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Visioning a globalising, managed and inclusive professionalism

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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

S1 Professions, Exclusions and Global Labour Markets

Oral papers

Explaining Social Exclusion in Elite Professional Service Firms: From Occupational Fields to Fields of Power

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The elite professions in the UK are highly socially exclusive and over the past thirty years have become more so. Processes of social exclusion within occupations contribute towards wider social inequalities and as such it is important that issues of stratification are understood and addressed. The current paper contributes to research on this topic. Based on a cross-sectoral qualitative analysis of six firms in the legal, accounting, consulting and investment banking sectors, we ask: why do elite professional service firms exclude on the basis of social background and what are the implications for the reproduction of professional elites on the one hand and of inequality on the other? Literature examining this topic typically starts from neo-Weberian conceptualisations of the 'professional project', with more recent analyses also using Bourdieusian framework to theorise a transition from formal (credentials) to informal (cultural) mechanisms of closure. Through these studies offer useful insights, they have tended to focus on a single sector, usually the law, which is typically approached as though it were a relatively coherent and autonomous social space or 'field.' In the current study, using the work of Bourdieu, we theorise the development of a discrete and cross-cutting 'field of power', comprised of elite professional service firms. We suggest that graduate recruitment and selection practices within this 'field of power' tend to focus on a local (national) not global labour market and are highly similar no matter what the sector. These similarities have contributed towards the re-stratification of the professions on the basis of social class and to an illusion of scarcity in human resources, often captured as the 'war for talent.' We discuss the implications for the reproduction of professional elites and inequality.

Women in the Boardroom: the case of black women navigating boundaries in corporate South Africa

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Statistics show that the corporate world, in particular top management, is dominated by males. South Africa's case is even more peculiar, given its history of racial inequality where boardrooms have been dominated by white males. The number of black Africans in top management is slowly increasing due to democratic reform and transformation policies promoting change and removing legislative barriers since the demise of apartheid. They, however, continue to remain skewed towards males. While legislation and policies targeting employment equity tend to focus on quotas, the experiences of individuals protected by these policies tends to go unchecked. Drawing from the career narratives of senior black managers in multinational enterprises, this paper engages with the experiences of black women in South African enterprises, and how they navigate the social and institutional boundaries in what essentially remains a white male-dominated space. By allowing their voices to emerge, this paper shows how they experience boundaries between their identities as black African women from backgrounds that are influenced, to varying degrees, by traditional African culture and their identities as senior executives in a work world that they experience as largely western and male dominated. Even in the absence of legislated discrimination, corporate culture is built upon boundaries that are often experienced as impermeable and maintain long standing patterns of exclusion. Given the focus of policy planning on racial and gender transformation in the workplace, this paper contributes greater understanding of the need to facilitate the successful transition of women professionals in these transforming spaces.

La demanda de ingenieros y sus perspectivas futuras

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Esta última década los especialistas en Educación Superior, los dirigentes con cargo en las instituciones de enseñanza y los políticos han demostrado una fuerte preocupación por el curso de las ingenierías en la Argentina, la longitud de sus estudios, la baja tasa de graduación, la demanda creciente de esta especialidad ligada al desarrollo y a la industria, la fuerte deserción en estas carreras y la necesidad de especializaciones cada vez más complejas ligadas a los últimos desarrollos tecnológicos, explican esa preocupación.

Sin embargo, la visión y las aspiraciones de estos graduados en ingeniería, con esfuerzos memorables para terminar su carrera, grandes aspiraciones, pero fuertes limitaciones en el mercado de trabajo para alcanzar buenos salarios, para llevar adelante un emprendimiento o para ejercer los conocimientos más por las limitaciones de sus especialidades, no se sienten tan seguros de su necesidad y muchos de ellos frustrados por estas limitaciones de la demanda buscan mejores horizontes para realizar sus carreras.

A esto se agrega que existen en el país más de 116 títulos de grado diferentes para las Ingenierías, distribuidos en 80 instituciones públicas y 36 privadas. Esta variedad de títulos incluye matices como el de ingeniero vial e ingeniero en vías de comunicación, pero que no incluye transporte en forma específica, también es llamativo el caso de las ingenierías en la industria de la alimentación, en las industrias agrícolas y alimentarias y las ingenierías en tecnología de alimentos. Otra variedad es la ingeniería en máquinas navales y en electrónica naval o la ingeniería en sistemas de información; en software y en computación; también hay ingenierías casi en extinción como la ingeniería textil o campos nuevos y muy específicos como la ingeniería biomédica, la biotecnología o la ingeniería de la luz (que incluye los procesos láser) o la ingeniería de procesos que incorporan nuevos e importantes conocimientos a la industria, al medioambiente y al territorio. La apertura de estos campos, por ahora no ha modificado las preferencias de los graduados que siguen eligiendo las carreras más tradicionales.

Después de estudiar durante más de diez años las trayectorias de los ingenieros en distintas regiones del país, nos parece importante hacer un balance de esos estudios y analizar la posibilidad de nuevos caminos para los estudios de la ingeniería en la Argentina, ver cuáles son sus repercusiones en el MERCOSUR y cómo han incidido los procesos de evaluación de esas carreras. Para ello presentaremos cuatro puntos que consideramos significativos, el último a modo de conclusión y perspectiva futura.

Internationalization of knowledge standards and its impact on the professional project: the case of the IFRS adoption by Certified Public Accountants in the Philippines

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Over the past two decades, the Philippine accounting profession has transitioned from using locally-developed accounting standards to fully adopting the International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS) as the Philippines' codified Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP). Post-adoption researches have shown a low level of compliance with IFRS by Philippine companies, making the term "generally accepted" an oxymoron, as the standards are increasingly appearing to be divorced from the norms of local accounting practice. The paper explains why the Philippine accounting profession continuously uses knowledge standards developed by an international Euro-centric body, despite evidence of difficulty of compliance by qualified local organizations. From a neo-institutionalist perspective, the adoption of IFRS appears to be a case of institutional isomorphism, particularly in its coercive and its mimetic form, as the "peripheral" Philippine accounting profession, with the prodding of supranational governance and professional institutions, use the knowledge standards of the "center" to gain legitimacy in the globalized economy. The paper argues that the success of the isomorphic process is aided by the Filipino CPAs' own professional project, as IFRS adoption defined new spaces for professional practice, legitimized occupational authority in the global services market, and enhanced collective upward and "outward" mobility for practitioners.

Defining borders between professions in the changing world. Methodological implications of processes of categorization and classifications of occupations in Europe

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Occupation is a key variable in social research concerning school-to-work transitions, employment forecasting, vocational education and training, and also in processes of professionalization (Tidens, 2010). However, nowadays the boundaries between occupational categories are increasingly blurred and they are less standardized and homogeneous than in the past. The skills needed for a specific job differ tremendously even within one occupation (European Commission, 2012).

In this regard, particularly in the European context, many different initiatives and projects have been initiated in order to allow maximum participation in the labour market through a unique, standardized approach to the world of work. The European Union has in fact introduced a process of harmonization of

skills, abilities, knowledge of the professions in particular through four projects: ESCO, 1 DISCO, 2 EURES, 3 EU SKILLS PANORAMA⁴:

- ESCO, the European Skills, Competences and Occupations taxonomy is developing in a multilingual framework of occupations, skills, competences and qualifications:

- DISCO is a dictionary (thesaurus) online multilingual collecting terms on issues related to the skills and professions acquired in different learning contexts, such as education, vocational training and the labour market.

- EURES is the European Job Mobility portal for developing new services such as 'Match & Map', which is a map whose purpose is to optimise the matching of candidates to available job opportunities.

- EU SKILLS PANORAMA aims to improve our capacity to assess and anticipate the skills needed to help make education and training systems more responsive to labour market needs and to match skill supply and demand across Europe more effectively. The Panorama is a central access point for data, information and intelligence on skill needs in occupations and sectors. It provides a European perspective on trends for skill supply and demand and possible skill mismatches, while also giving information about national data and sources.

All these efforts represent a shift to a skills-centred approach. Now, instead of describing qualifications with input factors with factors of entry, the focus is on the knowledge, skills competences and abilities acquired by learners. This is reflected in the European Qualifications Framework (EQF). In fact, in the post-Fordist economy, the emphasis is on a model of human resource management based on the expertise that emphasises the knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes, work-oriented people need to achieve the organization's strategic goals and objectives and the levels of performance derived secondary to those goals (Horton, 2002).

While these projects have implemented efforts to merge professions, job titles, skills and qualifications across countries from a semantic point of view, there are few studies that have examined what the methodological implications are so far and the development of an empirical underpinning for assessment of occupations in Europe considering the duties, contents and work activities required.

Problems arise, for example, from the attribution of the different meanings that a job with the same name can have in different countries. The project EurOccupations5 (2006-2009) represented a novelty in this field: it aimed to build a freely available web-based database containing 1,500 to 2,000 of the most common occupations; and to test the similarity of job content, the required skill level, and competency profiles for a selection of 150 occupations across the eight member states in the project (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and United Kingdom).

Nowadays, it is appropriate to note that professional work progresses more quickly than in the past and that this implies that major changes have occurred in the world of work. The professions are now in the process of profound transformation. They may have lost some importance, but they have not disappeared. They constitute intermediate figures, incomplete, engaged in a process of slow implementation, content knowledge and practical manuals. Sociological research in recent years has addressed this issue by deepening the theme of semi-professions and quasi-professions, thus allowing the observation of how a composite reality complicates the way in which the labour market is described and classified. However, at the same time, it is thought-provoking to find appropriate tools to analyse this. Sociologists classify occupations according to the type of knowledge and skills required to perform a particular task and according to this classification professions are assigned to a special category of work. In the face of all these changes, the paper aims to analyse the different approaches and tools required for the classification and standardization of professions, reflecting in particular on how these processes have been influenced by policies, agendas and decisions made at European and international level. The paper provides also some examination of their consequences on the analysis of labour market trends, the processes of professionalization and on occupational structure. In particular, some reflection will be focused on the criteria adopted for the categorization of professions in the operation of classifications.

Social Polarisation and migration to Johannesburg

¹ <https://ec.europa.eu/esco/home>

² http://disco-tools.eu/disco2_portal/

³ <https://ec.europa.eu/eures/page/homepage?lang=en>

⁴ <http://euskillspanorama.cedefop.europa.eu/>

⁵ <https://eurocc.icares.com/>

The manufacturing sector, once a major source of urban employment and consisting of a large percentage of skilled and semi-skilled, middle-income jobs has declined while the service sector, argued to comprise predominantly either high-skill, high-pay or low-skill, low-pay jobs, has grown. The decline of manufacturing and the growth of the service sector are therefore argued to result in a more polarized occupational structure. Growing numbers of low-wage, low-skill service sector jobs are also said to attract poorly educated, unskilled immigrants from rural areas and/or developing countries. The contention is that these migrants become trapped in the low-skill, low-wage service sector jobs, thereby exacerbating social polarisation. An alternative argument is that there is a trend towards professionalization, with a general upgrading of skills among the employed workforce and a growth of non-manual clerical, sales, technical, professional and managerial jobs. Consequently, unskilled migrants are likely to be unemployed rather than employed in low-skilled jobs. Household survey and population census results for the Johannesburg region of South Africa from 1980 to 2007 were used to explore the relationship between migrants and social polarisation.⁶ The results show that migrants have a very similar occupation and education profile to natives and that their presence does not cause social polarisation but supports growing professionalization instead.

Most authors agree that global cities are points of concentration for the producer services vital to managing global financial systems and the high-skill, high-pay workers that perform these tasks. If this was the only phenomenon in question, there would likely be an indisputable trend towards professionalisation and no debate about increasing polarisation. The theory of social polarisation is indeed an appealing one; however, some scholars question the evidence in support of it. Many polarisation theorists also contend that while the native residents of the city fill the growing numbers of high-skill, high-wage service sector jobs, unskilled immigrants to the city fill the concomitantly increasing number of low-wage service jobs. They would argue that migrants are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage service sector jobs. Yet very few scholars provide evidence for these claims and where evidence is presented, it often does not support the social polarisation hypothesis and the role of migrants therein.

The purpose of this research was to critically assess the social polarisation hypothesis using survey data for Johannesburg. The evidence does not support the social polarisation hypothesis, namely, that the changing sectoral structure has led to equal increases in high- and low-skill work, at the expense of skilled middle-income, manual employment. The dominant pattern is one of increasing numbers of high-skill, high-pay jobs. While the numbers of low-skill workers did increase between 1980 and 2010, the absolute growth in the numbers of higher-skilled, higher-paid managerial, professional, associate professional and technical workers was two and a half times greater than that amongst low-skill workers. This led to a marked skewing of the occupational distribution towards high-skill work.

Migrants to Johannesburg also have a very similar occupational and educational distribution to native residents.⁷ They are well represented in high-skill, high-pay and semi-skilled, middle-income work and not overwhelmingly uneducated and marginalised in low-skill service sector work. Despite migrants having a similar occupational distribution to natives overall, individual immigrant communities have varied occupational outcomes. Briefly, although historically the vast majority of high-skill jobs were held by White men, and despite the greatest trend towards professionalisation occurring amongst Coloureds and Indians, it is in fact the increasing professionalisation of native and internal migrant African men and women and White women that has significantly changed the distribution of high-skill occupations and contributed most in absolute terms towards increasing professionalisation in the Johannesburg region between 1980 and 2007.

Contrary to what many polarisation theorists argue, it does not appear that uneducated, unskilled immigrants are being attracted in large numbers to work in a burgeoning low-wage service sector in Johannesburg. Instead, the distribution of occupations amongst migrants is as diverse as amongst natives and they are not confined to low-skill work. The survey data for Johannesburg show that migrants have similar occupational distributions to natives, and that all migrants have contributed significantly in absolute terms to the growth of managerial, professional, associate professional and technical occupations, and therefore, the trend towards increasing professionalisation. The presence of migrants in

⁶ Johannesburg refers to the city-region of the Gauteng province of South Africa.

⁷ A migrant is defined as anyone born outside of the province.

this case could be argued to be more relevant to the process of the skewing of the occupation distribution towards increasing professionalization than growing polarisation.

As South Africa is a country with large numbers of unskilled adults, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the growth in high-skill occupations would be accompanied by a concomitant growth in low-skill work. Why are the unemployed not taking up low-skill, low-wage jobs? Because there simply are not enough low-skill, low-wage jobs for the large unskilled labour force. This perhaps underscores a fundamental difference between developed countries and developing countries: vastly different levels of wealth. Arguably, even though there are increasing numbers of high-skill, high-pay workers, the percentage of the total population they form, and the amount of money they earn, is not enough to generate the demand for the low-skill, low-pay service sector jobs necessary to create employment for the majority of unskilled workers. There has simply not been sufficient economic growth and job creation in comparison to labour force growth in South Africa. This has also resulted in growing professionalisation accompanied by increasing unemployment and a large outsider surplus population. This highlights two points: first, that professionalisation is not a process that occurs only in Western, developed economies, and second, that professionalisation can be accompanied by unemployment under quite different circumstances to those proposed by other authors (i.e. adequate welfare benefits making it unnecessary for workers to hold low-wage jobs and choose unemployment instead). Thus, growing professionalisation is accompanied by growing unemployment and a large outsider surplus population in Johannesburg.

Bond by EU labour markets, divided by professional boundaries: nurse migration in times of austerity

Ellen Kuhlmann, Jan Jochmaring and Tania Jensen, TU Dortmund,

European labour market policy and the politics of austerity have fostered migration and mobility of health professionals in Europe, and this in turn, has created new chances for both healthcare systems and individual nurses. However, the boundaries of national professional groups and regulatory arrangements are still powerful and may constrain inclusive workforce policies. A German-Spanish case study serves to explore the challenges of a more inclusive professionalism in a highly politicised context of EU austerity policies that hit southern European countries most. We introduce a 'glocalising' approach focusing regional/local developments in nursing in the economically weak region of Murcia/Spain with an overproduction of academic nurses and the industrialised areas of Ruhrgebiet/Germany with growing demand for healthcare professions. Drawing on multi-level governance theory we seek to link institutional/organisational and network-based approaches to explore the contexts of nurse migration in the sending and receiving countries. A case study design is applied comprising document analysis and focus group discussions with nurses in higher education programmes in Spain, and with Spanish nurses in Germany who migrated (after 2008) and are employed in healthcare. Preliminary findings suggest an overall poor integration and strong persisting professional boundaries that lead to inefficient workforce management and new social inequalities within the nursing profession in Germany and the wider European healthcare landscape. Finally, some conclusions are presented on the benefits of a glocalising approach into professional development and the need for more inclusive forms of professionalism and workforce governance.

Recurrent Themes in Research on the International Migration of Health Workers.

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The migration of health workers from developing source countries to developed destination countries, continues to be an issue of global concern, particularly for its links with shortages of health workers and loss of investment, knowledge and skills. An empirical study on the migration of health workers from four representative 'source' countries - South Africa, India, the Philippines and Jamaica - was undertaken to investigate the causes, consequences and policy responses to the migration of health workers. In September 2013, research team members presented their analyses of the literature and empirical data at a public symposium and a pre/post team meeting over three days. Current research foci and policies to manage international migration of health workers predominantly focuses on 'individuals' migration decisions and influences on them. However, the recurrent themes identified across the international research teams include: how 'stepped' or staged migration promotes increased mobility challenging notions of permanent or single destination country migration; the international privatization of health care and re-structuring of internal and external labour markets which constrains government action; the de-

skilling of health workers in destination countries; and the need for a sex and gender analysis of health worker migration. These themes suggest that factors that lie outside the health sector have a critical impact on health worker migration. That is, these themes are largely external to health systems and health systems policy, and located at distal levels, suggesting re-consideration of typical theoretical and policy development related to health worker labour markets.

Exclusionary Inclusion into the Legal Profession: the issues for Legal Education and Training in the UK

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The demographic composition of the legal profession in many jurisdictions has been characterised over the past two decades by the inclusion of historically excluded minoritised groups. However, this inclusion has been largely in subordinate roles, on the basis of facilitating the expansion of legal work and an economic liberalisation which has allowed profit maximisation, thus appearing to vindicate Marxist theories of de-professionalisation. Recently, there has been a further deterioration in the terms on which the profession is using increasing numbers of 'outsider' law graduates, such that they could be described as a 'precariat', subject to less secure contracts and inferior rewards and status.

This situation raises questions for the future of legal education and training, recently subject to a comprehensive review in the United Kingdom. The traditional liberal scholastic education designed for the future elites of the profession holds out false promises to minoritised groups, the majority of whom fail to advance to the vocational stage of legal qualification and on into employment. However one of the alternative routes based on vocational competence could crystallise modes of racial and ethnic exclusion. This paper draws on a Bourdieusian to explore the potential of education in 'sub-terranean' and embodied professional knowledge of how to dress, speak and engage in the legal profession's homosocial rituals, using a recent study of the experiences of law graduates in precarious 'employment' and ongoing research into professional identity. It also uses Devon Carbado's concept of 'racial character' to explore the dilemmas of conformity to hegemonic professionalism.

European Youth Guarantee: challenges and prospects for E.U. cohesion”

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In recent years the European Union has undertaken a multilevel and comprehensive set of actions in order to address the economic consequences of the ongoing global crisis and the rising social confrontations. Strong emphasis has been given to employment and learning because of their crucial role in every development strategy. They also maintain a key position as factors of member states' and individuals' social and economic welfare. In addition, they constitute important parts of EU policies and national practices. In 2013 the European Union introduced the European Youth Guarantee in an effort to react in a proactive way to the socioeconomic implications of the persisting unfavourable conditions in the labour market especially for the younger cohorts of Europeans. This initiative declares the decisiveness of the European Union and national authorities “to ensure that all young people under the age of 25 years receive a good quality offer of employment, continued education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education.” (Council Recommendation of 22.4.2013). First, the paper explores the determinant circumstances which incited such an initiative. Then, it analyses its aims and focuses on the aspired opportunities, the challenges and the prospects of the European Youth Guarantee on both a symbolic and a realistic basis for its stakeholders. The paper also examines the recent developments regarding its implementation especially in member states already engaged in unfavourable socioeconomic conditions. Finally, it highlights certain deficiencies that would potentially hinder its effective implementation.

Distributed papers

When a manager becomes a professional. To make one's jurisdiction recognized by using measuring: the example of diversity management in France

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The advent of managerialism has not only limited professional autonomy, but it has also contributed to a rise of new professionalism. This is the case of diversity managers in big French firms, an example we

propose to look into. This paper is based on an exploratory qualitative research. We propose to analyze how managerial values direct the process of professionalization of new occupational groups and create inequality based on the capacity to make visible their quantitative contribution. Our paper will particularly focus on different ways to use measuring.

Diversity managers use different indicators to make visible their work and their contribution to financial results in order to be recognized as a specific occupational group. Nevertheless, they interfere within an area that it hard to measure. Measuring is a means to make their jurisdiction recognized by other occupational groups within the firm, others managers in particular. The focus on measuring and communication on it substitutes a concrete professional activity. Measuring become a way to pilot, to standardize communication by drawing charts and reducing the complexity of the information. Measuring is used to promote actions to company leaders, but at the end, measuring become their unique activity.

S2 Public Sector Governance and Professionalism: Organizational Practices and Contexts in a Cross-national Perspective

Oral papers

How policies rewrite occupational scripts. The decline of the recognition awarded for care work occupations in the context of a globalizing welfare system

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The current politics of care workforce management, rooted in neoliberal globalization, have particular new features. First, policy makers attentive to the value of market mechanisms frame care as a commodity in the transnational service economy. Second, care worker recruitment is similarly framed as a transnational practice. The resulting new occupational scripts build on the idea of care as standardisable service work. From the perspective of the care workforce the new standardizing scripts structure the content of work. Furthermore, they are linked to new inequalities in the care workforce that are at the same time transnational and locally anchored.

This paper considers the current Finnish policies organizing care work, paying particular attention to the occupational roles assigned to migrant care workers. It employs documentary analysis to consider the globalized dynamics of the management of the care workforce in the context of public policies in the Helsinki metropolitan area. While the numbers of migrant care workers are lower than in many other countries, Finland, with its history as a welfare state of a Nordic type, represents a case where the cultural changes occurring in nursing's social organization are particularly striking. Most saliently, the paper argues, it is evident that the state has withdrawn from its earlier "skilling project". The paper further links policy scripts with the occupational subjectivities of care workers, claiming that care workers encounter such scripts through the way their work is organized as jobs and occupations.

Consented and enforced delegations of tasks. Hospitals and the judiciary in France

Florent Champy, National Centre for Scientific Research, France

Interactionists had highlighted a process of division of labor between occupations, peculiarly in the hospital: the delegations by which doctors were abandoning their less qualified tasks to workers under their authority, as nurses. These delegations were welcomed by everybody, as they contributed to make professional jurisdictions more qualified. In recent years there have been several attempts both in hospitals and in the judiciary in France, to provoke new delegations of tasks from doctors to nurses and from magistrates to clerks. A report to the Minister of Justice proposed to entrust cases for divorce by mutual consent to clerks instead of magistrates. This proposal provoked strong oppositions from magistrates, and was (until now) abandoned. Similarly, a law allows delegations to nurses of tasks normally assigned to doctors. An attempt to apply it in Parisian hospitals provoked the opposition of doctors who invoked the risk it would bring for patients, and more surprisingly of the representatives of nurses.

This presentation will focus on these attempts and the debates they provoked. What conceptions of professionalism and division of labor do such debates reveal? Should we see these attempts as a continuation of the old delegations of tasks, or as something newer? And if so, what is at stake not only for the members of the occupations involved, but also for clients or users of professional services? I will

seek to show that the concept of phronesis, which is used by actors on each side to justify their position, can shed light on big issues of these debates. But a reflection on the relationship between phronesis and division of labor is needed.

NPM reforms and multi-professional teamwork in health care

Helena Serra, New University of Lisbon

This paper concerns multi-professional teamwork in health care in contexts of strong economic and efficiency controls resulting from the New Public Management (NPM) reforms.

Efforts between different health professionals and work groups often result in conflict and tension. Cooperation difficulties are thought to exist and many of this problems are assumed as associated with (but not only) the differences between the several professional self-governance mechanisms involved in the multi-professional teams. Although, as several sociological studies show, most of this conflicts are built from the drawing of boundaries between medical specialties (Serra, 2011) and different health professions.

As teamwork is a network of semi-independent professionals who tend to represent their professional organisations and groups despite sharing a mutual interest in the patients, frontiers between different health professions act, on the one hand, as articulating mechanisms to be found in the division of health work and as barriers to the interaction of the various skills. The argument is that NPM reforms in health care may not have improved the situation. Given these conditions, there is a good reason to understand how cooperation between different health professions is constructed as they work together in the best interest of patients. However, it is also possible that the continued influence of professional self-governance and the increasing strength of management mechanisms will result in new arrangements in terms of professionalism.

Professionalism in Public Employment Service: Job Placement officers between professional and managerial interests

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Due to the transformation of the Public Employment Service from a traditional bureaucratic institution to a managerial service provider an accounting system has been implemented influencing the job-oriented placement activities and the placement professionals. The introduction of controlling, management by objectives, computer-supported placement activities, service orientation, customer segmentation, and action programs are typical features of an administrative managerial organization that follows business routines to increase efficiency and formal rationalization in the era of neo-liberalism. Under the new regime the work of the placement personnel is structured differently: On the one hand the job placement professionals are labour market experts with an extended scope of action. In counselling interviews the job placement officers interact with job seekers and provide advice and monitor the individual behaviour of job seekers. On the other hand all decisions of the placement professionals are checked by a close meshed accounting system and revised if they contradict the organizational business logic. Today, these professionals emerge as „transparent job placement officers“, and their authority and expert status is called into question because of conflicting relations between professional and managerial interests. The placement professionals are exposed to a systematic self-control which assesses the counselling and the placement of job seekers not only by technical and professional criteria, but always by the success of specific strategies along the internal organizational accounting system. The contradictory effects of extensive accounting practices on job-placement officers and the organisation we will show in our paper.

