

# **'Devils may sit here': The role of enchantment in institutional maintenance**

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## **Abstract**

*This paper contributes to the literature on maintenance of institutions by analyzing the case of an old profession – Scottish advocates. Drawing on the neo-institutional perspective on professions, we address the question – what role does organizational space play in institutional maintenance? We draw on our ethnographic study to make a three-fold contribution. Firstly, our case study shows how spaces, and how institutional actors interact with them, have a stabilizing effect on the institution, which leads to two important outcomes: maintenance of closure and reproduction of the status order. Secondly, we show how three spatial phenomena underpinning this stabilizing process are intertwined, thus enabling the process of institutional maintenance: (1) emplacement, (2) enactment of space, and (3) enchantment of space. Thirdly, by foregrounding the role of enchantment evoked by organizational spaces, we highlight the importance of the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutional maintenance.*

**Keywords:** enchantment; disenchantment; institutional maintenance; institutional work; lawyers; organizational spaces; professions.

## **Introduction**

The increasing body of literature on institutional work – ‘intelligent, situated institutional action’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 219) – provides a nuanced view of the relationship between actors and institutions (Dacin, Munir & Tracey, 2010; Lok & de Rond, 2013). In this paper we focus specifically on one aspect of institutional work – institutional maintenance. How institutions survive beyond the lifespan of their creators is often seen as remaining in the realm of ‘the mystery’ of institutions (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2009; Lok & de Rond, 2013). Earlier studies of institutional maintenance focused on various types of

work done by people, for example adherence to rules, or reproducing these rules and existing norms (Currie et al., 2012; Dacin et al., 2010; Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006; Zilber 2002, 2009). These earlier studies provided valuable insights into how people maintain institutions through their actions but, due to a focus on overly cognitive explanations, they did not properly consider the link between emotions and organizational spaces in institutional maintenance. Spaces have a potential to generate emotional responses in the people occupying them (Keith & Pile, 1993; Massey, 1984), so without understanding the role of spaces, institutional theorizing fails to consider the emotional and the aesthetic aspects of institutional maintenance. We argue that a better understanding of the role of spaces, and the enchantment they evoke, allows us to look beyond the work done by humans, and cast new light on institutional maintenance.

The role of the building as ‘a strong material anchor’ (Monteiro & Nicolini, 2014: 4) in maintaining institutions is often recognized, but how this effect is achieved is not well understood. In her article on the creation of the London School of Economics, Czarniawska (2009: 430) commented on the importance of the building as a *stabilizing artefact* for the institution: ‘With the exception of clandestine schools, a school is not a school without a building’. In another study, Delacour and Leca (2011) proposed that the inadequacy of the material base for the nineteenth century annual arts exhibition in Paris, and its physical dispersion among several locations, could have contributed to its demise. The shape and size of the building, which houses the institution, matters too; as does its age and the standing of its architect because buildings housing institutions are said to proclaim status by their size, age and grandeur, thus announcing the financial soundness of the institution, and serving as a symbol of the institution’s standing in society (MacDonald, 1989; Jones & Massa, 2013;). And although the role of the building in the survival of institutions is recognized in the literature (Jones & Massa, 2013; Lawrence &

Dover, 2015), *how* this stabilizing effect (Czarniawska, 2009) is achieved needs further exploration.

In our ethnographic study we analyse the case of Scottish advocates, a profession that for many centuries has remained central to the Scottish legal system and whose unique approach to independence and collegiality is closest to the ideal of liberal/independent professions (Johnson 1972; Abbot, 1988; Reed 1996; Lazega, 2002). We use an institutional perspective to study the profession of advocates, following recent approaches that treat professions as institutions in themselves (e.g. Adler & Kwon, 2013; Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, 2013). These approaches draw on the work of Scott (2008: 219) who saw professions as 'preeminent institutional agents of our time'. Muzio, Brock & Suddaby (2013) emphasized the value of studying professions as institutions, and connected the patterns of professionalization with the broader processes of institutionalization. Viewed from this perspective, professions are not only the key mechanisms for institutional change, but also the primary targets of the processes of institutionalization (Greenwood, Suddaby & Hinings, 2002; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Suddaby & Viale, 2011; Adler & Kwon, 2013; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013). We refer to advocates as an institution and, because all Scottish advocates belong to the Faculty of Advocates, we treat the Faculty as the organizational aspect of the institution following a long-standing recognition of both normative and structural elements of institutions (Scott, 1987; Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville & Scully, 2010).

Advocates are an old profession, which has been in existence for over five hundred years and located in the same building for over three hundred years. The significance of the building to the institution was evident through the study, which led us to pose a question 'what would happen if Parliament House burned down in a fire – would the institution survive in the same form when moved to a different location?' Our interest in

advocates was driven by the research question – what role does organizational space play in institutional maintenance? To answer this question we focused on the micro-foundations of institutional maintenance; specifically, we investigated how institutionalized practices at the micro-level maintained the Faculty of Advocates at the centre of the Scottish legal system. We found that the recursive relationship between actors and their physical environment has an important role to play in maintaining institutions over time. Drawing on our data we demonstrate how organizational space plays an important role in reproducing institutions, and how social actors maintain institutions by interacting with the physical environment and enacting the rules of the space that they occupy. Our focus on the actual physical location of practice leads us to limit our attention to one aspect of advocates' practice, namely their work in and around Parliament House (Image 1) and the Advocates Library (Image 2). This follows from our premise that spatial boundaries within the Faculty are a manifestation of more symbolic practices, which have for centuries reinforced a certain institutional order. By linking spaces with the emotions that they evoke, our study draws on the emerging body of literature on the aesthetic and emotional nature of maintenance processes (Howard-Grenville, Metzger & Meyer, 2013; Moisander, Hirsto & Fahy, 2016; Voronov & Vince, 2012).

We make three contributions to the theory of institutional maintenance. Firstly, our case study shows how spaces, and how institutional actors interact with them, have a stabilizing effect on the institution, which leads to two important outcomes: maintenance of closure and reproduction of the status order. Secondly, extending the analytic framework proposed by Dale and Burrell (2008), we show how three spatial phenomena underpinning this stabilizing process are intertwined, thus enabling the process of institutional maintenance: (1) emplacement (everyone in the right place), (2) enactment

of space, and (3) enchantment of space. Thirdly, by foregrounding the role of enchantment related to organizational spaces we highlight the importance of the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutional maintenance. We conclude by arguing that an understanding of how people experience spaces provides important insights into how institutions persist, and how they may be disrupted.

The next section of the paper introduces the two main theoretical perspectives deployed – institutional work, specifically institutional maintenance, and organizational spaces – in the light of which we theorize about the role of spaces in institutional maintenance.

## **THEORETICAL CONTEXT**

### **Institutional maintenance**

Institutional work is concerned with agency in relation to institutions, and is broadly defined as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). Most institutional perspectives in organizational theory focus on how institutions govern action, but theories of institutional work reverse the emphasis by exploring how actions affect institutions, especially the practical actions by which institutions are created, maintained and disrupted (Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional work recognizes institutions as ‘products of human action and reaction motivated by idiosyncratic personal interests and agendas for institutional change and preservation’ (Lawrence et al., 2009: 6). Central to the theories of institutional work is the work of actors as they attempt to shape the processes that affect institutional arrangements (Lawrence, 1999; Lawrence et al., 2011). Institutional work is a distributed phenomenon and signifies the ‘coordinated and uncoordinated efforts of a potentially large number of actors’. (p. 55). And while it may involve heroic figures able to shape institutions through their visible and

dramatic actions – so-called ‘institutional entrepreneurs’ (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Maguire & Lawrence, 2004) – institutional work may also be mundane, involving little more than day-to-day adjustments to practice (Lawrence et al., 2009; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013). In contrast to the sociological approaches which overestimate the force of institutional constraint, i.e. the over-socialized conception of man (Wrong, 1961), institutional work emphasizes how actors have the ability to reflect on and strategically operate within the institutional context and, with intentionality and effort, create, maintain and disrupt institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011).

Institutions are traditionally seen as self-reproducing, but even the most powerful institutions need maintenance to remain relevant and effective. Without continuous action to maintain existing institutional orders, institutions would decay due to sheer entropy (Locket, Currie, Waring, Finn & Martin, 2012). So institutional maintenance is crucial, but at the same time it is the least understood of the three processes conceptualized as institutional work, and has attracted much less theoretical and empirical attention than creating institutions and disrupting them (Lawrence et al., 2009). In recent years researchers made several attempts to codify forms of institutional maintenance. For example, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) identified various types of institutional work that involve ensuring adherence to rules (enabling, policing and deterring) or are concerned with reproducing these rules and existing norms (valourizing and demonizing, mythologizing, embedding and routinizing). Others extended Lawrence and Suddaby’s (2006) classification (for example Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin & Waring, 2012). Most of these classifications of institutional maintenance types relate to discipline and coercion, and they have proved useful in understanding institutions, but further conceptualizations of institutional maintenance, particularly those drawing on less rational mechanisms, are required.

Institutional work is conducted by humans in that their work 'examines the practices of individual and collective actors aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions', and is about bringing individuals and their lived experiences back into institutional theory (Lawrence et al., 2011: 52). This humanistic relevance of institutional work offered a promise to bridge the gap between actors and institutions (Kraatz, 2011: 61). However, researchers have slowly begun to look beyond the work done by people, and acknowledge the role of spaces in institutions, for example Lawrence and Dover (2015) argued that places with their material and symbolic resources contained, mediated and complicated institutional work. Although these authors did not ascribe agency to places, they noted that places motivate actors to work to shape institutions as they act as social enclosures, and can be used as interpretive filters between institutional work and institutions.

