences of one's actions or emphasizing mitigating circumstances. In this way, many lawyers within the English legal profession appeared to experience a variety of emotions and perform a variety of emotion work.

Given that this thesis seeks to understand the role of emotion in terms of institutional work, this section focuses on the emotions and emotion work of institutional workers. As such, it focuses on the experiences of the Pro Bono Group founders and supporters. Unlike the other lawyers who took part in the study, the Group's early supporters appeared to be unable to deny or suppress their experiences of guilt. The findings of the study suggest that these emotional experiences drove or inspired some professionals to take action, especially in terms of forming the Group.

Whilst most emotion work research suggests that individuals will attempt to suppress negative emotions (Hochschild, 1979), the lawyers involved in the Pro Bono Group were seemingly unwilling or unable to suppress these feelings. Rather than looking for tactics to diminish these feelings, they actively sought out other individuals who shared their beliefs and tried to discuss these issues in meetings. In this way, they appeared to work to evoke the negative emotion of guilt.

Given this thesis' intention to examine the interplay of emotions and identities, it is important to consider how the emotion work identified in this section connects to the identity work identified earlier. The following sub-section suggests that this emotion work acts to infuse meaning into identity re-asserting work.

6.3.2 Emotion work as the infusion of meaning into contradictions

The findings of this study suggest that emotional experiences motivated the majority of the lawyers in this study to found and support the Pro Bono Group. In particular, they worked to manage their feelings of guilt. These feelings related to the professionals who founded the Pro Bono Group. To these individuals, performing pro bono work was a strong moral aspect of being a professional lawyer. We feel “pride when we follow what we take to be sound moral rules, shame or guilt when we do not” (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004: 422). These lawyers' feelings of guilt and a loss of pride appeared to infuse meaning and significance into the contradictions between the past and present norms of pro bono work. This thesis suggests that whilst professionals may encounter a variety of contradictions in their daily lives, individuals will act to address the contradiction in some instances when it becomes emotionally charged and a source of suffering. When these painful emotions cannot be easily suppressed (e.g., through standard emotion work) or resolved internally (e.g., through identity work) then individuals may pursue external change. In this case, the founders of the Pro Bono Group pursued institutional work to address their identity contradictions and associated emotional difficulties.

The discipline of psychology has demonstrated the importance of emotions for informing action. Psychologists have long emphasised that emotions influence social

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behaviour (McDougall, 2013) although they rarely employ the concept of emotion work (but see some organizational psychology research such as Zapf, 2002; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001). Indeed, some psychological theorists posit that the primary function of emotions is to mobilize attention to situations (Frijda, 1986; Karniol & Ross, 1996). Frijda (1986): 354 even argues that “emotions exist for the sake of signalling states of the world that have to be responded to, or that no longer need response and action.” This idea implies that that positive and negative emotion elicits different goals. Positive affective states reinforce the status quo. In contrast, “negative emotions lead individuals to analyze the bases of their problems, explore possible mechanisms of change, and consider the potential outcomes of different actions” (Karniol & Ross, 1996: 601). This thesis’ case study corroborates the idea that negative emotions motivate change, as lawyers created and developed the Pro Bono Group to address emotions of guilt.

In turning to sociological research, there has been some headway in connecting individuals’ emotions to their broader social context. In particular, research on social movements has revealed that emotions “are a core part of action and decisions” (Jasper, 2011: 298) and that shame or guilt can motivate social change (Jasper, 1998). Indeed, Hochschild (1975): 298 argues that “Social movements for change make ‘bad’ feelings okay, and they make them useful. Depending on one's point of view, they make bad feelings ‘rational.’ They also make them visible.” Whilst the Pro Bono Group is not necessarily a social movement, it does share some similarities in that the group who formed and sustained it were attempting to bring about social change, albeit limited to legal professionals.

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Given that emotions inform social movements and “social movement actors contribute to institution-building” (Snow et al., 2004: 317), it seems reasonable to believe that emotions can sometimes inform institutions. For example, the early institutional theorists such as Selznick (1949) and Parsons (1960a) both incorporated meaning and affect into their conceptualization of the institutionalization process. Indeed, Selznick (1949: 250) advised researchers to consider people as ‘wholes’ and to appreciate how individuals infuse value into institutionalization beyond the simple requirements of a task (1957).

In contrast to these ‘old’ institutional theorists, ‘new’ institutional scholars have only recently begun to theorize the connection between emotions and institutions. Almost all of this current research occurs in terms of institutional work (as opposed to institutional entrepreneurship or logics). For instance, Voronov and Vince (2012) argued that the maintenance of the institutions requires both cognitive and emotional investment from institutional workers. They also suggest that lower cognitive investment and lower emotional investment can lead to disruptive institutional work. The findings in this thesis substantiate this argument by demonstrating how the founders of the Pro Bono Group felt emotionally distant from the current institutional arrangements in terms of pro bono work. The experience of guilt led them to attempt to change and disrupt the way the English legal profession performed pro bono work.

Voronov and Vince (2012) also suggest that lower levels of both cognitive and emotional investment can prompt creative institutional work, when supported by

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capital³¹. Although not related to emotions, Suddaby and Viale (2011) make a similar claim by suggesting that professionals rely on access to capital to achieve social change. Both Voronov and Vince alongside Suddaby and Viale's theorizations find empirical support in this study, as the creation of a new institutional arrangement for pro bono work occurred gradually as the Pro Bono Group acquired funding, legitimacy and resources from its envioning legal community.

One of the limitations of the Voronov and Vince (2012) article, however, is that it tends to consider all emotions collectively, thereby theorizing the role of emotion rather than of discrete emotions. As other scholars (Creed et al., 2014: 279; Scheff, 2000) note, discussing emotions in such broad and general terms relies on rarified abstractions, whereas researchers are better able to understand specific felt emotions because they are "more able to identify differences in their origins, objects, appearances, and trajectories." This study demonstrates the power of guilt in driving or motivating action but other lawyers in the study – who did not participate in the Pro Bono Group – experienced different emotions and pursued different actions. As such, it seems likely that different emotions would trigger different approaches to or forms of institutional work. Thus, one of the contributions of this thesis is the identification of how the discrete emotion of guilt can enable creative and disruptive institutional work to unfold.

One of the few other theorizations of the role of discrete emotions in institutional work came from Creed et al.'s (2014) theoretical exploration of shame. Creed et al.'s (2014) article remains relevant as it categorizes shame amongst the other social emotions of guilt and pride. Indeed, Creed et al. (2014: 297) suggest that researchers attend to

³¹Capital refers to Bourdieu's concept of capital; "all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (1977: 178).

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“other social emotions—those self- and other directed emotions that pertain to the evaluation and preservation of valued social bonds, such as pride, empathy, guilt, embarrassment, disgust, contempt, and anger” as these are also likely to figure in processes of institutional reproduction and change. They go on to point out that consideration of these emotions would allow for theoretical development that renders them useful and usable in explanations of institutional processes. This thesis, therefore, builds on the limited theorizations of discrete emotions by detailing and theorizing how guilt can inform institutional work. Moreover, the thesis provides empirical evidence as a basis for this theorization and thereby begins to address the paucity of institutional fieldwork that examines the role of discrete emotions.

One of the main contributions of this thesis is that it adds to the limited empirical evidence for theories that connect emotions and institutional work. Beyond corroborating certain theories (i.e., Voronov & Vince, 2012), it elaborates them by specifying the potential of guilt to infuse contradictions with enough meaning and significance to motivate institutional work that can accomplish institutional change. As such, this study demonstrates empirically the importance of emotions within institutional theory and emphasizes the importance of clarifying the role of discrete emotions as opposed to the broad concept of emotion.

6.4 INTERDEPENDENT EMOTIONS, IDENTITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

This section responds to the third and final research sub-question: How does the enactment of a professional identity help to create, maintain, or disrupt professional institutions? In addressing this question, this section highlights how professionals

‘working’ on their identities and emotions can generate the reflective purposefulness that is necessary for the performance of institutional work. Significant identity contradictions lead many professionals to reflect on their enviroing institutional arrangements. When these contradictions become emotionally infused, they provide the meaning or purpose for professionals to pursue institutional work to enact change. In this way, this thesis provides one explanation of how reflective purposefulness is developed and emerges, which remains one of the main puzzles within institutional work scholarship (Lawrence et al., 2013; Zilber, 2013).

6.4.1 The intrinsic connection of emotions, identities and institutions

This thesis suggests that identity contradictions and emotional experiences can work together to prompt institutional work. Contradictions, stemming from identities or other sources, highlight opportunities for institutional work to reconcile or resolve tensions. Emotional experiences play a complementary role, as they can infuse these contradictions with enough meaning or significance to motivate institutional work. This section suggests that whilst institutional research has tended to treat identity and emotions as isolated, they are very closely bound to one another and interact to affect individuals’ motivations and action.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the lawyers who founded the Pro Bono Group experienced a contradiction in terms of their professional identity and drew on the historical tradition of pro bono work to re-imagine a different way of performing pro bono work. However, it was only when these lawyers experienced guilt in terms of these contradictions that they pursued institutional work.

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Numerous scholars have identified or theorized the link between identities and emotions. This is true across multiple theoretical lenses. Scholars of identity work suggest that the concept incorporates an emotional aspect (Beech, 2008). Social identity theorists posit that social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and *emotional* significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1978: 63 emphasis added). Identity control theorists suggests that a disruption to the identity processes can trigger emotional responses (Burke, 1991). From the perspective of social movement research, Polletta and Jasper (2001): 284 emphasis added define collective identity as “an individual's cognitive, moral, and *emotional* connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution.”

In this way, the strength of an identity or its power to drive institutional work stems, at least in part, from its emotional component. Higgins’ (1987) self-discrepancy theory suggests that individuals compare their “ought” selves (who they ought to be) with their actual selves (who they currently are) based on various standards. When an individual perceives their actual self as failing to meet their ideal self, the discrepancy creates emotion and motivation to meet the standard. Alternative selves provide an evaluative context for the current self, thus influencing, in case of upward or downward comparisons, affective, cognitive and motivational states (Obodaru, 2012). Similarly, Markus and Nurius (1986) suggest individuals’ comparison between their present selves and their possible selves serves as a motivational force that propels behaviour. This notion has some overlap with Collins’ (1990) idea of emotional energy, which refers to the idea that emotions are a motivating force. The important point here is that “emotions

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enhance a sense of experiencing or functioning” (Frijda, 1986: 246) such as the experience of an identity contradiction. Whilst the proposition that identity and emotions are connected is far from novel, there is a limited pool of empirical research that examines this connection, particularly in terms of particular identities and discrete emotions within an institutional context.

In examining the link between identity and guilt specifically, Baumeister et al. (1994) suggested that when individuals want to assuage their guilt, they may attempt to separate a prior transgression from their identity. The implication of this strategy is that identity and guilt are closely related. Higgins (1987) emphasizes that contradictions, which relate to a discrepancy between the ‘actual’ and ‘ought’ identities, induce guilt. The findings in this study correspond to this theorization, as the lawyers who founded the Pro Bono Group appeared to do so because they felt acute guilt in terms of their discrepancy between their actual and ought selves.

There is little insight into how the interaction between guilt and identity construction may inform institutional work or institutional change, perhaps reflecting the quite recent interest in emotions and institutional work. However, scholars have suggested that a social emotion such as guilt strongly relates to identity constructions and that these drive social action and change. For instance, Jasper (1998): 415 notes that

“One can also have negative emotions about one's identity, such as shame or guilt; many movements are motivated precisely to fight stigmatized identities. What is difficult to imagine is an identity that is purely cognitive yet strongly held. The ‘strength’ of an identity comes from its emotional side. Identities can be cognitively vague, for instance, yet still strongly held.”

Indeed, in this study, the founders of the Pro Bono Group held their professional identities very strongly and experienced acute guilt when they felt there was a disparity between their actual and ought identities. Previous sections of this discussion have identified links between, on the one hand, identities and institutions and, on the other, emotions and institutions. This section has then connected identities and emotions. In this way, this thesis echoes the sentiments of Yang (2000): 594 who suggests that there is an “intrinsic connection between emotions and self-identity” and the analysis of emotional processes can also be taken as an analysis of identity processes. Yet, this thesis goes one-step further by suggesting that there is an intrinsic connection between emotions and identities in the context of institutional work. In particular, the processes of identity work, emotion work and institutional work connect to one another. For example, in this study, it was only when the Group’s founders experienced acute guilt in terms of their professional identity contradictions that they pursued institutional work. This is in contrast to much of the existing institutional scholarship, which has tended to examine emotions and identities as independent concepts, seldom paying attention to their interaction and collaborative effect on institutions.