Professional mobility from France to Quebec: understanding the role and pertinence of mutual recognition arrangements

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Mutual recognition arrangements (MRAs) between France and Quebec are governed, in Quebec, by the regulatory bodies that oversee quality of professionals' services. These professional orders have responsibilities over initial certification, skills recognition and ongoing maintenance of benchmark quality standards of professional practice. Once concluded, each MRA has then been implemented through regulations that define eligibility and specific scenarios of complementary training and/or successful

examination. Therefore, professional orders navigate between legal obligations linked to public protection and political and economic pressures to promote transnational mobility.

We will discuss here results from case studies among engineers, lawyers, doctors, nurses and pharmacists. Various factors contribute to shape the course of entry into regulated professions by French immigrants in Quebec. Namely, local job market has various attractive or repulsive aspects, linked to each profession's comparative practice and treatment in France and Quebec. MRAs are used for various reasons, relating to each profession's differing characteristics in France and Quebec: work contract, mobility, transnational opportunities, etc. French professionals in Quebec face new ideas and activities inside their profession, as well as propose changes in their profession's practice and professionalism in the host society. During the study, we observed various trends of professional development initiated by these new arriving professionals (e.g. new professional associations, social media, and perception of the profession). Analysis leads to comment on key aspects of the governance of these MRAs, through their design and implementation: pertinence, awareness of practical conditions, and role among professionals through the host society's perspective.

Bureaucracy, 'post-bureaucracy' and the Portuguese academics, doctors and nurses professionalism in the higher education and health reforms context

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which Portuguese academics, doctors and nurses have or not replaced the bureaucratic style by the 'post-bureaucratic' style of management as a 'guideline' to orient their organizational and professional responses to their institutions managerial pressures. In public hospitals and HEIs a singular form of bureaucracy – the bureaucratic-professional regime - legitimized these three professional groups to construct their professional project grounded on a relatively autonomy to define 'what', 'why' and 'how' the professional work have to be done. Considering the past and a half decade of health and HE NPM-lead 'post-bureaucratic' reforms it became relevant to analyze if these three professional groups are continuing to be important 'players' and co-producers of the 'rules' shaping organizational decision-making and work conditions. The study is based on empirical data gathered from a national survey (n=445) and semi-structured follow-up interviews (n=55) performed with units directors and chief-nurses in charge of the units management in hospitals and HE public institutions. Findings reveal that the majority of the surveyed professionals appreciate more the 'bureaucratic' and 'rule-driven' style than a 'post-bureaucratic' style of management. However, although less expressive, some findings reveal also leanings for competitive and entrepreneurial mindings on the way the units have to work and the professional roles developed. For further studies in the field, it became important to analyze if dynamics of hybridization are effectively in the ground and how they can be characterized in order to improve our understanding on contemporary professionalism.

The student as 'consumer': How student satisfaction data is changing the face of professionalism in English Higher Education

Jo Frankham, Liverpool John Moores University

This paper reports on the effects of the National Student Survey (NSS) on professionalism in Higher Education (HE) in England. The NSS is part of a wider culture of audit of public services in the UK (and internationally) where measurement of what academics do is taking precedence over professional autonomy. This is reflected in an increasing number of local, national and international league tables, the marketisation of HE and in the 'transformation' of students into consumers.

The paper draws on 40 interviews with members of staff in which they describe the details of their working lives in respect of the effects of the NSS. These details include changes in academic practices, student/lecturer relationships and institutional practices and relationships (both with managers and with colleagues). The survey fits into a wider culture of the transformation of students into 'consumers' and this market related 'attitude' plays out in students' interactions with lecturers and in managerial responses to the outcomes of the survey. The paper traces how this fits into a wider set of moves in the New Public Management of Higher Education and neoliberalism. It is clear that professionals within HE in England are being persuaded or compelled to re/organize their work in response to short term aims and outcomes. The paper also describes forms of competitive individualism that are promoted via these forms of audit and how this individualism contributes to the de/professionalization of work in Higher Education. The paper also describes the difficulties associated with legitimate contestation of the systems in place and

how this 'contraction' of the possibilities of debate and critique are also changing the nature of professionalism in HE in England.

Collective forms of user participation in a healthcare system: a countervailing power for professionals? The case of the Joint Committees in the Italian NHS

Stefano Neri, Università degli Studi di Milano

Following 1992 national legislation, ten out of twenty Italian Regions created NHS joint Committees at organizational and, in some cases, also at regional level including staff (doctors and nurses) and user representatives (who are the majority of the members). The Joint Committees have consultative and decisional powers in issues related to monitoring and evaluating service access and quality. In the governance of the "managerialised" NHS, they are meant to be a part of a strategy intended to downsize professional dominance by means of countervailing powers such as managers and users. The paper focuses on the experience of the Emilia-Romagna Region, analyzing the activity of the Regional Joint Committee and the case of the Imola Local Health Authority (LHA), near Bologna. As emerged from interviews and examined documents, while Regional managers progressively strengthened the power of the Joint Committees and their potential impact on the NHS organisations, this did not bring users representatives to challenge professional power. On the contrary, most of the users representatives in the Committees do not consider themselves a counterpart of the professionals, actively cooperate with them and tend to set aside users representatives with a more confrontational attitude. As explained in the last part of the paper, possible explanations for this result have to do with the role of the Committees in the internal governance of the healthcare organisations, with the way users representatives are selected and also with cultural reasons.

Positioning of head nurses in the 'management' of well-being at work: A case study from a Finnish public sector hospital organization

Sara Lindström, Aalto University & Finnish Institute of Occupational Health

Since the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) in public health care, nurse managers occupy a professional role strained by simultaneous effectiveness and patient care demands. Recently, a policy agenda of enhancing well-being at work has entered the Finnish public sector, facing nurse managers with new demands, this time in order to support and manage the well-being of employees.

In this paper, I analyse how this agenda of well-being at work is reflected and constructed in head nurse work in a public sector hospital context. Particularly, I address how and why head nurses construct certain subject positions i.e. connected responsibilities and practices for themselves as supervisors within this agenda. As a result, I identify three variations of positioning for head nurses: caring, empowerment and control. Furthermore, the identified head nurse positions simultaneously reflect and construct certain subject positions for hospital employees, namely, passivity, individuality, and irrationality.

I suggest that the identified positions of caring, empowerment and control in the management of well-being at work reflect a combination of two predominant tensions in the Finnish public sector context. Firstly, the schism between traditional hierarchy and empowered individualism in public hospital settings, and, secondly, the clash between traditional professional nursing ideals of caring and NPM-related values of effectiveness.

This case study is based on qualitative data from one Finnish public health care organization: interviews with ten head nurses, personnel documents and personnel magazines. The materials are analysed through a theoretical lens of discursive role and identity theory.

The Activating Profession. Coaching and Coercing in the Welfare Services

Anniken Hagelund, Institute for social research

Recent welfare policy reforms have changed both governance structures and the nature of professional work in the Norwegian welfare state. In this paper I primarily draw on fieldwork data from two local welfare service offices, conducted a few years after the implementation of the wide-ranging NAV-reform that merged social assistance, social security and employment services into one organisation. The organisational NAV-reform was partly motivated by an ambition of making activation policies more efficient, as well as easing clients' interactions with public welfare services. The reform has transformed the nature of professional work in social services. Diverse professional traditions are merged into the

same organisation, and new professional roles are emerging. In this paper I analyse the emergence of an activating profession. Officials from various backgrounds are now employed with the task of bringing people with health problems into the labour market. They are taking new tools of governance into use. Some are formally required, such as structured work ability assessments and activity plans. Others can be rather be understood as new professional ideals and discourses, such as coaching techniques. Starting from the observation of street level practices and discourses, this is used as a vantage point to address new forms of public sector governance in the age of activation.

Distributed papers

The Boundaries of Professional Consent: The Case of the Regulation of Medical General Practitioners in Ireland

John Geary, University College Dublin

In Ireland, the governance of medical general practitioners (GPs) has become increasingly problematic. GPs occupy an anomalous category of employment. Under competition law they are self-employed and, as such, are required not to prevent or distort competition. Most GPs treat private and public patients. Treatment of the latter is paid for by the state on the basis of it awarding contracts of service to GPs. The terms and conditions of such contracts suggest that the status of the GP approximates to that of an employee and has implicitly been assumed to be such for many decades to the extent that the State has consulted and negotiated with the GPs' trade union, the Irish Medical Organization (IMO).

However, in recent years resistance by the State's Competition Authority (CA) to such collective representation – on the basis that it infringes both national and European competition law – has resulted in legal proceedings being taken against the IMO. The consequence of such legal action, which ostensibly has been to clarify and render unambiguous the contractual and employment status of GPs, and that too of the role of the IMO, has given rise to much confusion and conflict both within and between doctors and the State and its agencies (i.e. the CA and the Health Service Executive (HSE)).

In the midst of such conflict, the question of the negotiation of consent in a context of confused modes of public sector governance looms large. This paper draws on literatures from the sociology of work and professional work and industrial relations to consider the negotiation of consent in a context where a group of professional workers query the legal injunction that they not be treated as employees and that their union is not to negotiate on their behalf. The State, on the other hand, is caught in a bind. One of its agencies – the HSE – is compelled to win over GPs' cooperation in the delivery of health services and ostensibly sees merit in consulting with their union, but another of its agencies (the CA) seeks to reprimand any such consultations which might amount to collective negotiations and the infringement of contract law. The paper considers how such contradictions and ambiguities are resolved and with what implications for the organization of medical professionals' work.

The interiorization of medical professionalism and the Brazilian modernization: a case study of medical professionalization in the city of São Carlos

Fabio De Oliveira Almeida, Universidade Federal de São Carlos (FAPESP/CAPES), Brazil and University of Lincoln

This paper presents ongoing doctoral research which offers an analysis of the Brazilian medical profession in the broad context of the comparative-historical debate in the Sociology of Professions. The analysis investigates, from 1889 to 1945, the relationship between doctors and the political environment of the state of São Paulo (Brazil), focusing on the particular context of the city of São Carlos, where social and political changes arose through the interiorization of urban and industrial development and Brazilian state-building. On the other hand, different institutions of medical professionalism (Freidson, 2001) emerged in the state of São Paulo enabling the improvement of the local medical group. The professionalization process of medical practice in São Carlos was conditioned by the broad modernization of the municipality as well as other developments in local healthcare. These social and institutional improvements have stretched the professional autonomy (Freidson, 2001) of the medical group of São Carlos. The research is based on document analysis and oral history, and includes data from 1889 to 1945 from a local newspaper (Correio de São Carlos) and a São Paulo medical journal (Boleim da Sociedade de Medicina e Cirurgia de São Paulo). In addition, there are data from fifteen interviews with doctors and citizens connected to the health system of São Carlos.

At the beginning of the Brazilian Republic (1889), São Carlos was characterized by the national political phenomena of coronelismo (Carvalho, 1997). This analytical concept expresses the complex structure of power established from the municipal political level to the national government, which was dominated, at the local level, by the leadership of the “coronels”. A coronel was a local powerful political leader who was usually a landowner (Leal, 1975; Queiroz, 1975). This designation was related to a prominent position in the National Guard of Brazil, which act as a civil Army at the beginning of the Brazilian history. Since the creation of the Republic, the National Guard was not as strong as it used to be, but the local powerful leaders in the interior of Brazil continued to be identified by the same concept. In this respect, the present paper discusses the sociological category of “local power” – which is related, in the Brazilian academic debate, to the social, political and economic dynamics of the municipal level of government (Carvalho, 1997). Usually the Brazilian sociological literature identifies local power as if it was dominated by personalized types of relationship, which are frequently interpreted as based on some kind of family system of relationship. Even when family’s power is not explicitly emphasized, it is interpreted by the analytical category of oligarchy, so that other social factors and actors are not considered by these perspectives. But, as Kerbauy (2000) suggests, this research evidences that this is a simplification of the complexity of the transformation that shaped the hinterland of Brazil because of urbanization and industrialization. In consequence of this process, the family and family based social structure became politically less important for the configuration of local power with the emergence of new social actors, as from the medical profession, which increased its political influence over different localities: this was the case in São Carlos, where the twentieth century witnessed a transition from a rural society to an urbanized and industrialized social structure.

In effect, the interiorization of political and economic development (Kerbauy, 2000) interferred with the social stratification of São Carlos, producing a political atmosphere that enabled the parallel influence of the process of interiorization of professionalism. Both social processes are analyzed here as long duration processes (Elias, 2002). They have influenced each other (Weber, 1983) and the wider modernization of São Carlos, so that in the beginning of the Brazilian Republic, the urban environment, the industries, the population and the medical group interacted with each other and improved relatively together. The interiorization of the development strongly affected the state of São Paulo (Kerbauy, 2000). In this context, the city of São Carlos symbolizes an interesting sociological reality because of its historical development, which was similar to the broad pattern of other regions in the interior of São Paulo (Truzzi, 2007), and enables us to verify how economic and political development interacts with professionalism in the modernization of Brazil.

On the other hand, the healthcare institutions (Machado, 2007) and local medical practice have improved during the republic. These social mechanisms of change have influenced the social and political status of medicine in São Carlos, so that this investigation focuses on medical professionalization and its connection to these wider social processes. Different institutions of medical professionalism (such as new faculties and medical associations) arose in the state of São Paulo at the beginning of the twentieth century, facilitating the empowerment of the local medical group. In sum, the professionalization process of medical practice in São Carlos was conditioned by the broad modernization of the municipality as well as by other developments in the health area, strengthening the professional autonomy of medicine in São Carlos.

Professionalism and managerialism in Italian welfare organisations: managerial typologies in public administrations and third sector organisations

Maria Pia Castro and M. Teresa Consoili, Università di Catania

Professions analysis is usually considered an important perspective to understand the development directions of contemporary western societies. The organisation has often been regarded as key-variable to observe the inter-professional dynamics within a specific structured context. Public institutional set-ups seem nowadays favouring the development of a so-called “organizational” professionalism, characterized by bureaucratic practices, planning and standardization of working processes, in contrast to the (traditional) “occupational” professionalism.

In Italy, current links among institutional aims, organizational constraints and professional services is determining the development of a managerial jurisdiction that, within the social field, isn’t still too stabilized to be formalized in a recognized and shared social manager profile. The legal and procedural framework increasingly detailed and oriented to guarantee transparency and citizens participation, the

considerable contraction of financial resources that makes necessary a more efficient management and new funding channels, the key-role assigned to the local public authorities in planning social policies and the growing importance of third sector, the main interlocutor of public actor and increasingly opened to the market, are producing the development of various managerial types, with different consequences on organizational dynamics and on results of social interventions.

We have realized a series of semi-structured interviews to managers of local public administrations and third sector organizations, to understand knowledges, work practices, criteria for decisions and competences they exercise, and to define managerial typologies in the link between "organizational-bureaucratic" and "professional" elements, that affects on responsibility with which who manages welfare organizations nowadays interprets its own role.

S3 The Role of Knowledge in Professional Development

Oral papers

Knowledge, politics and medical professionalization: The case of Britain and the United States

Mike Saks, University Campus Suffolk

Knowledge has long been seen as a key driver of professionalization in terms of the establishment and maintenance of professional monopolies in the market. However, from a neo-Weberian perspective, the comparative analysis of medicine in Britain and the United States highlights that the situation is more complex than this. Although the increasingly globalized, inter-connected knowledge base in medicine has developed in similar ways in the Anglo-American context from the nineteenth century to the present day and a legally bounded medical profession centred on accreditation exists in both societies, the timing and nature of exclusionary social closure has significantly diverged. This is highlighted by the fact that the initial professionalization of medicine occurred fifty years earlier in Britain. It was also established on a more centralized rather than devolved state-by-state basis as in the United States. The American medical monopoly too was based on a de jure rather than de facto model as compared to Britain. Moreover, in recent years, a greater degree of deprofessionalization of medicine has occurred in the more marketized environment of the United States with growing corporatization, in contrast to Britain where professional re-stratification and consolidation has taken place despite state efforts to diminish self-regulatory medical powers. This underlines that, while the development of medical knowledge has been a sine qua non in attaining and perpetuating exclusionary social closure in medicine in these two neo-liberal societies, national political contexts – along with professional interest-based strategies – have also been fundamental in shaping the form that medical professionalization has taken.

Two faces of the same coin? The role of academic training in the identity of nutritionists and dietitians

Sonia Cardoso, A3ES - Agência de Avaliação e Acreditação e Ensino Superior, Ana Caeiro, CIPES and Pedro Teixeira, FEP & CIPES - University of Aveiro

Two distinct professional groups emerged in Portugal, in the mid-twentieth century, as a result both of the development of specialized knowledge within the field of health promotion through food and of the academic certification of this knowledge in the two existent higher education sub-systems (university and polytechnic). Although both groups – nutritionists and dietitians – apparently result from distinct professionalization processes and hold specific professional identities, their circumscription to that same field of knowledge and activity assigns them with many similarities. This raises questions about the real differences existing between the two groups: are these differences 'real', routed in different academic training and competencies, or 'artificial', resulting from the symbolic attempt of each group to assert itself over the other? Trying to answer this question the paper empirically draws upon an analysis of the study plans and competencies conveyed by a sample of 1st cycle study programmes in nutrition and in dietetics, offered by public and private Portuguese universities and polytechnics. Findings evidence that although seeking to provide future graduates and, thus, professionals with different knowledge, skills and career opportunities, nutrition and dietetics reveal a close proximity or, even, an overlap at all these levels. So, nutritionists and dietitians end up oriented towards very similar (if not identical) tasks within the social organisation of work. This suggests that training within these two areas presents limits as an

element of the identity definition of the two professional groups it intends to legitimize. Therefore, the differences between them seem more 'rhetorical' than 'real'.

Professionalization or academic drift?

Jens-Christian Smeby, Oslo University College and Akerhus University College of Applied Science

During the past 40 to 50 years, upgrading of vocational programmes into higher education has taken place in most countries. Focusing primarily on teaching, nursing and social work education this paper explores whether these changes are characterised a professionalisation process facing an increased need for theoretical and research-based knowledge within these occupational fields or rather as an academic drift implying that these programmes have become less relevant to the respective occupations and tasks. The terms academicisation and academic drift have also been used in a more critical sense, however, to describe the tendency of colleges, as well as of faculty members within these institutions, to adopt traditional academic values and to conduct research so as to enhance their reputation and status. The aim of this paper is to explore some general development trends and challenges addressed in the literature. I endeavour to answer the following questions: What is currently considered to be the key challenges within teacher, nursing and social work education programmes? Are the policy initiatives and arguments from the researchers within these fields mainly intended to stop or reverse an academic drift or to develop further the academic basis of the curricula? Is the relevance of these programmes an issue? Results indicate that policy document as well as researchers within these field hardly question the academisation trend; they rather suggests that the professional knowledge base as well as the capacity for practical problem-solving need to be further developed.

From "Semiprofession" to Prototype? Social work as a referential model for the reframing of professional work in changing public services

Urban Nothdurfter and Sabina Frei, Libera Università di Bolzano

Public service professionals have been increasingly under pressure due to managerialist reforms and shifting control logics but also by informed and demanding citizens who challenge professional authority and claim participation in the processes of needs definition and decision making.

The contribution deals with these challenges from a social work perspective highlighting a notion of professionalism which is based on the negotiation between private and public needs, interests and responsibilities as well as on the acknowledgement of the multiple sources of relevant knowledge in the definition of responses and services.

The history of professional social work has been characterized by continuous struggles with the idea of professional expertise and the impossibility of drawing clear professional boundaries. This has been interpreted often as lacking professionalisation and as difficulty of social work to emancipate itself from a pre- or semiprofessional status. It is argued, however, that precisely this openness of social work has given rise to develop an understanding of professionalism which allows for the permeability of professional boundaries, reflexive and cooperative modes of knowledge production and the participatory nature of change.

This idea of professionalism might be useful as a referential model for the reframing of professional work in public services. Rather than demarcating boundaries and exclusive bodies of knowledge and skills, such an understanding recognises the expertise and agency of both public service professionals and service users and allows for critically challenging issues of knowledge and power. In this sense, it offers democratic potential for promoting participatory processes and a shared commitment to the value of the public good.

Researcher's competencies for future knowledge-intensive labour market

Natalia Shmatko, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

The paper analyzes the necessity and sufficiency of researchers' and engineers' competencies in the area of science and technology given the oncoming technological changes. The analysis is based on the evidences collected during two empirical studies conducted in 2010-2013 in the framework of the international project "Careers of Doctorate Holders" (under the auspices of OECD, Eurostat and UNESCO Institute for Statistics). A study among PhD holders employed in research institutes, universities, and enterprises was carried out. Thirty in-depth interviews with the experts who represent the most promising

areas of science and technology development in Russia – nanotechnology, biotechnology and power engineering sectors – were conducted.

The results from quantitative and qualitative analyses allow drawing a conclusion that in the next 10-15 years in both traditional and innovative industry sectors, the role of the professional upgrading and retraining will seriously grow. Out of all current researchers' and engineer's competencies, it is fundamental theoretical knowledge, the ability to work on projects, teamwork and creativity that will be in demand rather than highly-specialized skills. Many of the researchers' competencies that seem to be of very little value at present will be crucial in the medium- and long-run, according to the expert opinion. First and foremost, it concerns the ability to apply knowledge to identify and solve engineering problems, the ability to work in an interdisciplinary environment, the ability to improvise, and project management skills. They will have to respond to the demands of the areas involved in knowledge-intensive production.

Agents of control in Russian university and performance faculty

Anna Panova, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

Nowadays Russian higher education system is changing and facing new challenges. The government is interested in raising the quality of academic work. Of course, it is essential to understand what the academic work means and how to control it. The main problem lies in the fact that the academic activities are difficult to evaluate by inputs and outputs. A credible estimation of activity can be done only by a person with the appropriate knowledge. The market mechanism does not work for the estimation of the academic activity. Therefore the internal control is especially important since professors have superior knowledge and can measure better the quality of faculty. One should not forget that academic freedom plays important. Academic work requires a high degree of independence. The control should not infringe upon the rights of professors. We investigate the following question: "What types of control over faculty are prevailing and how do they affect faculty performance?" We used data from a survey of Russian faculty. This survey was conducted using methodology of the project CAP. The sample includes 1623 persons from 25 higher education institutions.

Our data shows that in Russian universities agents associated with the department perform control most often. The following factors affect the system of control: the status of the university where the professor works, and the fact that he works at the university from which he graduated. Departmental control and managerial control don't affect publication activity. In its turn a higher level of academic control has an effect.

Knowing 'that' vs. Knowing 'how'? Academic drift and the reform of higher music education in Italy

Clementina Casula, Università di Cagliari

Professional work is strictly linked with the possession of a specific body of knowledge, usually certified by legitimated cultural institutions. Within the musical field, Conservatories of Music are one of the most established institutions: created in Italy in the XVI century as religious institutes for the vocational training of foundlings, they soon reached a high reputation and served as model for professional musicians' education worldwide. At the end of the 1990s a national law (n.508/1999) inserts Italian Conservatories, as other applied arts recognised institutes, within the tertiary level of the national education system, until then exclusive dominion of the academia. The paper argues that this formal upgrade discloses in practice a delegitimisation of vocational music education and teaching, unrespectful of the specificities of musical professionalism. The results of an empirical research (using a neo-institutional approach and a mixed method) show that the reform launched isomorphic processes informed by an 'academic drift' applying to the field of higher music education criteria and rules, as well as rhetoric and ceremonies, of the current Italian university system. The paper illustrates how the redefinition of the former field according to features of the latter (matching its idealistic legacy - ranking propositional over practical knowledge – with new managerial models aiming for a standardised educational market) has deeply affected professional and personal identities of Conservatories' teachers and students, forced to redefine their position according to dominant models of work and education, despite their inconsistency with the specific requirements of the musical field.

The non profit sector higher education as agent of professionalisation of civil sector? Case study

Magdalena Stovickova, Charles University

Professionalization of nonprofit sector is one from three important developments of nonprofit sector. Salamon (2005) documents the process of professionalization in the rise of fund-raising as a specialized profession, the rise of infrastructure organizations and last but not least the existence of specialized research and educational institutions.

The paper focus on understand the role of development of higher education institution in process of professionalization in the case of the growth of nonprofit sector higher education in the United States and Central Europe.

In the United States, from the mid-1990s a great increase in the number of nonprofit education programs has been reported. The growth in the number of educational and training programs, (offered mostly by universities) both preparing professionals for career in the civil society organizations, has been influenced by the fast expansion of civil society organizations in USA.

On the other hand, in the Central Europe civil society leaders supported in the 1990s the idea of higher education on the nonprofit sector as a way to legitimize and support the sector. The higher education would give the sector a social prestige.

While in the United States the establishment of educational programs was carried forward by growth and professionalization of the nonprofit sector, in the Central Europe the growth and professionalization of the nonprofit sector was in part to be carried forward by the establishment of higher educational programs.

New divisions of labour and professional knowledge and learning

Peter Sanderson, University of Huddersfield

It has become a common theme of research into professional learning that, whereas the academic stage of professional accreditation frames knowledge as an individualised, cognitively grounded phenomenon, professional learning in the workplace is co-participatory, and professional knowledge is distributed and enacted through complex webs and networks within and between organizations and civic society/Ferwick, Nerland & Jensen, 2012; Gherardi and Starti, 2012). This paper explores the implications of this understanding of professional knowledge and learning in the light of the tectonic shifts in the division of labour identified by Glucksmann (2009) which have involved not only the re-distribution of tasks between professional workers functionally differentiated by job title, by level and by sectoral affiliation, but also between private, public and third sector, and finally between producer and consumer. These transformations in the world of professional work produce shifts in professional learning and in the character of what is seen as professional knowledge.

The paper exemplifies these processes through an exploration of the field of legal advice in the UK, drawing on a number of research projects conducted over the last decade. Changes in the scope and governance of legal aid provision during this period have resulted in shifts in what counted as legitimate professional knowledge and the means by which it was acquired. The paper traces the way in which public policy and the development of performance audit and compliance systems also helped to build up and then dismantle professional learning networks in both private firm and the third or voluntary sector.