Looking at institutional work from the perspective of spaces opens up a fruitful ground for inquiry, and in recent years there have been some notable studies that considered the concepts of boundaries, boundary objects, boundary work, free and relational spaces (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Kellog, 2009, 2011; Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke & Spee, 2014). Two studies of institutional maintenance resonate with our study – Dacin, Munir and Tracey (2010) and Lok and de Rond (2013) – not only because they are strikingly British, but also because they relate to institutional practices and are based on an analysis of locally produced interaction. The practices in both studies persisted over very long time periods, were located in one place, the University of Cambridge, and incorporated ritualistic elements reminiscent of those encountered in our case study, however, neither of these articles made the study of the place the focus of the theorizing. In an attempt to throw some light on the role of spaces in institutions, we now re-visit the literature on organizational spaces.

## **Organizational spaces**

The interdependence between physical space and social practices has interested a number of scholars of organization studies (e.g. Alvesson & Wilmott, 2003; Czarniawska, 2004; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; Dale, 2005; Yanow, 2006; Elsbach & Pratt, 2008; Hatch, 2013), and underpins theoretical traditions such as symbolic interpretivism and socio-materiality (Latour, 2005; 2009). The key theme underpinning these traditions is the link between physical and social structures and power relations. Thus, Lefebvre (1991) observed that all space is socially produced and that a physical setting in a workplace reveals its underlying power relations, by symbolizing the social status of individuals and imbuing social relations with the symbols of the physical space. He made a distinction between conceived spaces (conceptualized and planned by architects), perceived spaces (the enactment of architectural design) and lived spaces (interpretations of space by those who occupy it). This idea that a physical setting symbolizes the social status was in itself hardly new: kings and their architects, for example, have always had a sure working knowledge of the area. Among scholars, Soja (1989) argued that space is not merely an innocent backdrop to practices but is filled with politics producing and re-producing ideas tied to the material interests of the powerful. In the same vein Bourdieu noted that buildings are objectified histories in the sense of being 'systems of classifications, hierarchies and oppositions inscribed in the durability of wood, mud and brick' (Bourdieu, 1981).

Interest in the relationship between space and social relations has spawned a literature on *spatiality* (Tally, 2013), a term which denotes the spatial embeddedness of human life (Hatch, 2013), or the spatial organization of society (Guthey, Whiteman & Elmes, 2014; Soja, 1989). The spatiality of an organization includes a number of elements of the physical structure. Thus, geographical location determines the demographic,

political and social profile of an organization; the architecture of the buildings, the layout and spatial arrangement of physical objects, and the human activities affect communication among people occupying these spaces; and co-ordination of their activities, design and décor offer important clues to the organization's culture and its image to outsiders; while physically realized organizational symbols mediate human interaction and evoke emotional responses. Different theoretical traditions have different ways of looking at space. The modernist's take on space foregrounds physical metrics, whereas a perspective based upon symbolic interactionism foregrounds the symbolic meanings of spatial arrangements. There is also a perspective that defines spatial relationships in terms of power (Keith & Pile, 1993; Massey, 1984). This latter insight is not confined to post-structuralists or Foucauldians. From an explicitly Marxist perspective, Burawoy (1979) argued that spaces secure and obscure power, i.e. through spaces power is maintained and its origins and processes remain hidden. Dovey (1999), the leading architectural critic, suggested that power, while not lodged inertly in the built form, is found in everyday practices which are mediated by the built form. This focus on power leads to an observation that is central to the notion of symbolic conditioning, that physical structure has a potential to guide people's actions.

An obvious corollary to the detection of power in spatial arrangements is the economy of boundaries (Elsbach & Pratt, 2008; Hatch, 1987; Keith & Pile, 1993). 'Drawing boundaries is a political act' (Dale & Burrell, 2008: 171) and a paradigmatic exercise of power because boundaries include some people and exclude others. Boundaries shape people's identities and guide their actions; hence, groups in the process of forming a strong identity tend to construct visible spatial boundaries (Elsbach & Pratt, 2008; Hatch, 2013; Massey, 2005; Thrift, 2011). Elsbach and Pratt (2008) noted that elements of the physical environment, such as enclosures and barriers, can be associated with both

desirable and undesirable outcomes because of the tensions inherent in the life of the organizations they studied. In other words, embodied knowledge based on spatial orientations shapes individual, group and organizational identities, which the literature on institutional maintenance fails to consider

The above insights offered by the literature on organizational spaces have great potential to enrich institutional theorizing. Institutional literature has long recognized the role of buildings as carriers of institutions (Jones and Massa, 2013; Scott, 2014; Zucker, 1988), and is beginning to take cognizance of other representations of physical form such as objects (Monteiro & Nicolini, 2014; Orlikowski & Scott, 2008; Pinch, 2008; Raviola and Norbäck (2013), tools and techniques used in organizations (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013), and computer technologies (Gawer and Phillips, 2013; Jorges and Czarniawska, 1998; Czarniawska, 2008). However, the literature on institutional maintenance largely confines itself to the study of social relations and fails to take account of the interplay between organizational spaces and emotions that these spaces evoke. We now turn to the background of our empirical study.

## **EMPIRICAL CONTEXT**

Advocates are highly qualified legal professionals who represent clients in the superior courts of Scotland. The seminal date in the Faculty's history is 1532, the date of the creation of the College of Justice by Papal Bull, which represents an important consolidation of the existing legal system in Scotland. Since then advocates have been at the centre of Scottish legal life. Advocates have a very distinct professional identity, and despite an increasing trend towards the uniformity of the legal profession, they remain a professionally and physically separate body, and constitute a powerful legal, political and social elite in Scotland.

The Faculty has clearly marked boundaries and a strictly defined, exclusive membership (currently around 450 members). Many of the Faculty's symbolic practices support and reproduce it in dignified singularity. Some customs are easily recognized: wigs, gowns, language and terminology, and others are only known to advocates and are rarely discussed outside of advocate circles, such as the codes of behaviour, ceremonies, rituals, etiquette and forms of address. Terminology also sets them apart, e.g. trainee advocates are called *devils*, and the experienced members of the community who mentor devils are referred to as *devilmasters*, while the business units are called *stables*.

The process of becoming an advocate, known as *devilling*, involves a blend of formal training and assessment and informal learning under the guidance of the devilmaster. Devilling lasts about nine months, and is a condition of becoming an advocate. The Faculty provides this service free, but a lawyer is required to give up any form of paid legal employment and membership of the Law Society of Scotland. This is seen as a symbolic act of renouncing previously earned legal status, and accepting the role of pupil to a devilmaster. A devil must not call him/herself an advocate or wear a wig and gown. As well as obtaining sufficient practical experience, an entrant is expected to demonstrate an appreciation of the rules of conduct and etiquette of the profession.

Formally, there are three positions in the Faculty – advocates, QCs and office bearers. However, the status of individuals in the Faculty is graded in a more nuanced fashion on the basis of experience, noteworthy litigation and honorific offices held. Advocates receive fees for their work, but these fees are not recoverable by the normal process, i.e. as a matter of contract, since they are quaintly classified as 'honoraria'. In many ways the business model represented by the traditional Faculty practices can be seen as anachronistic – advocates cannot incorporate, cannot sue for fees, cannot properly compete with solicitor-advocates or barristers, and 'are inhibited from

developing their services by arcane practice rules which have their origin in the eighteenth century' (The Firm, 2014). Because of these constraints becoming an advocate may sometimes prove to be detrimental to a lawyer's earnings.

In assessing the ways in which advocates fit into the Scottish legal system and the socio-economic and political fabric of Scottish society, it is necessary to do justice to the historical context, which lives in the rituals and consciousness of the advocates. In the past advocates in Scotland constituted a small group of individuals who had access to the superior courts, but over time Scottish advocates consolidated an elite position in Scottish society. They supplied recruits to the governing elite in a political system operated by king and notables, and the exposure to Latin literature gave young men (as they were only men at the time) access to wider knowledge. The link between advocates and the judiciary was and still is strong, and the membership of the Faculty to this day remains the main entry route to becoming a judge. The power to prosecute is also reserved for advocates, who constitute the Crown Office. The proximity of advocates to the government is exemplified by the position of Lord Advocate – the chief legal officer and public prosecutor of the Scottish Government. In contrast to other practitioners in law, advocates are independent and are not employed by law firms or corporations.

**Exogenous pressures for change.** Advocates are an institution deeply rooted in their tradition and the many practices associated with being an advocate have remained largely unchanged for hundreds of years. However, despite the historical legacy of elitism, the socio-economic and political systems within Scotland have changed and advocates function under modern conditions in a different social world from the past. So advocates have not been free from pressures for change, and some of the quainter traditions have yielded to the changing culture, e.g. a requirement for an entrant to mount an oral defence in Latin was discontinued in the 1960s. Other pressures come from the trend towards the

‘democratization’ of legal services, e.g. the Government’s move towards extending the rights of solicitors who cannot be Faculty members to appear in the supreme courts (Thomson Review, 2010). There are more differentiated paths outside of the Faculty for talented people to follow if they aspire to political power. The processes of modernization also led to a rationality of function and control. The courts now operate to a greater sense of urgency, and are under pressure to meet performance targets, hence today’s advocates complain of ever-closer bureaucratic control. Also concerns have arisen over the decrease in state-funded financial aid for legal representation, so reducing the earnings potential of advocates. These changes constitute a threat to the elite status of profession of advocates in the wider Scottish legal system.

