

The background of the top half of the cover is a blue-tinted photograph of a city skyline at night. Several skyscrapers are visible, with lights glowing from their windows. In the foreground, the silhouettes of several people are visible, looking out towards the city. One person in the center is gesturing with their arms. The overall mood is professional and urban.

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≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE FIRMS**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

**PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE FIRMS**

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PROFESSIONAL

SERVICE FIRMS

Edited by
LAURA EMPSON, DANIEL MUZIO,
JOSEPH P. BROSCHAK,
and
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

LOOKING back over the acknowledgments pages of *Oxford Handbooks* in this series, a remarkable number of them begin with the same sentence. “The idea for this handbook came initially from David Musson, the Business and Management Editor at Oxford University Press.” David Musson has occupied the role of Commissioning Editor at OUP for so many years now that, for most of us, we cannot imagine a time before him.

From our very first academic conference he has always been there, working quietly away over a strong coffee and a cigarette, engaged in the mysterious task of “commissioning.” Sometimes he can be observed feigning mild interest as he listens courteously and carefully to an eager scholar pitching their improbable proposal for a pet project. On other occasions, it is David himself who is making the pitch, perhaps to a potential *Handbook* editor who knows the phenomenal amount of work involved in creating such a volume and is reluctant to take on that task. David plays a long game and, like a Canadian Mountie, always gets his man (or woman in my case).

So thank you David for your relentless “encouragement” to take on this task. You were right—this book did need to be written. Thank you for believing that we were the ones to write it.

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCHING PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FIRMS

An Introduction and Overview

LAURA EMPSON, DANIEL MUZIO,
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1.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FIRMS TO ECONOMICS, SOCIETY, AND SCHOLARSHIP

OVER the past three decades the Professional Service Firm (PSF) sector has emerged as one of the most rapidly growing, profitable, and significant sectors of the global economy. In 2013 the accountancy, management consulting, legal, and architectural sectors alone generated revenues of US\$1.6 trillion and employed 14 million people (IBISWorld 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; MarketLine 2014). If sectors such as engineering services and advertising are included, the figure rises to US\$2.5 trillion and US\$18 million respectively (IBISWorld 2014d, 2014e). This is comparable in terms of revenues to the global commercial banking sector. Current reliable aggregated data for the professional services sector are not available on a global basis but in the UK this sector employs almost 12% of the workforce, accounts for 8% of output, and represents half of the trade surplus in services (HM Treasury 2009).

On an individual basis, the largest PSFs are now global giants, on a par with far more famous publicly quoted corporations. For example, PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), one of the “Big Four” accountancy firms, currently employs almost 200,000 people in almost 160 countries. By these measures it is significantly more global than McDonald’s.

With a 2014 gross revenue of US\$34 billion, PwC is also larger than Fortune 500 companies such as 3M and Time Warner. Similarly, management consultancy firm Accenture, which is itself a Fortune 500 company, has a similar market capitalization to both of these firms. By contrast, individual firms in the legal, engineering, and architectural sector are far smaller than the Big Four accountancy or global management consultancy firms, but they too are growing rapidly in terms of size, complexity, and global reach.

The significance of PSFs to the global economy extends far beyond their scale. As Sharma states (1997: 758), without PSFs “business as we know it would come to a grinding halt.” This is because PSFs play an important role in developing human capital, creating innovative business services, reshaping government institutions, establishing and interpreting the rules of financial markets, and setting legal, accounting, and other professional standards. Furthermore, the high salaries they offer mean that they are able to attract a large proportion of the best qualified graduates. Indeed PSFs such as PwC, McKinsey, and consulting engineers Arup tend to dominate preferred graduate employers lists.¹ As such, PSFs, and the professions more generally, are linked through their recruitment and promotion practices to patterns of social stratification, but also potentially to social mobility (Panel on Fair Access to the Professions 2009; Sommerlad et al. 2010; Ashley and Empson 2013).

PSFs have historically acted as vehicles for the diffusion of new and often radical business practices and structures. Examples include the “M” form of business promoted by consulting firm McKinsey (Kipping 1999), the poison pill defense developed by law firm Wachtell Lipton (Starbuck 1993), and the business risk audit associated in particular with KPMG (Robson et al. 2007). More controversially, the influence of PSFs is also captured by their involvement in a string of high-profile corporate malpractice cases (Coffee 2006; Gabbioneta et al. 2013, 2014). These have highlighted the extent to which in recent years the PSF’s traditional assurance role has become compromised as many have sought to become more directly involved in shaping and implementing their clients’ strategies.

Importantly the influence of PSFs is not limited to the business world but stretches into broader social arenas. They are, for instance, among the top ten “corporate” donors to US presidential and congressional campaigns (Thornburg and Roberts 2008), while an extensive literature documents their role as vectors for the globalization and financialization of the economy (Arnold 2005; Suddaby et al. 2007; Faulconbridge and Muzio 2012). More specifically, they have taken the lead in the reform of public services (McDonald 2013), the administration of justice (Dezalay and Garth 1998), the structure of professional qualifications (Suddaby et al. 2007), and the operation of insolvency regimes (Halliday and Carruthers 2009). As such it is difficult to disagree with Scott’s comment that professions, and within them PSFs, “have assumed leading roles in the creation and tending of institutions. They are the preeminent institutional agents of our time” (Scott 2008: 219; see also Muzio et al. 2013).

Beyond their significance as an empirical setting, PSFs are worth studying because of their theoretical significance and the insights they may generate into the contemporary challenges facing organizations within the knowledge economy. Traditional

management models, which are often derived from the empirical setting of manufacturing firms, offer only limited insight into the complex interpersonal and organizational dynamics that operate within PSFs (Maister 1993; Teece 2003). Conversely, by understanding the peculiarities of PSFs and their management, scholars may in turn develop a deeper level of insight into more conventional organizations, or organizations which are attempting to move away from conventional management models to accommodate more knowledge-based forms of working. This approach, looking at PSFs for the insights they can offer into organizations more generally, is consistent with recent calls by Greenwood et al. (2014) to reintroduce comparative organizational analysis into our study of organizations and institutions.

For instance, because PSFs typically generate intangible experiential services in the form of knowledge-rich, time-sensitive advice that is tailored to a specific client's needs (Morris and Empson 1998; von Nordenflycht 2010; Brivot 2011), this implies a much higher degree of "relational embeddedness" and context sensitivity compared to many other kinds of business activities, limiting the scope for traditional strategies of standardization and commoditization. Furthermore, because people and client relationships are the main assets of the PSF, dependence on these highly mobile and highly portable assets creates significant complexities in terms of how PSFs approach their client relationship and human resource management (HRM) activities. For instance, power in PSFs tends to be highly dispersed between autonomous professionals who retain significant amounts of discretion over how their work is organized; accordingly, in these organizational settings management tends to be more consensual (Empson 2007) and mindful of individual preferences and local sensitivities (Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008). Indeed, clichés like "herding cats" or "losing one's capital every night down an elevator" capture very graphically some of this distinctiveness and its related managerial and organizational challenges.

These challenges are of course not exclusive to PSFs but they are best exemplified in this context. Accordingly, this is an area where PSFs may be leading the way in the development of new organizational forms and managerial practices and where their study may offer particular insights in the realities of the contemporary knowledge-based economy.

1.2 PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FIRMS COMING OUT OF THE SHADOWS

Despite their empirical significance and theoretical distinctiveness, for many years PSFs remained very much in the shadows of organizational research. This is evidenced by the considerable difficulty in gaining up-to-date information about the scale of the sector. A majority of PSFs are privately owned and accordingly are not legally required to disclose financial information, while national governments and supranational bodies do not gather consolidated data on this sector and only limited information is available at a disaggregated level. Perhaps because these firms disclose very little financial

information and prefer to operate close to their clients and out of the public eye, they attract relatively little coverage in the mainstream business press.