The role of knowledge for Russian Early Educators' Professional development

Valery Mansurov and Olesya Yurchenko, Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science

Early childhood education is arguably becoming, or seems likely to become, a profession. Preschool education may be defined as a 'semi-profession', as it does not correspond to an ideal type of classic professions. We use the concept of semi-profession in a value-neutral manner. Russian preschool educators can be defined as a 'semi-profession' in the sense that their practice is built on a less developed body of knowledge and skills. Its members have a lower status than those in the socially idealised professions. They have a shorter training period and a lower level of social acceptance and autonomy. The situation was quite different during the Soviet period; when preschool educators enjoyed complete responsibility for bringing up and teaching children. Their knowledge-base was understood as being scientifically grounded, ideologically complete, and endorsed by the state. Soviet preschool educators actually monopolised the function of education and upbringing, sometimes displacing the family. With the economic and political reforms introduced in the late 1990s, the social standing of preschool educators started to decline. This negative tendency continues to this day, although the state tries to stimulate early educators' professionalism through the imposed changes in the knowledge-base of the profession. Data for the paper comes from two sources: (1) the historical analysis of preschool educators in Russia, (2) from the quantitative survey undertook in four large Russian cities in 2014. The

research shows a crucial social role of the changes in the knowledge-base for the professional development of Russian early educators.

S4 Professions and Environmental Challenges: Re-configuring Skills beyond Professional Fields and Boundaries

Oral papers

The social dimension of green jobs

Ilaria Beretta, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Documents from the most important international and European institutions look at the 'green economy' as a way to achieve sustainable development (i.e. EEA, 2014). But can we be sure that green economy leads to sustainable development?

Green jobs play a major role in making the green economy operational. Recent data in this respect are exciting: In Italy, for example, in 2013, the share of green jobs with respect to total jobs reached its highest ever figure - 12.7%. Since 2008, 328,000 companies belonging to the industrial and services sectors (not counting agriculture) have invested or are investing in green technology: equivalent to 22% of all national companies (Fondazione Symbola - Unioncamere, 2013).

Despite such positive figures, we know there are still problems as regards the definition and calculation of green jobs: different institutions give different definitions (i.e. EEA, 2014; Zoboli, 2011).

Among these, strangely enough, ILO defines 'green jobs' as 'decent jobs', explaining that 'green economy is an economy that values nature and people and creates decent, well-paid jobs (Unep, Ilo, Ioe, Ituc, Green Jobs Initiative, Worldwatch Institute, 2008).

Is a cultural shift currently under way toward a more encompassing meaning of the word 'green'? Are the social and economic dimensions of sustainable development more and more included in the environmental dimension?

This paper shows recent European and national data about the green economy and green jobs, and tries to understand whether the direction followed by International Institutions, which are wagering on the green economy and green jobs, may really represent a step towards sustainable development.

Photovoltaic sector as an evolutionary field of action. The nature, role and evolution of professions in the organizational field

Gabriele Biasutty, Università degli studi di Trieste

The paper analyses the nature, role and evolution of professions in the solar photovoltaic sector (PV).

PV has grown dramatically over the recent years. The global cumulative power installed is approaching a quota of 150 GW in 2013. About 40 GW were installed during the same year. Nevertheless, the growth capacity of this market is rapidly slowing down in European countries, while it is acquiring additional dynamics in some extra-European countries. As the PV is a policy-driven market, the deep up and down trends are largely due to the change of political support for PV.

Many studies on this phenomenon have evolved within an economic and technical analytical framework. The rational choice theory is the reference paradigm. Individual and collective actors are considered as acting with a full rational logic and in an atomistic action context.

This analytical framework seems to have a limited interpretative capacity, since PV is a field of action characterized by a very high level of complexity and uncertainty. So the institutional context inevitably influences the different kind of social actors involved (consumers, producers, sellers, technicians, installers, etc.). In fact, their choices and behaviour are strongly shaped by beliefs (for instance, about the future state of the world), logic of action and practical rules that they pick up from the social environment.

The paper tries to study the PV as an evolutionary field of action within the theoretical framework of the new organizational institutionalism, studying in particular the key role and viewpoint of professions involved, particularly those which are in the organizational field with a intermediary function (experts, mediators, technicians, sellers, etc.).

Epistemic authority and hybridising practices. Forest consultant's handling of uncertainties in the shadow of climate change

Rolf Lidskog and Erik Löfmarck, Örebro University

This paper focusses on how a specific category of experts – forest professionals – handle uncertainties in their counselling activities. The empirical material consists of an interview study (conducted autumn 2014) with 20 forest consultant employed by the National Forest Agency. This profession has a central role in Swedish forest policy, because the Swedish forest management system relies rather heavily on social norms and knowledge distribution to shape forest owners' actions. In particular, two areas of counselling activities attached with great uncertainties are analyzed: i) advices on how a future climate change may affect forestry and how to minimize the forest's vulnerability for climate change; ii) advices concerning how to consider biodiversity in forestry. Guiding research questions are: how do forest consultants develop advices in cases of great knowledge uncertainties? How do they maintain and develop epistemic authority in their counselling activities? The analysis shows how the forest consultants navigate between abstract theoretical knowledge and practical embodied knowledge in order to uphold their epistemic authority towards the forest owners. Furthermore, it is found that even if this strategy is successful in terms of enabling counselling in a context of uncertainty, it may put the consultant in a fragile position. If the advice given is not fully anchored in the forest consultants own values, knowledge and experience it may result in ambivalence and in the long-term also threat towards their epistemic authority.

From professionalisation to precarisation – evidence from 18 EU countries

Samo Pavlin, University of Ljubljana

The impact of economic and social crisis to employment and employability can be observed via various measures. This paper goes beyond formal aspects of (un)employment and looks into the nature of professional work and selected practices of working conditions. It looks how learning and work generates the »precarious« competencies such as for example an ability to work well under stress, time management, ability to assert authority, as well as requirements of (un)paid average overtime work, requirements to work in the areas outside formal work requirements, etc.. Paper tries to explain what are the consequences for selected dimensions of career success such as satisfaction with work, work-family balance, professional development and skill-job match. Described trends will be studied among professionals (SCO2) and managers (SCO1), as we assume the level and nature of acquired generic competences is more complex as in the case of other occupational groups. The results of the paper are based on two international graduate surveys from the REFLEX and HEGESCO projects: these two surveys were conducted in the period between 2005 and 2009 and included over 45,000 graduates five years after graduation from 18 (mainly European) countries. Implications of the paper are relevant for explaining the changing context of professional work, professional training, conceptualisation of professionalism, and in particular the trade-off between academic and theoretical knowledge. This is linked back to acquired competencies and the role they present for 'new' job requirements, labour market segmentation, and determinants of graduates' career success. Hence, 'new' professionals usually relate to the paradoxes and causalities of individual capabilities versus actual registered employment, skill shortages and skill surpluses and individual factors versus personal circumstances.

"I can really see the two things together". Knowledge on the move between conventional and alternative knowledge in TNUDA

Liat Milidwinsky, Ben Gurion University

This paper is based on my PhD study, part of a research project funded by the Israeli Environment and Health Fund (EHF), dealing with Formation of Environmental Health Policy in a Contested Science Environment . This paper interest is in the tension between different types of knowledge and specifically in the expectations from the new Israeli knowledge center regarding the location of the knowledge on cellular non-ionizing radiation between the various types of knowledge.

At the beginning of 2013 the Ministry of Environmental Protection and the Ministry of Science and technology announced that "The center will also serve the research community (both in academia and in the industry) and provide the unique infrastructure required for studies in this area. The general public will be served by a call center, a website with a Q&A database and references to sources of additional information, as well as periodic newsletters. The knowledge center will include two units. The Information Unit that will consolidate state-of-the-art scientific data on the effects of this radiation on human health; health recommendations, legislation and policymaking; and sources of exposure and evaluation of

exposure levels. Subsequently, the center will also be required to establish the Basic Research Unit for epidemiological studies and risk estimates that will complement their findings."

The case study of the establishment of a Knowledge and Information research Center on Non-Ionizing Radiation in Israel offers a fertile ground for exploring the negotiation of boundaries between expert knowledge of the research community versus the knowledge of the general public and Representatives of the general public that hold alternative expert knowledge about the health, environmental, security and social risks presented by non-ionizing radiation from cellular phones. I find this case study particularly interesting because while uncertainty is perceived as characterizing alternative knowledge, this issue actually challenges expert knowledge. Accordingly, the question is how to deal with the tensions between the various kinds of knowledge and the uncertainty regarding non-ionizing radiation in particular in the knowledge center's conceptualization.

Scientific knowledge of the research community is What is known to individuals by virtue of their training, experience and technical practice. Alternative knowledge is defined here as the local knowledge of the general public and the knowledge of civil society representatives, such as environmentalists, which is not strictly scientific and contradict the scientific knowledge. Non-ionizing radiation is defined as Any type of electromagnetic radiation that does not carry enough energy per quantum to ionize atoms or molecules.

Both agencies with alternative knowledge and agencies with expert knowledge operate in the cellular non-ionizing radiation field. This paper is interested in How is the knowledge center expected by those agencies with the different types of knowledge to conduct boundary-work, and how does this expectation challenge expert knowledge?

To answer this questions, I am Linking Gieryn's boundary-work strategies with Beck's transformation as a strategy of health hazard-related boundary-work between expert and alternative knowledge. Also I try to understand in what way the research center is an example of the "sandwich effect". In other word, in what way is the research center is boundary organization that the different agencies expecting to have. Also, in what way they expect it to be part of expert and alternative knowledge and not to belong to any type of knowledge.

To examine this question, I used qualitative methods, including semi-structured in-depth interviews in the academic and political arena, involving key players from various knowledge areas in Israel. I also collected and analyzed documents from Knesset assembly and committee hearings, regulations and proceedings in ministerial protocols and expert committee reports in Israel. All the interviews conducted in the time before the joint announcement and the budget approval from the steering comity of the research center. At that time the center did not have "a call center, a website ... as well as periodic newsletters". That is to say, all the interviewer were talking about the expectation from the center that did not existed visibly yet in the eye of the general public, reprehensive of the general public and in the research community.

The finding shows that those supporting the establishment of the knowledge expect the center to use two main strategies for bridging potential gaps between scientific and alternative knowledge. One strategy is by referring to dimension of times. In the present, they expect from the center to denial the boundary; The assumption being that the knowledge center operates now in a situation where there is no boundary between expert and alternative knowledge, since both types are uncertain. In the future, the center expected to separate and reinforce the expert knowledge and then it could be potential conflict between both types of knowledge. In the future, the expectation is that expert knowledge will be certain. The center as an expert knowledge will find the risk of non-ionizing radiation, The same as the researches findd the risks in the Cigarette case study.

The second strategy is like a bear hug : At the epistemological-cognitive level, boundaries are expected to be open: the knowledge center is expected to represent expert knowledge that is open, flexible and attentive to alternative knowledge, and to a certain extent not exclude alternative knowledge, but be attentive to and affected by it. However, on the practical level, it is expected to represent expert knowledge with closed boundaries, reinforcing and maintaining scientific knowledge high status in its daily work. It is expected from the center to educate the alternative knowledge.

The findings show that even given the potential for conflict between various types of knowledge, it seems that in practice, those supporting the establishment of the knowledge center use boundary-work to bridge the tension between the various knowledge types. The supporters view the center as representing one health talk. At the same time, they view it as redefining the boundaries of local and universal, cosmopolitan and activist, rational, abstract, elitist and democratic knowledge. The knowledge center is

perceived as able to dispel uncertainty and crystallize alternative knowledge, while tearing down the dichotomy between scientists and decision makers.

S5 Professionals and Citizen Relations

Oral papers

What lay participation does on professional judges: A comparative approach in France and Italy

Anne Jolivet, Université Paris Descartes

The mixed court as an institution is emblematic of a complex work relationship between professionals and citizens within the judiciary institution. A socio-anthropological study (in situ observations, interviews) of the relationships between jurors and judges in France and Italy can reveal the nature of the links created between the different actors when lay jurors participate in criminal court.

Our objective is to show the ways in which a study of the judge-jury relationship in terms of reciprocal gift-giving can reveal a possible opening up of this institution and its actors to a profession plus-value in the form of recognition. While the benefits of this experience are often examined from the jurors' point of view, our aim here is to highlight the position and attitude of French and Italian judges toward the citizens who participate temporarily in the exercise of criminal justice. First, we will analyze the history of this occasionally contentious relationship between the judges and the jurors in both countries. We will then study the nature of these relationships and what they entail. By questioning the professional relationships between judges and lay jurors, we can have a clearer vision of the future that lies ahead of the relationship between state institutions and citizens.

The human prison

Hanne Knudsen and Charlotte Mathiasen, Aarhus University

One of the specific features of professional work lies in the way the person and the role are separated for both the professional and the client. To draw this delicate border and keep it in mind is one of the most ambitious requirements of professional work and requires socialization through practical work and experience.

In this presentation we shall focus on a project currently being carried out in Danish prisons. In this project prison officers are invited to understand themselves as 'human beings' rather than 'officers' and to approach the prisoners as such. The project is financed and led by representatives of the Danish prison and probation service and aims at changing the "culture of cooperation" in Danish prisons.

We are hired as researchers to explore this project. We have observed courses in three different prisons and visited prison wings.

A central question in our research is why it is important to insist that prison officers act as 'human beings' and approach prisoners and colleagues as such: What is at stake regarding the person and the role? How does this approach confront other conceptions of the officers' role as both controller and helper?

We have not yet decided which theoretical approaches we will use. Nevertheless we are convinced that a useful conceptualization is one that can encompass different kinds of and intensities of expectations. Such expectations that encompass description of the professional role or expectations that it should be dissolved.

"They are your testimony": Clients, power and the promotion to partnership

Stefanie Gustafsson, Jvuni Swart and Nick Kinnie, University of Bath

This paper investigates the role of clients in professional work, particularly professional careers. Drawing on a qualitative study involving 50 interviews conducted in seven law firms in the UK, it analyses how the role of clients is represented and constructed through talk about their influence during the promotion to partnership. In this paper we build on previous literature on professional work (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977; Abbott, 1988; Alvesson, 2001), professional-client relationships (Alvesson, 1994; Sturdy, 1997; Fincham, 1999; Leicht & Fennell, 2001; Fosstenlökken et al., 2003; Gunz & Gunz, 2008; Dinovitzer et al., 2014) and professional careers (Grey, 1994; Anderson-Gough et al., 2000), particularly the promotion to partnership (Galanter & Henderson, 2008; Malhotra et al., 2010; Morris & Pinnington, 1998). In our analysis we emphasise the various forms through which clients provide testimony about the suitability of a

candidate for promotion and how they create boundaries on the career paths that lawyers considers available to them. The contribution we seek to make is threefold. First, we contribute to current understandings of the role of clients in professional work by presenting their role in the construction of professional careers. Second, we bring together existing literatures on professions and careers by linking them through the level of the client. These literatures, with some exceptions (Grey, 1994; Anderson-Gough et al., 2000) have to date evolved rather distinctly. Third, we contribute empirically to studies on promotions in professional contexts, particularly the promotion to partnership.

The role of welfare service professionals in the meeting between welfare state and “new inhabitants” – a Danish case

Barbara Fersch, University of Southern Denmark and Karen Nielsen Breidahl, Aalborg University

The paper is based on a qualitative research project on migrants' experiences with the Danish welfare state. Here, we view migrants as an interesting case for the question, how and in which way welfare state policies have an influence on the individual's understandings, perceptions and practices concerning certain norms and values that are often thought to be reproduced by the Nordic welfare state regime (like e.g. (institutional) trust) – as newcomers to the welfare state, how do they “adapt”? One important aspect of the meeting with the “new” welfare state is the interaction with welfare service professionals. In this paper we will have a closer look on how migrants view their encounters with the welfare service professional they meet (e.g. as pedagogues in charge of their children's day care or as front line bureaucrats in the job center), how they interpret them and which role they are playing for their general view on the welfare state. Our analysis emphasizes the importance of the welfare service professionals as “face workers” of the welfare state and, ultimately, the “integrative” potential of the welfare state.

“Professional and citizen relations: Do they matter for professional discretion?”

Gitte Sommer Harrits, Aarhus University

Professionals in the public sector often hold dual roles as ‘helpers’ and representatives of public authority. For professionals interacting with citizens on a regular basis, close cooperative, trusting and even personal bonds are formed with citizens, and this typically strengthens the ability for professionals to perform their role as ‘helpers’. However, such personal bonds may conflict with the role as public authority enforcers, resulting in both severe role conflicts among professionals, and in differences in discretionary practices.

This paper explores the second problem of possible variations in enforcement of public authority, in the case of professionals (teachers, child care workers and health nurses) working with children and families who may be in need of extra support. Taking a point of departure in the literature on professions and professionalism, street-level bureaucracy and representative bureaucracy, the paper explores the question, whether differences in (assumed) social ties, social similarities and overlaps of lifestyles and values between professionals and citizens makes a difference for discretions with regard to enforcement of public authority.

The paper builds on interview data from 58 interviews with teachers, child care workers and health nurses in four Danish municipalities. During the interviews, professionals were asked about their general professional practices and approaches towards citizens, and they were presented with two vignette cases, describing two families with varying social and life style characteristics. The paper explores practices in forming relationships to citizens, as well as the question whether social characteristics of citizens makes a difference for the discretions made.

Patient or professional: who is in the lead? Response of mental health care workers to increasing patient participation”

Aukje Leemeijer, HAN University of Applied Sciences

As in most Western countries, patient participation has been emerging in Dutch mental health care over the last decades. Enhanced patient centeredness is increasingly being considered an important condition to achieve higher quality of care. One way to realise patient centeredness is allowing patients to have voice in policy, care and treatment, e.g. through the use of ‘experience experts’, patient councils, Shared Decision Making etc.

In practice, this development confronts mental health care professionals with dilemmas. What if patients make 'wrong' decisions from a professional perspective? Who determines 'good care'? Patient and professional logics may clash and discussion about the boundaries of professional domains may arise.

We investigate whether these possible clashes between patient and professional logics are linked to the definition of professional domains and the occupational attitude of professionals. We explore how different types of mental health care professionals respond to the described dilemmas and conflicting logics. To which extent are these professionals open to patient participation, in relation to their specific professional domain and degree of professionalization?

Four types of mental health care professionals are compared: psychiatrists, psychologists, mental health nurses and social-psychiatric workers. During the first phase, this comparison will be made by analysis of documents: professional guidelines, protocols, statements of professional associations. The subsequent empirical research will include interviews with mental health care professionals.

We present intermediate results of this first phase and of a limited number of interviews. We expect multiple responses of different mental health care professionals to patient participation.

From patient deference towards limited informality: An Eliasian analysis of English general practitioners' understandings of changing patient relations

Patrick Brown, University of Amsterdam, Jon Gabe and Mary Ann Elston, University of London,

This article contributes to sociological debates about trends in the power and status of the medical profession, focusing on claims that deferent patient relations are giving way to a more challenging consumerism. Analysing data from a mixed methods study involving general practitioners in England, we found some support for the idea that an apparent 'golden age' of patient deference is receding. Although not necessarily expressing nostalgia for such doctor-patient relationships, most GPs did describe experiencing disruptive or verbally abusive interactions at least occasionally and suggested that these were becoming more common. Younger doctors tended to rate patients as less respectful than their older colleagues but were also more likely to be egalitarian in attitude. Our data suggest that GPs, especially younger ones, are moving towards a more informal yet limited engagement with their patients and with the communities in which they work. These new relations might be a basis for mutual respect between professionals and patients in the consulting room, but may also generate uncertainty and misunderstanding. Such shifts are understood through an Eliasian framework as the functional-democratisation of patient-doctor relations via civilising processes, but with these existing alongside decivilising tendencies involving growing social distance within broader social figurations.

Citizen engagement and turf marking among professionals in local health care

Marie Østergaard Møller, KORA and Anna Kathrine Fly Mathiasen, VIA University College

Since 2007 every second Danish Town has chosen to establish a health house to promote health and prevent disease among citizens. The basic reason behind these investments is a delegation of responsibility for outpatient management from a regional to a local political level. In the paper we re-visit Parson's argument about the sick role as a component of social integration. We expect to find that health house activities transform the sick role, because citizens are obliged not only to seek professional advice, but also to engage in co-productive strategies in order to remain legitimately dismissed from standard social obligations such as work and family duties. We use vignette method to study how institutional settings shape citizen engagement and professional turf marking. We have surveyed all 98 Danish municipalities and have used theoretical sampling to select 19 out of 48 health houses. Here we collected 38 interviews with professionals and 22 interviews with citizens as well as 'on-site' observations. We use systematic qualitative content analyses to explore meanings and patterns of correspondence across the material. We conclude that even though citizens primarily see themselves as health-investors, in contrast to the professionals, who see them through categories of sickness and themselves as health experts, there is a common ground in terms of using co-production as a mean to (re)gain legitimacy both with regard to professionals turf marking and citizens' strategies to be exempted from social obligations.

General practitioners' assessment practices of patients needy for lifestyle intervention. A vignette study on the impact of social distance on general practitioners' patient assessments

Sofie Ilsvard, Aarhus University

In Denmark, as in other welfare countries, the general practitioner is the first point of contact in the health services, which stresses the general practitioners' role as gatekeeper and mediator of the health services. General practitioners' work is characterized by a relatively extensive discretion, especially in preventive contexts with no clear-cut guidelines. However, despite its potential influence, few studies have focused on whether social distance has an impact on general practitioners' assessment practices of patients, which thus seems to be a blind spot in the literature. To study the mechanisms facilitating the process of social distance systematically, I apply the vignette method. Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical framework of social distance, I examine how general practitioners assess different socially positioned patients as needy for preventive lifestyle intervention. I expect social distance to influence GPs' identification with patients, as well as I expect that GPs will draw on their own (e.g. upper middle class) health understandings. Furthermore, I expect GPs' patient assessments will tend to be characterized by stereotyping and a non-individualized approach the bigger social distance (e.g. lower middle class), whereas the lower social distance (e.g. upper middle class) patient assessments will be characterized by identification and a relatively more individualized approach. The analysis is based on interviews with 15 general practitioners, and analyzed through qualitative content analyses, in which I explore the patterns across the interviews.

Foster parents as professionals and citizens in today's Russia: bonds and boundaries

Daria Prisiazhniuk and Elena Iarskaia-Sminova, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

Based on the critical approach to sociology of professions (e.g. Abbot 1988, Larson 1977) and ideas of professionalism as a discourse (e.g. Evetts 2003; Wilson&Evetts 2006) we consider issues of professionalization of foster care in Russia. The study involved 30 interviews with various experts in a field of foster care as well as analysis of occupational standards, training programmes and other available documents. Recent policy measures increased demands for the foster parents who are being paid by the state since 2006. According to a new legislation (2012), they have to complete special courses provided by state based or non-governmental agencies. Thus, the status of foster parents is promoted as full time service job while the parents in turn begin identifying themselves as professionals. Some emphasize the prevalence of professional position. Others prioritize commitment and emotion above professional competence, and deny the necessity of supervision. Social attitudes are negative towards foster parenting as a paid service, emphasizing the voluntary activity of parents as citizens vs. professionals. In an occupational standard (2013) of the specialists of custody and foster care services, the parents are depicted as objects of support and occupational control. In practice, support from public services is lacking, while non-governmental support is fragmented but new citizens' initiatives in online network groups begin to grow. New boundaries and bonds are delineated in citizen/professional identities and relations in this area. The conflicting approaches towards the professionalization of foster care are analyzed taking into account the peculiarities of today's Russian policy and occupational context.

Distributed papers

Professionals and Citizen Relations: the case of “healthcare and family learning”

Micol Bronzini and Giovanna Vicarelli, Università Politecnica delle Marche

Recently the debate on the medical profession has mainly developed looking at managerialism and hybrid modes of professionalism (Vicarelli, 2012; Noordegraf, 2007; Kuhlmann 2006). However, some scholars have also outlined the emergence of a new professionalism – defined as democratic (Dzur, 2004), civic (Sullivan, 2004), activist (Tonkens, Newman, 2011) or reflexive (Toussijn, 2013) - alternative (or complementary) to managerial professionalism.

It refers to a type of professional practice in alliance with other stakeholders (including citizens), both inside and outside the professional boundaries, which goes beyond a mere defence of guild-like logics in the name of a new public service role (Stevens, 2001). The main features of this new professionalism are greater accountability, the adoption of a cooperative practice, the negotiation of roles, shared responsibilities and the ability to reflect on professional identity and ultimate goals (Adler, 2008), in relation to the broader social context and the needs it expresses. Adler (2008) suggests the evolution of a “collaborative professional community” where collaboration does not concern only “peers”, but also

involves other occupational groups which take part in the care process, as well as patients, their associations and institutional actors.

On this backdrop the paper aims at presenting an innovative experience of integrated and shared learning among social and health workers, services, patients and care givers: "Healthcare and Family Learning" (Bronzini, Vicarelli, 2009). The latter consists in a training process addressed to a group of patients and their relatives who interact with a multidisciplinary staff of professionals. "Healthcare and Family Learning" focuses on the interdependence among patients, carers and professionals in the care process (Barnes, 2011). In particular the paper examines whether it fulfills the characteristics of the new professionalism and the hypothesis regarding the evolution of the relationship between professionals and users according to a new regime of "reflexive cooperation" (Tonkens, Newman, 2011).