**The physical location of the Faculty of Advocates.** Advocates do not have offices: if they are not appearing in court, they work at home or in the Advocates Library. Physical presence in the library is important. It performs a social function as advocates meet and interact with colleagues there, but it is also a private place, a working library exclusively for the use of advocates. The Library is also adjacent to the clerking facilities, through which advocates get their instructions and from where they can be called into the court – sometimes at very short notice. The dress code in the Library is formal, i.e. business dress is worn and advocates should always be ready to change into court dress to make an appearance in court.

Advocates, as *The Great British Class Survey* (Savage et al., 2013) testifies, occupy a very high place in the social hierarchy of Scottish society, and the building that houses the Faculty definitely reflects this. Since the seventeenth century the Faculty has been based in Edinburgh at Parliament House on the Royal Mile, adjacent to St Giles’ Kirk, one of the most conspicuous and historic buildings in the city. Parliament House, designed as the physical and symbolic heart of Scottish political power, is now the physical and symbolic

heart of the Scottish legal system, further indicating the Faculty's elite position in the apparatus of the Scottish state. Until 1707 the Scottish parliament also met in Parliament House, sharing the space with advocates. Today Parliament House comprises Parliament Hall, the Laigh Hall, two criminal and eleven civil courts, the Library and a restaurant. Parliament Hall is an impressive space at the heart of the seventeenth-century building. Parliament House is also the home of the Advocates Library, which was established in 1682 by Sir George Mackenzie and ever since has provided a base for the Faculty. Although Parliament House is accessible to the public, the Library is not. Only advocates and devils are allowed entry into the Library; solicitors and solicitor advocates are prevented from using the Library, or its resources.

While one part of the Faculty – the Criminal Bar has generally established itself outside Parliament House, it cannot be said that the Faculty has shown a general tendency to fragment. Its stability as an institution in the face of strong economic and cultural pressures is the leading feature demanding theoretical consideration. Because the physical surroundings of the Faculty are crucially important in understanding its history, form and function, the study of advocates invited an analysis through the lens of organizational spaces.

## **METHODS**

Very little research has been done on Scottish advocates from the Faculty's inception in 1532. The extant literature is mainly about its history and its function in the justice system (Cairns 1994, 1999). Gaining a unique access to such an ancient organization was a fascinating experience and provided a wealth of ethnographic data. The world of advocacy is no doubt 'quirky' and unique in its 'old-worldliness', but, because it is so old and appears to have remained in some respects unchanged for centuries, it provides interesting insights into the foundations of more modern institutions that

remain unchanged (Lawrence et al., 2013; Lok & de Rond, 2013; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

### **Data sources**

Our focus on the processes of institutional maintenance led us to adopt an approach based on analytical induction (Suddaby, 2006). As a theoretical framework, neo-institutionalism sits comfortably with organizational ethnography, since both approaches regard organizations as open systems and attach significance to influences of field and environment (Zilber, 2002). We drew on ethnographic data collected in one institution which is prominent by its stability over time, but which has in recent years experienced some exogenous pressures for change. In line with the rationale of interpretive ethnography (Denzin, 1997; Hammersley, 2004), we acknowledged that people's experiences were mediated by symbolic representations, which were then interpreted by us as researchers. Furthermore, we studied the shared beliefs, customs and behaviours of the Faculty's members, but at the same time we acknowledged that the culture of these members constructs their 'presentations of self' (Goffman, 1959), and that they performed these presentations in front of others.

We chose an inductive, single-case-study methodology to gain rich insights into foundations of institutional maintenance. We attempted to demonstrate the empirical richness of our case study, and we believe that our analysis will have explanatory power for other institutions whose practices are intertwined with the physical site. Our research was conducted in the midst of the community of advocates over a period of eighteen months. The role of the researcher could be classified as the participant-as-observer, i.e. the researcher was immersed in the community but was known to be conducting research and had explicit permission to do so. Based on the initial contact with the Faculty, the lead researcher negotiated access to the field and discussed the scope of the inquiry with the

key contact – the Director of Education and Training. The full ethics application was submitted to the lead author's university, and the ethics approval was granted.

**Field observation.** The lead researcher observed devils and advocates in Parliament House and in adjacent spaces such as training rooms, conference rooms and courtrooms. The researcher followed the devils when they attended formal events in the Faculty, when they went on guided tours, and when they attended live court hearings and training sessions delivered by the Faculty representatives: office bearers and other senior advocates. During their training the devils participated in mock trials, practiced jury speeches and made cases in front of the judiciary. The researcher was also present when the devils attended lectures on history (not only the history of the Faculty as an institution, but also the history of Parliament House and the Advocates Library) and when they watched a demonstration of putting on the professional dress. Observation also included the Admissions Ceremony during which the devils were accepted as members of the Faculty and swore allegiance to the Queen.

After the observed sessions, the researcher engaged in informal conversations with the participants – either asking for clarification, or eliciting their reflections. Detailed written records of observations and casual conversations were made regularly. The lead researcher spent around 110 days over a period of eighteen months in the Faculty and over 200 extensive field notes were generated. An observation schedule was developed, which included categories relating to the geographic/situated dimensions of advocate practice. The intensive observation of participants *in situ* was especially suitable for a study focused on organizational spaces.

**Document analysis.** In preparation for fieldwork we consulted historical studies of the Faculty, for example those related to the educational background of advocates in the eighteenth century (Cairns, 2003), the criteria for assessment of the suitability of

candidates for the role of advocate (Cairns, 2001), the general origins of the legal profession (Brundage, 2008), and the educational prerequisites for advocacy (Cairns, 1991). Additionally, we analysed five internal documents distributed to devils during their nine-month period of devilling: (1) *Getting it right*, (2) *Devils' Handbook*, (3) *Code of Conduct*, (4) *The History of the Faculty*, and (5) *The History of Parliament House*. These documents were analysed with a view to identifying the ways in which the practices in and around Parliament House were discussed and communicated to advocates.

**Interviews.** As well as collecting data through observation, we conducted forty-three interviews with devils, devilmasters and expert informants: office bearers or QCs with authority in the Faculty. We asked the interviewees to describe their experiences of working in the Faculty of Advocates with a particular emphasis on the physical setting of the institution. The interviews lasted from thirty minutes to two hours, and were recorded and transcribed. In total, 47 hours of interviews were recorded and subsequently analysed.

### **Data analysis**

We entered the field with a research question in mind: what role does organizational space play in institutional maintenance? The theme of the spaces was prominent from the very beginning of this research. The researchers' first visit to Parliament House involved a tour round the building, during which advocates described the building's history, explained its significance and drew our attention to the artworks and book collections. Similarly the first days of the training programme for the devils involved tours and instruction about the layout of the building, its history and the function of different rooms. The notion of organizational space and the rules related to the use of space were brought up in informal conversations and in training sessions, and recurred in the documentary data, which made us appreciate the particular significance of the

physical setting for the institution. We were struck by the advocates' pride in the building and their expert knowledge of its history and the artwork within it.

In line with the principles of ethnographic inquiry, we drew on detailed descriptions (Geertz, 1973) and observations from the ethnographer, as well as participants' accounts of their practices. Following the recommendations of Miles and Huberman, (1994) we engaged in iterative reading and re-reading of the material – documents, observation notes and interview transcripts. This iterative process involved travelling back and forth between our data, the literature and emerging theoretical arguments. In addition, we linked the general themes that emerged from the data to more general constructs from the literature on institutional maintenance and organizational spaces.

The analysis of the data comprised three stages. In the first stage we coded the data, searching for the themes related to organizational spaces and practices shaped by these spaces, and, in line with analytical induction, we coded our data for references to the physical location of the Faculty and the internal spaces of Parliament House. In other words, we were looking for evidence of the dynamics of social relations that were in some way intertwined with spaces. The examples of codes included references to various rooms in the Library, restricted access, seating arrangements, practices associated with certain spaces, or walking up and down Parliament Hall, and the arrangement of boxes in the Box Corridor. Another set of codes related to the emotions that being in various spaces in Parliament House evoked – these were both negative (e.g. anxiety about where to sit) or positive (feeling pleased about being part the grand setting, or pride of the historical legacy of the Faculty). In formulating our codes, we consulted the existing classifications used in the study of emotions (Russell, 2003; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985), and the literature

on emotions in organizations and institutions (Maitlis, & Ozcelik, 2004; Walsh & Bartunek, 2011; Creed, Bryant, Okhuysen & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Moisander, Hirsto and Fahy, 2016).

Following Russell (2003), who claimed that emotions are directed *at someone or something (an object of the emotion)*, and maintaining our focus on organizational spaces, we coded emotions *in relation to the spaces* in and around Parliament House. While analysing our codes, we constantly compared coded data with a view to identifying emerging patterns (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This analysis continued iteratively, moving from data to emerging patterns and existing theory until the patterns emerged as conceptual categories in the second stage of the analysis. A prominent theme that emerged from the analysis related to the existence of explicit rules which we referred to as ‘visible boundaries’. An example of this type of boundary are the rules that separate members of the Faculty from others, such as the rule that non-members are not allowed to walk past the reception desk in the Library. The second type of rule to emerge from the analysis concerned how the spaces within the Library were demarcated. For example, we found that devils were allowed to enter some rooms, but not others, and it was primarily their junior status that restricted access and movement around the Library. We also labelled these rules as ‘visible boundaries’ though this time these were internal rather than external boundaries. Further analysis of the data revealed more restrictions in the form of tacit rules (i.e. advocates were not told about them), which were imposed even on those who were already legitimate full members of Faculty. We labelled these rules as ‘invisible boundaries’. These early findings about tacit restrictions on space were confirmed when, even after admission into the Faculty, participants reported unease about working in the Corridor, or anxiety about where to sit in the Library.