6.4.2 ‘Working’ to generate reflective purposefulness

Beyond urging institutional scholars to consider identity work and emotion work in tandem, this thesis also suggests that greater attention to these interconnected processes can address some of the current challenges in institutional scholarship. In particular, this thesis argues that emotionally fuelled identity work can generate reflective purposefulness directed toward institutional change. That is, identity re-asserting work

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can allow professionals to remember past traditions and re-imagine them in the future. Acute emotional experiences of guilt can infuse this process with meaning that motivates or provides a purpose to enact such ideas.

As discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, some lawyers' experiences of guilt rendered contradictions within their identity work significant, which, in turn, facilitated their reflection on the current institutional arrangements. These reflections were necessary to focus their efforts on a particular form of institutional work and purposively seek to institutional change. Hochschild (1983): 31 suggests "we need feeling in order to reflect on the external or 'objective' world." This thesis builds on this idea by suggesting that identities and the process of constructing a sense of self necessitates some reflection on the external world but that it is the emotions and feelings that imbue these constructions with meaning and importance. Unpleasant emotional experiences that accompany identity contradictions give purpose to remedial action that can offer a solution to troubling feelings.

Establishing the important role of identities and emotions in generating the purposefulness of action is an important contribution to the institutional work literature. Lawrence et al. (2013): 1029 point out that institutional work scholars "originally emphasized reflective purposefulness as a defining characteristic of institutional work. Such reflective purposefulness is, however, difficult to capture – empirically and conceptually (Zilber, 2013)". Yet, rather than abandoning the notion of reflexivity, they suggested that it this can be a central issue for empirical analysis, focusing in particular on how such reflexivity is developed. This study has identified some of the micro-processes, of emotion work and identity work, which encourage reflexivity and may

inspire institutional work. Indeed, Lawrence et al. (2013): 1029 note that the reflexive dimension of institutional work also points to actors' responsibility and morality when engaging in institutional work. This thesis substantiates this point by highlighting how guilt – or the experience of a moral transgression – plays a significant role in facilitating the reflexive and purposeful efforts of institutional workers.

6.4.3 From *intra*-action and to *inter*-action

Whilst reflexive and purposeful efforts may inspire institutional work, this work does not necessarily accomplish institutional change. Yet “the agency that underlies institutional work is most visible and accessible during times of profound institutional change” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 242). Indeed, in this study, the transformation of the pro bono institution within the English legal profession illuminates the underlying institutional work. To clarify this point, this section considers the other conceptual categories that emerged through the process of analyzing the case study data: clarion calls', 'community collaboration' and 'performing the change.' Considering each of these categories in turn, in light of the relevant literature, reveals the meso level processes that enabled some lawyers to change the way the English legal profession performed much of their pro bono work, thereby achieving institutional change. This section argues, in particular, that each of these three processes help to distribute agency across a variety of individuals and it is the diffusion of this agency that accomplishes change.

Clarion calls highlight relates to professionals articulating a desire for change and making requests for others to take action to enable this change. In this case, this was lawyers creating the Pro Bono Group and using this group to communicate their ideas as

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a ‘call to action.’ This idea resembles Suddaby and Viale’s (2011) suggestion that the first mechanism professionals employ to shape organizational fields is to re-define their own professional projects (in this case, changing the performance of pro bono work). The lawyers in this study did so through creating a compelling case for change. This also connects with Suddaby and Viale (2011): 434 emphasize on professionals’ achieving change through “‘social skill’ or the ability ‘to motivate others to cooperate. . . . The ability to engage others in collective action’ (Fligstein, 2001: 106).” This thesis suggests that the conceptual category of clarion calls highlights the agency of the founders of the Pro Bono Group and their desire to enact change.

Community collaboration refers to individuals within the same professional community working together to achieve particular ends. In terms of this case study, it was only through collaboration with other organizations that the Pro Bono Group was able to function and enact the change it desired (i.e., performing more pro bono work through a central organization). Leung et al. (2013) advanced a very similar idea of an ‘enabling collective.’ Their “findings highlight the role of an enabling collective as the platform for the emergent identity work of marginalized actors” (Leung et al., 2013: 3) that started the ‘spiraling cycles of action’ that ultimately led to institutional change. In both Leung et al.’s work and this case study, actors gradually build resources to enable them to develop their roles. This conceptual category therefore helps to distribute the agency throughout the profession.

Performing the change describes the professionals conducting new activities or enacting new ideas. In this study, the performance of change refers to volunteer lawyers providing legal advice through the Pro Bono Group, instead of purely through their law

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firm, and thereby changing the way pro bono work is organized and delivered to those in need. This echoes Creed et al.'s (2010) notion of 'being the change,' whereby GLBT church ministers acted out the change they wanted to see. This meant that they "came out in their roles as ministers, providing visible, external disconfirmation for others of the institutional claims of GLBT incompatibility" (Creed et al., 2010: 1355). In a similar fashion, the lawyers in this study provided visible examples of their belief in a new way of performing pro bono work by volunteering their services through the Pro Bono Group. In both studies, individuals challenged orthodoxy 'from within' (Creed et al., 2010) as they enacted their agency to (re)claim roles. In this study, unlike Creed et al.'s small number of participants, greater and greater number of individuals began to enact this agency until tens of thousands of lawyers were being or performing the change. As such, the lawyers in this study not only worked on the institution of pro bono work but also accomplished institutional change.

In the case study of the Pro Bono Group, the concepts of clarion calls, community collaboration and performing the change iterated over time to enable gradually new professional practices. These new professional practices took the form of a centralized pro bono system. Whilst some could categorize this as a linear change, it is probably more accurate to view it as an oscillation between older traditions and current ways of working (Cooper et al., 1996). This is because the process of institutional change in this study is not a straightforward case of moving from one way of working to another but, instead, an ongoing iteration where the past continues to influence the present. This raises the question of how brief micro-processes that connect individuals to the past can inform current and enduring macro-processes.

6.4.4 Time and the push of the past: The moving pieces of institutions

This thesis suggests that an emotionally charged identity contradiction can generate the reflective purposefulness that underpins institutional work. In this way, emotions and identities act as a ‘resource’ (Ramarajan, 2014) in the process of institutionalization. As identities possess a temporal element (Brown, 2014), the findings of this thesis also provide several insights into the temporal aspects of institutionalization. This thesis suggests that identity and associated emotional experiences play a crucial role in understanding the temporal nature of institutions.

Emotionally charged identity contradictions that motivate action incorporate a temporal element. Social theorists have also pointed to the temporal focus of motivation. For instance, the sociologists Bell and Mau (1971) developed a model of social change, which suggests that individuals’ future goals stem from their recollections of the past and conceptions of the present. Similarly, Freeman’s (1993) analysis of autobiographies revealed how evaluations of the past drove major life decisions and changes. In this way, negative conceptions of the present can provide an impetus for change and a return to a valued past. This ‘motivational push of the past’ (Karniol & Ross, 1996) is therefore likely to be an important aspect of why individuals pursue institutional work.

This thesis, therefore, echoes the work of Howard-Grenville et al. (2013), who highlight the ‘power of the past.’ Their analysis suggested that the past is made powerful when actors, rather than treating symbols as passive carriers of meaning, actively engage in “manufacturing and reproducing traditions and heritage [that] are passed down through successive generations, providing the raw material for identity formation (Weber &

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Dacin, 2011: 294).” Howard-Grenville et al. (2013) emphasise the important connection between emotional experiences in driving the reproduction of traditional identities. Whilst these findings are similar to those of this thesis, by focusing on the collective level of identity, their work does not consider the individual level or micro-processes of emotional experiences nor how these processes inform institutions.

Indeed, institutional work scholars have spent little time exploring the temporal elements of the micro-processes that underpin institutions. This is despite recognition that “further examination of the temporal embeddedness of institutions may provide insights into the power, pacing, sequencing, and momentum of institutional change” (Dacin et al., 2002: 53). In one of the few examples available, Lawrence, Winn, and Jennings (2001) examined the relationship between time and processes of institutionalization from a power perspective. They suggested that that pace and stability, two temporal dimensions of institutionalization, depend on the mechanisms³² used by agents to support the institutionalization process. The authors noted that one area of investigation for future research is what resources or abilities are needed on the part of agents to employ particular institutional mechanisms (Lawrence et al., 2001). The findings in this thesis suggest that one powerful resource is the emotional identities of institutional workers. The experience of the discrete emotion of guilt that stems from identity contradictions may motivate the use of certain mechanisms of institutional change.

In particular, this thesis attempted to specify the mechanisms of guilt evoking work and identity reasserting work for driving institutional work. To explicate this process it is important to consider the role of time. On the one hand, emotions are brief

³² They proffered four types of mechanisms: influence, force, discipline, and domination. They then suggested that each type will produce a distinctive pattern of pace and stability.

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albeit recurring experiences (Grandey, 2008). On the other, institutions are social patterns that endure over time (Hughes, 1936) and therefore require ongoing institutional work. The different durations of emotions and institutions can make it difficult to grasp their relationship. In an often overlooked footnote, Hochschild (1979) begins to address this issue of time by looking at the relationship between emotions and personalities. She states:

“...to link the momentary act of emotion work with the concept of personality, we must alter our perspective on time. An emotive episode and the attempt to shape it is, after all, a brief strip of time [...] ‘stills’ from which long movies are composed. The notion of personality implies a fairly durable, trans- situational pattern. The Casper Milquetoast³³ personality may lead an anxiety avoidant life of 73 years. Not momentary stills, but many decades are at issue” (Hochschild, 1979: 557).

Hochschild is suggesting that whilst emotions are fleeting, they inform our personalities that exist for decades. This has important implications for understanding how emotions inform identities and, eventually, institutions. This thesis is not suggesting that personality is the same as identity - personality is not the same as the self-concept (McAdams, 1996). However, the idea that momentary emotional work can shape our ongoing personalities appears equally applicable to our enduring identities. As earlier sections of this discussion outlined, emotions can infuse identities with meaning and importance. The extant literature suggest that we adjust our identities in light of emotional experiences (Burke, 1991). Thus, emotion work is one temporary mechanism, or micro-process, connected to the more enduring mechanism of identity work, that informs institutional work.

³³Casper Milquetoast is a comic strip character created by H. T. Webster as part of the cartoon series ‘The Timid Soul’. Popular in the United States of America, Milquetoast refers to a very timid person.

This thesis therefore suggests that the connections between emotions, identities and institutions are somewhat analogous to the mechanisms of a clock or watch. Within a clock³⁴, several small-scale (usually obscured) micro mechanisms release energy. This energy travels through a variety of other mechanisms to create a gradual but visible ‘surface’ change, in the form of the clocks’ hands moving. To push this analogy further still, each individual and their interlocking cycles of emotional experiences and identities, is a small cog in a big wheel. Without these cogs, however, the wheel does not operate.

Abbott (1988b) argued that the investigation of issues of temporality is critical to an understanding of social processes. This thesis concurs and provides a rich case study to situate particular moments of institutional work in a temporal sequence of events to enrich our understanding of complex social dynamics (Pierson, 2000). The recurring but transitory emotional experience of guilt, in particular, helps to infuse identity contradictions with the significance that inspires reflective purposefulness. This reflective purposefulness, in turn, sets in motion the institutional work, which may gradually transform established institutions. In doing so, the thesis has illuminated the important role of emotions and identities in connecting past institutions to current and future institutions.

6.5 TOWARD A THEORY OF IDENTITY DRIVEN INSTITUTIONAL WORK

This final section closes the discussion chapter by developing the theoretical relationship between institutional work, identity work and emotion work. Given that the intention of

³⁴<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGcoIue1Bs8>. This ‘How a mechanical watch works’ video describes how the mechanisms of a watch operate together. It helps to convey the conceptualization of how emotions, identities and institutions connect.

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this thesis is to develop a grounded theory of the relationship between individuals' identities and emotions and their environing institutions, the description and categorization of data in the preceding chapters are not ends in themselves. To develop a theory – an explanation about how ideas relate to one another – this section develops a conceptual or theoretical framework to link together the conceptual categories that emerged through analysis (as per Dey, 1993), in light of the literature. Whilst this framework helps to explain the process or story of the Pro Bono Group, it also explicates an abstracted and theoretical process that may operate beyond the confines of this particular case study. This framework posits that an emotionally charged identity contradiction can generate the reflective purposefulness that underpins institutional work. When facilitated by certain meso-level process, this institutional work can accomplish institutional change.