S6 Boundary Work, Knowledge Workers and Professionals in the Cities of Global Events

Oral papers

Variation of neoliberalism, events in cosmopolitan cities and professional attractors

Luca Salmeri, Università "La Sapienza" di Roma

The paper provides a range of evidence to consolidate the following hypotheses: i) Neoliberal dynamics constitute a variation of projects, interventions and programs aimed at transferring financial capital from the sphere of cyber-markets to the ground of socio-economic reality . ii) Among these processes, those made with the goal of channelling financial capitals toward the renewal of marginal urban areas are of strong importance in order to understand the variation of neoliberal processes, since they can ignite gentrification and new speculative investments. iii) Dynamics of urban marketing and growing visibility are developed in order to intercept global financial capitals, highbrow as well as mass tourism, hyper-skilled workers and innovative start-ups. They are a pivotal settlement of a more general drive for 'financial territorialisation'. iv) Urban interventions based on rising financial attractiveness and quality of life-styles could be traced back to the organization of international events focusing on global appeal, such as the Expo 2015, to be held in Milan.

Based on a qualitative study carried on with semi-structured interviews, the paper gives voice to a group of 26 knowledge workers involved in the organization of Expo 2015. Research findings will eventually prove that they have to fulfill explicit and latent tasks converging toward the improvement of the post-Expo area as financially attractive. Furthermore, research results fit to literature findings claiming that knowledge workers need to comply to canons and aesthetics of neoliberalism.

Publishing and event industries: which type of valorization?

Andrea Fumagalli, Università di Pavia and Cristina Morini, Social Independent researcher

In the last decades, characterized by a growing share of immaterial production, the economy of the events and the economy of communication have been a significant increase not only in terms of added value, but also employment. In a context of valorization, which some scholars define bio-cognitive capitalism, network activity and territorial marketing (in a broader sense, network economies) have become an integral and direct part of the accumulation process as real inputs .

These quantitative increase and qualitative importance, however, were accompanied by a strong process of devaluation of labour to the advantage of a greater symbolic value not immediately compensated for, if not in terms of possible future positive expectations. It is no coincidence that these industries (events and communication) register a high share of unpaid and underpaid work

Starting from these premises, the paper intends to investigate two case studies that seem particularly meaningful, with reference to the metropolitan area of Milan: the paper and digital publishing industry and the event Expo2015.

Collective identity and representation among professionals: exploring corporatist temptations and resilient experimentations in Milan

Guido Gabriele Cavalca, Università degli Studi di Salerno and Paolo Borghi, Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca

The increasing importance of professionals in the globalized labor market characterized by

progressive deregulation and segmentation has stimulated a growing attention to professionals' working conditions and needs, which have been changed significantly in the last two-three decades.

The professional isolation, the domestication effects, the informality in working relations, combined with the widespread individualism in high competitive markets, seem to perfectly respond to the needs of the 'new spirit of capitalism', which bases one of its rhetorical pillars on job security through employability: "the ability that people must possess if they want to be asked to participate in a given project [...] a personal capital that each individual has to manage in his/her own way." (Boltanski and Chiappello 2005). In this context, the paths through which professionals attempt to build forms of collective identity and representation oscillate between corporatist temptations, which can exclude the weakest bracket of professionals, and innovative experiments, which aim to counter fragmentation and elitist ambitions functional to the subjectivizing devices of capitalism (Foucault 1976; Agamben 2006). This paper explores these opposite trends among independent professionals, both key actors and victims of socio-economic ambivalent changes of the Milan area, using a research carried out in 2013 and followed by further ongoing studies. On the one hand, we use the qualitative analysis of 72 interviews to professionals to consider trends and behaviours which underpin the subjectivation processes, on the other hand we explore the signs of resilience emerging from the experimentation of bottom-up and top-down representation strategies involving professionals.

The immeasurable labour. Processes of subjectivation and exploitation in the performing arts workers

Federico Chicchi, Università di Bologna and Mauro Turrini, Université de Paris 1 "Panthéon Sorbonne"

The social and subjective spaces in which contemporary work is practiced are no longer easily circumscribed, and the conceptual categories that traditionally described its relationship with value now appear almost unusable. More in particular, workers in the 'creative industries' are paradigmatic subjects of the work fragmentation process of the post-Fordist era. Cutting across divisions between life and work, employment and unemployment, the performing arts are in many ways a workshop of job flexibility, where innovative contractual arrangements and professional trajectories have been developed. In our proposal, starting from empirical data, we have mapped the multiple forms these free agents have evolved in these areas in the last two decades. The empirical data is derived from a combined method that utilizes both quantitative surveys and in-depth interviews with artists, technicians, and organizers working in the fields of theatre, music, dance, and video making. A central feature of the experiences of these professionals, is the new relationship with time and, more specifically, its loss of measurability. The aim is to provide a multilayered analysis of the interactions between the socio-economic conditions, career pathways, and cultural aspects, i.e. the expectations, reputation, self-perception, and social recognition of these jobs. Accordingly, these work patterns are studied as self-employment strategies based on the diversification of activities and expertise, and at the same time, attempts to devise new spatial and temporal configurations of labour, epitomized by the hybrid condition of the 'salaried employer', where precariousness emerges as a generative terrain of ambivalent subjectivities. To conclude the new experiences of union organization and social movements, manifesting in the occupations of theatres, are rendered as spaces where differing, and even opposing, solidarity and 'class composition' practices within the new creative labour(s) are experimented.

Place-based and digital embeddedness of knowledge workers in Milan

Elisabetta Risi, IULM University

Work in the knowledge economy is increasingly both situated in the urban world and embedded in digital context. The knowledge professions are intertwined with metropolitan relationships: in particular the work of digital professionals is all about being engaged in making and maintaining relationships, which requires direct and frequent interactions and therefore co-location of actors. The main demand of their job is to be in the city, constantly reachable and permanently available to meeting people who are part of the system. These dynamics of place-based interactions intertwine with the digital sphere as they get into the discussions on the contemporary forms of labour: knowledge workers are invested with processes of precarization that reveal ambivalences and experiences of resilience, conflict and selective inclusion processes. The diffusion of life and work experiences that translate mostly in free and unpaid work, and in the valorization of social ties.

Through the analysis of a corpus of qualitative interviews with knowledge workers that live insecurity related to the digital work situated in the "urban world" of Milan (site of the communications agencies for which they work), this paper will explore some critical issues with particular attention to the processes of subjectivation in the knowledge professions.

The paper discusses the role of the bonds and boundaries of the places of such forms of knowledge work: they work on their home computer, but always with Skype connected to the node of the agency in Milan, and their profiles on social networks placing them in relationship with the world. Smart home in smart city, for global connections in co-presence, in which the work becomes especially to maintain an active social network, through a "collaborative effort."

S7 Professions without Borders: 'Mission Impossible' or the Future? – Panel I

Oral papers

Towards a borderless primary care in Italy: Reconsidering intra and inter disciplinary professional work-teams

Giovanna Vicarelli and Elena Spina, Università Politecnica delle Marche

An intra and inter-professional collaboration is more easily feasible in the Beveridge model of health care, unlike those organized following the Bismark model where there are greater institutional and regulatory barriers to team-work.

Although the regulatory framework of Law no. 833/78, establishing the National Health Service, allowed for a large use of intra and inter-professional collaboration, the Italian case has shown difficulties in implementing it, even if strongly positive signs in this regard have emerged in recent years.

As concerns GPs, their ability to work in intra disciplinary teams has grown over time albeit with evident regional differences for the benefits of central and northern regions. Very little evidence emerges of co-operation between GPs and specialists and hospital doctors, who remain dominant in the number of employees and costs.

As regards primary and community nurses, Ministerial data highlight how they are mainly employed in hospitals. Nurses engaged in territorial clinics and in home activities as well as in GPs' clinics, are numerically inadequate to ensure a health protection that is consistent with the current demographic and nosological scenario, characterized by an aging population and the increase in chronic diseases.

This distorted implementation of the INHS has affected the ability to cover the health needs of the population so far. In addition, it has affected the ability to limit Italian health care costs.

However, since 2011, more incisive health policies in terms of intra and inter-professional collaboration have been deployed which, if effectively implemented, will be able to change the current scenario.

"Barriers and Facilitators to Optimising Health Professional Scopes of Practice: Why are Health Professional Boundaries so Difficult to Change?"

Ivy Lynn Bourgeault, University of Ottawa

The health care division of labour is well known for being particularly resistant to change. Although some have argued that the entrance of the state in the provision of health care served would serve to make a more rational division of labour, there is considerable evidence to suggest that public/state provision of health care came to crystallize the pre-existing health care division of labour with medicine in the dominant position (Larkin 1983). This has largely been through macro system tools, such as funding and regulation in the health sector. What changes have been made are often at the margins with little scale up or integration into the wider delivery of health care services. Pilot projects come and go with little substantial systemic change. In this presentation I propose a heuristic model of the barriers to optimising health professional scopes of practice and how these could be shifted to facilitators drawing upon a large, national scoping review of the literature on health care professional scopes of practice interventions in Canada and interview with 50 national and international key stakeholders and experts. Following from this model, I present the key recommendations made to move beyond the present inertia of the system, many of which are informed by the evolving sociology of professions literature, and stakeholder feedback to these recommendations from a one day invitational Summit held in October 2014.

The architectural profession revisited – bonds and boundaries

Harald Mieg, Humboldt-Universität

We see major differences in the bonds and boundaries of the architectural profession across Europe, based on different systems of education and national regulations in the construction sector. Applying Abbott's (2005) concept of "linked ecologies", we can analyse and systematize the linkages of the architectural profession to the national states as well as to universities. We find, on the one hand, specific national regulations for construction that define different market opportunities for "average" architects, for instance in France and Germany. On the other hand, we observe a "cult" of a few global, star architects (Foster, Koolhaas etc.), triggered also by the profession's internal systems for defining architectural quality ("studio/charrette/jury system", Pritzker Prize etc.). The presentation focuses on the frictions between architectural self-perception as "generalists" and the increasing regulation and complexity of the construction sector. The presentation includes an overview of the peculiar situation of the architectural profession in Europe; and the literature on architecture as a professional group.

Boundaries between professionals and managers in flux: What implications for organisational change?

Viola Burau and Flemming Bro, University of Aarhus

Professionals and their boundaries are in flux and this also applies to the interface between professionals and managers. Organisational and professional projects are closely intertwined, and professionals take up organising roles in as much as managers organise professionalism. This raises important questions of how these new forms of professionalism can contribute to organisational change in public services.

The analysis is based on a case study of introducing and routinising explicit discharge arrangements in two hospitals in Denmark. The analysis draws on material from 18 focus groups with doctors, nurses and secretaries conducted at two different stages in the process of the making of the local discharge arrangements.

From the analysis, two distinct local models of organisational change emerge that connect more or less directly to existing professional practice: an 'add-on' model, which relies on extra resources, special activities and enforced change; and an 'embedded model', which builds on existing ways of working, current resources, and perspectives of professional groups. The two models have important implications for the stakes and involvement of the professional groups in the process of organisational change: in the 'add on' model the professional groups remain at a distance, whereas they are closely involved in the 'embedded model'.

In conclusion, this suggests: that professional interests are an important driver for health professionals to engage in adapting organisational change; and that professional practice offers a powerful lever for turning new organisational arrangements into organisational routines.

New borders between local health professions in Norway: Possibilities and barriers for task shift and inter-professional team work

Kari Ludvigsen and Hilde Danielsen, Uni Research Rokkan Center,

Internationally, task shift between professional groups has increasingly been considered as a measure to meet growing demand for health and welfare services, and has been recommended as a future strategy by the OECD as well as the WHO. Several studies analyses the implications for cost - benefit and quality of services when task are shifted to new professional groups. Also in Norway, decentralizing of health care to the municipalities has reinforced governmental and professional association's interest in task shift as a tool for improving health services. Legal frames that secured professional monopolies have been replaced by what has been labelled a more professional - neutral legislation, strengthening the possibilities for flexible recruitment and division of labor. In accordance with this framework, task shift is increasingly carried out in the Norwegian hospital sector. Our qualitative study in primary health care in seven municipalities finds, however, that health care managers and staff show limited attention to, and are partly reluctant towards, the implementation of task shift as a strategy in nursing homes and home care. Based on this study, the paper will discuss the possible challenges and benefits of task shift in local health care, and the contextual factors that have to be considered in order to implement such measures. We also propose how the increased tasks and demands can be met through alternative strategies based on inter- professional teams and planning for flexibility.

elements of management as consultancy empirically. It shows how they are inspired by anti-bureaucratic rationales, but assume a hybrid neo-bureaucratic form. We also show that, far from resolving tensions between rational and post-bureaucratic forms, management as consultancy both reproduces and changes the tensions of management and organization. Thus, rather than denying or heralding changes in management towards a 'new spirit of capitalism', we focus on a context in which such changes are occurring and demonstrate their wider implications for both management and the consultancy profession. In particular, we show how the profession of consultancy is best and increasingly seen as a form of management.

Who decides what a sociologist does? The strength of occupational constraints for a weak discipline

Gianluca Argentin, Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca, Giulia Assirelli, Università di Trento and Orazio Giancola, Università "La Sapienza" di Roma

During the last decades, sociology has been facing a deep crisis, involving its identity, methods and topics (Goldthorpe 2000). At the same time, in many countries, sociology is an occupation and not a profession. Sociologists work in a wide set of occupational sectors: research, marketing, communication, social work, human resources, administration, etc.

The lack of professionalization seems particularly severe in Italy (Magatti 2007, Barone 2013), where practitioner in sociological fields raised the issue of boundaries a long time ago (Siza 2006) and where recent evidence on graduates in sociology shows the worst occupational outcomes, even in comparison with similar fields of study (Argentin 2013).

This paper hypothesizes that the definition of who a sociologist is and what s/he does depends on the occupational available for sociological skills in the local labour market (Abbott 1988; Forsyth 2010). This hypothesis is quite hard to be tested; indeed, the typical surveys describe in detail the occupation of recent graduates in sociology only when conducted at a local level. Thanks to a national survey based on 3,800 subjects graduated in sociology during the period 2005-2011, we have a 4-digits ISCO code and, at the same time, a rich set of information about the local labour markets. Moreover, Italy is a perfect case for this kind of analysis, thanks to the deep differences among different geographical areas. We apply multilevel regression models to investigate the influence of occupational market conditions on the probability, for graduates in sociology, to work in the different sectors mentioned above.

S8 Professions, Regulation and Models of Professionalism: Normative Frames of Reference in Unequal Global Times

Oral papers

The changing contours of a profession, between macro and micro regulation: the case of Italian lawyers

Andrea Bellini, Università degli Studi di Firenze

The post-industrial transition in advanced societies entailed relevant changes in production and employment. Among these, the development of specialized knowledge systems led to a rise in the number of professionals, although related to a growing differentiation of their economic and social conditions. Several scholars, in effect, have stressed that the categories used in class analysis look increasingly "stretched" and that, if we consider their current revenues and career prospects, professionals are difficult to include in the bourgeoisie.

In such a sense, the situation of Italian lawyers is paradigmatic, since their number has grown at a steady pace, but their average revenue is back at the level of 1990 and most young lawyers are at the lower rungs of the ladder. Moreover, a wide-ranging reform has removed barriers to competition, but has also introduced new mechanisms of closure, hence it is likely to redesign the boundaries of the professional field as well as its internal hierarchies.

The paper seeks to examine regulation processes from both a "macro" and a "micro" perspective. In particular, it addresses the issue of formal regulation and its implications in terms of professional and social stratification; on the other hand, it explores individual adaptive strategies, trying to identify emerging models of professionalism.

For this purposes, the paper presents the results of a survey conducted on the members of the Order of lawyers of Firenze, an organization of medium size, but embedded in a metropolitan environment. The survey yielded 1,007 responses out of a population of 4,090 individuals.

Accessing a profession in the third sector organisations: a Portuguese case study

Ana Paula Marques, Research Centre for the Social Sciences (CICS-UM)- University of Minho

This paper is incorporated in the research project "SARTPRO – Knowledge, Autonomy and reflexivity in the third Sector" (PTDC/CS-SOC/098459/2008)". The complexity of the processes of social construction of employability and professionalism integrates the analysis of the positions of professional groups in the labour market. The competitive or overlapping diplomas in the delimitation of the "professional act" and the non-distinctive professional performances in the case of the multidisciplinary teams, explain jurisdiction conflicts, obstacles of the professional recognition to expertise and pressure for interchangeability of academic training areas. Furthermore, the professionals of knowledge have been suffering an increasing of contractual dependency and precariousness of their labour situation, which explain the presence of subordination and hierarchical control forms in diversified organization contexts. In this paper we attempt to cross contributions from the sociology of professions and employment in order to analyse the mains social forms of labour markets, mobilising the results obtained in this project, in which consisted of 63 structured interviews (1st phase) 21 semi-structured interviews (2nd phase). Based on the articulation of two axes, namely social regulation and professional mobility, which are structured in a continuum, four "ideal-types" of social forms were defined: professional markets, internal markets, transitional markets and secondary markets. This typology allows for the analysis of different positions and status in accessing a profession on the part of professionals in the areas of social sciences and humanities in the context of third sector organisations.

New public policies and care work on the crossroad of formalization/informalization (Brazil)

Isabel Georges, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)/UMR 201- DEVSOC/UFSCar-DS

Dialoging with the Latin-American literature about "marginality", the formal/informal sector and class relations on the one hand, and a more or less recent North-American and European feminist literature about care work on the other hand, the horizon of this communication is to show the fundamental ambiguities which are inherent to formalization/informalization dynamics within the definition of professional boundaries, analyzing Brazilian case studies within a neo-liberal framework.

During the last decade, since the arrival of the PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores) – government in 2003, Brazilian care workers, such us domestic servants, but also low-level bureaucrats in different civil services (social assistance, health's sector, education, etc.) have taken benefit not also of the continuous raise of the basic income since 2003 (more then 70%), but have also been the object of large-scale practices of formalization of employment, like the increase of public employment, which culminated with the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment for Domestic Servants at 3rd of April of 2013, equalizing them with other workers. In this perspective, the State largely re-invented social policies, using them whatsoever as a tool of government and to re-iterate the role of women in the social and sexual division of work. More precisely, instrumentalizing the needs of poor women to put other poor women to work (in the case of the low-level social workers of different kinds), or to serve richer women to maintain the traditional division of sexual roles (in the case of domestic servants), public action also contributes to maintain the status quo.

Women in the legal profession: a focus on female lawyers specialized in labour law in Milan (Italy)

Tania Toffanin, University of Padova & Collège d'Études Mondiales

This paper is focused on the analysis of the women's condition in the legal profession, with a specific focus on female lawyers in Milan, specialized in labour law.

The legal profession has suffered from the lack of interest from the scientific community, even though, like few other professions, it dominates a space typified by the specificity of the function, interstitial between the citizen and the state. Similarly, the scarce interest of the scientific community towards the professions has limited the analysis of the conditions of professional development and work-life balance of professional women. Along these lines, the analysis of the legal profession with a gender approach - focused to investigate the material conditions of life and work of female lawyers - appears to be extremely useful in understanding: on the one hand the dynamics that exist in the whole complex of this

professional field; the career paths of female lawyers and the gendered division of labour in this profession.

The paper aims at showing old and new discriminations on gender basis in the legal profession but also new trends among women in this professional field. Along these lines the analysis has highlighted the emergence of new models of professionalism.

The study has implied the carrying out of 20 in-depth interviews and 37 questionnaires to female lawyers based in Milan.

Institutional professionalization of lawyers in State-socialism and post-socialism: Poland and Russia compared

Rafael Mrowczynski, Higher School of Economics of Moscow

The presentation (based on several papers by the author) compares institutional professionalization of private-practice lawyers – advocates and in-house lawyers – during the state-socialist and the post-socialist period in Poland and Russia. This occupational group has spearheaded the professionalization processes in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe. The comparative analysis uses the conceptual framework of the sociology of professions. It shows that: (1) advocates were able to preserve a certain degree of collective autonomy and self-regulation during most of the socialist period in both countries; (2) Polish advocates were better integrated at the national level than their Soviet and later Russian counterparts; (3) these institutional path dependencies determined the degree of autonomy and self-regulation in the post-socialist period; (4) the discrepancy between both countries is particularly pronounced in the case of the occupational group of in-house lawyers who were able to establish themselves as a self-regulated profession in Poland, but never made such an attempt in Russia; (5) there was a process of partial “advocacitization” of legal professionals who practiced in-house during the state-socialist period. The term “advocacitization” means a change in the form of professional practice from employment relationship to service-for-free practice. This process could be observed in both countries, but it took very different forms due to the institutional differences described above. The “advocacitization” of Polish in-house lawyers took place within the self-regulatory institutions. In the Russian case, it happened in form of individual migrations of practitioners into the Bar which lost control over admission at that time.

Distributed papers

Professional activities of specialist in tourism within social theories

Kira Kerimi, Yuri Gagarin State Technical University of Saratov

XIX century was marked by the beginning of institutionalization of the initial activity in the tourism sector that corresponds to the historical period of the changing in the structure of social relations and value systems and the gradual specification of the needs of society in a special approach to the organization of travel process and accommodation. Theoretical reflection of reality becomes position of E. Durkheim, who called labor division, variety of professions and activities like an expression of social differentiation as criteria for the development of society.

First hotels in Switzerland and Germany, the first travel agency Thomas Cook in the UK, first professional schools demonstrates the growing role of professionalism in tourism, which reflects the position of A. Flexner who allocates the attributes of the ideal type of profession. In turn, J. Millerson noted the importance of applying the skills based on theoretical knowledge that are at the heart of education, and the role of professional associations.

A critical approach of R. Dahrendorf defines involvement of professional groups in society conflicts, where individuals and communities in accordance with their aspirations fight for the redistribution of resources at the macro and micro levels. The system of higher professional education and the labor market are inter-institutional mechanisms, which regulate quantitative and qualitative parameters of educational institutions in relation to such needs of society as a tourism professional staff.

The formation of the tourist market, sustainable professional practices in the tourism and hospitality actualized interpretive direction in the study of professions represented by the works on the anthropology of professions of P. Romanov and E. Yarskaya-Smirnova. Approach allows considering latent social interactions within the professional activities such as everyday practices, the accumulation of professional experience and the construction of identity.

S9 Virtuous Professionalism : Exploring Good Practice for the Future

Oral papers

Virtuous physicians and trusting patients in changing times?

Mike Dent, Staffordshire University

Current health care policies across much of Europe, North America and elsewhere have been increasingly based on rational systems of choice and self-management yet patients - it would appear - still prefer to trust their doctors take decisions for them. Taking responsibility for one's own health has become a watchword within health policy for it may help tackle the exponential rise in health care expenditure in the coming decades. It is this challenge that provides the imperative for reform and reconfiguring the relations between patients and professionals even if the rhetoric is more usually focussed on the 'empowering' of patients and carers.

This gives rise to a particular concern to be discussed in this paper that of public confidence and patient trust in their physicians and managers. On the one hand, this 'responsibilisation' of users may lead to increasing questioning of the physicians and other health professionals. Conversely the same trend may lead to challenges for the managers as the carriers of the new governance arrangements and a rise in a form of proto-professionalism (de Swaan 1988) among patients, characterised by an uncritical trust and deference for the health professionals. Whichever trend gets to dominate they both indicate the centrality of 'trust' (or assumed 'virtue') within the user-professional relations.

This paper will discuss the implications for physicians of the implementation of user involvement within Europe and draw upon the work of the COST ISO903 Working Group on User Voice.

Professional accountability and top-down models: what opportunity for Exit and Voice?

Judith Ailsop, University of Lincoln

For those responsible for professional governance, two issues have become essential to maintain public confidence. First, in the face of advancing knowledge the quality of professional practice must be assured and second poor practice must be detected, and dealt with. This paper examines changes in the governance of the health professions and identifies different models for meeting these objectives. It argues that the reform process has created new roles for those with managerial expertise within professional governance. Evidence from research on the nine Councils governing the health professions in the UK indicates that gaining state recognition for a profession remains a goal for occupational groups but the ability to draw a boundary around knowledge and practice varies between health professions but remains critical for gaining and maintaining control of governance.

In the UK recent reforms indicate an accountability model with surveillance through meta-regulators, increased parliamentary accountability and structural changes to professional governance. In medicine, where change has been most rapid, professional and lay managers have assumed greater powers. In the US, reforms have been shaped by competitive market pressures while in Holland and in France, face-to-face professional peer review has been the main mechanism underpinning reform. This applies only at the local level in the UK. These approaches demonstrate institutional structures, politics and professional cultures influence the chosen pathway for reform but all reflect top down models of accountability leaving little space for pressure from below. What opportunities are offered by Exit and Voice?

Choosing and sharing wisely

Arianna Radin, Università degli Studi di Torino

The sociological debate on the medical professions, initially focused on medical dominance and on the information asymmetry on healthcare and then on defensive strategies implemented against the decline of medical power, now seems to be able to stoke a new and promising line of investigation: the reflexive professionalism. Medical professionals have begun to wonder on the usefulness of some practices and, unlike social workers, to use tools more concrete – evidence based approach and analysis of cost performance - for the evaluation of efficiency and effectiveness of the health intervention.

So some professional medical associations and non-profit organisation in healthcare have implemented initiatives that would require medical professionals to reflect on their professional practice, through the

request to create a list of unnecessary medical tests and then to translate it and share it with their patients.

The present work is divided in two parts. The first analyzes the peculiarities of individual projects that currently exist - Choosing Wisely (ABIM Foundation, USA), Wise Choices (Dutch Association of Medical Specialists, Netherlands) and Doing more does not mean doing better (Slow Medicine, Italy) - and shows the first evidences of the creation of the network at the international level, which is still in progress and involve some other countries. The second focuses on the dynamics of the various health professions who collaborated on the Italian project, in which it was possible to be an active participant-observer in a group definition of unnecessary practices.

The hypothesis is that the professionals are implementing practices of empowerment of the patient but also of colleagues through these lists of worst practices, which are shared within the health professions and outside with the lay people.

The economic crisis as a driving force towards virtuous professionalism? The case of Italian dentists

Elena Spina and Giovanna Vicarelli, Università Politecnica delle Marche

A series of factors allow us to identify the Italian dental profession as an "unvirtuous" profession. However, some recent changes related to the economic crisis that started in 2008 suggest that this scenario may change in the short period and that some "virtuous" practices may gradually emerge, albeit in a context that remains critical.