Generally speaking management scholars have also been slow to recognize the scale and significance of the PSF sector; PSF scholarship represents a still small, though rapidly developing, niche in the field of management research. As one illustrative example, the UK's new Research Council Funding outputs database suggests 21 possible sectors in which research may have been conducted, but only one which relates to PSFs ("Financial services and management consulting"). UK scholars engaged in researching sectors such as accountancy and law, in which the UK is a global leader, are required to file their returns to the Research Council Funding database under the category of "Other."

Yet the last few years have marked the coming of age of PSF scholarship. A bibliometric search² limited to the Scopus business, management, and accounting database reveals that there are now almost 300 peer review articles explicitly referring to PSFs (this does not include the substantial number of articles referring to firms in specific professional sectors rather than PSFs more generally). Importantly, the number of entries is growing exponentially, from a couple of examples in the early 1990s, to more than 40 publications per annum in recent years. For the first two decades, the number of PSF publications tended to "spike" around a series of special issues but now there is a regular stream of new scholarship in leading management journals such as the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Organization Science*, *Journal of Management Studies*, *Organization Studies*, and *Human Relations*. The recent launch by Oxford University Press of a specialist journal, the *Journal of Professions and Organizations*, further signals the maturity of this field.

Against this backdrop, this volume seeks to make a timely and important contribution by bringing together and critically reflecting on the complex array of literature that has been published in recent decades on the topic of PSFs. But what exactly do we mean when we talk about PSFs?

1.3 WHAT *EXACTLY* IS A PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FIRM?

One reason it is so difficult to gain accurate aggregate data about the PSF sector is that there is very little agreement among researchers about what exactly is a PSF. Indeed von Nordenflycht (2010) shows that scholars have applied the term to organizations operating in more than 30 distinct knowledge-based sectors. This lack of clarity parallels similar long-standing debates in the sociology of the professions on the definition of professions and professionalism (Abbott 1988; Freidson 1994; Macdonald 1995; Krause 1996; Anderson-Gough et al. 1999; Kritzer 1999; Evetts 2006).

In its narrowest sense, a PSF could simply be an organization where the majority of income-generating staff are members of an established profession, i.e., von Nordenflycht's (2010) classic or regulated PSF. This definition would encompass

accounting and law firms, engineering consulting firms, and architects' practices, but would also encompass medical practices which are not normally classified as PSFs. The definition of a PSF could be expanded to include a wide range of knowledge-intensive activities and aspirant professions, such as management consulting, executive search, and advertising, as the *Journal of Professions and Organizations* suggests (Brock et al. 2014). Using this approach, investment banks should be classified as PSFs, though typically they are not. Why are some types of firms unambiguously classified as PSFs while the professional status of other apparently similar ones is unclear?

It is not particularly helpful to organizational scholarship to establish narrow definitions, which exclude firms which potentially have important insights to offer in terms of comparative analysis (Greenwood et al. 2014). Equally, highly inclusive definitions undermine the credibility of the study of PSFs by making it difficult to justify the distinctiveness of the phenomenon we seek to study. We need to establish some clear boundary conditions by defining a set of characteristics which clearly identify the organizational phenomenon we are investigating while enabling us to distinguish between the different kinds of PSFs which may possess these characteristics to varying degrees. To avoid succumbing to crude generalizations we need a definition which allows for heterogeneity among the firms (von Nordenflycht et al., Chapter 7, this volume) as well as for the hybridized nature of many professional organizations (Kirkpatrick and Noordegraaf, Chapter 5, this volume).

The definition needs to encompass a small high street legal or accounting practice, and a magic circle or Big Four firm. And looking inside a Big Four firm, the ultimate multidisciplinary PSF, the definition needs to encompass the highly regulated audit function (where an auditor's first duty is to uphold the public interest) with the management consulting function (where a consultant's first duty is to his or her client). What do these various firms and distinctive parts of multidisciplinary PSFs have in common which distinguishes them from many other kinds of knowledge-intensive organizations?

In seeking to establish a definition of a PSF, it is unwise to attempt to defend phenomenologically derived boundary conditions in the rapidly changing environment in which PSFs operate. The boundaries need to be as flexible as the firms themselves, yet conceptually credible. As Zardkoohi et al. (2011) argue, the problem of defining PSFs is that changes in the context can render the definition irrelevant.

For the purposes of this volume, we define a PSF according to four key characteristics (see Figure 1.1). We recognize that many organizations will possess *some* of these characteristics. We argue that a PSF will possess *all* of them, to varying degrees. By accepting that a PSF must possess all four characteristics but can do so to varying degrees we recognize the heterogeneity that exists within the sector while drawing some conceptually defensible boundaries around the phenomenon under investigation. This makes it possible to conduct more structured comparative analysis within the sector as well as between other sectors.

These defining characteristics reflect the areas of research which have attracted the most sustained attention from PSF scholars over the years. They are consistent with previous definitions by, for example, Løwendahl (1997), Morris and Empson (1998), and

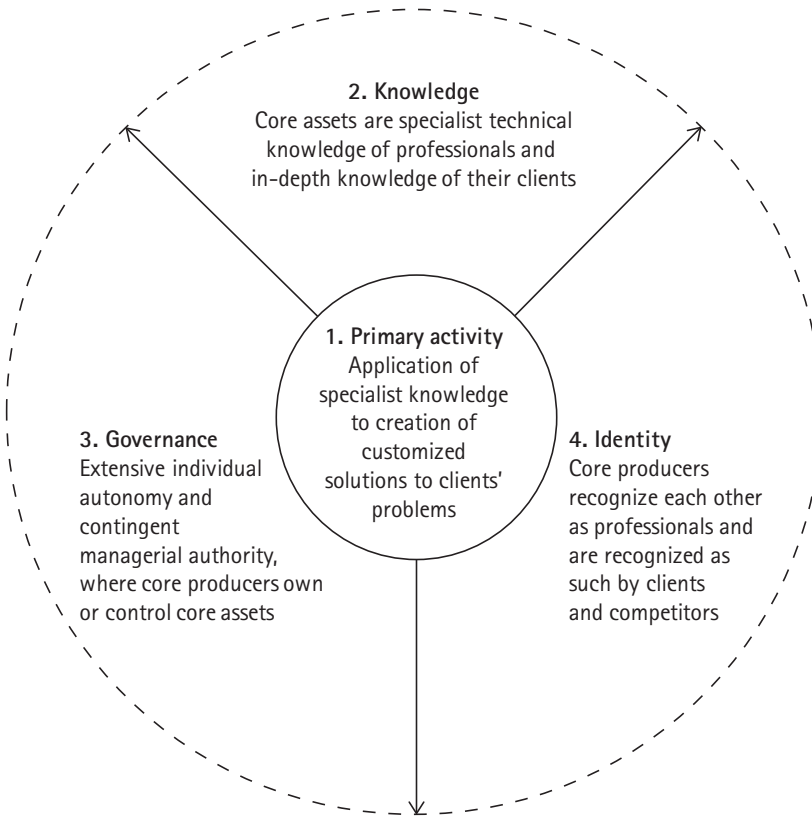


FIGURE 1.1 Defining characteristics of a Professional Service Firm.

Greenwood et al. (1990). They reflect von Nordenflycht's (2010) defining characteristics (knowledge intensity, low capital intensity, and professionalized workforce) but extend and refine his definition by bringing the themes of customization, governance, and identity to the fore.