6.5.1 Emergent theoretical frameworks

Qualitative researchers often employ graphic representations of frameworks to indicate how categories relate to one another and to convey meaning (Dey, 1993; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Exploring the connections between various categories facilitates the “transformation of the static data structure into the dynamic inductive model” (Gioia et al., 2013: 24). Indeed, Empson (2007) cites Miles and Huberman (1994: 22) who state that:

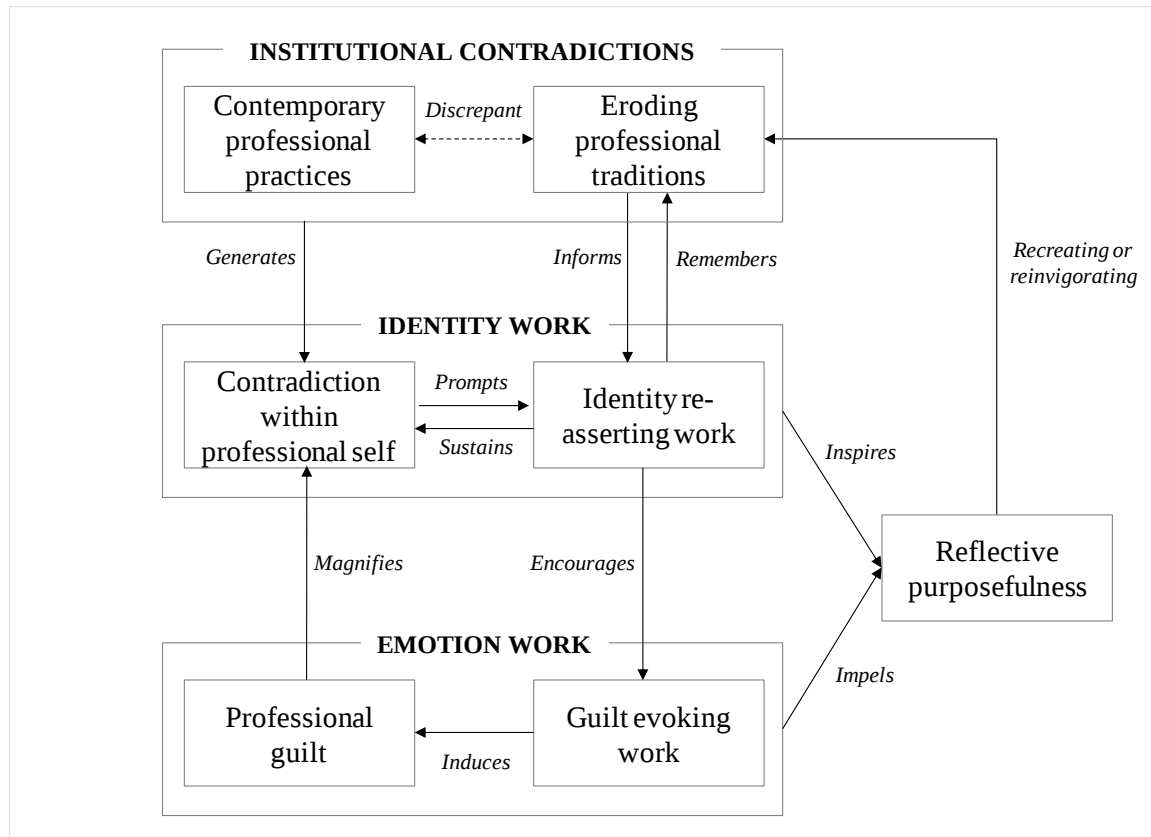
“Conceptual frameworks are best done graphically, rather than in text. Having to get the entire framework on a single page obliges you to specify the bins that hold the discrete phenomena, to map likely relationships, to

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divide the variables that are conceptually or functionally distinct, and to work with all of the information at once.”

Figure 15 below provides a graphic representation of the conceptual framework that developed through the process of iterative and inductive analysis of the case study data and the extant literature. This is the first of two frameworks and examines the micro-processes of identity work and associated emotion work that can generate institutional work.

FIGURE 15: The Micro-Processes of Emergence: Identity Driven Institutional Work



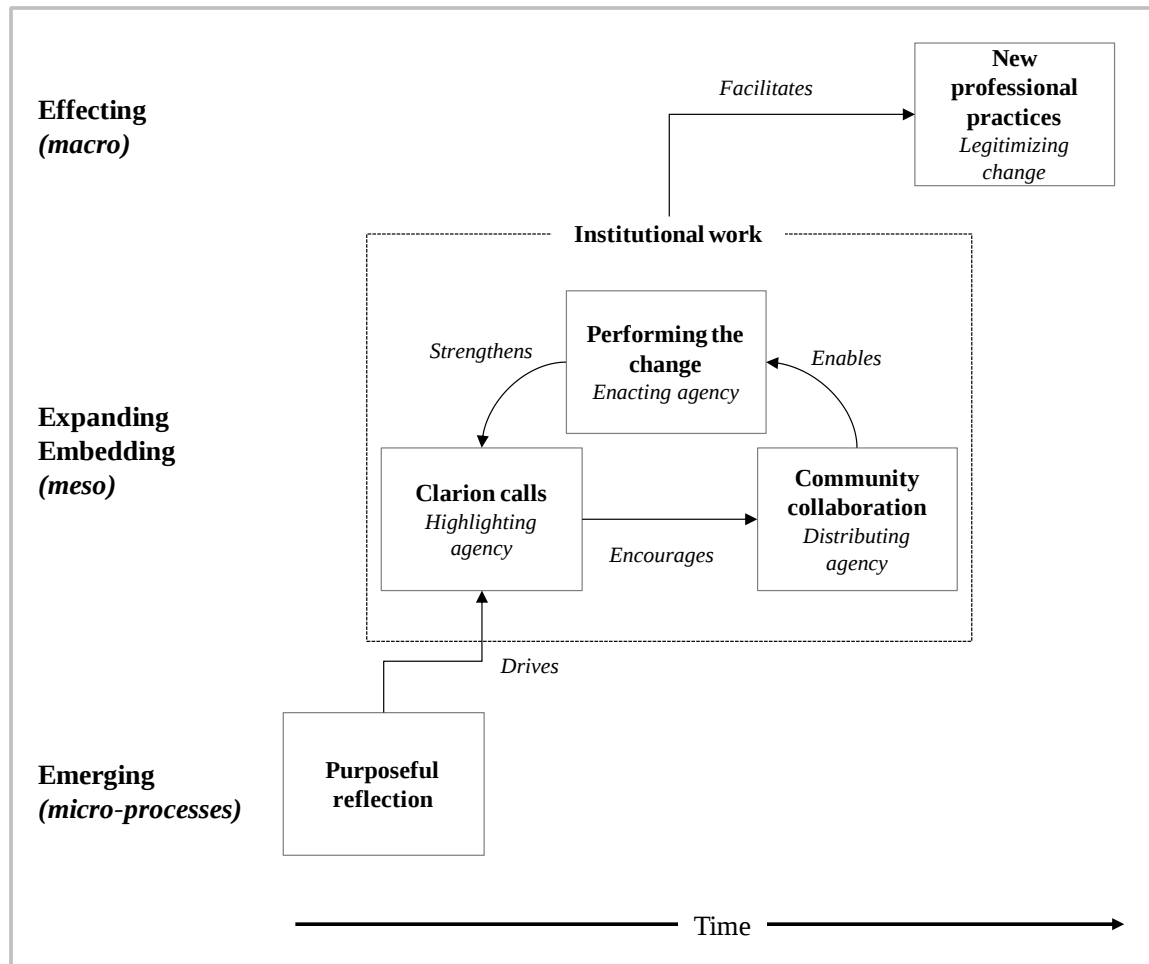
The framework hinges on one core category, which represents the main theme of the research (Dey, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The core category in this study is entitled ‘contradiction within professional self.’ This category suggests that contradictions may emerge within some lawyers’ professional identities as they internalize tensions between commercial commitments and eroding traditional professional obligations. These commercial commitments refer to the increasing pressure on lawyers to generate profits for their law firms, which compete with their sense of the traditional obligations of being a lawyer such as upholding the law for all citizens. Some lawyers appeared unable or unwilling to reconcile these professional identity contradictions as they performed identity re-asserting work, which enabled them to continue to draw on traditional meanings to sustain aspects of their identity. This form of

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identity work thereby sustains the tension between current commitments and traditional obligations. When acute feelings of guilt accompanied lawyers' contradictions, they purposefully reflected on their situation and sought to overcome their troubling experiences by re-invigorating the tradition of pro bono work. In this way, identity contradictions appeared to drive the emergence of the Pro Bono Group.

Whilst such micro-level processes illuminate the emergence of reflective purposefulness that drives institutional work, they do not explain how this can accomplish institutional change (Creed et al., 2010). Indeed, it is important not to overstate the importance of identity and emotion in the findings, as law firms and lawyers gradually volunteered their support to the Pro Bono Group due to a variety of additional motivations (e.g., corporate social responsibility, operational efficiencies, and training opportunities for junior lawyers). To connect the micro-processes to macro change, figure 16 below provides a further graphic representation of the meso- and macro-level processes that emerged from the findings in this study.

FIGURE 16: A Multi-Level Model of Institutional Work



These theoretical frameworks connect all of the conceptual categories that emerged through analysis. They attempt to reflect the fact that many of the categories appeared to operate at different levels i.e., at individual (micro), organizational (meso) or institutional level (macro) levels. These frameworks reveal processes within processes, as multiple categories inform and shape one another at different levels. Following the tenets of the grounded theory methodology, the 'contradictions within professional identity' category represents the core category of the research. The central or core category possesses analytic power as it can explain what this research is all about. In this case, it ties together the different categories to create a coherent story with explanatory power.

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Rather than just describing the Pro Bono Group's emergence, the core category helps to explain that the group emerged as a mechanism to manage professional identity contradictions, which ultimately shaped the English legal profession.

As Jasper (2011) points out, theory development is emergent and processual, a researcher can always develop their theoretical framework further. However, there came a point when this researcher believed that the framework has something substantive to say about the important role of identity and emotion in institutional work. Thus, the following subsection attempts to explicate the developed conceptual framework and to persuade readers of its plausibility.

6.5.2 Explicating the theoretical frameworks: the Pro Bono Group

This subsection explains the connections and relationships between the various categories within the two theoretical frameworks. In doing so, this section provides a theoretical account of how individuals' professional identities and emotions can inform their professional institutions. This framework posits that the mechanisms of identity contradictions, identity re-asserting work and guilt evoking work can generate the reflective purposefulness that underpins institutional work. When facilitated by certain meso-level process, such as clarion calls, community collaboration and performance of change, this institutional work can accomplish institutional change. To support this theoretical account, this section also considers the relationship between each building block (i.e., each conceptual category) of the framework in terms of the empirical example of the Pro Bono Group.

Contemporary professional practices and eroding professional traditions. The first framework suggests that as new demands on professionals become dominant within a professional field, there is the potential for discrepancies to emerge between the ‘new’ ways of doing things and long-held traditions. In the context of the English legal profession, many lawyers felt under immense pressure to meet commercial commitments within their organizations. Yet they also recognized that their profession possessed a long and noble history, with broader responsibilities such as upholding the law and performing some pro bono work. To the lawyers who went on to found the Pro Bono Group in particular, this prompted a sense of contradiction within their professional identity: how can I be both the commercial lawyer I need to be and the traditional lawyer I would like to be?

Contradiction within professional identity. The first framework suggests that co-existing yet discrepant meanings of what it is to be a professional can prompt contradictions within a professional’s identity. When an individual derives a strong sense of self from their professional identity, these contradictions can be difficult to manage and challenging experiences. Many of the lawyers in this study described the ‘tension’ and ‘strain’ bound up in balancing competing notions of a professional self. This is the core or central category within this framework as when professionals experience these contradictions intensely it can induce and eventually drive professionals to take remedial action.

Identity re-asserting work. The first framework suggests that some professionals may undertake identity re-asserting work when contradictions prompt them to change their self-concept. This work involves remembering older professional practices and

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traditions, which inform and provide meaning for established identity constructions to resist some facets of contemporary pressures. By maintaining and re-constructing aspects of their older identities, professionals thereby sustain their identity contradictions. In this study, some professional lawyers derived a significant sense of professional self from their belief in pro bono work. By re-asserting this aspect of a professional identity, they continued to face difficulties in reconciling their sense of self with the prevailing commercial norms.