In the first part of the paper we try to show why the dental profession, which is practiced mainly in the private market in Italy, is an opposite example of virtuous professionalism and how it is characterized by a series of fragility (acting as self-interested monopolies, low ethics and the development of an irregular market).

In the second part, the focus is on a number of factors that seem to push the profession towards more virtuous models. On the one hand these factors are attributable to the decline of the dental market, linked to lower family resources to access dental care, and the consequent increase of health inequalities; on the other they are linked to organizational and representative difficulties perceived by the professional category.

In a difficult economic climate the profession is beginning to accept greater social inclusion policies: e.g. agreements with some regional health services (Tuscany and Lombardy) were signed due to which private dental clinics apply discounted rates (reduced by half) to people living in these regions. In other cases, dentists have agreed to grant special rates to patients, using public health structures and facilities for free.

Capacities to cope. The Capacity of Public Professionals to Secure and Improve Quality of Services

Mirko Noordegraaf, Wilmar Schaufeli, Nina van Loon, Madelon Heerema and Marit Weggemans Ba, Utrecht University

Discourses on public professionals tend to focus on the downsides of transitions in professional domains. They highlight the 'intrusions' of managerial logics, show how professionals are 'burdened' with red tape, and stress that professionals are demotivated and alienated. Professionals are seen as victims. At the most they show how professionals 'cope' with constraints, 'game' the system and 'buffer' managerial actions. Lately, this rather negative research angle is supplemented by more positive research options, which differ in two ways. First, positive coping is emphasized. Instead of analyzing how professionals cope in order to 'survive' as 'victims', the challenges they face and positive sides of coping might be emphasized. Professionals might contribute to the quality of services, despite burdens and red tape. Secondly, this positive turn might be substantiated by connecting disciplines. Instead of merely focusing on political or organizational shifts (including governance and management shifts) and changes in professional fields and professionalism, these disciplinary angles might be connected, also with (positive) occupational psychology, which focuses on professional motivation and well-being.

Based upon empirical research in the educational sector, backed by the conceptualization of professional capacity, we analyze how public professionals can show positive virtuosity. We define professional capacity as "the ability to cope with complex contexts, in such a way that professional are able to render

high-quality services, in committed and viable ways". We argue that certain professional repertoires and resources are crucial for developing this. By using survey and interview data, we show the nature of professional capacity in (Dutch) primary education and we sketch implications for research and practice.

Perceptions of professional good practices in academia

Teresa Carvalho, CIPES - University of Aveiro

Traditionally academics were regarded as an elite profession and for a long time their symbolic power and social status within academia did not allow recognizing the existence and importance of other professional groups (Carvalho, 2012). Nevertheless since the early eighties higher education systems and institutions evolved in a spiral of increasing complexity changing the bonds and boundaries of professionalism. Other professional groups were called to participate in academia and, at the same time, the traditional academic roles expanded to other areas.

If the first studies defined other groups within academia simple as 'non-academics', more recent approaches try to incorporate more complex realities. Different concepts as now used to classify this diverse professional group as: 'higher education professionals' (HEPROs), 'third space professionals' or 'para-academics'.

As other professional groups, academics traditionally claimed to have a specific ethos of service based on the notion that they were mainly serving society (by improving education levels in population and the disinterested search for knowledge) judging their professional practices based on this. However, the managerial context is said to change the definition of academics' professional standards and good practices. Within this context, the definition of what is euphemistically called 'best practices' can be changing what is expected from academics and interfering in academics inter-professionalism relations.

Based on a critical incident method of data collection, the paper tries to understand, from professionals' narrative descriptions of work situations, how academics and other groups inside academia see themselves and if they have common visions of academics professionals' good practices.

Configuring professional practice? The embeddedness of care and compassion within long-term social processes and broader social configurations

Ruben Flores, Higher School of Economics and Patrick Brown, University of Amsterdam

Care is one of the founding virtues of healthcare practice. Drawing on Simmel and Elias, in this paper we argue that care is best understood not only in terms of individual action, but as necessarily mediated by and embedded within institutions and social life. For, as with any other virtue, the practice of care is always configured within social contexts – thus being dependent upon the interplay between its underlying habitus of professionals and broader social configurations. From this perspective, fostering virtue within professional practice depends not only on individual good-will, but also on the broader social interactions and institutional settings surrounding them. From a policy angle, while local initiatives based on communicative action could contribute to align ethical aspirations with system incentives and demands, today there exist wider trends that threaten appropriate health care practice from different angles: from growing inequality and social distance across society to ageism to cuts in healthcare spending. Drawing on Tonken's citizen regimes, but also on Elias's notion of functional democratization, this paper examines these different levels that constrain (or facilitate) care. The paper concludes in noting the usefulness of a wider socio-historical perspective for the study of morality, virtue and care.

Professionalization of science journalism in Russia: knowledge, community, media

Roman Abramov, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

The transformation of the world of professions is clearly visible when analyzing activities that are at the intersection of interests, expert power and status of the various professional groups. Science journalism is that kind of activity area, because, first, it is associated with the scientific knowledge and the principles of its broadcast, and secondly, it is included in the normative and practical field of journalism as a profession, third, science journalists act as intermediaries between the scientific community and the usual public. The status of scientific journalist had already been problematized back then: on the one hand functions of science popularizers were frequently assumed by the scientists themselves, and on the other, the genre of popular science require professional skills of a journalist. Professionalization of science journalism in Russia dates back to the Soviet project of the Enlightenment, when the popular

scientific knowledge in the field of science and technology spread through special journals and book series, coming out in large numbers of printed copies. Journals were the basis for popularizing science in the Soviet Union and became the basis for the formation of style for community of science journalists.

The legitimization of the status of scientific journalist closely associated with his professional education and membership in the academic field. On the one hand the media prefer to hire in the department of science and education people with degrees in the natural sciences: physics, chemistry, and biology. On the other hand, scientists are more open to interaction with journalists that have natural-scientific training, and not education in the social sciences and humanities. That is the professional role of a science journalist is closely associated with symbolic capital, provided by an appropriate education and experience. This tradition can be described in terms of models for popularizing science, designed by Italian sociologist Massimo Bucca - shortage model - assumes epistemic hegemony of scientists in the Popular Science sphere, determining the forms, amounts and ideology of translation of scientific knowledge to a wide audience.

Sociology and (doctoral) Professionalism: A Historical Reconstruction of Boundaries, Bonds and Mutual Interference

Gina Atzeni, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

The session centres on the question „how far and in what ways can sociologists legitimately become involved in the policy process in promoting future visions of professionalism?“ This is a very interesting question in two ways: 1) Sociology, indeed, has a rich tradition of normative perspectives on professionalism and, at least in my opinion, quiet some impact on professional practice. This impact, however, is perhaps not acknowledged properly (perhaps especially by sociology itself...), which leads to the other interesting dimension of the question: 2) Sociology isn't the 'harmless little science' which only observes what's going on but has a powerful impact on society. By observing and describing sociology actively (though not always voluntary) influences the object she is looking at - which can be seen specifically clearly in the case of (doctoral) professionalism.

My proposal tries to show, that from it's very beginnings sociology has an impact on the practice and future visions of professionalism even then, when it doesn't aim at it. I will show that this is not only due to sociologies specific relation to its objects but will argue, that these observations also point to a specific of (doctoral) professionalism. In order to develop this argument, I will give an overview of my reconstruction of the narratives of professional self- and respective sociological descriptions from the second half of the 19th century until today.

S10 Inclusive Exclusiveness? New Moral Communities within and between Professions

Oral papers

Professional Bonds, Boundaries and...Conflicts in Court: the case of Judges, Public Prosecutors, Lawyers and Lay Experts

Vittorio Oligati, University of Macerata

As we know, Courts of Justice have been and are institutionally set up as highly formalised organization-sets, tailored to deal with conflicting facts, values, discourses and behaviours according to predefined legal rules and well-established professional status-roles in order to reach officially binding "legal truths". In turn, due to the above structural and functional patterns, Courts Justice's professional performances have been and still are commonly perceived or imagined as "norm" and "legal culture" oriented. Actually, however, current experience shows that Courts' proceedings and decision-makings are increasingly conditioned by communicative and cognitive clashes as regards legal and not legal discourses and techniques, given the enlarged area of status- roles performed within and outside the same Courts by not-legally trained professionals.

The paper aims to enlighten the impact of the above mentioned clashes in terms of verifiable "jurisdictional conflicts", enabling the assessment of a variety of mixed disciplinary"truths", the rise of a new, multidimensional, social-scientific idea of Justice, and a potential mismatch between moral and legal rules.

When the "outstanding barrister" is a woman: feminisation and new Moral Communities within legal profession

Annalisa Tonarelli, Università di Firenze

In last decades the number of lawyers in Italy rise dramatically and, at the same time, the professional group changes deeply in term of gender and social composition, generational differences, new specializations and dimensions of internal competition. Starting from the results of an in deep research carried out by Department of Political and Social Sciences on lawyer of Florence Bar Association, the paper analyses the impact of that change on professional community and shows that women can be considered as a Moral Community (following Durkheim) within the legal profession. Outcomes show, first of all, a discrepancy between the image that stands out from the focus groups realised with representatives of different barrister's associations and the results of a survey carried out on a wide sample (997 questionnaires) of lawyers at Florence' Bar. While representatives emphasize the rise of egoistic individualism and anonymity among the professional community, the large majority of interviewed still shares a common set of norms and rules. Paper is specifically focused on the sub-group of criminal lawyers and highlights the consequences generated by the growing and unexpected feminization occurred in more recent years. Even if that specialization is still marked by a gender diversification, women represent now 40% of the members of Criminal Chamber of Florence. Results allow to highlight how do women manage to become part of a community strongly oriented to male values and how their presence promotes a change in social practices related to the profession and promotes a new Moral Community.

Engendering Police Forces. Analysing the heteronomy of professional local police officers through gender lenses

Lina Gálvez, Lucía del Moral, Nazareth Gallego, Paula Rodríguez and Mauricio Matus, Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Police forces have historically been a male field and only recently and timidly the number of female police officers is growing. Despite this, gender dimensions of these professional groups and the changes that including women in the forces may produce are still understudied. Drawing on 4 focus groups, in depth interviews and an online questionnaire for local police officers in the context of Andalusia (Spain), this paper analyses, from a quantitative and qualitative perspective, examines the external barriers and internal obstacles that women face when becoming police officers, examines the opportunities and challenges that these professional option sets for them and studies differences in gender stereotypes and attitudes to women showed by diverse generational groups within the forces.

Dimensions of Inequalities and Inclusive Professionalism – A Case of Knowledge Workers in Globalizing India

Rajesh Misra, University of Lucknow

The present paper addresses the issue of internal stratification among knowledge 'workers' in the aftermath of privatization and liberalization in an urban setting of globalizing India. An empirical study of higher education professionals points to an increasing income inequality, the concomitant status inconsistency and power differentials resulting in the growth of mutually exclusive closures within a profession. It has been argued that the rise of new boundaries within a profession leads to challenges for a visionary model of inclusive professionalism. The finding can further be explicated in terms of feminization and proletarianization of professions. The precarious contractual conditions of work are being considered relatively suitable for women as also are responsible for knowledge professionals to plunge into the proletarian status, economically as well as politically. An assessment of data and studies reveals that different levels of education sectors are marked by discrimination and inequality within which the two sections – the dominant and subjugated – of the educational professionals in India have been rising with serious implications for the existence of knowledge workers being a moral community and for the education system. The emphasis of the paper is also on the understanding of the dimensions of exclusivity within a profession in terms of the interface of local versus global structural conditions and the nature and types of socioeconomic organization of the education system in India. The heuristic efficacy of the present work may be in extending the 'sociologic' of professionalization of different sectors of socioeconomic life rather than privatization and liberalization.

Emotion work as a factor of the informal community at the workplace: the case of nurses in Russia

Olga Simonova, National Research University - Higher School of economics

The paper is based on the theoretical elaboration of the conception of emotion work by A. R. Hochschild and on the results of the authors' research of emotion work of nurses in Russia. The latest research in healthcare showed that the notion of emotion work is more preferable than emotional labor since it helps to describe and explain the unknown or unclear phenomena. It was discovered in our research that emotional work of nurses was regulated by the contradictory cultural values: the value of the control over emotions at the workplace and the value of emotional release for avoiding of emotional burnout at the same time. Hence the formation informal community by nurses was a defensive strategy in the situation of "emotional" risks. This community has moral functions: it regulates the cooperation, makes the nurses discussing the problems, and provides the support and emotional release. Furthermore emotion work is the comprehensible idea for respondents and serves as resource for their own description of emotional life at the workplace. When the notion of emotion work is used by respondents the researcher can move to a new level of analysis of emotion work and understand the other important facts. The analysis of the interview with nurses showed their gender mattered more than professional skills in interactions with patients. Moreover it was found what emotions the nurses managed: these were guilt, shame, disgust and anger.

S11 Transnational Professionals

Oral papers

A new model of "Professions"? When Transnational Financial Services challenge Sociology of the professions

Valérie Boussard, Université Paris Ouest

The international development of Financial Services since the last 30 years challenges the traditional concepts of the sociology of professions and raises new questions for theories of professionalism and conceptions of professional regulation. These knowledge-based services seem to be a new model of "professions" in a globalized world, renewing the classical way of gaining power and status professions have used in the past ("professionalization"). Indeed the different occupational groups involved in Financial Services, can be considered transnational professions or "global professions" (Dingwall, 2008) for they are operating throughout the world, within different international financial companies. However, they are not legally acknowledged as professions, neither by States, nor by an international institution. Though, following Andrew Abbott's, a large inquiry in these Services underlines that this group has developed a professional jurisdiction, grounded on a set of knowledge. This set is the basis of a conception of professionalism. This professionalism, albeit poorly institutionalized and not acknowledged by the state through licensing or certification for professionals, has powerful effects. In fact, in these services, Clients are most of the time former professionals and hence share the model of professionalism of their former colleagues. Subsequently, professional rules and norms of the Financial Services are spreading out of their primary boundaries. Clients don't play their role of external audience of the profession as they don't discuss the model of professionalism developed by the Services they pay. This process participates to enlarge and strengthen the professional jurisdiction (Clients can be considered to be a part of the profession), wide spreading a "professor" which become powerful and international, escaping both to state-regulation and self-regulation.

The communication is based on a large qualitative inquiry consisting in observations of work in Financial Services and more than 70 interviews with French professionals (in Paris, London and New-York).

How OECD influences the post-national professional identities

Tor Halvorsen, University of Bergen

Turning 50, OECD expressed its intent to renew its image and orientation, from being a "rich man's club" to become a "global player". Links with the "developing world" was intensified. At the same time, OECD, after having analyzed the economic crises, also launch a universal strategy to avoid future shocks and to

stabilize capitalist development. This strategy is expressed as “good governance, human - capital development, and an enabling environment for innovations”.

To operationalize this strategy the knowledge to which OECD points, becomes, through this authoritative selection and invitation, a potential post-national hegemonic knowledge. If theories of professions (at least up to mid 1990ties when the first books on professions and internationalization started to appear) saw profession in light of the power of the state, then the post-national orientations were without such a political center, seemingly driven by market and migration. The types of authorization and selection to which professions usually (and still) seek to secure their recognition, became “punctuated” by how certain professions were valued by the abstract “globalization”.

In this paper the question is how OECD, as a new and seemingly growingly important “global player”, through its “global strategy” for stabilizing capitalism gives value to some professions, and their knowledge, at the cost of other.

Transnational professional competition in regulatory work: Fracking and Smoking in the European Union

Jacob Hasselbalch, University of Warwick and L'Universite Libre de Bruxelles

How do transnational regulators govern large, established industries that expand into rapidly-developing new markets? This paper addresses this question by reporting on the preliminary findings of a research project on the political economy of disruptive innovation. Drawing primarily on interview data, I analyze the cases of European Union-level regulation of hydraulic fracturing for shale gas and electronic cigarettes. I focus on the role of competition between transnational professional groups in the policy arena, and specifically how the conditions of this competition are influenced by sudden and dramatic market changes. The policy arena is conceptualized by drawing on insights from Bourdieu's practice theory combined with Abbott's sociology of the professions. Relevant professional groups are seen to be those that accumulate different types of capital through their engagement on regulatory work (drafting or influencing legislation or policy positions). The research puzzle lies in uncovering how disruptive innovation impacts the capacities of different professional groups to carry out their regulatory work, and how this in turn mediates the policymaking game. The key to competing well depends on the propensity of a professional group to use speed and complexity as weapons to advance their positions and interests in the policy arena. This research therefore expands on the emerging transnational sociology of the professions by engaging with the impact of the temporal conditions of competition. Additionally, it advances the broader research agenda empirically by reporting on topical cases of transnational regulation.

The Market for International Organization

Leonard Seabrooke, Copenhagen Business School

A grundnorm of our contemporary international system is that interests can be largely assumed by organizational form. States pursue national interests, international institutions follow their mandates, non-governmental organizations advocate for causes, and firms seek profit. This paper articulates why organizational form is not an indicator of established interests, and is an even poorer indicator of how professionals shape international organization. The paper discusses how there is an active market for international organization, where organizations provide demand for particular skills and knowledge, and where professionals supply it. Professional mobilization is particularly evident at the interstices between perceived organizational forms, and often through the creation of styles that speak to different professional and social networks. The paper provides examples of the market for international organization, and how transnational professionals occupy its opportunity structures. The examples draw on the rise of professionals in consultancy-type organizations for humanitarian work, professionals in governance certification networks, and professionals working across organizational types on financial sector reform.

Global professional service firms and the challenge of institutional complexity: ‘field relocation’ as a response strategy

Daniel Muzio, Newcastle Business School and James Faulconbridge, Lancaster University

A growing body of work calls for more attention to be paid to how multinational enterprises (MNEs), as distinctive research settings, can reveal theoretical and empirical insights into the challenges of and responses to institutional complexity (Ansari et al., 2010; Greenwood et al., 2010, 2011; Smets et al., 2012; Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2013). As they operate across multiple and diverse international contexts, MNEs are inevitably exposed to competing and potentially incompatible institutional pressures, and therefore to experiences of complexity. In particular, as exemplified by the literature on institutional duality (Kostova and Roth, 2002), MNEs are exposed to a particular form of complexity which arises from the need to reconcile the different logics of home and host country institutions. However, despite this theoretical promise and the growing importance of MNEs in the contemporary economy, our knowledge of their responses to complexity remains limited.

This paper uses an exploratory case study of a group of English law firms, as a particular type of MNE, and their internationalization into the Italian market to begin to address a number of specific empirical questions: How do MNEs experience institutional complexity when they internationalize? How do these firms respond to such complexity? Addressing these questions emphasises the distinctively spatial forms of complexity experienced by MNEs, and the important yet underemphasised way that these organizations can manage such complexity by exploiting the uneven and dynamic nature of fields. These insights allow the paper to make two related contributions to recent calls to give greater consideration to field level characteristics when analysing the causes of (Davis and Marquis, 2005; Fligstein and McAdam, 2011; 2012; Wooten and Hoffman, 2008), and, in particular, responses to institutional complexity (Clemens and Douglas, 2005; Greenwood et al., 2011; Quirke, 2013).

First, the paper reveals how MNEs can respond to complexity through a 'field relocation' strategy. For our case study firms this involved relocating to a specific sub-field where complexity was reduced. We identify three key tactics, re-scoping, re-scaling and re-staffing, through which 'field relocation' was accomplished. This extends recent studies (Greenwood, et al., 2011; Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014; Smets et al., 2012; Smets and Jarzabkowski, 2013) which show how organizations can handle complexity internally within their own structures and practices by highlighting a different response strategy which is located at the field level. Second, in line with growing recognition of the need for institutional theory to take the geography of fields more seriously (Greenwood et al., 2010; Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton et al., 2012), our paper highlights the relationship between geographical location and 'receptivity', whereby this concept refers to the potential of a particular field location to be more open to alternative institutional logics, thus providing a location where MNEs might experience less complexity. Accordingly, we show how English law firms relocated within the field by re-focusing their operations on the city of Milan. This location was more 'receptive' to their home country logics, thus reducing the degree of complexity experienced. Together, the insights provided into 'field relocation' and 'receptivity' highlight the importance of locating the field in studies of responses to complexity, given that in uneven and dynamic fields different locations are associated with varying degrees of complexity.

The rest of the paper proceeds over eight further sections. We begin by reviewing the literatures on institutional complexity and on how organizations respond to this. We then explain our methodology and introduce our case study. This is followed by three empirical sections, focussing respectively on: causes, experiences and responses to complexity. We then describe the Milan sub-field to which our case study firms were able to relocate to. We conclude by developing the theoretical implications of this case study in relation to our understanding of field level responses to institutional complexity.

Negotiating global and local labour markets: Merchant Navy Officers as a transnational professional
Shaun Ruggunan, University of Kwazulu-Natal

Seafaring has long being considered the most global of professions. However contemporary changes in the global labour market for seafarers from the 1970s, have reconfigured the way access is granted into the seafaring profession at the officer level. The institutions that govern access and accreditation into the profession exist at transnational levels, making decisions that don't always take into account the unique conditions of local peculiarities. Engaging in a 12 month period of experiential training is an essential part of the accreditation process for officer certification. Accessing this experiential training however remains difficult for cadets globally, but specifically in developing world countries that also happen to lack nationally flagged merchant navy vessels. However any attempts by these countries to engage with alternatives to training berth availability (such as authentic assessment) as a strategy to increase their

output of officers is met with resistance by global governing bodies such as the International Maritime Organisation. This demonstrates the tensions between the imperatives of global labour market institutions and the imperatives of national states to grow their pool of qualified officers. Global regulatory organisations are viewed as imperialistic and deploying a discourse of professional standards to privilege certain national sectors of global labour markets at the expense of developing world labour markets. Which institutions then decide 'who can create rules and benchmarks, as well as who can dominate work practices and work content of seafaring officers, and for what purpose? Through a case study of South African seafaring labour markets the author attempts to answer these questions.

Digital work: a market without borders?

Ivana Pais, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Alessandro Gandini, Middlesex University and Davide Beraldo, Università degli studi di Milano

The emergence of digital platforms is changing the practices and organizational arrangements of freelance knowledge work and calls into question the traditional boundaries of professions. It should be questioned whether these transformations are part of the cyclical restructuring of the economic regime, or indeed we are witnessing a structural transformation.

With a decade-long history in transactions between clients and independent contractors, Elance is a widely-established digital platform that functions as a global labour market in different sectors and geographic location. For these reasons it represents a unique point of observation for the study of socio-economic and market dynamics taking place among individual users entertaining transaction on an online basis, with no physical co-presence involved.

The aim of this work is that of studying the matching between demand and supply on Elance, shifting from a macro-level (countries) to a meso-level to focus on the analytical elements that consent to understand the socio-economic dynamics governing the transactions.

The research hypothesis focus on the international division of digital labour, as it emerges from a large dataset of 9278 observations of transactions entertained by single clients and contractors on Elance between January 2012 and September 2013, obtained from the 100 most active clients in three countries (US, Italy and Singapore), brought to us in partnership by the platform itself.

The paper aim to test the hypothesis that emerges from the preliminary analysis, for which reputation seems to be more relevant than labour costs in the determination of outsourcing choices in the digital labour market.

Physicians on the move and/or epistemic arbiters?

Lisa Salomonsson, Stockholm University and Leonard Seabrooke, Copenhagen Business School

In today's professional world much of the controlling mechanisms about who is going to do what work are happening in every day work life in firms and institutions that have little to do with professional associations. In other word, people are acting on their epistemic arbitrage in different way and this article focuses on how it is acted out in the medical setting and is focused on how doctor with foreign training is using knowledge from new knowledge pools to secure their position on the Swedish labor market. Adding a transnational perspective to sociology of professions is important as some of these transnational agendas come at the expense of national professional associations, who have traditionally been dominant in controlling their own jurisdictions and deciding who gets to do what work (Abbott, 1988).

This article picks up recent calls for a 'transnational sociology of professions' (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2012; Seabrooke, 2014) and in particular the need to apply the theory about how professionals use the notion of transnationally in different type of organizations (Seabrooke, 2014) on other empirical cases outside the financial and diplomatic sector. Therefore, this article is written in order to try to apply the concept of epistemic arbiter (as defined by Seabrooke, 2014:59) to another empirical case; foreign trained physicians on the Swedish labor market. It should therefore be seen as a tentative theorizing of an observed epistemic phenomenon that occurred in interviews with physicians that had had their training outside the Swedish (and even European boarders) and who at the time is working as physicians in Sweden.

Professional Activists on Extractive Industries

Duncan Wigan, Copenhagen Business School

This paper explores control over one aspect of the international corporate transparency agenda, country-by-country reporting (CBCR). Control over the issue by the International Accounting Standards Board in the context of variegated state regulation has recently been partially superseded by legislation in the U.S. and the EU and policy at the OECD in the form of the Base Erosion and Profit Shifting initiative. The former impose a new reporting standard on firms in specified sectors, while the OECD is pushing for CBCR across the corporate world. I seek to explain how, and by who, this shift has been propelled. In doing, I investigate the role of the NGO community in promoting and defining this issue and examine the role of one organization, the Tax Justice Network. I explain how control over an issue area is established and action in a network and policy environment catalyzed. Extant work on transnational advocacy networks draws our attention to the importance of issue characteristics, political strategy and political salience in determining issue adoption, non-adoption and control. This paper contributes by highlighting the importance of professional knowledge, organizational form and the interactions between organizational logics and professional logics in transnational issue definition, activation and control. In this case issue professionals and networks have trumped formal authority and rule-making.