1. Primary activity: Application of specialist knowledge to creation of customized solutions to clients' problems.

The concept of customization is central to the definition of a PSF (see Empson 2008). From this, as will be demonstrated, flow the three additional defining characteristics relating to knowledge, governance, and identity. This criterion excludes firms primarily engaged in financial services activities which are dependent on substantial capital reserves (e.g., investment banking or private equity funds) as a PSF is above all a knowledge-intensive and not a capital-intensive operation. This criterion also excludes generic knowledge-intensive firms, such as software, biotech, or "big pharma" companies, which sell packaged products. According to this criterion, a "claims farm" law firm specializing in personal injury lawsuits (employing large numbers of para-legals

engaging in highly routinized processual work) will also be at the outer boundaries of the PSF definition, because its primary activity is not sufficiently customized. What distinguishes PSFs from these kinds of firms is the bespoke nature of professional work which requires an intensive interaction between professionals and their clients.

But this definition alone does not explain why hospitals and large engineering companies are typically not considered PSFs but rather as examples of the broader category of professional service organization (Scott 1965; Larson 1977). We need to refine this further, with reference to other defining characteristics of PSFs.

2. Knowledge: Core assets are specialist technical knowledge of professionals and their in-depth knowledge of clients.

The concept of knowledge (including expertise and “know-how”) has been extensively researched in the PSF field but from a relatively narrow empirical base. The focus has tended to be on the professionally accredited knowledge of the established professions and on whether firms employing other forms of technical knowledge can reasonably lay claim to being professional (Abel 1988; Freidson 1994; Macdonald 1995). Other strands of research have focused on the acquisition of knowledge at the individual level and the codification and sharing of knowledge at the firm level (Morris and Empson 1998; Empson 2001). But as important, and typically neglected within the PSF literature, is the in-depth knowledge that individuals and firms develop about their clients over time, enabling them to apply their specialist technical expertise appropriately (Fincham 1999; Handley et al. 2006). In its fullest examples this leads to the co-production of knowledge whereby professionals pursue “shared learning” with their clients (Fincham 2006; see also Faulconbridge, Chapter 19, this volume).

3. Governance: Extensive individual autonomy and contingent managerial authority, where core producers own or control core assets.

Experienced professionals require, or at least expect, extensive levels of individual autonomy, legitimated by the requirement for professionals to preserve the right to make choices about how best to apply their specialist technical knowledge to the delivery of customized professional services (Freidson 1994, 2001; Empson 2007; Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008). As Derber (1982) states, in these settings professionals will enjoy high levels of both teleological (control over ends) and technical (control over means) autonomy. This extensive emphasis on individual autonomy is associated with relatively low levels of managerial authority and intervention. This is particularly so in partnerships, the prevailing form of governance within the traditional professions (Greenwood and Empson 2003) but is also common in corporate PSFs which mimic the characteristics of the partnership form of governance (Empson and Chapman 2006; von Nordenflycht 2014; see also Leblebici and Sherer, Chapter 9, this volume). This feature helps to explain why large engineering companies and hospitals, for example, are typically not considered PSFs as they are normally part of a larger corporate or public sector organization,

employing a wide array of workers, and subject to more conventional bureaucratized forms of organizing (i.e., they are autonomous rather than heteronomous professional organizations; Scott 1965; Larson 1977). The relatively small number of publicly quoted PSFs are interesting aberrations yet these firms are typically still substantially owned and operated by the professionals who work within them. This emphasizes the essentially dynamic nature of the concept of the PSF.

4. Identity: Core producers recognize each other as professionals and are recognized as such by clients and competitors.

Since professionals may be only loosely bound together through their formal governance arrangements, they rely upon a shared understanding of the concept of professionalism to provide an ethically based framework to guide their actions (Grey 1998; Anderson-Gough et al. 1999; Evetts 2006; Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011; see also Alvesson et al., Chapter 18, this volume). For PSFs within the established professions, this professional identity may have been acquired through years of education and professional training and is embodied in formal qualifications. Other kinds of PSFs rely instead upon internal socialization into professional norms of behavior. In all contexts, the firm itself is emerging as an increasingly important site where “professional identities are mediated, formed and transformed” (Cooper and Robson 2006: 416). In this context, professional identity is increasingly redefined from a matter of qualifications to a matter of displaying the appropriate attitudes and dispositions such as commitment, commercial acumen, and customer focus (Anderson-Gough et al. 1999). Above all, members of a PSF recognize each other as professionals and are perceived as such by their clients and competitors. Many knowledge workers may consider themselves to be professionals and recognize each other as such. But only if their employing organizations possess all of the other defining characteristics can they be said to work for a PSF in the fullest sense that we are deploying here.

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE *HANDBOOK*

As the study of PSFs progresses into maturity this volume provides an opportunity for consolidation, extension, and differentiation.

1.4.1 Consolidation

The proliferation of academic studies on PSFs in recent years has created a substantial but somewhat fragmented body of literature. The chapters in this volume review and consolidate the relevant literature that stems from a range of disciplinary backgrounds, and looks beyond studies of PSFs to include a broader theoretical grounding in the

relevant topics. Each chapter synthesizes what has been learnt to date from a wide range of scholarly sources and defines future research directions.

1.4.2 Extension

A major challenge in putting together this volume has been the unevenness of scholarship in this area. Certain topics have been very extensively researched (for example, identity and knowledge management). For these chapters the authors have focused on synthesizing and critiquing the literature to provide a single point of reference as a starting point for scholars new to this field. Other topics (for example, leadership or innovation) are much less developed; in this context, authors have reached outside the PSF context, to extend scholarship in this area by identifying, “importing,” and adapting relevant ideas from other empirical and disciplinary contexts which speak directly to issues of particular relevance to PSFs. In so doing these authors have helped to lay the foundations for future scholarship in these areas.

1.4.3 Differentiation

Studies of firms in specific PSF sectors suffer from a tendency to claim generalizability across PSFs as a whole, without sufficient regard for the peculiarities of specific occupational or national contexts. The chapters in this volume are designed to explicitly take this specificity on board by drawing on illustrations from multiple professions and geographical settings. As such, they reflect on differences and similarities across professional sectors, markets, and national contexts, helping to distinguish findings which are more generally applicable from those which are highly sector-specific.

The volume sets out with the intention of integrating scholarship on PSFs across multiple levels of analysis. But the chapters of an *Oxford Handbook* need to be divided up into sections and, since PSF research has traditionally been contained within fairly distinct levels of analysis, the chapters of this volume fall naturally into three distinct sections: the professions, the firms, and the professionals that work within them.

Part I focuses on *Professional Service Firms in Context*. It begins with a chapter by Roy Suddaby and Daniel Muzio (Chapter 2) exploring *Theoretical Perspectives on the Professions*. They present an overview of the development of sociology-based theories of professional occupations and argue that the study of PSFs is following a similar trajectory to earlier research on professional occupations, moving away from concerns about structure and function to questions of power and privilege and, increasingly, issues of process and practice. They argue that it is time for an institutional/ecological approach to studying professions, which analyzes professions as one type of institution struggling for survival in an ecology of other, related, institutional forms. In other words, they emphasize that future research on PSFs needs to pay heed to the significance of the dynamic nature of interactions between multiple stakeholders, not just between

multiple levels of analysis at the individual, firm, professional, and regulatory level, but also among competitors and PSFs, their clients, and the broader set of stakeholders upon whom they exert influence.