Guilt evoking work. The first framework suggests that the re-assertion of a prized identity in the face of a contradiction can encourage professionals to perform emotion work to evoke feelings of guilt. In this study, lawyers who wanted to maintain their traditional sense of self by performing pro bono work believed that they should feel guilty if they were unable to perform this work. Just as some lawyers were unwilling to alter their conceptions of a professional identity, they were also unwilling to suppress the emotional challenges that stemmed from re-asserting aspects of their sense of self.

Professional guilt. The first framework goes on to suggest that by evoking a sense of guilt, many professionals experienced moments of guilt that related to their professional conduct. These emotional experiences magnify the significance of identity contradictions, infusing feelings into the gap between a valued identity and an alternative identity proffered by contemporary norms and practices. The founders of the Pro Bono Group described and recalled their feelings of guilt as being important in understanding why they felt they ought to address their own contradictions. Indeed, several of the Group's founders provided vivid accounts of acute experiences of guilt.

Reflective purposefulness. Connecting the first and second frameworks, this thesis theorizes that the collective and ongoing processes of identity work and emotion work can generate reflective purposefulness. Such reflective purposefulness motivates institutional work. Most of the lawyers intimately involved in the Pro Bono Group described being a lawyer as an important part of their self-understanding and struggled to reconcile the current demands of their legal work with their strong and traditional meanings of being a lawyer. As such, these lawyers were unwilling to unable to change their identities and thereby reflected on their social environment, which inspired opportunities for external change. The parallel experiences of the unpleasant emotion of guilt also impelled or urged them to fulfill these opportunities for change. These experiences therefore drove some lawyers to seek to recreate or reinvigorate the professional traditions of pro bono work from which they derived valuable aspects of their professional identities. In this way, reflective purposefulness connects professionals' individual and micro-level processes to external and meso-level processes of changes. This could also be considered as the connection between *intra*-action and *inter*-action.

Clarion calls. With reference to the second theoretical framework, as professionals seek change to resolve their professional identity contradictions externally, they may articulate their desire for change and may eventually set out a plan of action. It is important to note, though, that the Group's founders were all senior lawyers with established careers and some connections across the legal profession. In this case study, in the late 1990s, these founders called for more opportunities to perform pro bono work and lobbied or 'pitched' to the legal professional body. They then organized themselves into a charitable organization to provide both a clear message of change (more pro bono

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work) and practical instruction about how to achieve this end (through the organization of the Pro Bono Group). The creation of this clarion call then encourages other individuals, groups and organizations to support the cause.

Community collaboration. As professionals create a clarion call, they encourage their associated professional community to respond to their requests for change. A community's involvement in such a change appears to reflect recognition of mutually beneficial outcomes that become attainable through collaboration. The Pro Bono Group actively sought, and received, financial support from law firms and volunteer lawyers. Meanwhile, the law firms received a variety of benefits such as the positive image of being socially responsible through supporting the Group alongside opportunities to train their lawyers. As the clarion call of the Pro Bono Group grew stronger with more support from within the legal community, it was able to encourage further collaboration through greater amounts of involvement and investment from the professional community.

Performing the change. Community collaboration lends both credibility and resources to support calls for action, thereby enabling individual to perform change that helps to resolve contradictions within their professional identity. For example, in this study, law firms lending their support to the Pro Bono Group enabled the Group to function and begin to deliver the change they sought (i.e., performing more pro bono work). In doing so, the initial founders and trustees of the Group as well as its legal volunteers described the partial reconciliation or resolution of their identity contradictions through the ongoing performance of pro bono work. By performing this change, the professionals strengthened further the initial clarion call.

New professional practices. The cyclical process of a clarion call encourages community collaboration, which enables the performance of change, which further strengthens the clarion call. This iterative process may lead to the professional integration of change. The theoretical framework suggests that as this cycle iterates and grows stronger it eventually facilitates the incorporation of a change into the current professional practices. In this study, the change was a new way to perform pro bono work through a centralized system that connected formerly disparate law firms. Eventually, the Group and its new practices of pro bono attained legitimacy through the sustained investment of nearly one hundred law firms and tens of thousands of volunteers alongside the recognition and support of the legal professional body.

In summary, the two theoretical frameworks suggests that in the case of the Pro Bono Group, the tension between current commercial commitments and traditional obligations prompted many lawyers to experience contradictions within their professional sense of self. The founders of the Pro Bono group were unable to reconcile these contradictions through remedial identity work or emotion work. These contradictions within their professional sense of self therefore led the founders to seek external change by articulating a clarion call, collaborating with the legal community and performing pro bono work in a different way within their profession. Gradually, through the collective efforts of other legal professionals, the new organization and professional practice of pro bono work attained legitimacy and changed one aspect of the English legal profession.

CHAPTER 7: JUDGING THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

As outlined in the earlier methodology section, in adopting an interpretivist paradigm, this thesis posits that a suitable measure for establishing confidence in qualitative research is trustworthiness. Trustworthiness equates to an inquirer persuading their audience of the plausibility of their findings. This is important because, as Lincoln and Guba (1985): 287 insisted, “in the final analysis, the study is for naught if its trustworthiness is questionable.”

It is important to note that this article employs the term ‘trustworthiness’ instead of ‘truth’ as this “displaces validation from its traditional location in a presumably objective, nonreactive, and neutral reality, and moves it to the social world - a world constructed in and through our discourse and actions, through praxis” (Mishler, 1990: 420). Unlike the conclusions generated by scientific procedures that can be measured or tested, interpretations can only achieve “verisimilitude” (Bruner, 1991: 4) or the appearance of being true and the assessment of being trustworthy.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four criteria for establishing trustworthiness within the naturalistic paradigm: credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability. Whilst a variety of other guidelines exist for qualitative research (see Seale, 1999), Lincoln and Guba’s criteria remain pervasive and popular in organization studies. Organizational scholars continue to employ their criteria of trustworthiness to their research across a range of journals and research topics (e.g., Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Bradshaw-Camball & Murray, 1991; Corley, 2004; Gioia, Price, Hamilton, & Thomas, 2010; Trethewey, 1999). Thus, the following subsections reflect on each of

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Lincoln and Guba's (1985, 2013) four criteria of trustworthiness in terms of this research to demonstrate why this thesis is trustworthy, as summarized in table 13 below.

TABLE 13: Methods of generating trust in the research findings
(Adapted from Lincoln, 1985)

Qualitative	Quantitative	Qualitative verification procedures
Credibility	Internal validity	Member checks (semi-structured interviews and use of participants' language) Prolonged engagement Persistent observation Triangulation of data (constant comparison) Peer debriefing
Confirmability	Objectivity	Practice reflexivity Confirmability audit (transparency)
Dependability	Reliability	Triangulation of methods (constant comparison) Dependability audit
Transferability	External validity	Theoretical sampling Thick description

7.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985): 213 posit “a major trustworthiness criterion is *credibility* in the eyes of the information sources, for without such credibility the findings and conclusions as a whole cannot be found credible by the consumer of the inquiry report.” The authors suggest that this criterion is satisfied when their sources agree with or have confidence in the researchers' interpretations or reconstructions.

Member checks. The “process of member checks is the single most important action inquirers can take, for it goes to the heart of the credibility criterion” (Guba, 1981:

85). Member checks describe the process of continuously testing interpretations with the members of the various groups from which researchers solicit their data. To ensure that the lawyers in this study would recognize the data and description in this thesis, the researcher adopted open-ended interview questions and utilized the constant comparative method to enable participants to shape the data collected. It also used participants' own language during coding to further ground theory and add to the credibility of findings.

Furthermore, in the late stages of the research, as theoretical ideas emerged, the researcher organized follow up meetings or email correspondence with several participants to clarify and confirm the findings, thereby augmenting their credibility and the credibility of this thesis. In one example that appeared earlier in this thesis, chief executive 2 of the Group disputed this researcher's suggestion that one unintended consequence of the Pro Bono Group could be a decrease in the overall amount of pro bono work that lawyers performed. Through the discussion of this idea, the chief executive highlighted a much more likely outcome; that pro bono may have caused other forms of corporate social responsibility to suffer. This ongoing dialogue across a range of ideas and findings helped to render the interpretations of this thesis more credible.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation. Lincoln and Guba's (1985) propose the credibility techniques of prolonged engagement and persistent observation, where a researcher engages with their study's participants or site of study for extended periods. These techniques seek to uncover and address the distortions introduced by respondents and the influence of respondent's context. This study attempted to meet the criterion of credibility by spending a prolonged period in the 'field,' speaking to a variety of lawyers and employees of the Pro Bono Group over several years. In many instances,

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this researcher interviewed stakeholders such as the founders of the Pro Bono Group on multiple occasions in an iterative fashion as new insights and findings emerged.

Triangulation of data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also suggest researchers employ the technique of triangulation, which they describe as eliciting data from multiple sources to determine if different sources provide different information (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). The value in triangulation lies in its potential to crosscheck the data to weigh up competing interpretations that emerge from research. This study attempted to draw on a range of sources of information to ensure that it triangulated any findings. For example, the study focused on the founders and trustees of the Pro Bono Group but also interviewed and observed the lawyers who volunteered to support the group alongside a variety of legal professionals who were not intimately involved in the group. Such triangulation helps this thesis to produce more accurate and nuanced interpretations and conclusions.

Peer debriefing. Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggest that an inquirer employ peer debriefing. Peer debriefing describes an inquirer exposing their work to a disinterested peer to keep the inquirer 'honest,' to test emerging hypotheses and identify assumptions or feelings that may cloud good judgment. The underlying principle of peer debriefing is to engage with individuals who can share insights into the phenomena under study and react to emergent theories or findings. As part of the doctoral research process of developing this thesis, this researcher regularly spoke with two supervisors and shared emergent themes with peers in doctoral seminars and conferences.

7.2 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to researchers' attempts to overcome biases and predilections in the findings of their study through explicit consideration of their interpretation of the data. Whilst noting that complete objectivity is impossible, this criterion entails a researcher seeking to avoid assumptions or values clouding the findings of their research. Guba (1981): 81-82 argues naturalistic inquirers "shift the burden of neutrality from the investigator to the data, requiring evidence not of the certifiability of the investigator or his or her methods but of the confirmability of the data produced." Thus, scholars must consider how they can attempt to overcome their biases in the production of a particular interpretation.

Practice reflexivity. Guba (1981; with reference to Ruby, 1980) insisted that researchers should intentionally reveal to their audience the underlying epistemological assumptions, which cause them to formulate a set of questions in a particular way and to present their findings in a particular way. This thesis articulated the researcher's epistemological assumptions early on as part of its theoretical framing in a methodology section (see chapter 3). It also attempted to do so through an explication of the philosophical underpinning of the key concepts under study in the literature review section (see chapter 2). By explicating such assumptions, this researcher is attempting to indicate that their claims are confirmable only within the boundaries of particular beliefs about the nature of knowledge.

Confirmability audit. Guba (1981) proposed the technique of a confirmability audit. In terms of such an audit, Lincoln and Guba (1985) draw on the work of Halpern

(Halpern, 1983; Schwandt & Halpern, 1988), who emphasised that researchers should be able to provide a trail of the materials they use to construct their findings. This is analogous to fiscal accounts, where an auditor can assess a final financial report. However, the use of auditing is infrequent in organization studies, not least because it is very demanding on auditors who must deal with large amount of qualitative data (see Belk, Sherry, & Wallendorf, 1988). Furthermore, scholars have noted that the analogy of fiscal reporting is providing a false ideal that an interpretive research process can ever be fully transparent or explicit (Hammersley, 1997).

Nonetheless, this thesis has attempted to detail the data it collected and to explicate each analytical and interpretive step. This included following the tenets of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and provided a range of graphical representations (e.g., the data structures in chapter 5). These figures, which explicated the process of abstraction, were themselves supported by a range of example and exemplars from the data (see appendix 5). Collectively, these steps should allow assessors to trace the emergence of key findings and detail the empirical evidence that grounds important interpretations.

7.3 Dependability

Both this thesis and Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that inquirers use themselves as research instruments when they interpret data. This calls for interpretivist researchers to demonstrate that their approach and process of developing interpretations is dependable as they are only likely to yield credible results if they exhibit consistency. Thus, scholars

must consider how they can attempt to overcome their biases in the conduct of their research.

Triangulation of methods. Lincoln and Guba's (Guba, 1981; 1985) suggested the technique of triangulation in fieldwork, which encouraged researchers to utilize different sources or to employ different methods for triangulation. Different data collection methods may include interviews, observations or questionnaires. They argued that confirmation through two or more measurement processes greatly reduces the uncertainty of an interpretation. Thus, if inquirers find similar results using different methods the case for stability is strengthened (Guba, 1981) and research becomes more dependable. As such, this research attempted to employ a range of research methods. For example, the study complemented interviews with observations, documents and archival information.