S12 Globalization, Media and Professionalism in Developing Societies

Oral papers

Sociological Dimensions of Teaching Profession: A Case Study of Baroda City in Gujarat State of India

Pradeep Singh Choondawat, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda

Teaching profession is considered to be the most sacred, pious and distinctive profession in all societies and cultures across the world. Generally a teacher is treated highly valued personality in a given society. Work and worth of teachers brings name and fame to be a nation. In a globalized culture teaching profession in Indian society is under the process of transformation and change. Demands from global world and market economy have considerably change not only the definition of education but also the scope, nature and functioning of teaching profession and the status of teachers as a whole. The demand of global economy is positively and negatively affecting and changing the professional development of teachers who are working at different teaching institutions in different ways and at different levels. In view of this present paper aims to identify those changes which directly and indirectly, positively or negatively affecting the teaching profession and their status in a developing country as India. This paper will also try to examine and identify the professional challenges such as occupational mobility, role conflict, job satisfaction etc. which teachers are experiencing in their organizational & academic setup. This paper is based upon both primary and secondary data.

Environment Impact Assessment: An Emerging Profession in the era of Globalization

Sheetal J. Tamakuwala, Veer Narmad South Gujarat University

The role of sociology in the field of social work profession continues to cast new light on many aspects of societal problems. Although it has been common over the years to consider to social work as a profession, scholars have been debating over for several years as to whether social work meets all of Flexner's criteria. Abraham Flexner, a very well known reformer of medical education, wrote an influential document, the Flexner Report, which was highly critical of the American medical education at the turn of the 20th century. Dr. Flexner, when invited to speak at the National conference on Social Welfare in 1915, titled his speech, "Is Social Work a Profession?" In his speech, he listed six attributes of professions. Further, in 1957, sociologist Ernest Greenwood published "Attributes of a Profession," suggesting further that professions need societal sanctions. Greenwood's list of attributes of a profession includes: a systematic body of knowledge, (ii) Community sanction, (iii) authority or credibility, (iv) regulation and control of members, (v) a professional code of ethics, and (vi) a culture of values, norms, and symbols.

Hence, the business environment has undergone vast changes in recent years in terms of both the nature of competition and the wave of globalization that have been sweeping across global markets. There has been a sea change in the nature of the triangular relationship between the corporate, the state, and the society. The corporate social responsibility (CSR) to a great extent influences the corporate decisions towards the social capital, social justice and environmental impediments, especially the environmental

impact assessment. The corporate world has realised, to a great extent, the existence of interdependence between the business and the society at large, and their role to remain sustainable in business vis a vis social ecology. The social workers have extensive roles to play while at work at different levels. Such array of roles includes individual case workers, community workers, social activists, policy analysts, and program administrators, etc.

The conceptualization and operationalization of these diverse views within an academic framework for study is understandably challenging. However, by adopting a sociological approach, this paper makes an effort to bring out the roles of social workers along with others in society as an organization of different professionals. The study examines the Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) as an arena of multi-disciplinary activities of prerequisite knowledge of industry and allied sector in which the EIAs are to be carried out in areas like land use, air pollution control, air quality modelling, water pollution control, noise and vibration, ecology and biodiversity, socio-economic aspects, risks, hazard management etc. The Functional Area Experts (FAEs) are expected to assess the impacts of on-going developments and industrial activities on their respective areas of expertise and provide their expert inputs to the EIA team. The paper also examines the issues emerging out in this profession and their conceptual and methodological implications in the context of globalization in the favour of marginal sectors. This paper attempts to explore how several companies have tried to weave CSR initiatives with their business strategies, which may have emerged out of conglomeration industries in LPG era.

Globalization and Women Professionals in an Industrial City

Shashi Saini, Veer Narmad South Gujarat University

India has grown economically in leaps and bounds in the last decade. Globalization has opened up broader communication lines and attracted more companies as well as different organizations into India. This provides opportunities for women with attractive packages, which raises self-confidence and brings about independence. Globalization has the power to uproot the traditional views towards women so they can take an equal stance in society. With privatization of higher and professional education, enrollment of women, both as students and teachers, in the engineering field, has seen an unprecedented increase. In spite of this increased participation of women in engineering profession, gender disparity still exist. As the women take on the role of working professional in addition to their traditional role of the homemaker, they are under great pressure to balance their work and personal lives. The present paper explores the issues and challenges faced by women professionals engaged in teaching in engineering colleges and technical institutes. The study attempts to explore how work and family related factors influence the Indian women professionals. The study is focused on 20 women professionals, 10 working in government technical institutes as a teacher and 10 working in private sector. The narratives reveal six major themes: multi-role responsibilities and attempts to negotiate them; self and professional identity; work-life challenges and coping strategies; organizational policies and practices; level of autonomy in work in public and private sector, and social support.

Social Background, Mobility and Use of ICT among the Lawyers in Surat City

Hetal Nanjibhai Ramani, Veer Narmad South Gujarat University

The present paper makes an attempt to analyse the social background and patterns of intergenerational and intra-generational social mobility and use of ICT among the lawyers in terms of their religion, caste, class, sex, place of birth, type of schooling, parental background and reasons for entering into the legal profession. In pre-globalization era, the legal profession was dominated by the lawyers largely drawn from urban and upper caste background. However, with the process of globalization the legal profession has been transforming. The organization of court work has also been changing. The lawyers are using more and more new information and communication technologies in the organization of their work and in making contact with their clients through mobile phone, e-mail. Use of computer and internet has been significantly increased among the lawyers. The study hints that now the legal profession in the Surat city is becoming more and more inclusive.

Social Background of Students of Journalism in Surat City of India

Puja Jagnani, Veer Narmad South Gujarat University

In pre-globalization era, the media, particularly electronic, was controlled either by public sector or semi-public sector. However, in the era of globalization, many private television channels have been allowed to telecast their programmes that lead to a sort of competition among different TV channels. Same happen to the print media also. Earlier newspapers were published in important cities but in the change scenario their branches were opened in different small cities and towns. Hence, along with the national and international news items, local news has got priority. This situation provided favorable condition to opt the journalism as a profession to local professionals. Consequently, the profession has become more inclusive cutting across the religious, caste, class and gender boundaries. Thus, journalism in India as a profession has attracted the attention of the sociologists in last one decade. But only a few studies are conducted in this emerging field of sociological research. Thus, the existing situation provides an occasion to explore and understand the social background of the students of journalism. The present paper makes an effort made to understand social background of students of journalism in South Gujarat University, Surat. The study explores the social background of these students in terms of their caste, religion, parental background, native place and so on by administering a highly structured questionnaire on a purposive sample of 60 students. Supplementary information was collected by using observation and select interview of the respondent.

Globalization and Challenges Of Education For Entrepreneurship

Anpita Sabath, Kanak Lata Samal, Sanjukta Das

The concept of globalisation gained ground during the later part of the twentieth century.. There has been a total change in the whole economic order. Carrier concerned job oriented education will add to Frankenstein's and human robots. Education should be globally oriented.

S13 Caring and Curing, Cuddles and Scalpels, Bonds and Boundaries

Oral papers

Professional Care in Russian Maternity Hospitals

Ekaterina Borozdina, European University at St. Petersburg

Reproduction and reproductive healthcare are subjects of special concern for Russian authorities, and highly sensitive issues for the citizens. A number of sociological researches have analyzed ideologies and corresponding institutional changes in Post-Soviet maternity healthcare. Another brunch of works has concentrated on patients' and medical professionals' perception of transformations: their everyday strategies of getting access to medical services and maintaining professional authority.

My research is focused on Russian centers for "natural childbirth" that emerged in late 1990's as commercial units aimed at providing new type of care for women and families – less medicalized, one which presumes active participation of parents in making decisions about their labor. These centers (although they are very few in the country) took different institutional forms and follow diverse ideologies. Some of them are centers for midwifery care; the others are run by doctors. In some centers childbirth takes place only in hospital settings, other centers also prepare their clients for homebirth. Some are strictly medical; the others consider Orthodox values as a crucial prerequisite for good care. Basing on the materials of observation and interviews with personnel and clients of three Russian centers for "natural childbirth" (in St.Petersburg, Kazan and Volgograd), I consider what is meant by professional (doctoral and midwifery) care in these cases, and how particular constellations of care practices are produced and interpreted in the intersection of state politics (and formal regulations), market logic (and clients' demands), and professionals' assumptions about care.

Splitting, Replacing, Intersecting: the Construction of the Nursing-Medical Boundary in Different Medical Specialties

Elisa Giulia Liberati, Maria Gorli and Giuseppe Scaratti, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore,

This study discusses the boundaries between the realms of curing and caring from an inter-professional perspective, specifically looking at how some hospital nurses negotiated their jurisdiction over the cure and the care when interacting with different type of medical specialists.

The concepts of curing and caring have been traditionally attached to the jurisdiction of the medical and nursing profession, respectively. Classic sociological studies have described doctors' claiming jurisdiction and dominance over all the tasks concerned with treating "ill organs", while nurses being relegated to the an ancillary role in care delivery, and more concerned with the person "behind the patient".

However, in the last forty years, some institutional pressures and societal changes has challenged this fixed division. 1) The patient centered approach has become an established paradigm, and encourages physicians to consider the patient as a "whole person" and to explore his needs and concerns. 2) Nursing practice is not task-focused anymore: nurses' jurisdiction has expanded taking over tasks traditionally performed by doctors. 3) Chronic illnesses have become prevalent, and shifted the emphasis from preventing death to handling life, thus foregrounding the social dimension of healthcare. Moreover, an increasing amount of sociological studies emphasize the power of vis-à-vis interaction and contextual norms in forging the "negotiated order" (Strauss, 1964) of nursing and medicine in real world health context.

Departing from such perspective, the present study aims to elaborate on some specific "strategies" of nurse-doctor boundary negotiation (splitting, replacing, intersecting), which were observed in three different hospital wards (a medical ward; a surgical ward and an intensive care unit) and involved different medical specialists (internal doctors, surgeons and intensivists). The study also aims to discuss why such strategies varied: we will propose a set of possible contextual and professional antecedents that might explain the observed differences. We will end up by discussing how the different strategies of boundary negotiation might reflect different ways of nurses' appropriating the fields of curing and caring, in ways that become tightly intertwined with their professional identities. The study draws data from an ethnographic study conducted in an Italian hospital.

The Evolution of Nursing Profession in Italy: from Care to Cure or a Different Form of Care?

Barbara Sena, Unilelma Sapienza di Roma and Alessandro Stievano, Centre of Excellence for Nursing Scholarship Ipasvi

The nursing profession in Italy has undergone significant changes over the past 20 years, especially after a series of reforms that have transformed work in the health field. In this framework, the basic principle of nursing, which is to "care", tends to integrate with forms of "cure" in the medical sense and to develop new forms of care in specialized fields. This is due to the increase of competencies, acquired by nurses and other allied health professionals through new pathways of university education, started in Italy since 1992. This kind of changes involve nurses not only in the traditional assistance activities, but also in some forms of patient cure. Starting from this premise, this paper aims to analyze the evolution of the nursing profession in Italy towards new models of nursing care, in particular by using some data collected in the Second National Survey on Nursing by Centre of Excellence for Nursing Scholarship Ipasvi in 2013. The aim of this work was to demonstrate how the new professionalized nurses developed new forms of care, and nurses' roles for Italy such as the family nurse or the specialist nurse. However, the practical application of these new models of nursing care in Italy seems to be delayed by an ingrained medical dominance that, sometimes, tends to replace itself in mutant forms.

Caring and Curing When You're in the Minority: Black Men in Gendered Health Professions.

Adia Harvey Wingfield, Georgia State University

The research on gender and work documents that not only are occupations largely sex-segregated, they are also frequently culturally defined as more gender-appropriate for men or for women. Thus, nursing, with its emphasis on caring and preponderance of female workers, is seen as a "woman's job" while being a doctor is a more culturally masculinized occupation that employs more men and yields higher economic rewards and social prestige. Most of the research in this area, however, fails to consider how racial minority status affects the performance of duties associated with gendered occupations. This paper investigates the relationship between caring and curing among racial minorities working in gendered occupations. Drawing from a larger study of the consequences of organizational and occupational changes in medicine for black professionals in the health industry, I examine how gender and race shape the ways that caring and curing are done in gendered occupations of nursing and medicine. How do black nurses and doctors construct ideas about caring and curing in their respective professions? Do factors like gender, nationality, or immigrant status have implications for the ways they care and/or cure? These findings can help us understand additional factors that shape the ways medicine and nursing are

practiced by minority groups who may experience their professional work differently from those in the majority.

Surgeon and Care

Angela Palmieri, Università di Brescia

The specialties in which the medical profession split develop different relationships with the dimension of care. In surgery the care is less evident with respect to clinical specializations (such as general medicine, paediatrics, geriatrics, oncology, etc.).

The paper scrutinizes the reasons for this diversity retracing the evolution of the figure of the surgeon and analyzing the working practices in surgery.

S14 Professions in changing public sectors: opportunities and challenges

Oral papers

You are what you eat: On social closure, boa constrictors, and professional change

Ola Agevall, Linnaeus University

Metaphors are quintessentially novelty items, and as such do not age gracefully. Once productive tensions between vehicle and tenor sooner or later become stale from habituation; all natural languages contain entire petrified forests of once vivid metaphors and analogies which have receded into pseudo-literariness. To this class belongs a concept that has long been at the core of the sociology of professions: the spatial analogy “social closure”, *geschlossene Beziehungen* in Max Weber’s original, has been exploited to highlight important features of inter-professional relations, upon which influential theories have been built. The success of these theoretical approaches has been accompanied by a reluctance to revisit the underlying analogy.

This essay argues the case for reconsidering the spatial analogy underlying the concept of social closure, and it does so along two lines. First, it is shown that only a portion of Weber’s elaboration of social closure was received in the sociology of professions, that attention to the original analogy is needed to rescue the remaining parts, and that these have potential value for profession research. Second, it embarks upon novel metaphorical work on the basis of Weber’s analogy, in order to capture the peculiar dynamics of professions that are defined by employment in a single institution or type of organization. Drawing on the analysis of Swedish university teachers, which approximate this pure type, we arrive at a more generally applicable model of this class of professions.

Boundaries’ Construction: Many Professionalisms of Teachers?

Krista Loogma, Tallinn University

The aim of the paper is to explain how the cultural mechanisms and policy trends influence on the boundaries, creating differences and hybridity in the teachers’ profession and conceptualize that in terms of the boundaries’ construction (Lamont and Molnar, 2002).

During the last 25 years Estonia has undergone two systemic transformations in education: the „revolutionary“ change in early 1990’s, coupled with societal regime change and since late 1990s, the incremental introduction of neo-liberal approach into education policy. The turning points to the „standardization era“ were the implementation of system of national exams in 1997 at upper secondary level, and establishment of NQF in 2001. These policy interventions, coupled with the dramatic demographic changes (diminishing number of children) have had major influence on teachers’ work. The legal regulations have forced to greater integration: merging schools, curricula, work functions of teachers. Thus, in their professional life, teachers have to cross established borders, previously defining their professionalism. Despite standardization of teachers work, teachers may have very different understandings what is their work about. Especially concerns it vocational teacher, as their ways of becoming the teacher are diverse.

In general education, the line between different professionalisms can be conceptualized as boundary between restricted and extended professionalism. Borders, constructed by VET teachers, refer to the distinctions, between the roles of specialist in a vocational area or pedagogue, caring for students and

their life and also boarder-line referring to the distinction between teaching practical or general/theoretical subjects and competences.

Ethical dilemmas in child and family social work and emerging form of professionalism

Teresa Bertotti, Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca

Drawn on a qualitative research on ethical dilemmas experienced by social workers engaged in child and family service in Italy, the paper addresses the issue of the complex relation between professionals and the employing organization. It addresses the tensions stemming from both cultural changes about the expected role of public social care services and social professionals in child protection services and from the change that undergoes the welfare systems in the last years, in relation to the economic crisis, the reduction of the resources and the introduction of managerial policies. The paper discusses the different ways that social workers adopt to react to changes that seems to threaten their professional identity and the ways they found to adapt and to face new demands and new challenges.

A typology of four characters is outlined, also tracing some noticeable signs of emerging forms of new professionalism. The findings are critically discussed in the frame of the sociology of professions, referring to occupational and organizational approach to professions, and to the combination of different logic in relation to different contexts. Links and similarities with comparable studies from other European countries are also presented.

Professionalization of Public Managers and Building of Local Public Agenda. A Comparative Case Study in Two Municipalities of Colombia and Mexico

Gerardo Romo Morales, Universidad de Guadalajara and Mary Luz Alzate Zuluaga, Universidad Nacional de Colombia

The process of building public agenda and reporting of results of two Latin American municipalities are reviewed: Tonalá (Mexico) and Envigado (Colombia), through the comparative analysis of the type of professional skills of public managers.

We assume the idea that there are procedures, concepts and metaphors, common to the hegemonic policies practices, that in the studied cases are developed bounded for a specific institutional framework that is conditioning strategies, results and evaluations of the final performance, and consequently, of the living conditions of citizens.

Is observed in both cases a clear initial intention to rationalize processes and policy agenda in general, however, the results show situations that do not correspond to what is expected under this scheme. The explanation for this difference is under a model that assumes two possible agendas: formal and real as a proposed methodology instrument, where the second one could be deducted and analytically reconstructed only ex post.

We argue that the professionalization of public administrators is conditioned by the political traditions, current interests, and other contextual factors that produce very different results to those formally expected: In Mexico we found improvisation, simulation and a poor compliance plan, while in the case of Colombia, despite greater compliance procedures common to the most current techniques for planning and evaluation, compliance was also only partial.

The military profession faced to the challenges of the asymmetric warfare

Giuseppe Caforio, Centro Interuniversitario studi storici e military

The use of the armed forces has changed dramatically over the past 20 years. Put aside preparing for conventional operations, characteristic of the period of the Cold War, the military instrument of different countries has been increasingly used in peace support operations, which have gradually assumed the aspect of asymmetric warfare.

Defined the concept of asymmetric warfare and its environment, as it appears in the prevailing literature on the subject (though sometimes under other naming: counterinsurgency, stability operations, etc.), the paper aims to examine how much and how has this new environment changed the face of the preparation of the military profession and how this turn is now actually adhering to the changed conditions of employment of the armed forces. Changed conditions that pose significant challenges today to the professional ethic itself, because the unfolding of military operations more often in the midst of the civilian population, in favor of civilians themselves, but at the same time, against other civilians, sometimes

supported by segments of the same local population. As noted many years ago by Morris Janovitz (Janovitz 1960) the professional military is now called upon to reconcile the conception of himself as a warrior with that of constabulary soldier.

The paper also takes advantage on the data resulting from some field research conducted by the author in an inter-services and international context.

Distributed papers

The contribution of self and perceived organizational support in the constitution of knowledge and lifelong learning: the case of Co-operative Education in Ontario

Antoine Pennatorre, Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers and Judene Pretti, University of Waterloo

Within the knowledge economy, the strategic use of knowledge is an asset to achieve performance in organizations. The knowledge, which is acquired throughout the entirety of one's life experience, is most strongly gained during post-secondary education in order to prepare students to succeed in the workplace. Two of the main roles of post-secondary institutions are to develop work-readiness skills as well as global and specific knowledge for future graduates. The mandate of these institutions is to cultivate the individual's desire and ability to learn within the workplace. The institutions accomplish this by providing students with exposure to new concepts and challenges as well as a willingness to be lifelong learners (Kirby, 2010).

Through an original educational program, the Co-operative Education - program based on alternating between academic and work terms - this qualitative and quantitative research aims to identify both the contribution of self (Ashforth et al, 2008) and the perceived organizational support (Eisenberger et al, 1990) within the constitution of knowledge and lifelong learning. This will be accomplished by a stratified random sampling of 2000 undergraduate students in Ontario, Canada. Indeed, research has shown that participation in Co-op can be associated with higher academic performance and increased employability (Freundenberg et al, 2010). However, the relationship between Co-op participation, self, support and specific learning outcomes such as lifelong learning remains unclear.

Social action and motivation of social workers in Russia: challenges of professionalisation

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Background and purpose

In contemporary Russia there are institutional challenges of promoting social work as profession: bureaucratization of work, routinization of labor, low wages and low social status [Iarskaia-Smirnova, Romanov, 2002]. Consequently social workers are change agents in sustainable development. They can be able to impact on social policy of local community.

Social workers in Russia don't have enough financial resources. A minimal wage in Russia (the 1st decade, 2013) is 150,5 Euro. A middle wage of social workers (the 1st decade, 2013) is 271 Euro. The wages of social workers are lower than teacher's and doctor's wages. But there are a lot of initiatives on micro- and macro-levels and their professional autonomy is rather high. Also there are not enough money in the whole system (equipment of institutions, lack of funding for trainings, projects, etc.). Majority of social workers in Russia are employed in governmental local social service centers with bureaucratized structures, in which wages are not high, but in general employment in social work centers is stable.

The theoretical framework of the research is social action model of Max Weber, Neo-Weberian approach of professionalisation [Kuhlmann, 2008; Saks, 2012] and theories of social work research [Flexner, 1915; Weiss-Gall, Melbourne, 2008].

Purpose of the research is to analyze social work as profession focusing on their motivation and typology of social action.

The research objectives are assigned as follows:

- 1) Describe socio-economic and professional features of social work as profession;
 - 2) Analyze mechanisms of social action and motivation of social workers;
 - 3) Suggest the ways of increasing the level of professional autonomy (correlation with social action) and motivation;
 - 4) Formulate recommendations for improving the professional standards of social workers and developing professional autonomy and motivation of social workers in Russia.
- Methodology:

The report presents the key results of qualitative and quantitative research.

Original data collected in the form of in-depth interviews. The data includes interviews [N=30] with social workers in governmental social service centers. During the research we managed to discover the main aspects of professionalisation of social work, social action and motivation (2012-2014);

Mass-survey of social workers in governmental social service centers [N=1165] (2013-2014);

Expert interviews with policy makers in social work in Poland [N=6] (2014).

Results

First, development of professional standards of social work, new laws and regulations, increasing the number of high schools offering education of «social work» point to the institutionalization of the profession of social work. Second, in contemporary social work in Russia there is bureaucratization of work and routinization of labor. Third, there are mechanisms to increasing level of professional autonomy and motivation of Russian social workers.

Conclusions and implications

According to Max Weber's social action model we found out key types of social workers in Russia. Social workers in their professional sphere can show themselves in 4 ways: rational, instrumental, traditional, emotional. The results of the report are recommendations for each types of social workers how to increase level of professional autonomy and motivation to become more effective.

S15 – Knowledge workers facing a globalising professionalism

Oral papers

Co-working as a new form of professional work: an overview of co-working spaces and places

Silvia Ivaldi and Giuseppe Scaratti, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Co-working represents a phenomenon that is developing all over the world during these last few years. It is establishing and entrenching even and especially in response to the economic crisis.

Co-working is a concept that is at once very specific, but ambiguous at the same time. While this has allowed co-working to thrive in many shapes and forms, it also has allowed its meaning to become unclear as its use grows. In general terms it consists of a new challenge that involves various important aspects like ways of living spaces and professional instruments and tools; ways of interpreting the professional experience; forms of constructing relations and conceiving (in) existent boundaries; trends toward distributed, interorganizational, collaborative knowledge work.

Consequently, understanding coworking can help to develop theoretical and analytical tools for getting important insights in order to interpret distributed professional work and the consequences and social impact that it brings.

This contribution presents a qualitative research aiming to achieve an overview of the different types of co-working spaces and the associated characteristics, strengths and weaknesses. The research consists of more than 60 interviews to co-working managers, based on four main issues: who decide to engage in co-working; what are the meanings associated to it; which kind of internal and external networks are activated and what is the interpretation connected to network and collaboration.

The paper discusses the experience of living and shaping boundaries within and between the different tipologies of co-working practices.

Calculative Professionalism and the Governance of cancer research in Germany

Christiane Schnell, Institute for Social Research

In the paper the interconnections between the governance of cancer research and professionalism will be discussed with regard to the German context. The argumentation is based empirically on in depth interviews with medical scientists of cancer research institutes. Different to for example the British model, only a minority of cancer research studies is completely financed by public foundations. Therefore public cancer research institutions in Germany are quite dependent on private sponsorship by the pharmaceutical industry. They are doing contract research, which are paid by pharmaceutical companies; they conduct some prestigious public founded projects and some, which are based on a finance-mix. Above that they are self-sponsoring smaller internal investigations, often developed by younger researchers. It seems to be characteristically for this field of professionalism, that the idea of professional

autonomy is not given up by the doctors and medical scientists, but redefined in correspondence to the mixed calculation of research funding.

The institutionalization of academic profession in Chilean universities

Jorge Gilbert Galassi, Universidad de Valparaiso

Based in the context of the latest transformations of the universities all over the world, and its impact on research & teaching, this presentation focused on the problem of the "Ideal Professor" in terms of her/his professional current profile. Both conventional tasks and professional respectability of the academic profession are not obvious as before. In addition, the contemporary role of the academics in the connection between knowledge, economy, politics and other social spheres is under important changes to face the university public mission or third mission. Data is provided by interviews in Chile, an emergent country with very unequal situations in socio-economic aspects, recently integrated to OCDE, and which is experiencing a process of educational reform in the tertiary level as well. In this sense, we outline an approach to investigate how the values and identities of academics as a professional profile can be mobilized by scientific communities and research groups as a form of hegemonic disciplinary mechanisms for university transformation of today. Our finding deeply goes to the problem of a paradox between research and teaching, with implications to educational quality, which is not just a deficit in developing societies but a concern globally. In short terms, we think that new professionalism is a hard task in Chilean universities today, mainly because there are not academic traditions that tie in a strong way the spheres of teaching and research. That sort of obstacles are associated with structural constraints and agency problems of academics communities in the periphery of global-south.

The profession of Social Media Manager in the radio: A case study of public and commercial radio in Italy and France

Giovanipaolo Ferrari, Università di Salerno & Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III

Nonetheless the attempts of private agencies (WVA/HWG 2014) to classify the professions of the Web, the process of professionalization of these biographic professional directions (Dubar 1998, 2010; Demaziere & al. 1999, 2001) is everyday more complex and not easy to standardize in categories. Social Media Manager (SMM) is one of the most required professional profiles. Companies need professionals as SMM to manage contents and interactions on social media and virtual communities, but they also need someone who generates social media contents adapted to commercial targets of different companies.