Chapter 3, by Sigrid Quack and Elke Schüßler, focuses on one specific aspect of PSF ecology, the *Dynamics of Regulation* in a national and international context. They examine how the changing roles and relationships between PSFs, clients, and the state have challenged traditional forms of professional regulation. Quack and Schüßler argue that the tendency for scholars to focus on self-regulation fails to do justice to the complex regulatory dynamics emerging at and across (sub-)national, regional, and global levels. Focusing on regulatory changes in the accounting and legal professions they show that, while competition, free trade, and quasi-market governance have expanded into the previously protected realms of professional organization and work, various state actors are reasserting their regulatory capacity within new and increasingly complex ecologies of actors.

Chapter 4, by Mehdi Boussebaa and Glenn Morgan, picks up on the theme of regulation in the context of their analysis of the drivers, forms, and outcomes of *Internationalization* in a PSF context. They argue that conventional internationalization theory does not apply straightforwardly to PSFs and identify three key sources of PSF distinctiveness—governance, clients, and knowledge. They show how these generate not only differences between PSFs and other types of organizations but also heterogeneity amongst PSFs themselves. They identify four different forms of PSF internationalization—network, project, federal, and transnational—and emphasize the relative dearth of research on the first two forms. In spite of the scholarly interest in the transnational form, they find little convincing evidence that it has been successfully implemented in practice and argue that, in general, PSFs are better understood as federal structures controlled by a few powerful offices than as transnational enterprises. Once again the need to develop a more subtle and nuanced understanding of the densely interwoven power dynamics within as well as between PSFs is highlighted as an important theme for future research.

Chapter 5, by Ian Kirkpatrick and Mirko Noordegraaf, on *Organizations and Occupations*, poses a challenge to deep-rooted assumptions about the mutually exclusive nature of professions and organizations, and develops the concept of hybrid professionalism in PSFs. It argues that while different traditions of research, from the sociology of professions to theories of professional organization, have emphasized conflict, they have also highlighted the interdependency and co-evolution between professional occupations and organizations. Kirkpatrick and Noordegraaf argue that, in recent years, professionalism itself has become increasingly hybridized, due not only to the encroaching demands of organizations on professionals, but also to the way professionals themselves have sought to organize themselves so as to ensure continued growth, legitimacy, and sustainability.

One of the themes underlying research on professional/occupational conflict is the theme of professional ethics. This arises from two main concerns: the fact that professionals working within corporate bureaucracies will experience a conflict with their

professional norms, and that professionals working within increasingly “corporate” PSFs may be similarly compromised. These issues are addressed directly in Chapter 6, by Ronit Dinovitzer, Hugh Gunz, and Sally Gunz, who examine the origins, applications, and developments of scholarly understandings of *Professional Ethics*. In this context they examine issues such as: how ethical codes are adopted by professional bodies for complex and sometimes self-serving reasons, how professional independence is used to justify professionals’ autonomy from organizational constraints, and the contested role of professional gatekeepers. Dinovitzer et al. highlight some of the ethical pressures experienced by professionals and discuss the strategies they use to cope with or adapt to these circumstances. They emphasize the power of the client to exert pressure on the professional in order to get the result they want (so-called client capture) and consider the challenges this presents for the study of ethics in PSFs.

Chapter 7, by Andrew von Nordenflycht, Namrata Malhotra, and Timothy Morris, rounds off the section on PSFs in context by examining the *Sources of Homogeneity and Heterogeneity* within PSFs. Research on PSFs has tended to emphasize similarities in how firms are organized and managed but this assumption has been challenged recently as scholars have drawn attention to organizational differences. Von Nordenflycht et al. synthesize insights from the sociology of professions literature, economics and organization theory to highlight key sources of homogeneity and heterogeneity and propose an overarching framework to better inform future empirical research on PSFs.

Part I, *Professional Service Firms in Context*, emphasizes the complex power dynamics within which PSFs are embedded and the competing claims of stakeholders with which they must contend. By contrast Part II, *Professional Service Firms: Management and Organization*, looks inside the PSF in considerable depth, and in the process examines power dynamics within these firms.

Chapter 8, by Laura Empson and Ann Langley, starts at the “top” of the PSF by examining *Leadership and Professionals*. They emphasize that PSFs present distinctive leadership challenges, given professionals’ traditional expectation of autonomy from organizational constraints, and highlight the dearth of research on PSF leadership. Empson and Langley develop a framework for understanding leadership in PSFs, examining the foci, resources, and mechanisms of leadership, and the multiple manifestations of influence within these contexts. They argue that leadership in PSFs is manifested explicitly through professional expertise, discreetly through political interaction, and implicitly through personal embodiment. They suggest that these resources are rarely combined in single individuals, which gives rise to the prevalence of collective forms of leadership, supported by embedded mechanisms of social control within PSFs.

Because PSFs are often collectively owned by senior professionals working within the firm, leadership cannot be properly understood without reference to issues of governance. Yet, while PSF leadership has received very little scholarly attention, the topic of governance has been extensively researched. In Chapter 9, Huseyin Leblebici and Peter Sherer review this literature on *Governance*. They begin by presenting four foundational theoretical perspectives on governance in PSFs: the agency, the partnership/partnership ethos, the stakeholder, and the trustee perspective. They emphasize that, while these

perspectives reflect well-established structural and cultural views on PSF governance, they leave unanswered several critical issues. Leblebici and Sherer suggest that future scholarship will be advanced by adopting a legal normative view of governance, defined as the legal and non-legal rules, norms, conventions, standards, and managerial practices that facilitate coordination and conflict resolution amongst the critical constituencies of PSF. In so doing, they identify a critical but unexplored issue in the study of governance: the definitions of rights and obligations among critical constituencies and how this plays into conflict resolution mechanisms.

Central to the challenge of leadership and governance in PSFs is the question of who determines a firm's strategy and how professionals are "aligned" to enable that strategy to be achieved. The theme of *Strategy and Strategic Alignment* is examined by John Mawdsley and Deepak Somaya in Chapter 10. They review the literature on the strategic management of PSFs which in turn underpins their competitive advantage and long-run performance. They focus on human capital as a critical resource for PSFs and explore different ways in which firm value is created by attracting, developing, configuring, and leveraging human capital. Further, they argue it is critical that a PSF's human capital be aligned with and harnessed to its objectives, which raises issues in relation to the motivation of professionals, the sharing of economic rents, and the overall governance of the firm. They go on to explain the corporate strategy decisions (such as service and geographic diversification) that PSFs must make, and discuss the value-creating role of client relationships—a topic explored in considerable depth in Chapter 16.

A central aspect of any PSF's strategy is the choice about whether to innovate or whether to focus on alternative means of differentiation. In the face of increasing competition and rapid technological change, service innovation is of increasing importance to PSFs. Despite these developments, there has been little discussion of innovation in the PSF literature. The emphasis has been on change and knowledge management with little recognition as to how these relate to innovation. In Chapter 11, Michael Barrett and Bob Hinings draw upon the innovation literature more generally to examine the relevant insights into the development and use of new practices by professionals. They outline an agenda for future research around a practice perspective for exploring *Service Innovation* in PSFs.

Closely associated with the practice of innovation is that of *Entrepreneurship*, a theme explored by Markus Reihlen and Andreas Werr in Chapter 12. Like Barrett and Hinings they emphasize the relative dearth of research on entrepreneurship in this context. They attribute this to scholars' assumption that there is an inherent contradiction between entrepreneurship and professionalism, as much contemporary theorizing has emphasized institutionalized isomorphism and inertia in professional fields. Reihlen and Werr adopt a broad perspective on entrepreneurship, focusing on new venture management and renewal in PSFs as well as embracing aspects such as learning, innovation, and institutional change. They examine the existing literature from three levels of analysis—the entrepreneurial team, the entrepreneurial firm, and the organizational field within which the creation and exploitation of entrepreneurial opportunities takes place.