Dependability audit. Guba (1981) suggested that researchers should allow others to comment on the degree to which procedures used fall within generally accepted practice. Lincoln and Guba (1985) originally proposed that researchers utilize a dependability audit, to consider the processes of the inquiry. This technique is based metaphorically on the fiscal audit, where an auditor is called in to authenticate accounts by examining the process by which the accounts were kept and the accuracy of the account (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If an auditor attests to the process of an inquiry then they are corroborating the research process or the dependability of the inquiry.

Although the use of such auditing is infrequent in organization studies given the demands its place on auditors, the benefit of a doctoral thesis is the opportunity to engage with supervision, doctoral training programs and fellow students who can highlight and

challenge assumptions that may have clouded the conduct of the research. This thesis has attempted to outline the entire research process and key analytical steps. Thus, readers of this thesis will be in a position to assess and judge the research process.

7.4 Transferability

Interpretivist researchers assume that generalizations of the rationalistic variety are not possible because phenomena are intimately tied to the particular contexts and times in which they are studied (Guba, 1981). Nonetheless, “some transferability between two contexts may occur because of certain essential similarities between them” (Guba, 1981: 81). Researchers may be able to transfer their explanations or findings from one context to another context if there is a strong fit. As such, scholars seeking to meet the criterion of transferability must be able to provide sufficient detail in their interpretations of an historical event, or what Guba and Lincoln (1994) refer to as a database, to facilitate future judgments about the transferability of findings to other contexts.

Theoretical sampling. Guba (1981) suggested that scholars should seek to maximize the range of information that informs emergent insights via the technique of theoretical sampling. This technique stands in contrast to statistical sampling and refers to a researcher determining their sample initially by pre-selection to explore a particular topic in a specific setting. As the researcher establishes interpretations that may generate theories within a particular context, they then develop their sample based on maximizing the range of information that relates to these emerging theories. Sampling therefore develops to refine the emerging theories rather than to increase the sample size. Theoretical sampling was a key principle that guided this thesis and its selection of

participants reflected the development of theoretical categories. This also reflected this thesis' grounded theory methodology (e.g., Eisenhardt, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Thick description. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasised that researchers should describe their site of study to enable others to make judgments about how it may compare to another context. In their earlier work, naturalistic inquirers (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) proposed thick description as a technique to achieve this. The technique of 'thick description' refers to the contextualization of an event or experience (Geertz, 1973). In line with this recommendation, this thesis has attempted to provide a rich descriptive account of the Pro Bono Group and its development over time. Indeed, it has dedicated an entire chapter to provide an account of the case study of the Pro Bono Group (see chapter 4). This chapter also attempted to contextualize the case study account by exploring aspects of the English legal profession that relate to the Pro Bono Group to provide a suitably thick description to aid comparisons with other contexts.³⁵

This thesis draws upon a range of recommendations and techniques to meet the criteria of credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability. Collectively, these efforts strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings and interpretations that underpin the contributions of this thesis.

³⁵As part of this research project, this researcher attempted to make preliminary comparisons with other 'professional' charities. The researcher contacted the English management consultants' charity – The Worshipful Company of Management Consultants – but they did not respond to enquiries.

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This thesis has attempted to answer the central research question of ‘how do the micro-processes of professionals’ identity work and associated emotion work contribute to their institutional work?’ In doing so, it has contributed to our knowledge of institutions and generated several insights into the processes of institutional work.

More specifically, the findings of the thesis suggest that some professionals’ identity work can connect them to eroding traditions of being a professional. In doing so, this identity work can spark contradictions with contemporary demands and institutional prescriptions. When professionals work to re-assert aspects of their traditional identities they consider current institutional arrangements and reflect on opportunities for change. The re-assertion of these traditional identities intensifies the experience of contradictions and can prompt emotion work that evokes experiences of guilt. By working to evoke or maintain these feelings, guilt can become acute and infuse contradictions with the meaning and significance to provide professionals with a purpose to pursue institutional work. In this way, the processes of identity work and emotion work can prompt the reflexive purposefulness necessary for the emergence of institutional work.

Whilst the micro-processes of identity work and emotion work may initially motivate work directed toward institutional change, varieties of other processes at the meso and macro level facilitate the achievement of professional change. For instance, the cognitive process of community collaboration integrates a range of ‘workers’ who enact the change. As such, it is important not to overstate the importance of individuals’ identity and emotion in generating endogenous institutional change even though they help to explain the motivations of institutional workers.

8.1 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE THESIS

This thesis responds to the growing calls for greater examination of the micro-processes of institutional theory (Powell & Colyvas, 2008) and the integration of emotions and identities into institutional scholarship (DiMaggio, 1997; Scott, 2008a; Voronov & Vince, 2012). It demonstrates the potential of both affective and cognitive aspects of individuals' identities to drive institutional work and effect institutional change. It has therefore demonstrated the importance of subjective experiences in understanding institutionalization processes. The following subsections seek to highlight the four specific contributions of this thesis. First, it provides insights into the lived experience of institutional workers and helps to illuminate the elusive concept of reflective purposefulness. Second, it provides empirical evidence to substantiate and elaborate the theories that link emotions and institutions. Third, it proposes the concept of identity re-assertion work to highlight the temporal composition of identities and their potential to act as a source of contradiction that can drive institutional change. Fourth, it makes a first step in connecting theoretically emotions, identities and institutions.

8.1.1 Investigating lived experience and emergent reflective purposefulness

Through a rich and detailed case study of institutional work within the English legal profession, this thesis has illuminated the experiences and motivations of individual institutional workers. For instance, it has described how they constructed and maintained their identities through the process of identity re-asserting work. It identified how this re-asserting work generated strong emotional experiences of guilt. The thesis then revealed

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how institutional work began to reconcile these identity contradictions and remedy experiences of guilt. In this way, this thesis has begun to address the “need to attend to the experience of individuals as they engage in, and are subjected to, institutional work” (Lawrence et al., 2013: 1029).

More than simply describing these lived experiences, however, this thesis analysed and interpreted them to generate theoretical insights. The theory that emerged suggests that these subjective processes of identity work and emotion work were not simply ‘a background’ to the process of institutional work but essential, motivating factors that contributed to institutional change. Indeed, this thesis posits that these forms of work provide way one way to prompt reflexive purposefulness. This occurs as sustained identity contradictions and associated experiences of professional guilt led some professionals to reflect on their situation and to create a purpose for external change. This reflects Lawrence et al.’s (2013) suggestion that examining the experience of actors engaged in institutional work would illuminate the concept of reflexive purposefulness.

This is an important contribution as the current literature is unclear as to why people pursue institutional work beyond simply seeking to create, disrupt or maintain institutions. It is likely that a range of motivations exist to pursue institutional work and protecting valued identity constructions and managing emotional experiences offers one explanation.

8.1.2 Substantiating and elaborating theories of emotions and institutions

This thesis points to the importance of emotions and subjective experiences in understanding institutional work. As such, it serves as a corrective to the predominant focus on cognitive processes within institutional scholarship (Creed et al., 2010) by emphasising the need to consider both affective and cognitive motivations. Furthermore, it helps to substantiate the theories of other institutional scholars like Voronov and Vince (2012) who suggest that emotions are an important component in the processes of institutional work.

However, this thesis goes further by identifying how the discrete emotion of guilt can enable disruptive and creative institutional work to unfold. This helps to provide a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of how specific emotions and institutions interact. The thesis therefore delves deeper into the micro-processes that underpin institutional work (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). It offers a further contribution to the very recent emergence of institutional scholarship that begins to examine the role of discrete emotions, such as Creed et al.'s (2014) theoretical elaboration of the role of shame. This thesis is also one of the few studies to examine explicitly the role of emotion through an empirical investigation and thereby offers one of the first grounded theories of the relationship between specific emotional states and institutional change.

8.1.3 Proposing identity re-asserting work as a temporal bridge

The thesis responds to the plea for more nuanced considerations of professionals' identity constructions (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006) by examining the meanings that lawyers draw on to construct and maintain their professional identities. Unlike other studies that

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detail how individuals undertake identity work to accept or reconcile internalized contradictions (e.g., Creed et al., 2010), this thesis identifies a new form of identity work that sustains the internalization of such contradictions: *identity re-asserting work*.

Institutional scholars have identified a variety of sources of contradiction including competing working practices (Smets et al., 2012) and conflicting personal and work identities (Creed et al., 2010). Taking this idea of micro-level sources of contradiction further, this thesis suggests that professional identity constructions can themselves be a source of contradictions by acting as a bridge between past and present professional norms that can sometimes oppose one another. The idea that identities can be a source of contradictions, through their temporal composition, that can drive institutional change provides several insights into the processes of identity work. Although limited in number, several empirical studies of identity have acknowledged the importance of time. For instance, Lutgen-Sandvik (2008): 104 noted that there is “evidence of a temporal process in identity work.” Similarly, Kreiner et al. (2006) noticed ‘temporal orientations’ within identity work, looking toward the short term and the longer term. However, as Pratt (2012): 28 notes, although identity work has an important temporal dimension, “any kind of explicit ‘theorizing about time in identity research is relatively rare.” Indeed, Brown (2014) highlights that the temporal processes of identity, and the trade-offs and sacrifices that may accompany these choices, are ‘virtually unexplored.’

This thesis theorizes that many lawyers’ professional identity constructions act as a temporal bridge, connecting them to traditional meanings that compete with current and more commercial conceptions of a professional self. Previous work suggests that identity

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constructions develop over time by drawing on a range of meanings provided through socialization and social validation such as feedback and role modelling (Pratt et al., 2006) that interact with individual preferences (Kreiner et al., 2006). This thesis goes further, by emphasising the agency of individuals' identity work in preserving their past identity constructions and re-asserting aspects of their identities in the face of current forms of socialization. This temporal aspect of identity work also points to the importance of incorporating historical context into the study of identity work.

8.1.4 Connecting emotions, identities and institutions

This thesis has highlighted the interdependence of emotions, identities and institutions. Whilst institutional research has tended to treat identity and emotions as isolated concepts, the findings in this study suggest that they are very closely bound to one another and interact to affect individuals' motivations and action.

To help illuminate this complex connection, the link between emotions, identities and institutions are somewhat analogous to the moving pieces or mechanisms of a clock. Within a clock, several small-scale (usually obscured) micro mechanisms release energy. This energy travels through a variety of other mechanisms to create a gradual but visible 'surface' change over time, in the form of the clocks' hands moving. To push this analogy further still, individuals' emotional experiences and identities are a small cog in a big wheel. Without these cogs, however, the wheel does not operate. In this way, the processes of institutional work are intricate and multifarious.

This thesis therefore serves as a reminder of Selznick's (1949) plea for researchers to consider individuals as 'wholes' in the development of their theories about

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organizations and institutions. Just as institutional scholarship has gradually settled on the idea that institutional actors or workers are not ‘dupes’ and possess embedded agency (Seo & Creed, 2002), this thesis suggests that institutional workers cannot be simplified as emotionless or phlegmatic actors. Until scholars more thoroughly integrate meaning and subjective experiences into our understanding of institutions, our abstracted theories are likely to “seem factitious, or at least distorted”, to the actual institutional workers themselves (Selznick, 1949: 250). The motives and purposes of institutional workers are complex. The mechanisms and processes of institutional work are more likely to become clear when studied as interconnected and interdependent aspects of a whole system.

8.2 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND INSIGHTS

In addition to providing several theoretical contributions, the findings of this thesis also offer some practical insights for managers and professionals. There are growing calls for “institutional work and institutional theory to engage beyond the academic community, where it was initially developed, and connect to practical issues so that such research would increase its practical relevance” (Lawrence et al., 2013: 1030). As such, whilst a doctoral thesis is an academic enterprise, it is important to dwell on its less abstracted insights into the social world (Munir, 2011). As detailed below, this thesis hopes to offer a case study that can guide the actions of other charitable organizations. It also offers two specific insights, which relate to the importance of managers recognizing the power of the past and the importance of professionals’ emotions and identities.

At the heart of this research is the story of professionals’ collective efforts to change one aspect of their profession. These efforts resulted in many thousands of

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individuals receiving the help that they desperately needed but were unable to afford. The thesis attempts to provide some insights in terms of how lawyers enacted this change that may be transferable to other professional settings to help other disadvantaged people. It does so through the presentation of a rich case study, which details how the Group operated and how it interacted with a variety of stakeholders to achieve growth, acquire legitimacy and accomplish change. Thus, this thesis complements the limited institutional investigations of pro bono work (Boutcher, 2009, 2010) and sheds light on the relatively new phenomenon of pro bono organizations in the English legal profession. Understanding these organizations is of practical value because their success may translate to other professional fields (e.g. accounting, consulting) and thereby make a real difference through the provision of different forms of support to greater numbers of disadvantaged individuals.