In the last ten years mass media corporations (MMC) reorganized their business around digital market and they developed new strategies to be more competitive (Castells 2008). MMC start to offer several web services to users: Technical support, customer service, multimedia contents, etc.

However, the rise of social media changed even more the way of broadcasting in mass-media communication (Lovink 2012; Morozov 2011; Carr 2011; Castells 2008). The worldwide pervasiveness of social media forced MMC to invest economic and human resources to social media team in order to open and manage a dedicated forum, official profiles and pages on different and several platforms. All that brought a change also in professional practices where companies had to adapt their communication one-to-many to one-to-one and many-to-many communication (Castells 2008).

Also national and commercial radio networks changed their working practices and they started to need additional professional profiles in their organization chart (Bonini 2006, 2014; Brochard 2006; Colombo, 2007; Diana et al. 2012; Menduni 2012). For fifteen years radio evolved and some different professional figures appear in the radio context. Indeed, radio need someone that tries to manage all accounts and contents of social media (Bonini 2006; Zanchini 2011; Stockment 2009). For beginning the main problem, was just manage their profiles: Open, manage separate accounts on Facebook, twitter, forum and try to answer sometimes or just manage this account like a blog or like a website. They were interested in social media just to give and take information about customers; but after that they understood that social media is not a one-way communication media (one-to-many), but it is « social ». Social media communication is a continuous interaction with customers, users, auditors, so relationships between radio networks and auditors/users changed completely. They build together communities of practice (Wenger 1998; Wenger et al. 2002). Nevertheless, what happened after this change? It happened that public and private radio started to income some additional professional profiles like the SMM.

This paper shows the professional profile of SMM in national and private radio networks in Italy and France and tries to answer to these questions: What is SMM in a radio network? What kind of educational background SMM needs to have? What are SMM professional practices? What skills this professional figures must have and how this figure interacts with others in the radio context?

We collected several SMM profiles on professional social media (LinkedIn and Viadeo) and job seeker advices. We observed, moreover, interactions between SMM and users of four virtual radio communities: two public (Radio France and Radio RAI) and two commercial (Virgin Radio France and Virgin Radio Italy). The observation shows different ways and different styles to manage social media radio communities. We observed micro-interactions and situated actions (Hughes 1958; 1963; 1971; Suchman 1987; Gherardi 2007; Barley 1996; 2001) to bring out situated professional practices. Researchers need to go on the field to study these professional phenomena and observe practices in all single virtual workplaces. The latter, in our case, is social media communities and the action is situated on the screen, on the interface (Wenger et al. 2002; Gherardi 2007; Demaziere 2011).

Nowadays, also national radio with a celebrated history as Radio France or Radio RAI needs to integrate in their organization chart these figures that are Web professional profiles and they are not part of radio broadcasting tradition. They are also required to open their world with the integration of Web professionals. The SMM is a very important role in a radio network to include social media in broadcasting platforms. In the last ten years, the skills of SMM changed: the « classical » profile of SMM was linked to an idea of professionals close to the marketing and communication sector (Holmes 2013; Claveria 2014). Instead, the market requires other skills from a SMM. Analysis of job seeker advices, for instance, support the idea that radio networks require not just technical skills, but grammar, orthography and educational skills. The point of view is about change, is about being displaced in another field: the field of contents and continuous interactions with users. A SMM in a radio network needs to have extensive skills from his background. In Radio France or Radio RAI, recruiters ask a broad musical culture and pedagogical skills. The SMM has to do more than a technical support or customer service manager. The analysis depicts a different frame between community strategies and practices of public and commercial radio networks. The Facebook profiles, indeed, are completely different between them: the contents published, but also the style of communication, the grammar structure of sentences, the interactions structure (question/answer) and the timing of intervention in the discussion. Therefore, the analysis of interactions shows that is difficult for SMM with a work experience in Virgin Radio France or Italy, to be recruited in Radio France or Radio RAI. The SMM is supposed to talk about products not just with passion or competences, but also with specifically mind-set identity. In this perspective, the SMM cannot exist as a stable and defined professional profile and technical skills are just a small and peripheral component of SMM professional profile.

To conclude, in the age of the Internet maturity there is no place for beginners also if they have appropriate informatics skills. It is finished the Internet of nerds and geeks and it is started the Internet with « everyone ». The latter would be less an impoverishment of the Web, rather than an enrichment of a process of professionalization of web professions (Bureau et al. 2006) with additional competences: Everyday more connected with humanities rather than informatics. It emerged, from the analysis, that cultural and technical skills are not the same: the SMM is not anymore just a « technical technician » (a community expert with some informatics skills) (Barley 1996), but he must be a « humanist » too, namely an expert in contents, with a humanist sensitivity. Currently, the rise of semantic web and simplification of programming languages, thanks to evermore friendly interfaces (Gane et al. 2008), is changing the Web in a « content and interactive universe ». In this context, a SMM must be able to master concepts and ideas, to manage and generate the contents and not just to administrate accounts and solve technical matters. It seems a job more adapt to a philosopher than to a developer of HTML5 or CSS. For these reasons, it is not feasible to put all these various professionals under the same category.

From geographic mobility to socio-economic mobility: projects, routes and pathways on the move
Maria De Lourdes Machado-Taylor and João Lopes, Center for Policies on Higher Education Policies – CIPES - University of Aveiro

Portugal is characterised, among other factors, by being a country of immigrants, notwithstanding the different flows over time. Currently, that structural trend has regained particular relevance, being, however, nuanced with other and new social contours. We refer mainly to skilled emigration committed to new challenges, whether or not dependent on academically acquired skills.

Therefore, the research study underlying the communication we intend present focuses on the exit of highly qualified professionals, with the consequent transfer of skills transmuted into human capital to other European countries. It is, thus, important to realize the extent to which the geographic mobility of graduates is likely to involve a socio-economic mobility arising from socio-professional changes, by comparing between the country of origin and the host country. Bearing in mind the existence of different life projects, paths and routes among graduates, it is also important to understand the impulses to the decision of leaving, underlying predispositions and social consequences, particularly in relation to an experience that, while being, in principle, unique, finds a plural and, therefore, regular return.

In methodological terms, an extensive research methodology was used, with an online questionnaire survey, through which 750 responses have been obtained. This methodology was supplemented by an intensive methodology - focus groups and semi-directive interviews of a biographical nature - sociological portraits.

S16 Professions and public regulation

Oral papers

“Everything needs to change, so everything can stay the same”. New reforms and institutional inertia in Italian system of professions

Lara Maestriperi, Fondazione Feltrinelli

Italian system of profession is characterised by a strong corporatist system, in which the institutional acknowledgement of professional groups has a direct influence on access and regulation, welfare benefit, but also on prestige and recognition of a profession. In the last 20 years with the progressive growth of new professions in the domain of knowledge work, the political agenda has been shirking its responsibility letting the new professionals act in a substantial lack of public regulation. This has meant for professionals like management consultants being in a sort of limbo, where their professional identity has not a clear status; with growing disparities in terms of welfare revenues compared to the regulated professionals, and with the substantial incapacity of protecting their members from inter-professional conflicts.

However, the law 4/2013 – first and sole legislative act by Italian legislators in the domain of unregulated professions – has tried to introduce in Italy a system inspired by Anglo-Saxon institute model that recognises the role of private associations of unregulated professional groups. Five years after an extensive empirical analysis on management consultancy (Maestriperi, 2013), I interviewed again key-informants from the main professional associations of management consultancy as an example of a knowledge work in its way to professionalization, in order to assess the impact of the law 4/2013 on three main topics: access, welfare benefit and social acknowledgement. Stemming from empirical data, data demonstrate that the famous remark from G. Tomasi di Lampedusa (*) is still valid when commenting the Italian system of professions.

‘Local Welfare’ and social professions practices: rescalling public social issue governance

Susana Peñalva, National University of San Martin (UNSAM) – CONICET

Work and welfare have evolved following the great transformation of economies and societies over the last 40 years. Both relevant social issues have been considered in their specificity in a global research agenda regarding different regional, national, and institutional North/South contexts. Their linkages have not always being dimensioned from the viewpoint of social cohesion. Not taking into account how crucial their interactions are within societies where industrial workers' employment (and social protection) has been challenged by a large service-based economy, redefining work and professions – with impact on Welfare management.

Searching to contribute to the analysis of public sector governance related to the idea of 'inclusive professionalism' in contemporary Western European societies, this communication focuses a problematization of what 'local Welfare' represents within the changing cognitive and normative (global/local) frames of reference of public action and social intervention. On the background of previous research on the recent Latin American and Argentinian experience, it also seeks to critically reflect on the institutional impact and significance of this 'central' references within the 'post-neoliberal' national regimes of social organisation disseminated in this area. On one hand, regarding that could be conceived as

underlying the structural reform of national public sector role and the injunctions for a policy rescaling'. And, on the other hand, questioning the emerging dynamics towards a 'multilevel management' of specific fields of policies and public intervention (economics, employment, health...), as well as an 'hybridization' (social work/social professions', with their 'targeted' public), in order to addressing the 'social issue', 'metamorphosed' itself.

How to be a Startupper in a country in crisis. Social networks and start-ups in Italy

Cecilia Manzo, Università di Teramo

The emergence and unexpected success of start-ups raises widespread attention. What are the distinctive features of these entrepreneurs? We know that start-ups are founded by young entrepreneurs, often without academic qualification or family tradition, so it becomes more important to understand where, and how, they acquire the resources useful to start and sustain their activities. In particular, it is relevant to look at the kind of capital (human and social, not just financial) mobilized by startupper.

This analysis proposes a multi-dimensional approach that holds together the individual dimensions (attributes of the entrepreneur), relationships (social networks) and contexts (geographic and sectorial) that structure the creative process of start-ups. In particular, we aim to the factors associated with formal and informal interactions favouring the spread and contamination of knowledge, focusing on the relational dimension of innovation processes [Powell and Snellman 2004]. It also aims to identify the generative mechanisms that operate in combining factors that relate to the context and the agents (mostly, entrepreneurial action), and how collective actors, both public and private, also intervene.

Using an original database, composed of 440 start-ups, we adopt social network analysis in order to analyse formal and informal relationships between startups and public institutions and geolocalize the networks in order to define the role that so-called smart cities may have for the development of new forms of entrepreneurship.

Professional authority under political pressure. How the medical profession claims authority in public

Lars Thorup Larsen, Aarhus University

The professional monopoly of medical doctors is well established in almost all health care systems, although it is equally common that health systems try to counterbalance the power of the medical profession through elaborate systems of political and managerial control. Most political systems have established elaborate mechanisms of managerial control in order to subject medical authority to political and economic goals. Similarly, doctors face a much more demanding group of patients than previously because citizens today collect their own information about diagnoses, treatment, medical malpractice, etc. While there is much literature on the policy side of medical control and its possible effect on health system performance, there is less on the reactions of the medical profession. How does the profession struggle to reestablish medical authority faced with increased pressure from states and citizens? This paper seeks to demonstrate how the medical profession claims authority in the face of these challenges.

The analysis is based on a comparative study of app. 1.000 editorials in the major medical journals in the US (JAMA), the UK (BMJ) and Denmark (Ugeskrift) selected over 60 years from 1950 to the present day. The American medical profession constitutes a strong, autonomous profession operating in a largely private health care system whereas Denmark is the reverse on both variables, and finally the UK is an interesting combination of a publicly based health care system, but still with a long-standing tradition of broad, medical autonomy.

Flexibility and work quality in large-scale retailing: the case of a Milanese supermarket open 24/24 hours

Michela Boils, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

In last years, internationalisation and trade liberalisation have led to a process of transformation in large-scale retailing. In particular, the changes in this sector depend on the necessity to intercept the consumers' preferences, both in terms of products' characteristics (price and quality), but primarily in terms of habits of purchases. In order to fit to the new consumers' behaviours, the large-scale retailing companies try to plan a flexible offer, especially by extending their opening hours. This choice leads to an intensification of work processes and a growing use of temporary as well as part-time employment,

combined with latent understaffing and a search for maximum, unilaterally managed working time flexibility in order to cover ever longer opening hours.

In Italy, the city of Milan represents one of the focal points of retail modernisation: the paper presents the case study of a Milanese supermarket, the first in Italy open all day, 24/24 hours. The research aims to analyse the strategies of human resources selection and management. In particular, the paper examines the work quality, the job satisfaction and the relation between flexibility of work arrangements and work-life balance opportunities for workers.

Early Career Researchers: Meet the Future of Sociology of Professional Groups

Oral papers

“Sawing off their own Branches”: A multidirectional trajectory of the relationship between institutionalization and professionalization

David Risi, University of St. Gallen

“Institutional work represents one of the most active and thriving frontiers in institutional theory” (Hwang & Colyvas, 2010: 63) as the concept has laid the ground for focusing on both the purposeful and the everyday actions through which actors attempt to disrupt, maintain, or create institutions – powerful patterns of social action that influence how we think and act in a specific social context (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Muzio, Brock & Suddaby, 2013: 700; Scott, 2005). While early work of institutional theory highlights the constraining effect of institutions on actors (e.g., Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977), institutional work allows strengthening institutional theory “by bringing work activity, social interaction, and local meaning-making back into the picture” (Hallett, 2010: 66). In line with the question who engages in institutional work (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013), an institutionalist perspective on the study of the professions, their work, and organization has been developed (Muzio et al., 2013). At the heart of the institutional perspective on the professions lies the assumption of a positive relationship between professionalization and institutionalization which is implicitly based on work in the sociology of the professions (e.g., Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). Following that work, Suddaby and Viale (2011: 436) conclude two principles: First, professionals are key drivers of institutional change as they form new alliances, compacts and strategic relationships with institutions that can assist in their professionalization projects. Second, professional projects are intimately connected to projects of institutionalization because professions colonialize collateral institutions to secure their status and survival. Recent work builds on the assumption that professionalization and institutionalization are not only concomitant but also inseparable concepts (Muzio et al., 2013: 706; Suddaby & Viale, 2011: 426; see also for instance Adler & Kwon, 2013; Daudigeos, 2013). Collectively, the current literature assumes that institutional work which is carried out by a profession and resulting organizational and field level changes are key mechanisms that strengthen the profession’s social position and influence in a particular institutional field. Taken together, this suggests a monodirectional relationship between these two concepts (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2013; Daudigeos, 2013; Empson, Cleaver & Allen, 2013; for an overview see Muzio et al., 2013). Our study of staff professionals prompted us to rethink this central assumption. Staff professionals are obliged to solve organizational problems by applying their professional knowledge, but do not belong to the hierarchy of authority and therefore lack the legitimacy of rank (Child, 1973; Dalton, 1950, 1957). Daudigeos (2013: 723) further explicitly refers to sustainability officers as a specific type of staff professionals because they “promote new professional practices inside their organization”.

Results of a longitudinal study of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) managers (often used as a synonym of sustainability officers; see Strand, 2013) in German and Swiss multinational corporations (MNCs) suggest that institutional work by these staff professionals and their (implicitly or explicitly formulated) mission to institutionalize CSR as a taken-for-granted component of managing (see Bondy, Moon & Matten, 2012) can over time weaken, rather than strengthen, their very influence and position as a profession. Here, we broadly define CSR as an umbrella concept for the systematic integration of social, environmental and ethical aspects into business conduct in cooperation with stakeholders (Baumann-Pauly et al., 2013). Studying this empirical context renders particularly useful since “CSR has not only become institutionalized in society but (...) [as] a form of this institution is also present within MNCs” (Bondy et al., 2012: 281).

In this research, we conceptualize institutional work of CSR managers as distinct formal and informal strategies including the mundane day-to-day activities enacted by these staff professionals to promote new CSR practices inside their organization and which ultimately shape the institution of CSR at the field level (Bondy et al., 2012; Smets et al., 2012). Our data suggests that as long as the CSR change project is not achieved and ongoing (or perceived by actors in the field as not achieved), strong influence and relative importance are attributed to CSR managers. Once achieved, CSR managers' self-assessment of their future organizational influence suggests that their relative importance would decline in favor of other change projects. Importantly, our data does not suggest that the relationship between institutionalization and professionalization cannot be unidirectional and positive. Rather, driven by our findings, we seek to "problematize" (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011) this commonly held assumption and show under which conditions this relationship is more likely dynamic and multidirectional, and thus potentially negative.

This observation implies that the more recipients of institutional work (i.e. other members of an institutional field - in our case "functional" managers in MNCs that are addressees of CSR managers' change projects) - perceive the "results" of this work as materialized in a natural way of doing business, the less important it becomes for them to have these staff professionals pushing for further institutionalization and the lower is the perceived influence and relative standing of this profession. Institutional work might thus, under certain conditions that we will investigate in this study, contribute to the loss of influence of a profession.

Overall, our study provides empirical evidence for seeing the interrelationship between professionalization and institutionalization in a multidirectional and dynamic, rather than unidirectional light (e.g., Muzio et al., 2013): The progressing institutionalization of CSR as a taken-for-granted management practice seems to evoke a negative effect on the professionalization project of CSR managers in which they attempt to position themselves as important and indispensable change agents. These findings have important implications for understanding the mechanisms and boundary conditions of "successful" institutional work and the ambivalent, rather than "heroic" role of professionals engaging in institutional work. We contribute to the literature on institutional work and the profession by developing a conceptual model that answers our research question: What are the boundary conditions that explain the mono- vs. multidirectional relationship between institutionalization and professionalization?

The Changing Role of the General Medical Practitioner in the English National Health Service

Adele Cresswell, Nottingham University

This paper is based on findings from a study of General Medical Practitioners (GPs) in an urban area. Jens Beckett (2010) has developed a conceptual framework based on the argument that networks, institutions or rules, and cognitive frames are "forces" that act simultaneously, each impacting upon the others with an irreducible interdependency. This framework is used to analyse the processes of change in a healthcare system, specifically the changes to the role of the GP, and the context in which they deliver their care. Studies of changes in healthcare are often focused on what the change was, and the impacts that resulted. This study focusses on "how" and "why" change occurs, with the intention of contributing to an understanding of the dynamics that come into play when new rules and directives are implemented. The new rule in this case is the Health and Social Care Act (Parliament, 2012), a statutory change to the arrangements for securing health care in England. New organisations called Clinical Commissioning Groups were established; these are networks of general practices with the purpose of planning and securing health care provision for their patients. Also new statutory partnerships called Health and Well-being Boards were introduced with the purpose of bringing together health, and social care agencies to provide an overview in an area.

The study is based on observations of a CCG in an inner city area. The city includes areas of significant deprivation, and has a highly diverse population. The methodology used was that of an ethnographic case study, using participant observation, and follow up interviews. The study was reflexive as the researcher had previously held a senior role in a predecessor organisation to the CCG. The case study was nested at three levels. These are: clinical work and the practice business; the process of tendering and contracting in a health system (CCG); and interagency partnerships that extend beyond healthcare (HWB).

The NHS, like many professionally based-systems, is organised hierarchically, and some actors have roles at more than one level in that hierarchy. This is especially so for clinical leaders, as the underpinning principle of clinical leadership models is that the bosses should also be workers, thus

grounding the decision makers in the day to day business of the world about which they take decisions. In the CCG studied, all of the GP leaders were also practicing clinicians in that CCG. This and other factors lead to the potential of role confusion, and conflicts of interests. This paper focusses on the way that GPs interpret their role in order to navigate these various levels of working.

It is commonly assumed in the sociological literature that actors are motivated by self-interest. This has been strongly argued in relation to doctors who are considered to be an elite profession who act as a monopoly putting their own interests before those of patients and the wider public. This assumption did not seem valid in this inner city setting. Decisions made by the GPs resulted in financial losses at the level of the practice business, and also increases in the volume and complexity of their work. The explanation for this would appear to be linked to two distinct cognitive frames. Firstly, self-interest was subordinate to the longer term ambition to develop and safe guard the profession itself. The GP leaders had a relationship of stewardship towards the profession, and also expressed feelings of "care" for the younger doctors that had decided to follow the "call" to be inner city practitioners. Secondly, in the case of the inner city doctors in this study, also very important was the preservation of the principle that the patients wellbeing must always be of paramount concern. Doctors often described themselves as on a "mission" to protect the interests of patients, particularly people made vulnerable by mental illness, poverty, and inter-generational worklessness. Doctors in leadership positions described altruistic intentions of "making a difference", "acting with integrity" and "leaving a legacy" in terms of contributing to the shape of the profession in the future. These intentions were more than just words. Empirical data includes multiple examples of the application of these principles in the working environment with examples of resultant negative consequences for the income for general practices.

These findings are important for sociology of professions and for Becker's conceptual framework. In terms of sociology of professions, a more nuanced understanding of how and why inner city doctors make the decisions that they do is outlined, by defining a cognitive frame based on the importance of developing the profession and the prioritisation of the interests of patients. In terms of Becker's framework, the study extends the definition of cognitive frame, and specifically qualifies an assumption that all cognitive positions will be based on self-interest by arguing that emotional and value-based aspects of thought processes can lead to the repression and subordination of that self-interest.

Negotiating jurisdiction in the workplace: a multiple-case study of nurse prescribing in hospital settings

Marieke Kroezen, Catholic University Leuven

Introduction

Governments increasingly see the shifting of tasks from physicians to nurses as a suitable policy response to current problems in healthcare. This has resulted in nurses and nurse specialists taking up new tasks, one of which is the prescribing of medicines. When nurses take over tasks from physicians, professional boundaries are shifted, and the division of jurisdictional control between the medical and nursing profession is changed. Because prescribing has traditionally been the sole domain of the medical profession, the expansion of prescriptive authority in the Netherlands to include nurse specialists touches on issues of professional competition between the two professions for jurisdiction over prescribing. According to the sociologist Abbott, professions can claim jurisdictional control over tasks in several arenas, namely the legal arena, the workplace arena and the arena of public opinion. In our paper, the focus is on the workplace arena and the legal arena, and the relationship between these two.

Since 2012, nurse specialists (Masters in Advanced Nursing Practice) in the Netherlands have been legally allowed to prescribe medicines. Their legal prescriptive authority is comparable to that of physicians. Both groups of professionals are allowed to independently prescribe any licensed medicine for any medical condition within their specialism and competence, although it should be noted that physicians have a significantly wider field of competence.

In general, however, formalised jurisdictions have a rather vague relation to professional workplace realities. In the workplace, professional boundaries cannot be strictly maintained and healthcare professionals renegotiate formal policies. Yet investigations of workplace occupational boundaries are rare.

Our study contributes to existing knowledge by explicitly examining the link between the macro- and micro level by taking into consideration the legal arena and the workplace arena, and the relationship between these two. We examine the division of jurisdictional control over prescribing between nurse

specialists and physicians in the workplace, and study the extent to which workplace jurisdiction over prescribing resembles legal jurisdiction over prescribing.

Methods

As prescribing processes are complex and context dependent, a multiple-case study research strategy was adopted. Data collection took place more than a year after nurse specialists in the Netherlands had obtained legal prescriptive authority. To study how prescribing by nurse specialists is taking shape in the workplace and how jurisdictional control over prescribing is divided between nurse specialists and physicians, we performed non-participant observations of nurse specialists' consultations, conducted semi-structured interviews with nurse specialists and medical specialists, and performed document analysis. Fifteen nurse specialists and fourteen medical specialists, working in five different hospitals in the Netherlands, participated in our study and were interviewed. We observed a total of 49 prescribing consultations. We performed a thematic analysis of the interview transcripts, observation reports and documents gathered through the document analysis to answer our research questions.

Results

Across hospitals and hospital wards, we found a great variety in both the extent to which and way in which nurse specialists' legal prescriptive authority had been implemented. There was considerable variety in the number and range of medicines prescribed. Moreover, while most nurse specialists were allowed to independently prescribe both initial and repeat prescriptions, some were required to check all their initial prescriptions with their medical specialist. Whilst prescribing, nurse specialists used a wide variety of supporting documents, ranging from guidelines drafted by international professional associations to personal formularies developed by the individual nurse specialist (often in cooperation with and/or approved by medical staff).

There was considerable consultation between nurse specialists and physicians when nurse specialists prescribed medicines. These consultations were almost exclusively informal in nature. Nurse specialists for example walked round to the medical specialist and discussed the matter with them on the spot before returning to their patient. Both nurse specialists and medical specialists reported that they liked working in this way.

Hence, as found earlier, legal jurisdiction seems to have a rather vague relation to professional workplace realities. From a macro point of view, the division with regard to prescribing in the Netherlands is unambiguous; in the legal arena, nurse specialists and physicians share highly comparable full jurisdiction over prescribing. Yet due to the great variety in the manner in which this legal framework is currently being implemented and drawn up in the workplace, at the micro level a variety of jurisdictional settlements coexists concerning nurse specialist prescribing. We found that nurse specialists hardly ever independently prescribe all medicines within their specialism and competence, as their legal authority allows them to do. Most of the time, medical specialists, consciously or unconsciously, still play a large role in nurse specialists' prescribing processes, thereby maintaining a situation of jurisdictional nursing subordination. For example, we found that nurse specialists were allowed to prescribe for 'routine patients', while the more complex patients were exclusively treated by the medical specialist. In terms of professional dominance, one could say that the introduction of nurse specialist prescriptive authority enabled medical specialists to assign professionally 'dangerous' routine work to nurse specialists and, in so doing, enhance their professional position and reinforce the subordinate position of nursing.

Finally, it may seem somewhat surprising that on the work floor, nurse specialists and medical specialists generally cooperate in an informal and harmonious way. In the sociology of professions, the emphasis is often on active and overt opposition from professions to defend their professional jurisdiction. Our study shows that professions can take a cooperative stance and whilst doing so make sure that legal rules are being negotiated and framed in such a way that they retain the (amount of) professional jurisdiction they want.