In Chapter 13 William S. Harvey and Vincent-Wayne Mitchell focus on another area which has received very little scholarly attention, *Marketing and Reputation* in PSFs. They explore a series of problems inherent to applying traditional marketing principles and practices to PSFs and examine how PSFs seek to attract and retain clients through reputation building. They emphasize how a PSF's reputation is important to their clients as well as the firms themselves. They identify how to define and measure reputation and develop a conceptual model which highlights the antecedents and consequences of reputation in a PSF context.

A focus on marketing and reputation management leads on to another relatively neglected area of PSF research—*Client Relationships*—which is examined by Joe Broschak in Chapter 14. Broschak proposes that client relationships tend to be assumed rather than studied and focuses on three key themes in reviewing the relevant academic research. First is the different ways that PSFs/client relationships have been characterized and how this shapes researchers' attention, what aspects of client relationships researchers attend to, and the assumptions researchers make about client relationships should be studied and managed. A second theme is the life cycle of client relationships, specifically research that addresses either the formation and maintenance, or dissolution of client relationships and the factors that drive the dynamics of client relationships. Third is research that identifies how client relationships affect PSFs through the co-production of professional services, particularly in the areas of PSF strategy, structure, learning, and human resource practices.

While client relationships have always been fundamental to the success of a PSF, another set of external relationships has become increasingly important in recent years: the providers of *Outsourcing and Offshoring* services. This is the focus of Chapter 15 by Mari Sako. Once again, this important phenomenon in the PSF sector has received relatively limited scholarly attention. Sako therefore turns to broader management and economic theories to shed light on this phenomenon. She examines trends towards the disaggregation and standardization of professional work, and to digital technology, as prerequisites for outsourcing and offshoring. She explores the implications of trends in outsourcing and offshoring in terms of the ecology of professions, with particular emphasis on how non-professionals may enter into competition with professionals, and on their disruptive effect on professional jurisdictions.

Part III of the volume, *Professional Service Firms: Individuals and Interactions*, focuses on a series of issues with direct and immediate impact on individual professionals, the nature of their work lives, and their working relationships. In Chapter 16 Laurie Cohen examines *Career Forms* in PSFs. She argues that PSFs embody elements of three ideal types of career form—bureaucratic, professional, and entrepreneurial—and that these sometimes work in parallel and sometimes in competition with each other. She considers how these are institutionalized through particular career practices and highlights the importance of the client in professional career-making. Cohen then examines career enactment: the ways in which individuals engage with professional, bureaucratic, and entrepreneurial practices on a daily basis and over time. Central to her analysis is a focus

on the tension between the professional career as a vehicle for the exercise of personal agency, and as a disciplinary mechanism of management control.

Cohen's chapter highlights the extent to which established notions of professional careers are being challenged by rapid changes in the professional context. Heidi K. Gardner's chapter on *Teamwork and Collaboration*, Chapter 17, highlights a similarly disruptive change to established norms. The nature of teamwork in PSFs is evolving from highly structured project teams to more fluid, open-ended, peer-to-peer collaboration, often between powerful, high-autonomy partners. Gardner emphasizes that this shift is especially challenging because senior-level collaboration requires peers from different practice groups or offices with different sub-cultures to negotiate task allocation, credit recognition, and decision-making norms, which can be difficult and politically charged. Increased partner-level collaboration is further complicated by other trends in the PSF arena such as specialization, heightened professional mobility, and increased competition. Gardner goes on to identify ways that some of these recent developments within PSFs challenge our understanding of traditional forms of teamwork.

As previously discussed, *Identity* has long been recognized as a core theme within the PSF literature and one which has significant implications for the nature of professional work and for relationships between individual professionals and the firms that employ them. In Chapter 18, Mats Alvesson, Dan Kärreman, and Kate Sullivan synthesize and extend this extensive literature to examine the relationship between individual and organizational identity in PSFs and the significant but tenuous nature of elite identity in this context. They identify four identity-related issues in PSFs: autonomy/conformity tensions, the client conundrum, ambiguity saturation, and intangibility. They explore alternative modes of identity control in PSFs (positive image, homogenization of the workforce, and anxiety regulation) and examine contemporary challenges to elite professional identities as well as the increasing critique of concepts of professionalism in this context.

Central to a knowledge worker's identity is, inevitably, the form and content of their knowledge. In Chapter 19 James Faulconbridge focuses on the central issues of *Knowledge and Learning*. He synthesizes key research in this area along three distinct themes: the organizational form, management, and governance of PSFs, the varying roles and effects of knowledge networking, and jurisdictional knowledge and contested claims about exclusive rights over a market. While acknowledging the extent to which knowledge and learning represent well-trodden paths within the scholarly literature, Faulconbridge emphasizes that the ambiguous and heterogeneous nature of knowledge ensures that these topics remain contested domains which merit considerable further scholarship.

Knowledge, of course, does not reside solely in the systems and structures of a PSF but is a product of the diverse backgrounds and experiences of its professional workforce. In theory at least, a more diverse workforce will be associated with more innovative practices, as well as bringing other associated benefits. Why then, after so much attention from both scholars and PSF leaders, are the senior ranks of most PSFs still dominated by white, heterosexual, middle-class males? In Chapter 20, on *Diversity*

and Inclusion, Hilary Sommerlad and Louise Ashley examine this question in depth. A widely held belief is that meritocracy is a defining characteristic of the professions. Yet extensive research and statistical surveys have highlighted the myth of merit within PSFs. Sommerlad and Ashley examine how patterns of exclusion and inclusion have been theorized over the past four decades and explore the associated evolution of policy and practice within PSFs.

In the final chapter, Juani Swart, Nina Katrin Hansen, and Nicholas Kinnie address a core set of issues underlying all the chapters in this section. They consider how *Human Resource Management* practices are used to manage human capital (knowledge and skills) and social capital (relationships inside and outside the PSF) to generate superior performance in PSFs. They outline two models of HRM practices which are used to manage human and social capital and examine how these relate to innovation.

1.5 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Handbooks are repositories of the past and present of a discipline so are well placed to comment on its future. Each of the chapters in this volume identifies directions for future research which are specific to its own topic. In the concluding section of this introductory chapter we address five broader, overarching themes that merit future research in the field of PSFs.

1.5.1 Understanding a Phenomenon in Flux

The concept of the PSF and the field within which it operates is undergoing rapid and in some cases dramatic change. For example, recent legislation relating to PSFs is introducing new ownership structures and facilitating the development of managerial hierarchies (see Leblebici and Sherer, Chapter 9, this volume; Empson and Langley, Chapter 8, this volume); technological change and deregulation are driving the outsourcing and offshoring of core processes and functions (see Sako, Chapter 15, this volume); globalization is leading to novel forms of transnational jurisdictions and practice (see Boussebaa and Morgan, Chapter 4, this volume; Quack and Schüßler, Chapter 3, this volume); new lifestyle tendencies and workforce diversity are leading to an increasing demand for salaried employment and “atypical” employment contracts (see Cohen, Chapter 16, this volume; Sommerlad and Ashley, Chapter 20, this volume); recent scandals are eroding public confidence and undermining traditional self-regulatory arrangements (see Dinovitzer et al., Chapter 6, this volume); and developments in the economy are calling into question the sustainability of once-dominant business models and fostering new approaches to the organization and delivery of professional expertise (see Faulconbridge, Chapter 19, this volume; Barrett and Hinings, Chapter 11, this volume).