The first specific insight is that the ideals and ideology of the past can continue to motivate actions in the present. The construction of a professional self is a gradual process and a professional identity is replete with historical meanings. These subtle and often unspoken ideological meanings live on in the thoughts and actions of professionals. These traditional meanings can compete with current professional norms. In this case study, the importance of the tradition of pro bono work overrode many of the seemingly rational current arguments for lawyers to focus on their billable hours. As such, this thesis serves as a reminder that professionals do not operate in a vacuum but, instead, in a historical context from which they cannot step outside. In the search to discover new ways to motivate professionals, organizational leaders would do well to remember that context and tradition serve as much more than a backdrop to their current initiatives.

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The second insight is that emotions and identities matter to professionals. Organizational leaders should consider the emotional consequences of particular policies and practices. In this study, a relentless focus on billable hours across large law firms generated a considerable amount of ‘work’ for lawyers. Beyond the performance of legal work, many lawyers performed forms of emotion work and identity work, which often led to the experience of negative emotions. Professionals cannot always disregard prior practices or suppress an associated emotion like guilt easily. In this way, emotions and identities can act as powerful motivators to pursue a return to the past. This is an important consideration for managers seeking to implement professional or organizational change.

8.3 LIMITATIONS

As with all research, this thesis has several limitations. These limitations reflect both the selection of a particular epistemological perspective and the practicalities of conducting fieldwork. The selection of a qualitative and interpretive approach offers many benefits, such as rich accounts and insights into lived experiences, which allow the thesis to answer its research questions. However, this selection also precludes other approaches that offer different strengths, such as more quantitative methodologies that lend themselves to generalization. Furthermore, conducting fieldwork with individuals in a natural environment required studying situations as they unfold naturally instead of ‘experimenting’ or intentionally manipulating research outcomes, which again limits opportunities for generalization. The following subsections reflect on several of these epistemological and practical limitations.

8.3.1 Single case studies and substantive contributions

As in many other inductive and interpretive studies (Isabella, 1990; Smets et al., 2012), this research developed a substantive grounded theory (Denscombe, 2003) through a focus on one organization in one particular setting: a legal charity within the English legal profession. One of the strengths of employing a focus on a single case study is the opportunity to examine participants' lived experiences in significant detail. A "single case study can be a very powerful example" (Siggelkow, 2007: 20) as it can be revelatory and unusual (Yin, 2009) thereby providing particularly visible dynamics to facilitate theory building (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pratt et al., 2006). However, although this study provides contextualized and rich descriptions that draw on a variety of sources, the proposed conceptual framework may be limited in its descriptive power as it relates to one particular contextual setting.

Nonetheless, this thesis has provided rich descriptions that could act as a point of reference or comparison for future research. In the spirit of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), researchers could draw on this work to test the applicability and transferability of this thesis' findings in different settings. In particular, they could examine the work (emotion- , identity -, institutional- work) of legal professionals outside of England to establish the similarities or differences.

8.3.2 Retrospective accounts

As the psychologists Lazarus and Smith (1988) point out, "given the problems posed by all methods of studying cognitive-emotional activity, retrospective reports, particularly of

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salient and recent encounters, should be a valuable – some would say the richest – source of data on appraisal and emotion.” However, as this study employed interviews with individuals to understand some of their historical actions, there is the possibility of participants misremembering or possessing a preference towards a particular perspective that shapes their recollections. Furthermore, observations in the study only provide a ‘snapshot’ of recent action and tend to provide stronger insights into recent behaviours. Performing a longitudinal and more traditional ethnography would have helped to address some of these issues, although this was not possible as the subject of the study (the Pro Bono Group) had already been in operation for several years before the study began.

To manage these potential limitations, this study conducted interviews over several years. The grounded theory iterative process of constant comparison highlighted discrepancies in the accounts of individuals. This researcher could then clarify or crosscheck any inconsistencies that emerged from early stages of interviewing in subsequent interviews. In addition, interviewing several lawyers over time offered the opportunity to triangulate their responses and assess contradictory evidence. Furthermore, the thesis made use of a variety of documentary evidence to strengthen this process of triangulation. By way of example, several of the participants provided different dates for the launch of particular activities associated with the Pro Bono Group. Reviewing trade publications and internal meeting minutes helped to establish the accuracy of their recollections. Nonetheless, it is not possible to triangulate all the points that arose from interviews or to find documentary evidence for all of the participants’ claims. As such, in

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almost all cases where an individual provided an unsubstantiated point, the researcher excluded it from in the process of data analysis.

8.3.3 Study of emotions

As per other studies that have examined emotional experiences, this research benefited greatly from the opportunity to “interview lifelong members of the community who could vividly recall ‘how it felt’ even though decades had passed (Howard-Grenville et al., 2013: 134). Nonetheless, no method that examines the cognitive activity in emotion is ideal or free from uncertainties (Lazarus & Smith, 1988). As such, it is important to reflect on the difficulties of studying emotional experiences. Much of this difficulty reflects the relatively little methodological guidance for organizational researchers wishing to study emotions within the interpretivist tradition (Sturdy, 2003). Even recent articles that consider the theoretical approaches of studying emotions within institutional theory (Voronov, 2014) do not prescribe or proscribe any set of methods or techniques.

As such, this thesis has to make several assumptions in terms of studying the emotional experiences of the individuals. It assumed that when a participant in the study described himself or herself as feeling guilty that they genuinely did experience this feeling. To clarify it was an experience of guilt, instead of shame, for example, follow up questions often provided the opportunity for these individuals to elaborate their experiences. This researcher could then cross-check these descriptions to ensure that they met the definition of guilt as transgressing a moral imperative (Grandey, 2008; Higgins, 1987). Furthermore, the researcher was able to discuss and identify the cause or target of

these experience of guilt and to focus on the particular moral imperative that had been broken (in this case, not providing pro bono work to those in need).

8.4 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This chapter and thesis closes with a discussion of several directions for future research that emerged from this study's findings. It suggests two main themes for further investigation: the interaction of different forms of work and the role of discrete emotions in institutional work.

8.4.1 The complexity of 'work': Interacting forms and multiple outcomes

This thesis hopes to have highlighted the complexity of institutional work by illuminating how it can depend on and interact with the micro-process of identity work and emotion work. By extension, it is possible that different and multiple forms of work may interact with institutional work. Phillips and Lawrence (2012) identified fifteen such forms of work. Whilst various forms of emotion work, identity work and institutional work represent the first five of these forms of work, a further ten have received little attention from institutional scholars (but for an instance of boundary work see Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). These include idea work, meaning work, values work and cultural work. Whilst investigations into the relationships between each of these individual forms of work and institutional work is likely to reveal a variety of insights, the multiple interactions between collections of forms of work is likely to tell us even more. Studying the collective relationships between multiple forms of work would, this thesis suggests, provide a more nuanced understanding of how institutions are sustained or transformed.

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As Phillips and Lawrence (2012): 224 note, these forms of work are “all concerned with actors’ efforts to affect a social-symbolic aspect of their context.” As such, understanding how these different forms of work may interact within an institutional setting is likely to reveal a whole host of challenges and contradictions that drive individuals to pursue institutional change and work. For instance, could individuals perform values work that contradicts their identity work, thereby producing micro-contradictions? In this way, further research may help to provide insights into the experiences and motivations of individuals. In doing so, we may also reveal how and why complementary and contradictory forms of institutional work occur simultaneously (Delbridge & Edwards, 2008; Lok, 2010).

8.4.2 Discrete emotions and different forms of institutional work

As this thesis discussed, institutional scholars’ understanding of the role of emotions is limited. Even those few studies that have advanced our understanding of this relationship tend to consider all emotions collectively, thereby theorizing the role of emotion rather than of discrete emotions (e.g., Voronov & Vince, 2012). This study demonstrates the power of guilt in driving or motivating action. However, other lawyers in the study – who did not participate in the Pro Bono Group or pursue institutional work – experienced different emotions and pursued different actions. As such, it seems likely that different emotions would trigger different approaches to or forms of institutional work.

Whilst this thesis helps to develop our understanding of the role of discrete emotions in the process of institutional work, it also highlights the need to understand how different emotions may inform or interact with different forms of institutional work.

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As such, this thesis hopes to encourage further investigations into the role of professionals' emotions, which typically receive little attention. Furthermore, in exploring how discrete emotions of guilt can inspire institutional change, this thesis draws attention to the need to examine other, specific emotions. Frijda (1986): 354 argues that "emotions exist for the sake of signalling states of the world that have to be responded to, or that no longer need response and action." This idea implies that that positive and negative emotions elicit different goals and that positive affective states reinforce the status quo (Karniol & Ross, 1996). Similarly, Flam (1990): 43 suggest that love is a source of the 'expected and predictable' and can "bind individuals together" in terms of collective action. In this sense, perhaps love could operate as a barrier to institutional work directed toward changing beloved institutions.

There is an incredible range of emotions for institutional work scholars to examine and investigate. For instance, we know little about the role of anger, disgust, envy, fear, joy, love and sadness. The investigation of each of these emotions is important because they are likely to inform our understanding of why individuals create, disrupt or maintain different institutional arrangements. Further research into emotions and emotion work may be particularly revealing in terms of institutions and institutional arrangements that do not serve classical and neo-classical economically rational purposes. Further research could begin to categorize the role of different emotions and consider how affect can effect institutions. This thesis hopes to have taken a further step in this direction by identifying how the micro-processes of identities and emotions, specifically guilt, may prompt the reflexive purposefulness that can transform institutions.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1A: Key Terms and Definitions

Term	Definition	Source
Agent	“To be an agent is to be able to deploy (chronically in the flow of daily life) a range of causal powers. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to ‘make a difference’, that is to exercise some sort of power”	(Giddens, 1984: 14)
Agency	An actor’s engagement with the social world that, through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgment, can both reproduce and transform an environment’s structures	(Emirbayer & Mische, 1998)
Barristers	Individuals who provide specialist legal advice and represent their clients in courts and tribunals	(Bar-council, 2013)
Capital	The goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation	(Bourdieu, 1977)
Emotion	A feeling state with an identified cause or target that can be expressed verbally or nonverbally	(Maitlis et al., 2013)
Grounded theory	A methodology that seeks to generate inductively theories that are grounded in empirical data that explain social processes	(Bryman, 2004)
Guilt	A subjective emotional state that arises from blaming ourselves for the adversity of others or transgressing a moral imperative	(Grandey, 2008)
Habitus	The schemes of disposition, perception and value that orient and give meaning to practices, which individuals acquire through social experience and existence	(Bourdieu, 1984)
(Self) Identity	An ongoing reflexive project or process that answers the question: ‘who am I?’	(Giddens, 1991)
Identity regulation	The more or less intentional effects of social practices upon processes of identity construction and reconstruction	(Alvesson and Willmott, 2002)
Identity work	Individuals’ ongoing attempts to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive personal self-identity, constituting and constituted with social identities in the context of other people, cultures and discourses	(Watson, 2008)
Institution	Shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities or relationships	(Burns & Flam, 1987)

Institutional work	The broad category of purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions	(Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006)
Interpretivism	A research paradigm that possess a subjectivity ontology, asserting that truth is socially constructed and relative to the knower	(Burrell and Morgan, 1979)
Law Society	Lawyers' professional body, representing solicitors in England and Wales	http://www.law.society.org.uk/
Lawyer	A lawyer is a general term that covers both solicitor and barrister. A person learned in the law; as an attorney, counsel or solicitor; a person who is practicing law	(Bar council, 2013) (Black, 1979)
Pride	A subjective emotional state that arises from taking credit for a valued object or achievement of self or group	(Grandey, 2008)
Profession	Exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases	(Abbott, 1988)
Professional	Those individuals with the expertise to undertake the tasks or perform the skills generated by their profession	N/A
Professional identity	An individual's self-definition as a member of a profession	(Ibarra, 1999; Pratt & Dutton, 2000)
Professionalism	The ideology of expertise, or expert knowledge, that sustains a profession	(Freidson, 1994)
Pro bono publico	Translated from Latin as 'For the public good'	N/A
Solicitor	Usually the first person that a member of the public will go to with their legal problem. A solicitor will often refer the work to a barrister for specialist advice or to appear in court to represent the client	(Bar-Council, 2013)
Work	Activity involving mental or physical effort done to achieve a result	(Lawrence et al., 2011)