In the second stage we revisited the data looking for information about the role these boundaries played, and for any sort of explanation proffered for their existence. Comparison of our data with the literature led us to the view that these categories of visible and invisible rules, or explicit or tacit rules, had a suggestive resonance with two concepts from the literature of organizational spaces – emplacement and enactment. The analysis of our data led us to connect our themes with an analytic framework of spatial power proposed by Dale & Burrell (2008) that consists of three elements: emplacement, enchantment, and the enactment of space. *Emplacement* is about coercive power and derives heavily from Foucault's (1975) concepts of enclosure, partitioning, classification and ranking. It is about constructing places for certain people to engage in certain activities. Emplacement implies control and ordering, 'fixing' in space – in other words, "everybody is in the right place". Emplacement is also about knowing one's space and staying within it, and is motivated both by economic rationality as well as the fear of the other. Emplacement produces fixity and makes classifications and comparisons between people possible. However, as well as having a coercive power, space also has power to seduce people and enchant them. *Enchantment* is about producing various power effects that 'take your breath away' (Dale & Burrell, 2008: 48) and create a sense of awe. These power effects connect matter and meaning, and include the monumental form, the height of the building and its aesthetic value, and are often linked with an appreciation of the dedication and resources that went into the construction. The third element of spatial power is *enactment* of space. Enactment is about how spaces are lived and experienced, and indicates the learned and routinized ways in which people engage in social spaces. Enactment, like the *habitus* discussed by Bourdieu, signifies everyday bodily ways of engaging with the world.

It seemed reasonable to conclude that in our study the rules of the space that we identified have a function of creating order within the space, and are related to the status of organizational actors in the Faculty. The predominant response was that 'this is how things are', and 'it's only for a short period of time'. The unquestioned enactment of space that emplaced institutional actors led us to the third stage of analysis in which we tried to explain why there is no resistance to these explicit and tacit rules. When the codes related to emotions evoked by spaces were taken into account, this is when a new category of enchantment began to emerge. Under this concept we grouped, for example, the themes of fascination with the space and allure of mysterious rules that govern its use.

The process of collecting observational data by the lead author was not devoid of emotions either. Spending time in Parliament House, in and around the Library and court rooms was a fascinating experience, creating the sense of privilege of being 'allowed in' this beautiful space. At the same time however, the experience of researching inside Parliament House, evoked an anxiety about social embarrassment in case of breaking one of the numerous unspoken rules of the Faculty. The lead author's position as a 'stranger' in social, professional and national sense, magnified these emotions of fascination and anxiety.

Our themes considered above, informed by concepts drawn from the relevant literature, enabled us to separate analytically two issues of institutional maintenance arising from our case study – maintenance of closure and reproduction of the status order. These institutional outcomes can thus be seen as having overarching theoretical significance for our study. The first theoretical category – maintenance of closure – signified restricted access to the institution to non-members, which allows the advocates to maintain advantage over other members of the legal profession. Reproduction of the status order signifies maintenance of the institution's internal structure, and allows for

the distribution of prestige and economic rewards associated with a senior position within the Faculty.

In an attempt to throw some light on the issue of spaces in institutions, and drawing on Dale and Burrell's framework, we now proceed to discussing the findings from our ethnographic study of the Faculty of Advocates.

## **FINDINGS**

The importance of the Library in the functioning of the Faculty was one of the most prominent themes in our data. One of the interviewees commented on the Library - *'it is a symbol of how we go about doing what we are doing'*, which reflected the main theme of this paper – that space is central to the Faculty of Advocates.

### **Maintenance of closure**

A prominent aspect of the maintenance of the institution in our case study was drawing boundaries and enacting them. Parliament Hall and the Box Corridor were open to the public (subject to security checks at the entrance to the building), the Library, however, was not accessible to anyone apart from advocates, judges and devils. Other legal professionals, solicitors, or solicitor advocates, were not permitted to use the Library or its facilities, which is symbolic of their lower status, and the fact that they were not allowed to perform some duties in court reserved only for advocates. The existence of boundaries between the Faculty and the outside world signaled the group's efforts to maintain closure, preserve their identity and retain the status of the profession and its associated rewards. Crossing the external boundaries by people from outside the profession might also disrupt the status order of the wider Scottish legal system. Greater representation of clients in court by non-advocates was a threat to the advocates' position,

and consequently their earnings. This is why allowing non-advocates physical access to the Library might symbolically open doors for them to take the advocates' place in the courtroom, or to pursue a judicial career.

The receptionist's desk at the entrance of the Library formed a visible external boundary separating advocates from non-advocates thus creating symbolic closure. Access to the Library was a symbol of status, a physical manifestation of privilege, and was indicative of belonging to the community. The main door to the Library was never closed, and when in Parliament Hall those who were not allowed in could only '*peep behind the curtain*', as described by one devil at the beginning of his devilling:

*There's a little desk, a little reception desk in Advocates Library and that's as far as solicitors get, you don't get in anywhere else so you can kind of see in the door, you see all these advocates working away but you don't get to see anything else, so there is a bit of a sort of Wizard of Oz about it, peeping behind the curtain.*

The open door to the Library did not invite people to go in; instead, the forbidden threshold worked in the opposite sense and made what went on in the Library more mysterious. One devil commented on the restricted access to the Library – before you become an advocate '*you can sort of see in but you can't go in*', and added that this increases the fascination with the Library.

Inclusion and exclusion were crucial in understanding the organization of the Faculty, especially that both inclusion and exclusion evoked some emotional reactions. As an inaccessible space the Library amplified the sense of exclusion for outsiders, which was evident in the devils' comments about their frustration about being unable to use the resources when they were still solicitors. Access to the Library also magnified the excitement and a sense of entitlement for legitimate members, the pride of being part of 'the club', which we observed on numerous occasions. For devils being in the Library was the first step towards legitimacy in the Faculty, and gave them a sense of belonging, but it

also evoked strong emotions – excitement about being part of this elite world, and anxiety about the demands that being an advocate imposes. One devil commented on feeling proud to be part of the profession: *‘[Being able to work in the Library] probably gives you the sort of feeling of membership. And it’s difficult not to feel that you are slightly privileged; in that you are being invited to, well as I say, ‘join the club’.* The anxiety, on the other hand, was evident in the devils’ comments about breaking the unspoken rules, failing to behave in an appropriate manner, or failing to dress appropriately for this dignified space.

### **Reproduction of the status order within the Faculty**

As external boundaries separated advocates from the outside of the legal system, internal boundaries and enclosures inside the Library helped signal appropriate status. On the surface, the Library was a straightforward communal workspace; *‘a very large Library with lots of books and an ancient form of hot-desking’*, as one of the participants during our research described it. On closer examination, however, the space itself was symbolic of hierarchies in the profession. *‘It’s a very hierarchical body’* – was a phrase often used by advocates and devils in relation to the Faculty. Everyone knew his or her place in the hierarchy, and everyone knew what space they were allowed to occupy in Parliament House.

#### **Emplacement: ‘Everyone in the right place’**

The position of the devil did not give individuals full membership of the profession. While enjoying a degree of legitimacy in the Faculty, devils had restricted access to the Library, and such constraints were symbolic of their status as peripheral participants. They could walk past the Library reception but they still reported feeling as though they were *‘intruding’*, and walking around the Library was often described as *‘daunting’*. Many

devils commented on the anxiety that being in the Library caused. One summed up a feeling of unease, attested by many:

*I didn't want to go in it when we started off. We, obviously, had a tour on the first or second day where we went up as a group and got taken around. And yes, it felt horrible, really. That it's just like your first day at school. (...) You are going there for the very first time. So it is going to be intimidating, particularly when you look at them and they're looking up at you and scowling because they're trying to get on with the work that they're doing.*

Another devil echoed this anxiety: 'It will take time for everybody to feel comfortable in the Library'. Despite being able to enter the Library, he still did not feel part of the 'club':

*I don't feel a member (...) I don't feel comfortable in there yet. (...) We are allowed to work downstairs in the hall, the Laigh Hall, in that little part I feel OK but walking around upstairs I still feel very uncomfortable. (...) and I don't really feel part of it yet.*

For those allowed access to the Library, there were a number of further restrictions within the Library space. Thus, while devils were allowed to work in the Laigh Hall, they were restricted to sitting at two tables with sixteen seats, marked with signs bearing the poignant legend: 'Devils may sit here' (*Image 5*). This area was furthest away from the Faculty Reception and the Library Enquiries desk, which was indicative of the peripheral position of the devils.

*Insert all images and Figure 1 about here*

One room in which devils were not permitted is the Reading Room – the social area for members. During the week, coffee, tea and biscuits are available, and work in this room is actively discouraged. Members could sit and read daily papers and journals, or generally relax and chat. For special occasions such as celebratory dinners, receptions or the annual Burns' supper (a traditional Scottish celebration) the room was used in the evening, and for such use permission has to be sought from the Dean. A devil would not

expect to be invited to such an event, and one office bearer described it as '*a private room*'. The Reading Room was also the general venue for Faculty meetings, and for the wine reception for devils on the eve of their admission to the Faculty. This would normally be the first time devils enter the Reading Room.