It is important to understand how these and other developments in once-stable organizational forms affect relationships between different stakeholders. For instance, could the rise of external investors as key stakeholders destabilize traditional governance regimes (see Leblebici and Sherer, Chapter 9, this volume), generate new “capture” dynamics, or compromise existing fiduciary duties (see Dinovitzer et al., Chapter 6, this volume)? Similarly, could the development of new practices and modes of organizing change affect the internal dynamics within PSFs and usher in increasing standardization, routinization, and more directive forms of leadership (see Faulconbridge, Chapter 19, this volume; Reihlen and Werr, Chapter 12, this volume; Empson and Langley, Chapter 8, this volume)? All of these organizational developments in their different ways will have real impacts for the management and performance of PSFs, the experiences of their clients, and the working lives and careers of the people who work within them. But they also raise important theoretical implications for the very concept of the PSF itself. There is much more to learn about PSFs as the firms themselves are evolving faster than scholarship in the field.

1.5.2 Broadening the Focus of Inquiry

We have emphasized the need for a definition of PSFs which covers a wider and more differentiated terrain. Existing research, and therefore this volume, has historically tended to focus on a limited set of the broader potential population. Some concepts and topics easily transcend this varied terrain; for example, strategy, client relationships, and human resource practices are all essential elements of PSFs regardless of their size, profession, or national region (see Mawdsley and Somaya, Chapter 10, this volume; Broschak, Chapter 14, this volume; Swart et al., Chapter 21, this volume). Yet most of what we know derives from studies of large firms, usually in law or accountancy and overwhelmingly in Western if not Anglo-Saxon contexts. It remains an open question to what extent which the management and application of PSF practices and client relationships transcends markets, cultures, and national boundaries. Conversely too little is known about whether distinct forms of PSFs are emerging in developing economies or about the characteristics of PSFs in new occupational contexts. This diversity needs to be more fully accounted for. In addition, more attention should be placed on the “life cycle” and stages of growth of PSFs (see Reihlen and Werr, Chapter 12, this volume; Empson and Langley, Chapter 8, this volume; Leblebici and Sherer, Chapter 9, this volume) as they move from charismatic founders to national and eventually global partnerships.

1.5.3 Extending Methods Utilized

There is considerable scope for expanding the range of research methods deployed for studying PSFs. The majority of existing research on PSFs consists of semi-structured interviews, sometimes integrated with archival sources. To date, quantitative studies of PSFs have been relatively limited, raising further questions about the generalizability of

much of the “received wisdom” within this field of research. In addition, network studies could also prove particularly fruitful as a means of understanding the complex web of relationships within which professionals and PSFs must operate. Furthermore the limited number of ethnographic studies to date have pointed to their potential in generating important insights into issues such as political relationships within PSFs and the unfolding of long-term change processes. This method holds particular promise in terms of bringing back the lived experiences and everyday practices of people within PSFs which have often been neglected in existing research. Such a focus is particularly important as it is individuals within these firms that have to balance and enact the requirements of competing pressures. Indeed more sensitivity to actual tasks and activities is needed for further work in the area.

1.5.4 Examining Working Practices

While the training and accreditation processes within the professions are associated with a substantial body of theory about the technical aspects of professional work (see Faulconbridge, Chapter 19, this volume), relatively little has been written about the actual practice of professional work as it is enacted by individuals within firms. Notable exceptions include studies of accountants (Anderson-Gough et al. 2001), consultants and lawyers (Smets et al. 2012). However, these focus on very specialized aspects of professional work. As yet, organizational scholars know relatively little about what professionals actually do to deliver client service. For example, what are the precise mechanisms by which professionals work with their clients to define the “problem”? How do they identify the appropriate areas of professional expertise to address the problem? How do they co-create knowledge with their clients, and how do they adapt and use that knowledge with their new clients?

1.5.5 Analyzing Power Dynamics

To the extent that PSF research has addressed power explicitly it has focused almost exclusively on power at an institutional level; the process by which the professions have negotiated, defended, and sustained their positions of privilege (see Suddaby and Muzio, Chapter 2, this volume). At the organizational and individual levels of analysis, power is mostly treated as an implicit construct. It is taken as axiomatic that partners have greater positional power than associates in PSFs or that large PSFs have greater market power and influence than small PSFs. But the implications and dynamic nature of these power relationships remain unexamined. For instance, an individual professional’s power may originate from sources other than structural position, such as relationships with prominent clients. This suggests that issues such as the profitability and prestige associated with particular client assignments may affect an individual professional’s ability to accumulate and utilize power and their relationship with the leadership of their firm

(see Empson and Langley, Chapter 8, this volume) but this issue has not been examined in any detail within the PSF literature. In addition, focusing on the changing balance of power between clients and PSFs (see Broschak, Chapter 14, this volume) may help researchers understand how the increasing pressures placed on individual professionals to act in the “best interests” of clients may result in ethical or legal dilemmas (see Dinovitzer et al., Chapter 6, this volume). The power relationships between PSFs and their regulators will continue to demand particular scholarly attention as these relationships are challenged and renegotiated over time.

1.6 DEVELOPING AN INTEGRATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The space constraints and review processes of journal articles have inevitably led scholars of PSFs to focus on a relatively narrow phenomenon, the PSF itself. Yet such a narrow focus marginalizes or even neglects the complex power dynamics with which PSFs must contend. Managerialist studies of PSFs (most notably Maister 1993) have argued that PSFs are distinctive because of their need to compete effectively in two markets simultaneously: the market for clients and the market for professional staff (i.e., recognizing that both are equally important and entirely interconnected). Yet as Broschak (Chapter 14, this volume) demonstrates, although we know quite a bit about the interaction between PSFs and individual professionals, we still know relatively little about the interaction between these firms and their clients. Similarly, perhaps because of the sociology-based literatures’ grounding in the professionalization project thesis (with its implicit reification of PSFs into a professional field and with it the assumption of cooperation amongst PSFs to achieve this end) very little attention has been paid to competition that occurs between PSFs in the same sectors and the different ways in which individual PSFs may interact with their professional regulators.

We argue, therefore, that researchers should adopt an integrative framework (see Figure 1.2) for analyzing PSFs, one which focuses on the dynamic interplay between the PSF and the contending, and sometimes conflicting, demands presented by the profession, professionals, clients, and competitors. This approach recognizes that PSFs are enmeshed in a complex web of relationships and subject to competing power dynamics, all of which have a significant impact on their organizational practices. PSFs simultaneously maintain employer/employee relationships with the individual professionals and market relationships with their clients and competitors, and are subject to the jurisdiction of professional or regulatory bodies that influence and limit their structure and practices. Of course, all organizations are subject to pressures from clients and competitors but PSFs are distinctive in terms of the extent to which they are also vulnerable to the actions of their professional staff and professional regulators. And it is not only the PSFs themselves that are exposed to the forces from these multiple relationships; all the

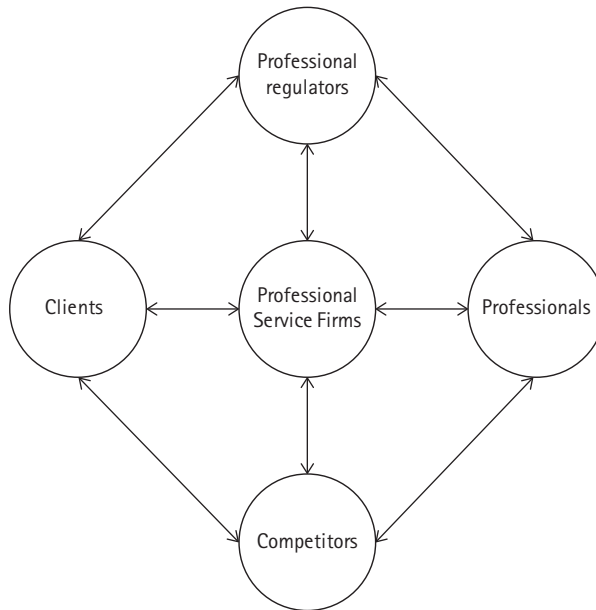


FIGURE 1.2 Integrative framework for analyzing Professional Service Firms.

actors are influenced by relationships with the other entities. Professionals, for example, are employees of particular PSFs, members of their profession and/or professional associations, and define their identity in relation to their competitor and client firms (see Alvesson et al., Chapter 18, this volume).