APPENDIX 1B: Key Acronyms and Meanings

Acronym	Meaning
ALM	American Lawyer Media
CAB	Citizens Advice Bureau
CBE	Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
CMS	Critical Management Studies
GLR	General Linear Reality
ICT	Identity control theory
LSC	Legal Services Commission
OBE	Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire
PBG	The Pro Bono Group (<i>the main case in this study</i>)
PSF	Professional Service Firm
SCT	Self-categorization theory
SIT	Social identity theory

APPENDIX 2: Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) Forms of Institutional Work

Creating institutions

Forms of institutional work	Definition
Advocacy	The mobilization of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion
Defining	The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field
Vesting	The creation of rule structures that confer property rights
<i>Constructing identities</i>	<i>Defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which that actor operates</i>
Changing normative associations	Re-making the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for those practices
Constructing normative networks	Constructing of interorganizational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to compliance, monitoring and evaluation
Mimicry	Associating new practices with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies and rules in order to ease adoption
Theorizing	The development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect
Educating	The educating of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution

Table 6.2 Maintaining institutions

Forms of institutional work	Definition
Enabling work	The creation of rules that facilitate, supplement and support institutions, such as the creation of authorizing agents or diverting resources
Policing	Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring
Deterring	Establishing coercive barriers to institutional change

Valourizing and demonizing	Providing for public consumption positive and negative examples that illustrates the normative foundations of an institution
Mythologizing	Preserving the normative underpinnings of an institution by creating and sustaining myths regarding its history
Embedding and routinizing	Actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day to day routines and organizational practices

Table 6.3 Disrupting institutions

Forms of institutional work	Definition
Disconnecting sanctions	Working through state apparatus to disconnect rewards and sanctions from some set of practices, technologies or rules
Disassociating moral foundations	Disassociating the practice, rule or technology from its moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context
Undermining assumptions and beliefs	Decreasing the perceived risks of innovation and differentiation by undermining core assumptions and beliefs

APPENDIX 3: Interview Consent and Data Processing Statement

If you consent to being interviewed and to any data gathered being processed as outlined, please print and sign your name, and date the form, in the spaces provided.

- This project – ‘an exploration of professionals’ experiences’ - is being conducted for doctoral research by Michael Gill at the University of Oxford. It is funded entirely by the Novak Druce Centre for Professional Service Firms and approved by University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.
 - You may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time by advising the researchers of this decision. The researcher’s email address is Michael.Gill@sbs.ox.ac.uk.
 - All data will be treated as personal under the 1998 Data Protection Act, and will be stored securely.
 - Interviews will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher.
 - Copies of interview tapes and transcripts will be made available to the University.
 - A copy of your interview transcript will be provided, free of charge, on request.
 - Data collected may be processed manually and with the aid of computer software.
 - Please indicate, by ticking ONE of the boxes below, whether you are willing to be identified, and whether we may quote your words directly, in reports and publications arising from this research.
- ☐ I/my employer (delete which is not applicable) may be identified in reports made available outside the research teams and in publications.
 - ☐ Neither I, nor my employer, may be identified in reports made available outside the research teams, nor in any publications. My words may be quoted provided that they are made anonymous.
 - ☐ Neither I, nor my employer, may be identified in reports made available outside the research teams, nor in any publications. My words may not be quoted.

Participant’s name:.....

Participant’s signature:..... **Date:**.....

Researcher’s name:.....

Researcher’s signature:..... **Date:**.....

APPENDIX 4: Interview Schedule and Prompts

Stage One: Arrival and confirmation of interviewee and location

Stage Two: Introducing the research

- Overview: Project seeks to understand lawyers' experiences in the legal profession. Process will be to record and transcribe these interviews to establish key themes to understand the experience of being a lawyer. When I have completed the work, I can provide you some of the outputs if you are interested.
- Anonymity and confidentiality: at no point, in any submitted work relating to this research, will the identities of any participant be visible or deducible.
- Process: semi structured interviews; this form of interviewing allows the researcher and participant to engage in a dialogue whereby initial questions are modified in the light of the participants' responses and the investigator is able to probe interesting and important areas that arise.

Refer to 'Interview consent and data processing statement' – ask for signature.

Do you understand the purpose of this interview and do you consent to continue?

I would like to record this interview. This helps the transcription process, more accurate and enables me to pay closer attention to your comments.

Am I OK to begin recording this interview?

Stage Three: Beginning the interview

The interview should last approximately 60 minutes depending on how much you want to say. Please know that you are free to end the interview at any time without having to provide a reason and you can have a break at any time. Are you happy to start the interview?

Initial questions (*not to be read, just example questions to begin the conversation*)...

1. Could you tell me your name?
2. Could you tell me a little bit about your career in the legal profession and your progression to your current role?

Prompt: What area(s) do you work in?

3. How did you know you wanted to become a lawyer or work in law?

Stage Four: During the Interview [below represent topics and guidelines, not to be followed strictly]

One aspect that this research is interested in is the emergence and development of [The Pro Bono Group], the legal charity. I'd like to begin by understanding how the Pro Bono Group operates and your perspective and experiences of the organization.

1. Could you tell me, in your own words, what Pro Bono Group is and what it does?
2. Does Pro Bono Group employ its own staff? How many and of what type e.g. qualified lawyers?
3. As a charity, how does the Pro Bono Group 'make money' or meet its costs?
4. Where is it based? Is its location important?

More about you, and your experiences....

5. How did you become involved with Pro Bono Group?

Prompt: *Did someone approach you? Did you approach someone else, if so who?*

6. Could you tell me about your activities and responsibilities with Pro Bono Group; what roles did you have or do have in this organization?

Prompt: Following up on each role – what does this involve or entail?

e.g. Trustee?

e.g. vice-chairman?

7. I'm also interested in why you became involved. Clearly have many work commitments, so could you help me to understand why you want to become engaged in a legal charity, on top of your other commitments?

Prompt: *Is this something about who you are?*

8. a. Do you enjoy the work?

8. b. How does it compare to your previous work as a legal professional – are there different focuses?

Process of creation

9. How long has Pro Bono Group existed? (Approximately)

10. As you understand it, could you describe the process by which The Pro Bono Group emerged and became a real organization?

Prompts: Were there key events?

Prompts: Were there particular 'key players'? Whether individuals or groups?

Prompts: How were initial employees selected or recruited?

Follow-up?

10. Were there explicit reasons or principles for the creation of Pro Bono Group? I.e. to distribute legal advice, to organize pro-bono across law firms etc. ?

11. Was their support in the legal profession for this organization originally? For example, did all large law firms embrace the idea, challenge it or were there a mixture of responses?

12. Why do you think The Pro Bono Group emerged at the time it did, and not ten years earlier or later?

13. You mentioned early why you became involved (*reasons x, y, z*), do you think there are similar motivations for others who became involved?

Follow-up: Are there more charitable reasons? Are there more commercial reasons?

Process of maintenance

I'm interested in understanding how the organization has been maintained and developed since its creation.

14. How, if at all, has Pro Bono Group changed since its inception?

Prompt: Changed name, location? Changed staff? Got bigger, smaller? (by revenues or staff)

15. What has driven these changes? (*Go through each one*)

16. In recent years and currently, how do you think Pro Bono Group is perceived by those in the legal profession?

17. How have law firms' perspectives and behaviours changed, if at all, toward Pro Bono Group?

18. Have there been any significant difficulties that have endangered or threatened Pro Bono Group continuing to operate?

Prompt: E.g. Not enough funding, lack of popularity, internal disagreements?

19. How did Pro Bono Group manage these difficulties?

Follow-up: Did particular individuals take specific steps or actions to resolve any issues?

20. Would you describe Pro Bono Group as successful in achieving the goals or meeting the principles on which it was founded?

Follow up: In your opinion, why was Pro Bono Group successful/unsuccessful?

21. What do you think the future holds for Pro Bono Group?

Stage Five: Ending the Interview

Note the final few minutes of the interview, to bring the interview to a close

Do you have any points or unexpressed issues during this interview you would like to share before finishing?

That is the end of the interview. Thank you for your time and contribution. **[End]**

How are you feeling?

Is there anything else you would like to ask me?

Extra prompts: Can you tell me more about that? / How did you feel about that?

APPENDIX 5: Data Exemplars for First- and Second-Order Constructs

Tables 14 below abstracts the data related to the ‘emerging’ of the Pro Bono Group into concepts and conceptual categories.

TABLE 14: Data Exemplars for First- and Second-Order Constructs

INCIDENT (QUOTE)	CONCEPT	CONCEPTUAL CATEGORY
“Doing law became a lot more about moving money around and making money than upholding the law. That’s certainly true in my firm and it’s not how it used to be” [Lawyer 18, Law Firm A] “if you're not going to make the money, you're not going to make it. It’s more important than your legal skills to some extent.” [Lawyer 2, Law Firm A]	Professional success through financial focus	Contemporary demands on professionals
“I know, I know. You think, why put up with all this hard work when you’re not even a partner? Well, you think you will get there one day and make a lot of money. But, it’s also a nice status thing to be able to say you are a city lawyer. And you’re well paid compared to most. If I quit today someone else would be in my chair tomorrow.” [Lawyer 14, Law Firm A]	‘Replaceable’ lawyers	
“It’s hardly new to point out how many hours you have to work as a lawyer. It’s still just as bad as when you’re a partner. For the trustees to be involved, especially in the early days, ... it was a massive commitment simply because they already had so much going on in their day-to-day job” [Group Chief Executive 2]	Long working hours culture	
“It's what I think distinguishes a noble profession from other forms of employment - some vision beyond the next chargeable hour” (Rozenberg, 2002). <i>This is corroborated by further secondary evidence (e.g., Boon & Abbey, 1997;</i>	Long history and noble tradition of pro bono work	

Hilsenrath, 2012; Miller & Hard, 1993)		Eroding professional traditions
“A lot of the bigger firms had this problem with pro bono work, as they knew – in inverted commas – that their lawyers did a lot of abstract work that wasn’t helpful for the everyday person” [Trustee 4] “That was how you helped back then, you’d go to the CAB. But trying to organize your time was bloody difficult. They often didn’t respond, they weren’t very good so it wasn’t easy to actually do pro bono” [Trustee 2]	Increasing barriers to pro bono	
“No doubt, pro bono was dying out [in the 1990s]” [Trustee 1] “It [Pro Bono] was afterthought in [Law Firm]. It was an unnecessary extra” [Trustee 4]	Changing professional practices	
“Lawyers always like to say they’re part of a noble profession. That’s all well and good but if you look at what they actually do, there’s not a lot of nobility there. You can’t have it both ways. We are supposed to help but we don’t. That isn’t right” [Trustee 5] “As a lawyer you have to believe in the law, it’s part of who you are. At least it is for me. You learn it, practice and protect people with it. So, to use it to make money – and only money – seems to be corrupting it a bit.” [Lawyer 17, Law Firm A]	Tension between commerce and tradition	Contradiction within a professional identity
“You get well paid and there is...a status. You know, when people are in trouble it the lawyers they’ll ask for help. There’s a long history of law in our country and I like the fact that I am a part of it.” [Lawyer 22, Law Firm A]	Professional pride - lawyers possess central role in society	
“For them [Group trustees], volunteer work is a big part of their professional lives. It is who they are, they’ve been doing it for years and wouldn’t just stop” [Group	Remembering and recalling traditional	