The Corridor was another room where the demarcation of space was evident, it was generally populated by 'mid- to senior-ranking counsel' – however, there was little precision in what these terms meant and who was allowed to work in the Corridor. The status order was also visible in other parts of the building. The Box Corridor was one of the 'spatial outcomes' (Markus, 1993: 57) and was a richly symbolic space in the Faculty (Image 3). Advocates for hundreds of years had the right to place a lidded wooden box in this corridor to allow legal instructions and papers to be received. This was a well-observed tradition where one advocate did not look in another advocate's box or interfere with someone else's papers. The Box Corridor had its origins in the practice of court cases being conducted in previous centuries by way of written pleadings or documents which were put in front of the judges. The advocates' boxes were placed on shelves along the Corridor in the order of the advocate's admission to the Faculty. As the advocate progressed through his or her career the box was physically moved along the shelves until it came to a final position on the upper shelf in the main Box Corridor. Once it was there, it would only be moved on retirement, or if the advocate was elected to a senior office. If the boxes were moved, their position along the shelf changed, but the order remained the same.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 2013, after the data collection was finished, the use of boxes was stopped because of the concerns over confidentiality. These remaining boxes, however, continue to be placed in the traditional order of their owners' seniority. New entrants are instead given mail trays that are ordered hierarchically – further reproducing the status order of the Faculty.

The boundaries discussed above were either visible (no public access beyond the Library reception), or explicitly articulated (e.g. 'Devils may sit here') and enforced. Such disciplinary mechanisms differentiated between junior and senior advocates and the nature of the work that they are allowed to do. During our research we also identified another form of boundaries that we refer to as 'invisible boundaries'. These invisible boundaries, or tacit rules of the space, further reinforced the hierarchical nature of the Faculty. Maintaining one's place in the organizational space, i.e. emplacement and enacting its rules, ensured the continuation of the status order of the Faculty. Emplacement of institutional actors was often motivated by fear of the authority of office bearers.

Once a devil is admitted as a member of the Faculty many of the rules about where he or she can sit were removed. However, at this stage other less clear-cut conventions came to the fore. Even after devils are 'called' and become advocates, they were still emplaced and they enacted a range of boundaries that restricted their access to all spaces in the Library. While all members of the Faculty and devils were allowed to take books from the shelves, devils were never allowed to sit in the Law Room during their pupillage, and this rule was normally communicated explicitly on the first day of devilling. Traditionally, the Law Room was used only by 'senior' members of the Faculty as a workspace. Here the principle of seniority hindered the movement, even though this 'seniority' was not precisely defined. One advocate put a figure on the 'level of seniority' as having been in the Faculty for five-to-ten years:

*There's a room in there called the Law Room and there's a kind of convention that you don't really sit there until, I don't know how experienced you've got to be but, it's kind of five or ten years called at the Bar [laughs].*

Other advocates were less sure of the length of experience required. In the early part of the twenty-first century this rule was relaxed and it was made clear that all members of the Faculty should feel free to take a seat; however, despite this rule being relaxed, experience has shown that junior members were still in fear of settling in this room. One devil commented:

*Most of my books are right in the Law Room, but because of my junior status, I would not feel comfortable sitting there. So, I just don't go there. And also, I worry about other stuff when I'm there; I was mortified the other day because a button fell off my coat on my way there, and I didn't feel comfortable going in there because I knew that there would be at least one person who would give me a look for it.*

The restricted access to the Law Room was symbolic of status within the Faculty, as an office bearer confirmed:

*There are places you can go and there are bits of the Library where devils get to sit and then at the weekends they can sit in the whole Library but they don't get to sit in the Law Room. And although the rules have changed that once you're a member you're allowed to go into the Law Room and sit there, there's still an unspoken rule that you don't. There's a status about it.*

Status and privilege were also attached to two of the doorways to the Law Room – one from the Corridor and one from Parliament Hall. There were two doorways but it was not the case that either door could be used indifferently. Normal entry and exit was by the doorway to the Corridor and only more senior members used the other doorway to Parliament Hall (Image 4). While there was a general understanding that seniority was the controlling factor there, this again coexisted with a distinct lack of clarity about this rule and the rationale behind it. One devilmaster told his devil ‘*See this door – I am going to tell you a secret – don't ever try to go through it*’. Another advocate denied that the length of service mattered and suggested that going through this door may only be appropriate if the member is in court dress and attending court. Despite the lack of clarity surrounding

this rule, there were no attempts to break the rule noticed or reported, i.e. none of the newly admitted advocates attempted to enter the Reading Room through this door.

Another reflection of the status order was the rule related to the fireplaces in Parliament Hall. In the hall there were two large open fireplaces – one, on the wall between the entrance to the Faculty Reception and the Parliament Hall door to the Law Room, was regularly lit during the winter months. The History of Parliament Hall (Image 6) stated that ‘There appears to be no other government building in Britain with a daily coal fire’, which emphasized the uniqueness of the institution even further. Not everyone was allowed to stand in front of this fire, and the right to do so was a matter of one’s seniority in the Faculty – demonstrating clear divisions of space.

### **Enactment of rules surrounding the Library**

Enactment, in Dale and Burrell’s (2008) framework is about how spaces are lived and experienced, and indicates the routinized ways in which people engage in social spaces. Enactment also signifies everyday bodily ways of engaging with the world. In our case, acceptance of the rules of the Library featured prominently in our data, with very little evidence of questioning or resistance from advocates and devils. Devils enacted such space by accepting the restrictive nature of their access to some rooms, not being allowed to sit on some chairs, and being prohibited from entering the Law Room through one set of doors. Despite the unwelcoming effect these rules might have, advocates and devils continued to observe them. As one devil remarked:

*[The Library] does have rules that devils can do this and can't do that which are different from what full members can do, but that's not unlike many other institutions. If you were wishing to make it, shall we say, more welcoming then you would probably remove rules like 'you can't be in the Reading Room' and you 'can't sit in the Law Room', or 'you can't sit anywhere in the Library other than you have to go to a defined set of desks' but for my part they don't trouble me at all.*

Another devil made a similar comment, justifying the restrictiveness of access by 'tradition':

*We are allowed to use the Advocates Library but there are two tables at the bottom of the Library that have signs up and they say devils may sit here and we can sit at those tables but we can't sit at all the others and it's absolutely fine, that's the tradition. I mean invariably the advocates I've found are very, very helpful, very friendly, couldn't make you feel more welcome, but nonetheless there are aspects of the culture that make it clear to you that you are not yet an advocate.*

The appeals to tradition were common, and there were also some attempts to justify the restrictions by the short length of time that the period of devilling takes. When accepted as advocates, new entrants will be allowed greater access to the Library, and it will be a new group of devils whose access is restricted. This perhaps partly explains why advocates have little motivation to change the rules:

*Yes, we are restricted and I think part of the purpose of that is just to make it clear that you are in the end still training and you are not yet an advocate. But I don't think anyone would have any particular objection to that because it's only a short period of months and you are focused on learning and getting there and everything else will come in due course.*

There was only one voice of dissent from one devil who questioned the rationality of the rules surrounding the Library, but at the same time was happy to enact the rules and admitted that 'it's kind of nice'.

*I've never been to public school and I never did my national service but it's [like that] in some respects. If you were being a cynic you would say 'that's what it is like (...) There are bits of the Library that we're allowed to sit in and not sit in'. Bluntly, it's all a pile of rubbish as far as I'm concerned. Other than tradition you know 'it's the way, just because it's the way it's been done' is not a justification for anything in my view. I mean it's kind of quaint and it's kind of nice but it's all just a pile of rubbish really.*

The spaces within Parliament House constrained some practices, but they also enforced others. When in the Great Hall advocates were not supposed to stand and talk; instead they walked up and down – in pairs or small groups. This practice was believed

to have developed as a method of engaging in private discussion with no one to overhear. The tradition of walking during conversation existed only in Parliament Hall, and was not replicated elsewhere in the Scottish courts. One advocate found the practice appealing and at the same rationalized it, which illustrates how a space can have an active disciplining effect:

*It is a symbol and I think it's a very powerful symbol (...) it, it's all very impressive and you get to see the walking up and down and that, I think, that is very much a part of being an advocate. It's a very odd thing but I do it. Why? Well I suppose there's nowhere else to go to speak.*

Enactment of rules related to Parliament House ensured the continuation of the status order, and crossing the boundaries could bring negative consequences, as *The Devil's Handbook* stipulated:

*Devils are subject, in matters affecting conduct as an Intrans and admission to the Faculty, to the discipline of the Dean. If you conduct yourself in such a manner as to render you unfitted to the exercise of the public office of advocate the Dean may [...] remove you from the Roll of Intrans.*

Compliance with the rules to an extent was motivated by the 'discipline of the Dean', however, the boundaries were also enacted, for fear of social embarrassment. Negative emotions were also evident in the advocates' unease about where they were allowed to sit. In order to avoid crossing invisible boundaries and breaking the tacit rules, new advocates preferred to occupy the 'safe' spaces, i.e. the ones that less experienced members of the Faculty were definitely allowed in. Even after admission into the Faculty, some new entrants still preferred to sit in the places designated as devils' desks:

*The only time I ever work in Parliament House is after six pm on the weekends when I know for a fact that no one will be there. When I go there I just sit at the same place that the devils are permitted to sit, that's probably the only place I feel comfortable sitting in the whole building.*

Another newly called advocate said:

*I stayed in the Laigh Hall for ages, there's a sort of childlike connection to the place, I didn't want to let go. Then the new devils had started and I thought 'right, I'm going to go upstairs, which is like where the big kids are'.*