By neglecting to integrate the individual, organizational, and institutional levels of analysis, by ignoring or making assumptions about both the client dynamics and competitor dynamics, researchers in this field too often present a partial and even distorted perspective of the phenomenon which they are investigating. Research which is predicated on the reification of PSFs itself will inevitably neglect the fundamental role played by the individuals who enact their professional lives within them, and the clients, competitors, and professional regulators who shape the context within which these firms must operate.

As the field of PSF research has developed over the past few decades, we have learnt a great deal of significance to organizational scholarship. The scale and significance of these firms, the influence they have on the lives of their staff, their clients, and society as a whole, and the speed with which they develop and disseminate new organizational practices ensure that we have a great deal more to learn.

NOTES

1. <<http://www.top100graduateemployers.com>>.
2. We would like to thank Luca Sabini for his help in conducting this analysis.

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PART I

PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE FIRMS
IN CONTEXT

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROFESSIONS

ROY SUDDABY AND DANIEL MUZIO

2.1 INTRODUCTION

THE study of professions has a long and varied intellectual history. Early theories, emanating primarily from the fields of sociology and economics, sought to understand the essential elements of professions and to explain their functional role in society. When these explanations proved inadequate, alternative accounts emerged that theorized professions based on the powerful position they occupied in both social and economic fields. As researchers identified occupational groups that lacked power but were nonetheless professions, theoretical explanations shifted yet again to focus on the micro and macro behavioral practices of professions, based on an understanding of professions not as social structures but rather as social processes or systems.

By the 1990s, just as sociologists appeared to have lost their fascination with professions, management scholars, in organization studies and accounting, became interested in understanding large professional organizations and if and how they differed from corporations. As the study of professions shifted from sociology departments to business schools, the core questions of sociology were recreated in the same sequence. Early studies sought to identify the unique characteristics of Professional Service Firms (PSFs) and explain their persistence. Later, researchers focused attention on the powerful gatekeeping role played by large professional organizations in business, commerce, and social policy. More contemporary theories of professional firms seek theoretical accounts that rely on the processes and practices that explain their internal coherence and their position in broader social systems.

This chapter offers a brief theoretical overview of the key literatures on professions and PSFs. We structure our review, both chronologically, to capture the historical movement of the study of professions from sociology to management, as well as thematically, to demonstrate how theories of professions move from questions of *structure and*

function to questions of *power and privilege* to questions of *process and practice*. We conclude with a final section that raises questions about prior theories of professions, which have assumed that professions are appropriate objects of theorization in their own right. We argue, instead, for an institutional/ecological approach to studying professions, which analyzes professions as but one type of institution struggling for survival in an ecology of other, related, institutional forms.

2.2 THEORIES OF PROFESSIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

2.2.1 Structure and Function

Early studies of the professions tried to delineate how these occupational groups differed from other occupations. Considerable effort was devoted to cataloguing the unique characteristics or traits of professionals. Greenwood (1957), for example, identified five key traits: a systematic body of theory, professional authority, sanction of the community, a regulative code of ethics, and a professional culture. Goode (1957), in explaining why librarians were not a profession, pointed to the absence of prolonged special training, a formal body of abstract knowledge, a collective orientation to public service, and the absence of collective self-control. Over time a number of other traits were added to the list, including rewards based on work achievement (Barber 1963), loyalty to colleagues (Drinker 1954), a fiduciary relationship with clients (Lewis and Maude 1949), and, perhaps most importantly, a sense of social duty or “calling” (Greenwood 1957).

Trait theory grew out of earlier theoretical efforts to explain the existence of professions based on the *function* that they were thought to provide to society. Durkheim (1992 [1957]), for example, saw professions as a necessary moral foundation for society. Others argued that professions existed in order to stabilize and civilize society as they provided “centres of resistance to crude forces which threaten steady and peaceful evolution” (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933: 497). The existence of professions, thus, was explained by the profoundly important function they fulfilled in underpinning social structure. “It seems evident . . .” (Parsons 1939: 457) observed, “. . . that many of the most important features of our society are to a considerable extent dependent upon the smooth functioning of the professions.” Professions, thus, were assumed to provide an adaptive function for the broader social system in which they were embedded.

Such structural-functional explanations of the professions ultimately succumbed to a barrage of empirical and theoretical critique (Abbott 1988; Macdonald 1995). Researchers struggled to identify occupational traits that were actually unique to professions. Early empirical research attempted to construct standardized scales as tools for measuring professionalism. Hall (1967) developed a Likert scale to measure five

attitudes of professionalism. Hickson and Thomas (1969) used a Guttman scale to measure 14 professional traits. When applied to different occupational groups, however, researchers determined that the characteristics were not unique to elite professions but in fact were shared, to a greater or lesser degree, across a broad range of occupational groups. Critics suggested that perhaps professionalism was not a distinct construct uniquely tied to an identifiable social group (Johnson 1972). Others suggested that professionalism was a continuous rather than a discrete category, with quasi- or semi-professions occupying an intermediate position between “true” professions and other forms of work (Hearn 1982). Moreover, if the boundaries between professionals and non-professionals could not be clearly defined, then everyone might be considered a professional (Wilensky 1964).

Critics also noted that explanations of the stabilizing role of professions in society failed to explain how societies, and professions themselves, experience conflict and change (Benson 1975; Freidson 1986). While structural-functional accounts were based on assumptions of homogeneity and stability within the professions, empirical evidence demonstrated that professions were, themselves, highly differentiated and subject to extreme internal conflict (Bucher and Strauss 1961).

Comparative sociologists argued that claims of the moral and normative basis for professions suffered from an Anglo-Saxon cultural bias and failed to explain the function and development of professions in other societies (Torstendahl and Burrage 1990). And rather than being characterized by higher moral standards, conflicts of interest were a defining feature of many professions (Rosenberg et al. 1981). Perhaps most damaging, however, was the critique that, while professions may use the language of altruism and subordinating economic interests to a social calling, the professions were, in fact, an occupational category based on elitist power and extreme economic privilege (Johnson 1972).

2.2.2 Power and Privilege

The view that professions exist to serve their own interests, rather than those of broader society, emerged from a growing realization that, even though it was difficult to generalize the core attributes of a profession, they shared a common interest in controlling the social conditions and environment that surrounded them. Johnson (1972) argued that a key attribute shared across professions was their ability to exert control over their clients. Freidson (1973a, 1973b, 1986) extended this argument with the observation that not only do professionals wield power over their clients, they exert incredible institutional power over labor markets, constructing barriers to entry and mobility, which he termed “labor market shelters,” based on their claims to expertise.