Chief Executive 2] “I remember voluntary work being different, more important. Certainly an aspect of our law” [Trustee 3] “I can recollect when...when I was starting, there was more of it [pro bono work]. That stayed with me” [Trustee 2] “Pro bono is a foundation of English law...we shouldn’t forget that. It’s part of us” [Trustee 8]	selves	Identity re-asserting work
“I could not just drop it. I could not say, well being a lawyer used to be about upholding the law and doing pro bono but now it isn’t, no problem.” [Trustee 1] “I believe the volunteers of [Pro Bono Group] would find some way to volunteer, even if it wasn’t through [the Group]. No matter how much work they were battling through” [Trustee 2]	Rejecting and resisting contemporary professional norms	
“I would think about that [why they joined the Group] a lot. Probably a bit of my politics. I used to ruminate on it, all these people struggling when I could help them. Every now and again it would make me feel... hmm... I don’t know. It wasn’t pleasant.” [Trustee 3]	Unable to repress or excuse the feelings associated with not doing	
“We were all similar in a way because we felt we should help. It might just be me but I thought its part of being a professional that tinge of guilt.” [Trustee 7] “I think...you should feel guilty if you’re not doing pro bono work. That’s what we are supposed to do.” [Trustee 4]	Focusing on professional responsibilities	Guilt evoking work
“I felt guilty as a commercial lawyer – just moving money around. Winning a case for one client was taking money away from another. It didn’t mean very	Unpleasant feelings about not helping those	

much to the individuals instructing you. And the thing that got me [...] was when you are advising someone across a desk with a real problem that is affecting their life, there is a significant difference in the input of the lawyer and the way you can improve the quality of their life.” [Trustee 2] “I did feel like that, a bit ashamed a bit guilty but it wasn’t all day every day. It didn’t stop me doing my job. I wasn’t racked by guilt when I was at home. It did... nag at me and hit home from time to time.” [Trustee 4]	in need	Professional guilt
“Lawyers always like to say they’re part of a noble profession. That’s all well and good but if you look at what they actually do, there’s not a lot of nobility there. You can’t have it both ways. We are supposed to help but we don’t. That isn’t right” [Trustee 5] “Why did we create the Pro Bono Group? I suppose some of it was guilt, most of us are not poor. But also... being a lawyer is about – should be about – the law. Not just for wealthy clients. So pro bono in its many forms is part of what and who I am as a lawyer” [Trustee 1]	Recognition that some lawyers are not living up to profession standards	
“The intention was to increase the delivery of pro bono to those who needed it. So we thought the [Pro Bono Group] should be there to facilitate and encourage lawyers to perform pro bono work, on a voluntarily basis.” [Trustee 2] “It [The Pro Bono Group] was absolutely not a response to legal aid or ministers suggesting ...threatening...that law firms should do more. That’s not the case at all. I agree we have a professional responsibility but not because a politician says we should.” [Trustee 1]	The past as a source of new ideas	Reflective purposefulness
“I wasn’t at the very start but I was onboard [with the Pro Bono Group] pretty early. It was the right thing to do and part of what I believe law is about.” [Trustee 5]	Emotionally charged need for resolution	

“It was a shared idea and principle. We felt that there needed to be more and better pro bono work” [Trustee 8]		
“I did consider myself to have a role to play to put right the lack of help available to people who needed it” [Trustee 3] “I wouldn’t say constantly but a lot, thinking about what I could do to get somewhat more of a pro bono presence.” [Trustee 4]	Contemplating the self and the social	

TABLE 15: Data Exemplars for First- and Second-Order Constructs

Table 15 below abstracts the data related to the ‘expanding’, ‘embedding’ and ‘effecting institutional change’ periods of the Pro Bono Group into concepts and conceptual categories.

INCIDENT (QUOTE)	CONCEPT	CONCEPTUAL CATEGORY
“Getting the word out, definitely one of the key concerns of the Group. Pro bono won’t happen without volunteers. Volunteers won’t appear unless you make a compelling case for them to help. We wanted [the Pro Bono Group] to succeed so you have to tell the profession. [Trustee 2] “It was more than just expressing what we and [the Pro Bono Group] wanted. It was about explaining how we could work with law firms to make it happen. More of a call to action” [Lawyer 12, Law Firm A]	Articulating a desire and way for change	Clarion calls
“National pro bono week made a massive difference in getting the word out about pro bono and reminding lawyers that it is part and parcel of their responsibility”. [Lawyer 20, Law Firm A]	‘Speaking out’ against professional norms	
“The group really made an effort to bring in and involve all sorts. They recruited trustees to the board from the legal departments of big corporations [...] and they involved the bar, too. I’m not sure if it was pushing against an open door but most of us accepted that pro bono was important” [Trustee 7] “I remember at the start [of the Pro Bono Group], we would ask a handful of law firms for investment. Now there are hundreds of law firms and government agencies and bodies that [the Group] talks to try and get them on board and involved in doing pro bono activities.” [Trustee 2]	Involving and reaching out to the profession	

“we...grew steadily after 2001...then... then further growth, both in terms of more members and in breadth of operations. For example, we opened a branch in the North of England” [Chief Executive 2]		
“A lot more law firms started to get on board as they realized that this [the Pro Bono Group] was something that could help them. Back in 2000 or so, there weren’t pro bono co-coordinators in these law firms. And the membership [to the Pro Bono Group] was thousands of pounds so just a drop in the ocean to the large law firms. [Group Chief Executive 2] “At the time I was in charge of pro bono for the firm, we were already doing that sort of work. But what you need to remember is that a lot of partners would do pro bono work for their own interests. Maybe for their local parish community centre in [an affluent area of England]. That’s not really in the...spirit of pro bono work. What [the Pro Bono Group] offered was a way of removing these conflicts of interest and funneling the right sort of work to us.” [Ex-partner, Law Firm B] “I think, from the department’s [of Justice] point of view, it was an easy sell. They want people to get legal help and they can give this group [the Pro Bono Group] some funding and they can run it” [Trustee 6]	Pragmatic motivations and mutual benefits	Community collaboration
“By about 2006 or around then, I’m not sure, the bigger law firms could not ignore [the Pro Bono Group]. So many other firms were connected to it. It was kind of a tipping point. Why would you not want to support pro bono work?” [Partner, Law Firm A] “clients don’t just want CSR, they expect it” [Partner, Law Firm A] “That was definitely a big part of it, feeling a bit a bit like I should really be helping... that made me want to get involved [in the Pro Bono Group]” [Student lawyer].	Recognising and responding to calls for change (internal and external)	

“Most firms these days have to do some sort of social responsibility and that’s true for law firms too. We could paint houses but as a profession, we possess a unique set of skills by being able to provide legal advice. Pro bono is a logical way to be responsible” [Lawyer 7, Law Firm B]		
“Although it might not seem it, [the Pro Bono Group] is a two way process. Yes I help them and manage cases for people who couldn’t afford help or legal aid but I get benefits too. Obviously it can be personally rewarding but it’s also good opportunity to really work directly with a client. Most of my normal work is part of a team and a bit removed.” [Lawyer 12, Law Firm A] “Yes, [The Pro Bono Group] has been successful in raising the profile of pro bono to lots of lawyers. When we started, pro bono used to be seen as quite left wing and something hidden away in law firms. But now, law firms see the benefits of pro bono for their image with clients and recruiting young lawyers. Now there is an enthusiasm amongst lawyers to give something back and an opportunity for them to do so through [the Group]. [Trustee 2]	Enacting new professional roles (e.g., performing pro bono work)	Performing the change
“Law firms saw that joining [the Pro Bono Group] offered a good image and also appealed to a lot of their lawyers who wanted to do pro bono work. From a management point of view, it also gave junior lawyers a chance to gain some invaluable experience, with levels of responsibility they wouldn’t have until much later in their careers. So it was definitely mutually beneficial” [Trustee 2] “I think in... 2006...a few years after the...instigation of the national pro bono week. [The Group] had become the legitimate voice of the solicitor’s profession for pro bono. It highlighted pro bono to the legal profession because it represented about sixty law firms, demonstrated pro bono going on in law firms to the rest of the profession and demonstrated the possibilities of properly organized pro bono work.” [Group Chief Executive 2]	Blending current ways of working with new ways of working	

“Most law firms – certainly the larger ones – now have pro bono co-coordinators who organize the firm’s pro bono efforts. Although law firms tend not to usually collaborate, these co-coordinators do speak to each other across law firms to figure out who can do what pro bono work. Naturally, they speak to [the Pro Bono Group] as they can screen and provide the work” [Law Firm partner 7]	Fostering integration	
“I think the politest way to put it is that they [the Law Society] were...distant. Certainly when we started out. We did get some money at the start but it only become regular support years later.” [Trustee 10] “It’s not an exaggeration to say that [the Pro Bono Group] took centre stage for providing pro bono in the legal profession” [Group Chief Executive 2] “By about 2006 or around then, I’m not sure, the bigger law firms could not ignore [the Pro Bono Group]. So many other firms were connected to it. It was kind of a tipping point. Why would you not want to support pro bono work?” [Partner, Law Firm A]	Acceptance of change	New professional practices
“If you wanted to do pro bono, now you go to [the Pro Bono Group]. It’s not all in-house these days.” [Lawyer 29, Law Firm A] “The Pro Bono Group is synonymous with legal volunteering now. If you want to actually help people in need that’s where you go.” [Lawyer 26, Law Firm A]	New and legitimate norms	
“Cathartic in many ways. It is nice to do actually get a thank you from someone in need and to know that you have made a difference. You are truly being a lawyer, that’s what it feels like” [Trustee 2] “It balances out. Working with a bank and working on a deal for millions. Then working in a clinic and helping someone for nothing. Feels like I’m a decent lawyer.” [Lawyer 7, Law Firm A]	Reconfiguring professionalism: ‘what we do is what we are’	

“What we do is what we are. So, if more and more of us [lawyers] are working pro bono, then pro bono is an important part of our profession.” [Trustee 1]		
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APPENDIX 6: Overview of Pro Bono Group: Operations and Processes

An introduction to the Pro Bono Group

The Pro Bono Group is a charitable organization that seeks to provide free legal help to individuals and community groups who cannot afford to pay for legal services. The Pro Bono Group acts as a ‘clearing house’ or brokerage, connecting lawyers who wish to volunteer their legal skills to a wide variety of pro bono opportunities.

Typically, the Pro Bono Group assists individuals initially through the provision of a nationwide network of clinics. For example, if a tenant believed their landlord (property owner) was unfairly removing them from their rented home but could not afford legal representation, the tenant could approach the Pro Bono Group to seek help. Pro Bono Group’s website or reading their various legal information guides or factsheets would direct the tenant to their local clinic, where they could drop in or book an appointment. Volunteer lawyers (or law students) staff these Pro Bono Group clinics and provide free initial advice on housing matters, social welfare issues, employment law and consumer disputes.

If individuals have established a more specific legal issue, they can also contact the Pro Bono Group directly through its website, by phone or by post to apply for a solicitor or mediator to support their legal casework. This application process asks individuals about their financial eligibility (i.e., that they cannot fund this legal advice by themselves) and examines the legal merit and suitability of the case for pro bono. If an individual meet the appropriate criteria, then the Pro Bono Group will connect volunteer lawyers to a particular case.

The Pro Bono Group also offers free legal advice for community organizations, such as small charities, not-for-profit, voluntary and social enterprises in England and Wales. Similar to the way it offers help to individuals, the Pro Bono Group provides community organizations with a small number of clinics to address legal questions. The Pro Bono Group also offers community organizations the opportunity to apply for a lawyer or mediator to support their case. For these larger applications, dedicated Pro Bono Group employees known as project caseworkers (who may or may not be lawyers) review the application and work with the applicant to understand the scope of service required. If project caseworkers approve the application, they then try to match applicants with a volunteer lawyer to provide the appropriate legal advice for free.

The Pro Bono Group also organizes training sessions for its members and volunteers. This training covers social welfare law and, at the time of writing, there are approximately fifty training courses each year.

In recent years, the Pro Bono Group has begun to develop and implement separate pro bono related projects beyond its brokerage function. For example, projects have included increasing schoolchildren's awareness of the law and legal practices. A further example is the development of an electronic web-based system that provides initial legal advice.

The organization of the Pro Bono Group

A board of trustees governs the charitable Pro Bono Group. All of the original founders took on roles as trustees. All of the Group's trustees are volunteers and cannot receive payment from the group. In the main, each trustee has a background in the legal

profession and most work for a law firm. Over time, as the Pro Bono Group has grown, the number of trustees has increased from approximately eight to nineteen. The Board of trustees meet approximately every two months. An annual general meeting occurs where trustees are subject to retirement by rotation or may re-apply to act as a trustee for a further year.

Whilst these trustees oversee the direction of the Pro Bono Group and set the group's policies, a Chief Executive manages the day-to-day operations of the charity. Unlike the trustees, the Chief Executive receives a salary from the Pro Bono Group. Reporting to the Chief Executive is a paid staff of approximately fifteen individuals. These fifteen individuals manage membership from law firms, organize legal clinics, handle casework and applications from individuals and community groups and develop projects to support the provision of pro bono more widely.

Funding for the Pro Bono Group

The Pro Bono Group currently operates with total annual funds of just under £1,000,000. There are several sources of this funding; a mixture of membership fees, donations, and grants support the group's work. Law firms, typically large firms based in London, initially funded the group by paying to be members each year. Over time, a small number of approximately ten law firm members grew to nearly one hundred. These memberships, therefore, remain a significant source of funding. In recent years, the Pro Bono Group has also received funding from the Law Society (the professional association that represents the solicitors' profession in England and Wales) and the British government. The growth

in the Pro Bono Group's funds has facilitated its continued investment in clinics and in pro bono based projects.