'Tucked away' was an expression used by a few newly called advocates – 'tucked away' in the Laigh Hall, 'tucked away in the side alcoves' or 'tucked away in the smallest room downstairs where law journals are stored'. Although moving out of the peripheral spaces appeared to be difficult, one newly admitted advocate who had moved upstairs into the Corridor suggested that it was 'a good decision to try and mature'. Knowing when to 'move on' was an example of the enactment of the tacit rules of space and part of part of professional knowledge. One experienced advocate played down the consequences of breaking the tacit rules:

*... The kind of things about bits of the Library that you're allowed in and whether you're allowed in the Reading Room and at what stage you're allowed in the Reading Room and what you're allowed to do in the Reading Room, or if you go to the coffee room you know you're not allowed to work in the coffee room and all that sort of stuff, but I think they are fairly inconsequential matters which you will pick up.*

Most participants admitted that there were 'politics about where to sit', and knowing where to sit was indicative of knowing one's position in the Faculty. Despite claims by the more senior advocates that there are no reserved seats, our evidence suggests that everybody knows their place in the Library and that, if you sit in the wrong place, 'you may have to move'. Again, the lack of clarity in relation to the rules of the space recurred in a number of interviews – below are two examples:

*One of the amusing things when you call is figuring out where you're going to sit because, as I said, it's deeply hierarchical. Whilst certain members will tell you, until they're blue in the face, that 'there are no reserved seats, you can sit wherever you want'; everybody knows that there are reserved seats and you cannot sit wherever you want.*

*You're allowed to sit anywhere with one exception, there's one chair which is for the Keeper of the Library and that's marked. Every other seat is free and can be sat on by anyone; except that, as you go around the Library on any given day, you'll find the same people sitting in the same seats, and you don't take their seats.*

If most of the rules about the Library are not explicit, a question arises – how do the devils and newcomers find out about these rules? Most of the experienced advocates interviewed said *'You need to work them out'*, which appeared to cause some anxiety to the newcomers. Inexperienced advocates either had to figure out who sits where, or rely on someone else to tell them. One advocate described this practice in the following way: *'You pick it up and if you don't pick it up then someone will pick it up for you but this may have negative consequences'*. Not following the rules, and having someone 'pick [them] up for you', will result in social discomfort, as one of the guides for devils warns: *'With luck some helpful soul will help you out. If you are unlucky no-one will tell you about your gaffe and the judge will sit there and smoulder'*.

Very few of these rules of the space observed by us were explicit (one example 'Devils may sit here' notice, *Image 5*), and as Giddens (1984) noted, rules do not have to be explicitly codified to be effective. Unlike in other institutions where boundaries are deliberately visible and their visibility gives them potency (Crang, 1994; Guthley et al., 2014; Keith & Pile, 1993), the boundaries in the Library were invisible, but crossing them could upset the status order of the profession and could impact on individuals' careers. Despite the difficulty in negotiating a way round the space in the Library, it was important to know one's place in the Faculty. It was also important to enact the rules of the space. The invisible boundaries in the Library were an example of uncoded rules, which had been enacted for hundreds of years. The existence of visible and invisible boundaries, and the potential consequences of crossing them determined the practices of advocates striving for legitimacy in the social and physical space of Parliament House. These

behaviours, on the other hand, reproduced the boundaries, and, consequently, maintained the divisions within the institution. As much as drawing boundaries is a political act (Dale & Burrell, 2008); so are decisions on whether or not to cross them. It was surprising that there was little dissent, and all devils and most advocates appeared to accept the rules and enact spatial boundaries. Counter-intuitively, it was the newcomers who were more likely to observe the rules of the space than the experienced advocates, which suggests that the newcomers play a crucial role in institutional maintenance. This raises interesting questions: *why* don't newcomers resist these quirky rules and *why* are they willing to enact them? The answer to this question emerging from our data, lies in enchantment, which takes us to the main part of our analysis.

### **Enchantment: "The charm that never wears off"**

Our data suggest that the reason why devils and advocates accepted the quirky rules discussed above was the enchanting quality of the space occupied by them. Advocates become enchanted through the process of socialization into the profession, which creates in them a desire to become part of the 'enchanted space'. In turn, this explains the low motivation to eradicate its boundaries. In this sense our data suggest that the building supported institutional work, not by constraining or enforcing behaviours, like the Foucauldian prison (Foucault, 1975), but by creating the sense of enchantment in those who occupy it. Enchantment as an emotional and aesthetic response was evoked in the appreciation of history and tradition, references to the 'charm' of building, the significance of the location of ceremonies and the appeal of secrecy behind some of the rules of the space. We will discuss these four aspects of fascination with space in turn.

**History and tradition.** The enchanting quality of the space and associated traditions is arguably what attracted people to the Faculty, as the space, like other

symbols of the profession, e.g. the wigs and gowns, was associated with high professional and social status. Pride of the profession, and pride of the place that advocates occupied was clearly visible in the way devils and advocates engaged in their activities in Parliament House. Enchantment was evoked by constant references to history and tradition – a source of continuity with the past or cultural inheritance (Dacin & Dacin, 2008), a point many participants in the study emphasized both during the interviews and after the interviews in casual conversations with us. Neither the advocates nor their special place, Parliament House, are innocent of history. The History of Parliament House pamphlet pointed out architectural details of the building's interior, explaining the symbolism of the sculptures and the events documented in the pictures, and recounts how the Scottish Court of Session took residence in this building in 1642. Pride in the building and the Library was instilled from the very beginning of the devil's career through formal sessions during which devils are instructed in the building's history, its architecture and the art works collected within it. Thus, when taking their first tour of the building devils received a pamphlet on the History of Parliament Hall that evoked the sense of history and ancient majesty:

*To the south of the High Kirk of St. Giles in mediaeval times there was a congested graveyard extending down the steep slope to the Cowgate. It was the chief place of burial of the Burgh of Edinburgh and the final resting place of John Knox, the leader of the Scottish Reformation. At the opening of the seventeenth century the Scottish Parliament, Court of Session, Town Council, and convicts shared the small turreted building known as the Tolbooth, to the west of St. Giles (History of Parliament Hall, p. 1).*

The spaces in the building had the power to seduce and enchant; and enchantment produced powerful effects that 'took your breath away'. These powerful effects come from the monumental form of the building, its grandeur and aesthetic qualities. The Faculty is located in one of the most historic and dignified buildings, a point that came across

strongly in the interviews with devils. The advocates and devils often recalled how, while they entered the building for the first time, the space invoked a sense of pride. The building itself was maintained with great dedication to preserve its historical and architectural legacy, meaning that the space was enchanting because of an appreciation of its intended function. As conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991), Parliament House was designed as the home of the Scottish parliament and incorporated governmental power in every feature – grandeur, size, shape and symbols. Age itself was also a factor here, as the antiquity of the building enhanced the enchantment of the institution. The history and tradition in the Faculty were evoked with almost Shakespearian pathos by advocates, who often linked the functionaries of justice with the site of power and political decision making. The historical legacy of the seat of Parliament was significant because it mythologized the Faculty's past. Arriving in Parliament House for the first time, as researchers we were struck by the grandeur of the building and senses its historical significance. The building was also redolent of authority and grandeur, rich with symbols that reminded observers of the proximity of the advocates to the sources of state power.

**Charm that never wears off.** The charm and the beauty of the physical setting was raised by the members of the Faculty throughout the study. Many of those interviewed referred to the feeling that Parliament House is a '*beautiful place*' evoking an emotional reaction, and individuals appeared to derive a sense of social status from working in the building, and a sense of exclusion by those who were not. Some members of the Faculty described it as a straightforward workspace and were concerned to provide apparently rational explanations to sustain the rules. For example, one advocate noted that '*people get into the Library and suddenly discover that actually it's just a very large Library with lots of books and some seats that are comfortable and some seats that are very uncomfortable*'. However, such comments were not often heard: the great majority of

advocates took a more aesthetic approach and said: *'the charm never wears off'*. When asked about the apparent irrationality and quaintness of the rules, they responded that these rules are *'charming'* and at the same time *'harmless – so why change them?'* Although advocates did not have to work in the Library since they were entitled to carry out their work elsewhere, many of them chose to come into the Library every day; they explained, this was what made them feel they belonged to this 'amazing' world. Becoming a member of the Faculty gave one access to an exclusive space, and the attraction to this space reduced the motivation to change the institution. Enchantment with the Library was evident in the advocates' and devils' expressions of excitement about being able to work inside it. They emphasized their pride of the impressive collections of legal books, antique furniture, sophisticated décor and portraits of key figures from the world of Scottish legal history. It was not surprising, therefore, that being granted access to the Library, partial though it may have been, not only gave devils a sense of privilege and professional status in the Scottish legal system, but also a high social standing in Scottish society.

**Secrecy and mystery.** Closely linked with enchantment is secrecy surrounding certain rules and practices. The language used by the advocates to describe Parliament House and the rules of the spaces within it often resonated with fairy tales evoking a sense of mystery. One advocate explained:

*Because only members of the Faculty are allowed into the Library so there is in that sense, even for people who are lawyers and who have been in Parliament House regularly, there is, the kind of, the mystery of the Library and what goes on beyond there.*

Another advocate said: 'there's a dark art, there's no rules about this really not written down anywhere'. Yet, another added that there was 'the sort of cloak and dagger mystique about it' and 'a lot of pride and arcane assumptions'. Although entering this

world was seen as ‘a nerve-wracking’, the fascination with it was a significant part of the appeal of the profession.