In part the power and privilege perspective of professions built on a series of ethnographic studies of elite professions (e.g., Becker et al. 1961; Freidson 1970; Daniels 1973) that contradicted many of the assumptions of altruism and collegiality described by the trait theorists. Instead of an egalitarian and communal culture of

professionalism, the ethnographers observed distinct professional hierarchies characterized by intra-professional dominance (Becker et al. 1961). Similarly, the ethnographers saw professionals as motivated by elitism and domination over clients, allied occupational groups (Freidson 1970), and junior professionals (Nelson 1988; Hanlon 1994), instead of the altruistic “calling” proposed by early theorists.

The power and conflict view of professions also built on a series of historical studies that documented the capacity of some occupations to create “social closure” by constructing barriers to, and creating autonomy over, key societal stakeholders, including other occupations (Parkin 1979; Murphy 1988), the nation state (Torstendahl and Burrage 1990), and consumers (Heinz and Laumann 1982; Freidson 1989). Social closure was achieved by using key institutional strategies such as certification, licensing, credentialing, and professional associations, which gave select professions a monopoly over large sections of economic activity. Ample empirical research demonstrated that, as a result, professions were able to (and are still able to) extract economic rents for their services (Friedman and Kuznets 1954; Wright 1997; Sorenson 2000; Weeden 2002) and in many cases to translate their superior economic capital into positions of high social status (Elliot 1972). Freidson (1982: 39) described this “capacity of occupations to become organized groups independent of firms and other occupations” as a defining characteristic and competence of professions.

Larson (1977) summarized this growing dissatisfaction with early theoretical explanations of professions and professionalism with a plea to study professions not as social structures, but rather as historically situated extensions of processes of capitalism. From this perspective, early phase professions, such as medicine and law, can be characterized as projects of monopolization of knowledge, work, income, and status in a distinct market for labor or services. Larson understands professions as ongoing projects of market exchange in which expert knowledge and skill is traded for monopoly control over a labor market. Later phases of professionalism, Larson (1977) observed, are devoted to consolidating the economic control by the profession and extending it to include broader forms of political or ideological control. That is, established professions extend their control by attaching their own projects of professionalization to dominant social institutions.

While the conflict perspective of professions is still influential, the core argument—that professions are self-interested monopolies—has attracted considerable critique and contradictory empirical evidence. The challenges to the view that professions are simple expressions of social power take two distinct threads. One thread suggests that professional powers are constantly eroding—i.e., that professionalism is subject to Weberian proletarianization.

Critics point out that, while professions may provide some degree of monopolistic protection, there is as much variability in earnings and status *within* professions as *across* them (Heinz and Laumann 1982; Halliday 1987; Abel 1988). Others observe that the modern history of the professions is really one of the erosion of social barriers (Krause 1996). So, for example, when the primary mode of educating professionals shifted from the professional guilds to universities, professions lost considerable autonomy (Freidson 1984).

Similarly, critics observe that professionals are increasingly employed by large organizations, such as government and corporations. Empirical research shows that, as professional work shifts to bureaucracies, there is a concomitant loss of economic privilege and social status (Abbott 1981; Derber 1983; Burris 1993).

A second thread argues that professions, like any other occupation, are subject to deskilling pressures. The emergence of computing technology, for example, may erode the professions' control over expert knowledge (Johnson 1972; Haug 1973; Jones and Moore 1993). Similarly, the shift of professional employment from purely professional contexts to large bureaucracies encourages the commodification of professional work (Willmott 1995; Suddaby and Greenwood 2001; Covaleski et al. 2003).

Collectively, the deskilling and proletarianization arguments raised serious questions about the validity of viewing professions simply as exercises in economic self-interest. While acknowledging that professions enjoyed a degree of economic and social closure, it was neither complete nor was it the sole explanation for their existence. Professions may be powerful, but that power provided a useful check on state, corporate, and bureaucratic power (Halliday 1987) and, therefore, theories of professions should look for explanations beyond mere monopoly.

2.2.3 Process and Practice: Professions as Systems

The primary flaw with viewing professions through the theoretical lens of power, Halliday (1987) argued, was that it falsely proclaimed social closure as the primary motivation for professionalization and caused researchers to overlook alternative goals. Halliday's own research, a historical study of the Chicago Bar, showed that monopolistic pursuits constituted only a small proportion of the association's attention and resources; indeed considerably more time was devoted to broader social goals, such as creating and maintaining institutions of justice. Halliday (1987) argued that while economic closure might be an outcome of professional work, it was not its primary purpose. Instead, he suggested, researchers should try to understand the professions in their broader institutional context.

Burridge (1988; Torstendahl and Burridge 1990) echoed this fundamental concern, arguing that scholars ought to understand professions as uniquely influenced by the cultural and political context in which they evolved. His detailed comparative historical analysis of professions in the USA, France, and Germany showed considerable variation in the role, status, and operation of professions across these countries. The state, Burridge argued, is a key determinant of the role professions play in society. Burridge was supported in this position by a growing stream of research that suggested an intimate and symbiotic relationship between the emergence of the nation state, the spread of political liberalism, and modern forms of professions (Rueschemeyer 1973; Skocpol 1985; Krause 1996; Halliday and Karpik 1998).

The conceptual thread that links these writers and separates their view of professions from the power and conflict perspective is the understanding that although professions

may have some unique attributes and exhibit some degree of social closure, the most effective way to study professions is not to treat them as static entities or fixed social structures. Rather, they should be understood as ongoing processes of professionalization. Thus, professions emerge from processes of negotiation, conflict, and exchange with external stakeholders, such as the state, and with internal competitors. This latter view is the primary thesis of Abbott (1988) who observed that professions are engaged in continual struggles over jurisdiction with other occupational groups. While economic monopoly and social closure may be a byproduct of this competition, it is the contest over jurisdiction and the attempt to monopolize expertise that is, for Abbott (1988), the defining characteristic of professions.

Abbott's (1988) *The System of Professions* applied a version of systems theory to the professions and encouraged studying them as ongoing and dynamic *processes* of occupational conflict and cooperation rather than as reified social structures. Abbott's "systems" view was highly influential, virtually halting theoretical conversations on the professions in sociology for several years and, at least as measured by citations, remains a dominant voice in the sociology of the professions.

In sum, over the course of nearly eight decades of sociological research on the professions, we can identify three main conceptual movements. The first, exemplified by the trait theorists and structural-functionalist approaches, sought to identify the distinctive elements of professions and professionalism as a theoretical construct. Ongoing empirical inquiry, however, not only undermined the coherence of the construct, but posed serious doubt as to the theoretical validity of trying to isolate unique elements of what increasingly appeared to be an ongoing project or process.

The second movement sought to understand professions as projects of self-interested power. While this approach generated considerable empirical evidence, it was countermanded by an equivalent army of evidence that pointed to many other possible motivations for professions (Muzio et al. 2013).

Current theories of professionalism have clearly abandoned the research questions of structural-functionalism (Macdonald 1995; Leicht and Fennell 2008). However, questions of elitism, power, and understanding the comparative processes by which professions emerge in different social contexts (see Brint 1994; Fourcade 2006; Evetts 2011; Muzio et al. 2013), clearly continue to influence research agendas in this area.

The fascination that sociologists first expressed with the unique role of professions in society, however, seems to have waned substantially. Efforts to demonstrate the uniqueness of professions, or their special role in societal relations, have given way to a growing awareness that professions, while interesting, are but one of many social institutions fighting for relevance and status in an ongoing ecology of competing institutions (Abbott 1995). Within this theme, one question continues to attract the interest of scholars, albeit scholars of organization and management—the inimical relationship between professions and bureaucratic organizations. A core assumption of trait theorists is that professional values of autonomy and independence in work would inevitably clash with bureaucratic values of hierarchy and organizational control. We elaborate this theoretical theme in the following section.