Advocates liked their secrets and what we observed is that the mystery surrounding the space, and the fact that the rules were sometimes enshrined in secrecy, made them more appealing. When asked whether such rules were a secret, one advocate commented that a secret implies that someone was being secretive whereas in the Faculty *‘there are simply things that you wouldn’t know to ask’*. These rules were enacted by the Faculty members, and it is through lived experience they were learned and propagated. Just as devils expressed little frustration over the rules of conduct in the Library, there was little evidence of frustration about the lack of clarity of these rules. Instead, the mystery surrounding these rules and an aura of secrecy seem to make the space more alluring for devils and new members alike. By preserving this deference for the quaint rules and by keeping the secrets, advocates maintained enchantment. Thus, making the rules explicit through writing, would invite questions about the rationality behind these rules, and might trigger resistance. Codifying the rules for the benefit of devils and new entrants would go against the spirit within which these rules are enacted, and may have led to disenchantment; so by avoiding transparency, advocates avoided disenchantment and placed considerable effort into maintaining the enchanting qualities of the institution. By creating the mystery of special space and maintaining secrecy around the rules of this space, advocates kept alive its seductive–enchanting quality. In other words, enchantment needed to be maintained in the same way as the building, and its artefacts were preserved by skilled conservation and restoration experts.

**Pomp and circumstance.** The location of the Admissions Ceremony in the Reading Room, which marks individual’s entry into the Faculty, is also symbolic of entering the ‘inner sanctum’, and of becoming one of the chosen few who have the right

to occupy the space. The ceremony, full of pomp and circumstance, was a rite of passage, during which entrants are introduced to the Faculty, but also for the first time allowed entry into the Reading Room. The ceremony legitimized an entrant's status as an advocate and also legitimized their access to some parts of the Library, which were out of bounds to devils:

*The ceremony is the main thing actually, when you get to the end and you get sworn in. That is actually when it hit me: 'Hang on a second, I am here and I've been sworn in. You can't take that away from me. I've actually done this and that's me in.*

The ceremony was followed by a walk to the courtroom where a live case was being heard and where the presiding judge administered the Declaration of Allegiance (i.e. an oath to the Queen). The entrant then signed the parchment and donned their wig and gown. While observing the Admissions Ceremony we noticed how excited the entrants were about becoming part of the institution, and being allowed to enter the Reading Room legitimately. One experienced advocate commented on the Admissions Ceremony: *'It's an ancient and honourable profession and the moment of admission to it is something which you never forget. And you bring your mother and father down and they're terribly proud to see their son'*. He further added that the seriousness of the occasion is made more potent by the exceptional setting of the ceremony: in the Reading Room, which was out of bounds for devils and other lawyers, and in the court room, which would from then on be the place where they practice the art of advocacy.

Only a few very experienced advocates showed willingness to defy the Library rules, which might suggest that only when legitimate and very secure in a stable and predictable environment do institutional actors show willingness to pursue change. Although a few advocates commented on the rules of the Library as *'not very functional'*, they showed no inclination to change them. The very few advocates with entrepreneurial

aspirations were far outnumbered by those who '*loved the place*' and showed willingness to continue with the tradition. In this respect, enchantment with the space explains the Faculty's persistence over time and the relatively low motivation among the advocates and devils to question the rules, and move the visible and invisible boundaries. The seductive power of the space – the Library in Parliament House – conditioned the desire on the part of devils to maintain the status quo. If the price to pay for the privilege of gaining a share of the space is to observe the rules, which may at times seem irrational, then those devils enchanted by the space were seduced into doing so.

## DISCUSSION

Our interest in the Faculty was driven by the research question – what role does organizational space play in institutional maintenance? Our study demonstrates how institutionalized practices at the micro-level maintain one profession (in this case Scottish advocates), at the centre of a wider system (the Scottish legal system). Since institutionalized practices in our account combine powerfully to shape the institution's stability, we think it reasonable to identify them as modes of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence et al., 2011) and to claim to demonstrate their operation in furthering institutional maintenance.

Although organizational studies and management literature has acknowledged the importance of choosing the right location for the organization (Dale & Burrell, 2008; Hatch, 2013; Jones & Massa, 2013; MacDonald, 1989), previous studies have not explained how the stabilizing effect of the building is achieved and how institutional actors' interactions with spaces maintain institutions and prevent institutional entropy. A notable exception is the study by Lawrence and Dover (2015) that made an important contribution to our understanding of the role of spaces in institutions. These authors

found that places contained, mediated and complicated institutional work, these roles were linked with a distinct ontology of a place: social enclosures, signifiers and practical objects. Although the authors did not ascribe agency to places, they recognized potential for spaces to motivate actors to work to shape institutions through the material and symbolic resources. In a similar vein to Lawrence and Dover's (2015) study, we have moved beyond the building as a symbol of the institution and a backdrop to events by focusing on the role of spaces in institutional work. However, in contrast to Lawrence and Dover (2015), we have not treated spaces only as social enclosures and interpretive filters, but instead we identified the role of emotional and aesthetic reactions evoked by these spaces in maintaining institutions.

Drawing on the literature on organizational spaces has allowed us to throw some theoretical light on this topic, but through our analysis we have also made some contributions to the study organizational spaces. The literature on organizational spaces uses emplacement, enactment and enchantment as theoretical framework to analyse how power in organizations is secured and maintained. In light of this literature, the buildings housing organizations are designed and used by leaders to impress or to intimidate various stakeholders (Clegg, 1989; Dale & Burrell, 2008). The relationship between power and built form is often analysed in the literature through the conceptual lens of domination, intimidation, discipline, or surveillance (e.g. Foucault, 1975; Sudjec, 2005). This theoretical lens evoking the notions of emplacement and enactment is often associated with securing and obscuring power (Burawoy, 1979), while enchantment evoked by monumental form is interpreted as providing symbolic links with deity, for example, in medieval cathedrals (Dovey, 1999). However, rather than focusing on the analysis of how power relations are shaped by spaces, we provided a link between the experience of spaces and institutional maintenance. Also in contrast to the standard

rendering of emplacement, enactment and enchantment as three separate phenomena, we demonstrated how their interweaving contributes to institutional maintenance.

### **The interweaving of emplacement, enactment and enchantment**

Although enchantment and the emotions related to it are at the forefront of our analysis, we recognize the dual supporting role of emplacement and enactment of space. In this sense, these three phenomena interweave and support one another to maintain closure and reproduce the existing status order within an institution. The enactment of space is the basis for emplacement or the sense that space is subject to normative regulation (Dale & Burrell, 2008). The emplacement mechanisms and enactment of rules that we identified resonate with Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) disciplinary institutional maintenance mechanisms: *enabling*, *policing* and *detering*. Disciplinary mechanisms are clearly recognizable in our case study, and they allow the institution to maintain external boundaries between the advocates and the rest of the legal profession through controlled access to spaces. *Enabling*, *policing* and *detering* in the building also differentiate between junior and senior actors, their access to resources and the nature of the work that they are allowed to do. The effect of the rules of the space – explicit and tacit, visible and invisible boundaries – is conspicuously clear. These rules emplace people, reproducing the existing social order in the institution, and practice breakdowns are very rare. They keep individuals in the right place, physically, and their physical location signifies their rank and position in the status order of the institution.

The literature on power and enactments of spaces suggests that disciplinary mechanisms and norms nakedly enforced, tend to generate resistance (Etzioni, 1964; Clegg, 1989; Dovey, 1999; Massey, 2005; Elsbach & Pratt, 2008; Hatch, 2013; Hyde, 2015; Jarzabkowski, et al. 2015). In contrast, emplacement in our study did not follow the same pattern and did not trigger resistance. Instead and counter-intuitively, institutional

actors willingly enacted the tacit and sometimes quirky rules of the space, reinforcing emplacement and reproducing the status order. The key explanation for this counter-intuitive lack of resistance is the dominant role of enchantment. Our institutional actors, especially the newcomers, became enchanted by the building, thus explaining why they did not subvert the rules, or did not resist emplacement. Consequently, they did not disturb the status order. By agreeing to being emplaced and by enacting the rules of the space, institutional actors reproduced these rules from generation to generation. This self-reinforcing cycle explains why institutional actors might be less likely to question the existing status order of the institution. For them subverting the spatial arrangement would take the magic away from the spaces, and would make the spaces less 'sacred' or 'enchanted'. Enchanted newcomers in our study wanted to be part of the setting and thereby aspired to progress towards the centre of the 'closed' institution. The enchantment with spaces – *mise-en-scène*, ancient myths, the beauty of the building and its artworks – evoked an emotional reaction in those who occupied this space. By becoming part of the institution, individuals gained privileged access to an attractive and enchanting space, and ensured that outsiders are not allowed in, thus maintaining closure.

### **The role of enchantment in maintaining institutions**

By identifying this dominant role of enchantment in maintaining closure and reproducing the status order we highlight the *emotive aspect* of institutional maintenance. Our analysis suggests that when it comes to institutional maintenance there is room for recognizing the aesthetic, symbolic and mythical at the expense of the regulative and imperative (Massey, 2005; Elsbach & Pratt, 2008; Hatch, 2013). Thus, economic rationality may be complemented by the desire to occupy certain spaces because they have a symbolic value that offers status, and because they are 'attractive' spaces evoking

certain emotions in those who occupy them.

The spaces in our case study were deemed to be attractive partly because of the mystery surrounding some of the rooms, and the unclear rules that governed their use. This suggests a further important aspect of enchantment – secrecy. Secrecy makes the spaces in our case study enchanting, and any attempts to raise the veil and uncover the mechanism by questioning the purpose of the rules would only serve to rationalize the rules. According to Weber (1976), rationalization leads to disenchantment, as participants in the mystery seem to understand instinctively, so the veil in enchanted institutions remains undisturbed. One possible explanation for this tendency to maintain secrets could be found in Simmel (1906) who argued that the value of secrecy lies implicitly in the notion of distance. For him separation was value in itself – it signalled an individual's superiority, and in the case of elites, such as aristocracy, it symbolized unwillingness to give oneself a character common with others. Simmel wrote: 'Secrecy and pretense of secrecy (*Geheimnistuerei*) are means of building higher the wall of separation, and therein a reinforcement of the aristocratic nature of the group' (1906: 486). Arguably, in our case study, secrecy and the lack of transparency in the rules of behaviour in enable closure, and a mechanism of institutional maintenance. Both bodies of literature, on institutional maintenance and organizational spaces, remind us that an organization cannot only be a prisoner in a cultural 'iron cage' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) but can also be held hostage to its own history (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Selznick, 1957). Our findings suggest that investigating institutional processes through the lens of enchantment may also open the door to further consideration of history's influence on institutional maintenance, and its power to enchant institutional actors into reproducing the existing institutional order.

By introducing enchantment as a category of institutional work we draw scholarly

attention to the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutions. Aesthetics is more than beautifying the workplace (Wasserman & Frenkel, 2011), and we need to consider the lived experiences of being in the space and the emotions elicited by interaction with the space. In contrast to prior literature on institutional maintenance that foregrounded cognitive processes, we highlight the role of emotional reactions to spaces, and the role these reactions play in institutional survival. Highly rational systems, Ritzer (1999) argued, are efficient and predictable but they leave institutions devoid of magic and mystery, however, our evidence suggests that charm, magic and mystery are as important as rational explanations in attracting individuals to an institution and maintaining loyalty to it. The concept of enchantment also adds to the burgeoning literature on emotions in institutions (Maitlis, & Ozcelik, 2004; Walsh & Bartunek, 2011; Voronov & Vince, 2012; Voronov & Weber, 2015; Moisander, Hirsto and Fahy, 2016) and emotional aspects of maintenance processes (Howard-Grenville et al., 2013; Wright, Zammuto & Liesch, 2016). Unlike most of these earlier studies that focus on the ‘pathos appeals’ and the rhetorical strategies of emotion work such as evoking shame or pride (Moisander et al., 2016: 1), our study suggests that studying institutions from the perspective of enchantment may give additional new insights into their maintenance.

Two of the phenomena – emplacement and enactment – are features of many organizations and institutions, such as hospitals, schools, private clubs or military organizations. In these organizations spaces allow for power relations to be both maintained and normalized, i.e. people know their place, and stay within it, or else they face negative consequences (Dovey, 1999; Massey, 2005). Although emplacement and the enactment of the rules in these organizations are evident, they are in themselves not sufficient for the reproduction of the status order and maintenance of closure. Emplacement and the enactment of rules are rarely intertwined with enchantment, and

hardly ever do individuals working in hospitals or military establishments take delight in the aesthetic qualities of the organizational spaces within which they operate. However, there are some organizations and institutions, like the one in our case study, where the disciplining power is intertwined with the aesthetic and emotional aspects of the institution, elicited by the interaction of people with spaces. In such organizations people obey the rules and reproduce power relations not for fear of discipline and punishment, but because they are enchanted by the spaces they occupy. Examples include churches, parliaments and ancient universities. People in these institutions know their place, and observe the rules of the space because of the overwhelming sense of awe created by ancient buildings, grand form and decorative interiors. Although the age of the institution was an important factor in our case study, not all 'enchanted' institutions will be old; examples of new buildings housing institutions can easily be found in modern concert halls, art galleries and libraries. Some spaces might enchant for reasons other than monumental form or ornamental interiors; surgeons might feel enchanted by operating theatres, actors by being on stage, and airplane pilots by sitting in the cockpit. Such more modern spaces also have the power to enchant institutional actors.

### **Maintenance of closure and reproduction of the status order**

We adopted an institutional perspective to study the profession following recent approaches that treat professions as institutions in themselves (e.g. Adler & Kwon, 2013; Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, 2013; Bevort & Suddaby, 2016). Following on from the work of Scott (2008) and more recent contributions by Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, (2013), Adler & Kwon, (2013), Kipping & Kirkpatrick, (2013) we emphasized the value of studying professions as institutions, and connected the patterns of professionalization with the broader processes of institutionalization. So how does our analysis of institutional maintenance help us explain maintenance of professions?

The concept of closure has great explanatory power in formation and maintenance of professions (Parkin, 1979; Weber, 1978), referring to how professions maintain the identity and preserve their share of rewards and resources denied to individuals on the outside (Grey & Kish-Gephart, 2013). The maintenance of closure specifically preserves the uniqueness and dignified status of the profession within the wider social system, differentiating it from other professions. However, earlier literature on closure focused on social and economic devices aimed at limiting access to a profession and preventing other groups from copying and using professional skills (Kirkpatrick & Ackroyd, 2003; Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd and Walker, 2004; Currie et al., 2009; Saks, 2016). These devices included formal qualifications or membership of professional bodies that limited recruitment into the profession. In contrast to these studies, our study identified tacit boundaries enacted and reproduced by institutional actors and aesthetic and emotional appeals which create closure. The enchanting qualities of the profession – its uniqueness, quirkiness and ‘old-worldliness’ – attract some people, but they also discourage others. For example newcomers who aspire to become members of this elite profession are attracted to these spaces; while those who dislike the ‘pomp and circumstance’ associated with being a member of this profession avoid them. Similarly, emplacement and the enactment of space keep the outside on the outside, leading to closure. Closure of the profession is crucial in its maintenance as it ensures that its members continue to occupy the highest positions unrivalled by other professions.

The reproduction of the status order refers to maintaining the institution’s internal structure, and allowing distribution of the prestige and economic rewards associated with a senior position within the institution. Because of the enchantment that enchanting organizational spaces evoke, institutional actors agree to being emplaced, and reproduce the status order. In other words, the space symbolically realizes the status enjoyed by

institutional actors. By preserving its own status order, and closing off opportunities for other professionals, the profession maintains its position in the wider social system. In this sense preservation of the internal status order is an extension of the external closure, as it solidifies the overall ordering of the status of the profession.

### **Conclusion and future research questions**

Our study offers an analytical dimension to the study of institutional maintenance. The lexicon of institutional maintenance covers concepts such as rules, techniques, generalizable procedures, sanctioning codes of conduct, policing, regulation, deterrence and control (e.g. Currie et al., 2012; Dacin et al., 2010; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zilber 2002, 2009). Most of these mechanisms relate to discipline and coercion. However, our analysis allows us to argue that institutional maintenance does not always happen because of discipline and coercion. In doing so, we extend the existing catalogue of institutional maintenance types by drawing attention to non-rational phenomena, such as the sense of awe, mystery and secrecy, and investigate how their potential may usefully enrich institutional theorizing. The proposed consideration of enchantment in institutional analysis may enrich the discussions on institutional maintenance by enabling us to reach beyond some of the existing explanations.

The novel contribution of our study lies in using analytical tools borrowed from the literature on organizational spaces, to investigate the role of spaces and emotional and aesthetic reactions evoked by these spaces in maintaining institutions. We argue that three spatial phenomena: emplacement, enactment of space and enchantment, work together to achieve the institutional maintenance. So although emplacement, enactment of space and enchantment are interlinked and all three are important to our analysis, we single out enchantment as the most significant of these phenomena in our study and the one that most clearly highlights the emotional and the aesthetic aspects of institutions.

Enchantment allows us to explain how people's experience of spaces may have a stabilizing effect on institutions. We argue that individual and group actors engage in institutional work by interacting with these spaces, thus creating a stabilizing effect on the institution. Such a perspective invites us to consider spaces as places where institutional actors behave in certain ways because of the qualities of the spaces that they occupy (Crang, 1994), and because these spaces may provide institutional actors with the material and symbolic resources (Lawrence & Dover, 2015). Of course, like most 'determinisms', spatial determinism is to be avoided, and we do not want to overstate the effect of the physical setting on social practices. Organizational spaces do not determine people's behaviours, but they might prompt them to act in certain ways that are appropriate for the cultural significance of these spaces (Meusburger, 2008). We maintain that organizational spaces can order social relationships and shape practices, and that looking through this theoretical lens has allowed us to explore the material basis of an institution in a manner that goes beyond giving it the status of a backdrop to events and interactions.

Our case study's institution is unique in many ways but not in being palpably embedded in material structures. There are many other institutions, such as historic church foundations, private schools, ancient universities, concert halls and parliaments, whose shape and mythic, symbolic or aesthetic appeal are inextricably linked with the building. The relationship between these institutions and their buildings is often taken for granted, but in this study we explored in more detail the role that buildings play in maintaining institutions. And although ours is a study of institutional maintenance in an institution with a long history of tradition, it could be that what is true there, will also apply to institutions much less burdened with historical legacy. This raises a number of questions: What would happen if a building housing an institution burned down in a fire

– would this institution survive in the same form in a different location? If preserving the organizational space may guarantee institutional reproduction over time, is the reverse true? Will moving to a new building lead to the disruption of an institution? These are matters for further theoretical and empirical enquiry.

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