Robust routines. The routinization of standardized work procedures in health care

Marlot Kuiper, Utrecht University

Professional service organizations such as hospitals are confronted with many pressures and challenges. Rising costs, huge information flows, technological developments, claims for more transparency and public accountability and critical clients, all affect the organization and delivery of care. In order to reduce complexity and support medical and clinical action, e.g. to make information flows manageable, there is a focus on evidence based medicine (EBM) and a tendency to work with standardized protocols and

checklists. Facts and figures demonstrate that medical professionals hardly comply to these procedures, even though these guidelines are set by the profession itself and their effectiveness is scientifically proven. The dominant stance in professionalism literature is that professionals are 'recalcitrant' when it comes to change and strongly rely on their institutionalized autonomy (e.g. Freidson, 1994; Tunis et al., 1994; Cabana et al., 1999; Light, 2000). However, professionals feel assaulted by these claims. They are not only forced to change, but they want to change as well. Initiatives to adapt work practices are not only prompted by managerial actors. Increasingly, suggestions for the alteration of professional work develop on the working floor (see e.g. Waring and Currie, 2009; Muzio and Faulconbridge, 2012). Earlier research has shown that professionals are increasingly aware of an organizational logic (e.g. Noordegraaf, 2011) in which coordinated action, for example related to quality and safety issues, is at the core (see also Noordegraaf's concept of 'organized professionalism'). Instead of mere defensive responses, there are signals that professionals have a 'willingness to change'. However, the medical profession struggles with linking new procedures to work processes. Established work routines seem to work against adaptation. Many studies predominantly rely on well-known mechanisms that 'hinder' professional adaptation and explain difficulties in transforming professional practices, such as professional autonomy, hierarchy structures and socialization processes. These mechanisms are not only well-established within the sociology of professions literature; the medical profession itself focuses on these mechanisms as well. Even though there are clear attempts to break away from these institutionalized 'barriers' (e.g. in the form of experiments that change hierarchical relations), it remains difficult to adapt work practices. Analysis of these 'obvious' mechanisms seems insufficient. Therefore, we focus on routinization processes to explain what happens when new standards are set.

Routines are at the core of daily activities and play a fundamental role in the organization of care. Through recurring action patterns, routines generate stability and are a basic necessity to carry out complex work in organizations and warrant patient safety (Novak et al., 2012; Greenhalgh, 2008; Zucker, 1987). Because routines provide stability, recurrent action patterns might at the same time hinder the adjustment to new circumstances. They also enable change, however, and even contribute to 'institutional competency' (Kuiper et al. 2014). In this earlier study (Kuiper, Noordegraaf, Kuipers, 2014) we found that besides 'classic' professional mechanisms, other factors play a crucial role in routinizing new work practices. Professional work is all about dealing with complexity. Medical professionals have to treat individual cases with unique symptoms and indications. This requires multiple, diverging team compositions. Because professional work is situated, it is not about compliance in a narrow sense, but much more about the competency to deviate from these standards when necessary. These factors are often overlooked in studies on the 'implementation' of new protocols. This paper builds further on these findings by examining our hypothesis that as work practices become more contingent (especially regarding task specificity, time pressure and team composition), it becomes more difficult to adapt and interweave new procedures into existing work processes. More robust routines are then necessary. In order to study professional routines, we follow Feldman and colleagues and focus on 'ostensive' and 'performative' dimensions of routines. Empirically, we present the outcomes of a comparative case study, in which we analysed different types of medical work practices. In all of these practices, 'time out' procedures and briefing standards are used, but practices vary. We analyse practices in different contexts, varying along three axes: task complexity ('standard' versus complex intervention), time pressure (scheduled versus unscheduled/emergency), and team composition (singular specialism versus multidisciplinary). We show what 'robust routines' mean in each of these situations.

Evaluating formal access into the Master's in Clinical Psychology programme: A Legitimation Code Theory Analysis

Genevieve Haupt, Human Sciences Research Council

Present day societies are facing higher levels of social problems than what was the case in the past. This could be due to various reasons, such as ease of access to drugs, high levels of income inequality, etc. South Africa is one of these societies which is plagued with various social problems including poverty, unemployment, trauma, violence and substance abuse. A number of studies have indicated that these social issues are major environmental risk factors for mental illness and therefore increase the burden of mental illnesses and disability on society (Burns, 2011). Burns (2011) indicates that despite SA's progressive mental health legislation, such as the Mental Health Care Act of 2002 (RSA, 2002), various barriers to financing and development of mental health still exist, leading to:

- psychiatric hospitals remaining outdated;
- serious shortages of mental health professionals;
- an inability to develop vitally important tertiary level psychiatric services (such as child and adolescent services); and
- community health and psychosocial rehabilitation services remaining underdeveloped.

There are about 0.32 psychologists available per 100 000 population in South Africa (Lund, Kleinjies, Kakuma, Fisher & MHaPP Research Programme Consortium, 2010, HRH SA, 2012). However in contrast to the low number of registered psychologists, the demand is high. There are 699 vacant posts in the public Health Sector for registered psychologists and related posts, which excludes the needs of other public sectors (such as prisons, police, and military) (HRH SA, 2012). In addition to general access issues identified in the international literature, the heterogeneous nature of the South African populace means the additional barriers of language and cultural differences for certain demographic groups impact on their ability to access psychological services, with translation services not being a desirable option. A need for more Black psychological service providers have thus been noted (HRH SA, 2012). The aforementioned discussion alludes to the considerable gap between the needs of society and the nature of psychological services available. Despite such overwhelming need universities can only accept a small number of students to complete the Master's programme in clinical psychology each year. The competition for entry into such programmes are thus very high and a considerable lack of understanding still exists with regards to how individuals are selected into these programmes. It is surmised that if the bases upon which certain individuals are successful can be better understood then the gap between societal needs and production can be better addressed.

In an effort to better understand this dynamic Karl Maton's Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) was used. It is an analytical framework which provides a toolkit to analyse social and cultural practices across different contexts both within and beyond education. Each dimension makes the underlying structuring principles of practices and contexts explicit in order to understand their impact on sociological phenomena. Specialisation, the most developed and widely used of the five dimensions, refers to the relationship between the social and the epistemic relations of a field. It enables the illustration of the 'rules of the game' - making explicit what is valued and by whom within a particular context. This paper argues that this dimension can be used to explore what is valued and legitimated in the selection process of the Masters in Clinical Psychology programme at selected universities in South Africa. The contribution of such an approach is the opportunity it allows for engagement on the bases upon which professional group practices can serve to exclude/include individuals.

An examination of the boundaries and accounting professions in New Zealand: Views from architecture and accounting professions

Chelsea Blickem, University of Waikato

The concept of professions, as a means to describe and organise bodies of work, workers and their technical and tacit body of knowledge, has existed since the pre-Enlightenment era. Professions, or occupational groups, are embedded in social and economic contexts. Over time professions have developed norms, cultures and behaviours that shape a sphere of work, govern members of a professional group, and that represent the group's notion of standards, ethics and values. Professions have also developed training, education and professional accreditation requirements, much of which are increasingly provided for within higher education contexts (Evetts, 2003).

Definitions of professions over time have been elusive (Downie, 1990; Evetts, 2013; Larson, 1977; Locke, Vuillamy, Webb, & Hill, 2006). Lists of traits have been developed that often relate to traditional professions such as law, medicine and teaching (Collins, Dewing, & Russell, 2009). Such definitions appear to be inadequate, however, to capture the range, nuances and complexities of the nature, scope and work of a profession, the rapidly changing work contexts (Eraut, 2004), and to acknowledge the multiple and new influences being brought to bear on professions and what it means to be a professional.

This paper reports on a recently completed PhD study which explored what it means to be a professional in architecture and accounting contexts in New Zealand. The study examined the relationship between professions, practice and higher education, and the nature of professional disciplinary knowledge. Such knowledge can be described as a specialised, protected form of knowledge which requires mastery of tacit, codified and embodied knowledge through social interaction.

Architecture and accounting professional learning and training has increasingly been relocated, or recontextualised (Bernstein, 2000), from practice into the higher education context. The study, reported within this paper, considered how architecture and accounting professional disciplinary knowledge, professional identity and notions of professionalism are being shaped as a result of a change in location of initial professional education. Theoretically valuable for the study was the premise that professional learning is a dynamic, non-linear, situation-dependent, context-influenced process that has no definitive end point and a number of possible development trajectories (Cheetham & Chivers, 1996; Chown & Last, 1993; Dall'Alba & Sandberg, 2006; Eraut, 2005; Torr, 2005). It appears not to be a linear, staged, outcomes-dependent, novice-to-expert process focusing on competency, as argued earlier by Dreyfus, Dreyfus and Athanasiou (1986).

The shift to the university requires professions to become academic disciplines, and the fusion of discipline-based propositional knowledge with the practical application of knowledge specific to the particular profession and with sufficient features so as to be granted academic status (Bromme & Tillema, 1995; Eraut, 1994). Professional knowledge is codified and given legitimacy through courses, programmes, measurable outcomes, quality frameworks and systems of credits. To what extent recontextualised professional learning can be constructed in ways that suit the nature of professional disciplinary knowledge, that incorporates non-propositional, practice-based, dispositional, relational tacit professional knowledge and which provides for legitimate features of practice and opportunities to practice, was a key focus of the PhD study.

Professional degree designers and lecturers appear to struggle to adequately prepare or professionalise practitioners for the relational and more tacit aspects of practice, and to foster classical notions of professional identity, namely expertise, altruism and autonomy. To what extent, however, the expectations around "pure professionalism" (Noordegraaf, 2007, p. 765) should continue to prevail and be sought after are examined in this paper, in light of policy, practice, contextual, societal and digital influences that appear to be distorting, re-interpreting and expanding the boundaries and expectations of professionalism and what it means to be a professional (Evans, 2013; Noordegraaf, 2013).

Participant data for the PhD study were collected through one-to-one interviews with practitioners and focus groups with academics. The relocation of professional learning into the academy was identified by participants as having created issues of authenticity, autonomy, de-professionalisation and surveillance. New practitioners were viewed as struggling to develop skills, behaviours and dispositions expected of practising professionals. Critical factors were the lack of authentic practice within curriculum, and professional learning taking place in risk-averse, measurable, highly regulated higher education contexts as mandated by the state and the professional associations. A critical analysis of documents that shape and otherwise have a bearing on professional learning, practice and professional identity revealed discursive effects of neoliberal education policy and a preoccupation with measurability, surveillance and employability.

A number of implications and recommendations for the professions, professional practice and professional learning in higher education have been drawn from the study and will be shared in this paper. The study contributes to discussions on the nature of professional disciplinary knowledge and professional learning, and argues that pedagogy and curriculum need to give professionals access to both tacit practical and provisional theoretical knowledge. The study sheds light on the epistemological, ontological and provisional development (Scanlon, 2011) of professionals working in unpredictable, cognitive and contextually-informed locations.

Changes to the status quo call for imagination, critically and a re-positioning by higher education, the state and the professions. To what extent this can occur within the national and global context is a challenge that is shared in this paper. At stake is the nature of professional disciplinary knowledge and the development of architecture and accounting professionals as autonomous experts practising in New Zealand society.

The Changing Nature of Professional Work in Zimbabwe: Comparative case studies of Lawyers, Engineers, Chartered Accountants and Human Resource Managers.

Farai Maugandze, Great Zimbabwe University

Globalisation, capitalism, technology, changes in the socio-economic landscape and the changing nature of customer demands have been making and remaking professions in Zimbabwe. It is therefore important to have a clear understanding of how professions are changing in Zimbabwe, particularly, in the legal,

engineering, accounting and human resource fields taking into consideration the country's unique socio-economic and political landscape. In addition, it is also important to investigate the impact of these changes on professional work and professional milieu of the above mentioned professionals. Much work has been done on the changing nature of informal work and lower skilled workers in Zimbabwe, but there is a paucity of work on the nature of reconfiguration of expert work. Given that a feature of modern workplaces is for most professionals to work in organisations, the nature of this reconfiguration may have profound consequences for Zimbabwean human resource policies and practices.

The researcher focused on the above mentioned fields of professional work due to a number of reasons. Firstly, these professions have established professional bodies, representing the interests of these professions. It has been established that the Law Society of Zimbabwe has been in operation since 1981. The Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers was established in 1944, by the Rhodesia Institute of Engineers while the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Zimbabwe was established in 1918. It was in the interest of the researcher to tap knowledge both from archives of these professional bodies as well as from the long serving members of these professional bodies with the assumption of acquiring rich qualitative data from such sources. It is also important to note that engineers, chartered accountants and lawyers are governed by codes of conduct from their respective professional bodies. Professional bodies have a tendency of working hand in hand with academic institutions producing professionals. The existence of strong professional bodies as well as the strong link between these bodies and academic institutions thus attracted the researcher to focus on these particular professionals.

The study's theoretical framework was premised on the classical work of Abbott (1988) as well as on the works of Evetts (2011) and Muzio and Kirkpatrick (2011). These authors concur that the study of professions has never been as important as it is today.

In his classic book, *The System of Professions* Abbott (1988) argues that there are forces that shape professions over time. Abbott as cited in Tolbert (1990) has it that in order to fully understand changes in professionalization, it is imperative to study tasks or work activities of occupations, thus work content is vital in analysing trends in professions. Abbott (1988) also recognises the importance of interprofessional competition in (re)shaping professions. He argues that researchers will lose a lot if they are to study the development of professions in isolation as different professions compete for control over certain jurisdiction. On the issue of changes in professional work, Abbott (opcit) notes that it results from a number of dimensions, among them the structures through which jurisdictional claims are perpetuated, judged as well as settled, interoccupational power struggles, changes in technology as well as organisations that create and/or destroy activities that professionals can use to stamp their control and authority.

The notion of the importance of organisations in (re)shaping of professional work was also looked into by Muzio and Kirkpatrick (2011) and from a different dimension, by Noordegraaf (2011). Their arguments are highlighted below.

Muzio and Kirkpatrick (opcit) argue that the study of professions has become very important as most professionals work in organisations. Organisations operate within a specific socio-economic as well as technological environment. Such bigger forces obviously dictate how organisations should operate which will in turn; have a bearing on how professionals should operate. Organisation will in one way or the other take away the autonomy of the professionals yet on the other hand, these professionals want to exercise professional autonomy. When demands of the professionals and the demands of the organisation employing them meet, there is likely to be a new dimension of professionalism. Although most academics have been studying the notion of professions, less has been done concerning how professionals and professional organisations interact (Lounsbury and Ventresca 2003), particularly in Southern Africa.

It is therefore very important not only to study the development of professions in occupational terms alone but to focus on organisations and institutions that employ them (professionals) as well to see how these interact (Brint, 1994 and Muzio 2011). Organisations, in their quest to maximise, tends to expose professionals to external sources of power and managerial authority, compromising the values and criteria of their professions in order to meet the interests of the employer (Muzio, 2011). This clearly shows the power of organisations in (re)shaping professions in their quest to pursue personal interest and priorities. Organisations are able to create corporate versions of professionalism and professional conduct (Evetts, 2006, Flood, Kipping and Muzio, 2010, Muzio, 2011, Suddaby, 2007 and Suddaby and Greenwood 2006). Muzio (2011) identifies such interference as organisational encroachment, arguing that such a scenario has resulted in corporate forms of professionalism whereby professionalism is determined by organisations. Professionalism has been gradually shifting from being defined by

professions themselves to being defined by organisations. Noordegraaf (2011) notes that in most cases, occupational standards and professional principles are at odds with organisational and managerial control principles. Mangers are there to pursue the interest of the organisations in a profitable manner and organisations should for survival, respond to external forces such as demographic trends, social and cultural transitions as well as technological transformation in and around professions and professional work.

Zimbabwe as a country has gone through unique political, economic and social transformation. This has led to the re(configuration) of professional work in Zimbabwe. It is important to establish how different forces has led to changes in the professions under study as well as establishing the nature of these changes.

Professionalization or Profits? A Critical Perspective on the Expansion of Certification Programs in the United States

Kyle Albert, Cornell University

This paper analyzes the emergence of professional certification from the perspective of United States-based organizations offering certifications. The last few decades have been characterized by a boom in new certification programs launched by trade and professional associations as well as some corporations (particularly in the IT sector), bearing some, though not all, of the hallmarks of occupational closure mechanisms like licensure and unionization. Situating professional certification within the literature on occupational closure is essential for considering the macro-level outcomes of the certification boom with respect to socioeconomic inequality. Literature on occupational closure and professional projects suggests that certification should be designed as a hurdle that would keep newcomers out of a profession, enhancing the market position of incumbents (e.g., Larson 1977; Freidson 1988). Certifications must go further than licensure programs to create monopoly rents: they must persuade employers, clients, and/or the public to demand certification. While some certifications, such as the Certified Financial Planner and Realtor credentials, have employed aggressive marketing programs and gained national recognition for their rigor, it is not at all clear that generating monopoly rents and pursuing a project of professionalization is a goal for the majority of the 5,028 certification programs recognized by the US Department of Labor as of 2013. If climbing the ladder of professionalization is not the goal, then, what is motivating so many organizations to enter the credentialing business?

Methods

This paper relies on a combination of archival research and interviews with individuals involved in the design and administration of certification programs. Archival sources come from primarily from three organizations hypothesized to be most instrumental in encouraging and facilitating the creation of new certification programs in the US. Where possible, source materials are taken from the Internet, though documents also come from searches of archival material in journals and newsletters obtained from online databases and past conference programs. Targeted blog searches were also conducted for material related to an in-depth case study, the Society for Human Resource Management and its relationship with the Human Resources Certification Institute.

Interviews are being conducted with individuals working for a wide range of professional associations. Initial contacts were obtained through introductions facilitated by the director of an executive education program at my institution, each of whom volunteered to help with the identification of other knowledgeable individuals.

An illustrative case study: The Society for Human Resource Management's announcement of a new certification program

The Society for Human Resource Management recently announced the creation of a new certification program designed to compete head-to-head with the offerings of the well-established Human Resources Certification Institute – an institute which, incidentally, was founded with support from SHRM and had been perceived to enjoy a close relationship with the Society. The launch of this certification program, despite a massive backlash from members and the society's own admission that it would not be an effective mechanism of closure, illustrates a fundamental change in the nature of professional associations.

Member reactions to the announcement of a new certification program ranged from confused to betrayed, given the sudden nature of the announcement and the fact that there had been no internal deliberation of the change through the society's (limited) mechanisms for incorporating member concerns. Though there

are elections for society officers, officers are selected from slates of candidates almost exclusively representing large corporate HR departments - thus individuals with a truly activist or reform-oriented vision for the association never receive the nominations necessary to be considered for leadership positions. Aside from a lack of genuine member input in board elections, SHRM has generally been characterized by a culture of low member involvement at the national level, with individual member participation being largely confined to local chapters.

SHRM, therefore, may have settled into an organizational structure that was largely divorced from its 250,000 rank-and-file members. With few opportunities for feedback from rank-and-file members to filter upward, the national association leadership was free to chart its own direction – leading it to propose a certification program that may have seemed good on the organization's balance sheet, but detrimental to the HR professional project. And, all evidence suggests that this new direction will cause extensive collateral damage to the profession of HR and managers' perceptions of it. SHRM itself noted that its new credential will be inclusive and lack some of the stringent work experience requirements that characterize the credentials offered by HRGI. More troubling from the perspective of advocates for the HR profession, however, is that SHRM's certification program will in and of itself be a rolling back of the "firewall" between trade association functions and credentialing functions that led SHRM to support the creation of HRGI in the first place. The apparent decoupling of SHRM's leadership from its rank-and-file appears to be related to a general decoupling of the association's interests from those of the profession as a whole - which results in credentialing programs that do not look like the instruments of social closure that certification had been thought to represent in canonical works in the sociology of occupations and professions.

Preliminary Conclusions

I argue that this decoupling of professional associations from the occupations they serve is far from unique to SHRM, but rather is a growing trend affecting many occupations and associations. The result is that, rather than the "professionalization of everyone" (Wiliensky 1964), associations are implementing the trappings of professionalism in ways that do not represent genuine occupational closure. While a credential that was so difficult to attain that it created high monopoly rents for certificants would be tempting from the perspective of many at the top of their profession, such a goal would not necessarily be sought by association managers themselves, whose interests do tend to diverge from their members in ways consistent with Michels' (1963) "iron law of oligarchy." My research documents emergence of a professional project among professional association managers (and, at a more incipient level, credentialing program managers) themselves, which illustrates the widespread nature of this divergence of interests between the leaders of many professional associations and their rank-and-file members.

An analysis of the actors, strategies and paths that lead to the professionalization of a new discipline

Luca Sabini, De Montfort University

The constant changes in modern economy, especially over the last 20 years, and the continuous development of new technologies have contributed to modifying society and the way people work. As a result, several new kinds of services have been developed. Since this shift has taken place, professionals have developed different approaches to be able to supply these new services and therefore a wide range of experienced professional figures (Faulconbridge, 2012; Freidson, 1994) has emerged. However, these new forms of expertise, such as consultancy and advertising, seem to behave quite differently from the traditional professional groups, which appeared in the past such as law or engineering. These differences relates to the lack of training, qualifications, shared bodies of knowledge and regulations that are usually associated with traditional professions. With the end of the 'golden age' of professionalism (Hanton, 1999) new occupations are encouraged to pursue different professional projects and the fact that times have changed takes different forms. First of all, the new occupations have to deal with the pressure exerted by a variety of stakeholders, including established (traditional) professions, big corporations and the State. In Italy, for example one element of tension comes, for instance, from the continuous 'fight' with established professions who strive to avoid the erosion of their social privileges, established and legitimized by years of institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leoa, 2009; Powell & Colyvas, 2008). Another point of friction is with big corporations that attempt to gain market benefits by acquiring control of a particular occupation, that in academic literature is analysed through the concept of 'organizational closure' (Muzio, Hodgson, Faulconbridge, Beaverstock, & Hall, 2011). Summarizing, for a new occupation being

hampered by multiple players with contrasting interests, it is important to consider the possibility that the development of new professional projects may not follow the same path as the old, traditional, professions. The focus of this work is on one of those new expert occupations: project management (PM). PM has been working very actively, through actions undertaken by its main stakeholders, in order to fulfil its own professionalization project. The literature clearly states that it is “important to study occupations whose activity and situation is theoretically interesting as well substantively important” (Muzio, Ackroyd, & Chanlat, 2007, p. 2). Looking at the nature of this discipline, it can be said that projects per se have been developed since ancient times (for example the construction of pyramids). However, it is only relatively recently (in the last 50 years) that PM has been recognized as a full-blown occupation (and this is even truer for PM in Italy). This work retraced the path of the PM professional project by analysing the objectives, the strategies and the tactics that all these actors have implemented in Italy. The used methodology is a qualitative case study made up of semi-structured interviews and archival data (retrieved through websites, journals and newspapers) with all above mentioned actors. Thus, the methodological unit of analysis is Italian PM field. Setting the Italian field as a unit of analysis, I resorted to different archival data to demonstrate in a first moment how, around the discipline of PM, there is a growing interest and then I drew a comparison between the two main existing professional strategies. The strategies focus, on the one hand, on the struggle to compete in the private and public sectors, and, on the other hand, between national and international level. Thus, this thesis is the first detailed and comprehensive study in the field of PM within the Italian context. To analyse the development of the PM professional project, I looked mainly at the three PM professional associations that are active in Italian field: PMI, IPMA, and ISIPM. The result shows that the development of PM in Italy is following a new pattern of professionalization with distinctive characteristics either respect to traditional professions that to the new ones. This occupation is an interesting case to study since “unlike many comparable occupations, project management globally has pursued and promoted professional status” (Hodgson & Muzio, 2011, p. 115). In doing this, this work tries to provide empirical evidence on how this new occupation is developing and is carrying on its professionalization project and to what extent the Italian PM field differs from the traditional professions of the past. The development of PM in Italy is following a new pattern of professionalization with distinctive characteristics.

The Professionalisation of the ‘Violence against Women’ voluntary sector in Scotland.

Tanita Louise Maxwell, University of Aberdeen

Voluntary organisations have gone through a period of formalisation and professionalisation in recent years (Rochester 2013, Alvarez 1998, Jad 2004). With many of ‘violence against women’ voluntary organisations now receiving funding from the state in Scotland, the demand for accountability and institutional sustainability has increased. This can be seen in the need of state funders to see outputs and indicators from funded organisations and also for them to be regularly monitored and evaluated. In this paper I will discuss the findings from my empirical research with workers in the ‘violence against women’ sector in Scotland to trace the impact of state funding on the organisational practices in these workplaces. I will draw upon the work of Laforest (2011) and Matthews (1995) to argue that as ‘violence against women’ organisations have professionalised, there have been rewards and challenges. Some organisations have become valuable and responsible strategic partners for the Scottish Government’s Violence Against Women team. While others remain out of the loop and on the margins. Increasingly, state funded ‘violence against women’ organisations are viewed as the best equipped to fill in the social service gap left by public sector shrinkage (Markowitz and Tice 2002). However this has led to the blurring of borders between the ‘violence against women’ voluntary sector and state (Predelli and Halsaa 2012) and raises questions about agency, co-optation and compromise which this paper will seek to explore.

Distributed papers

Narratives, Identity and Praxis: exploring the personal and political self

Karen Roscoe, University of Chester

This paper is based on a narrative and discourse analytic method devised in a PhD thesis in 2014. This research was based on the premise of practical engagement with the politics surrounding social works identity and advocates the unification of theories and practice in the context of transdisciplinarity. The

central concepts underpinning these approaches are that any understanding of society must embrace theories which acknowledge its entirety or totality, identifying the object and subjective worlds which characterise it and develop a comprehensive understanding of its multi-layered elements (Wodak and Meyer 2009). In essence, this provides researchers with a way in which to analyse the whole context of social work discourses at a meta-physical level.

My role as a social work educationalist has involved me using narrative and critical discourse-analytic methods with learners based on critical theories and deconstruction. In having those conversations surrounding the contradictions of social work and its identity, these have provided many rich opportunities for the recontextualisation of ground floor narratives in collaboration with others. Located in the organisational context and cultures of social work, the conceptual framework of dialectical thought provides social actors with opportunities to 'step outside' of thinking as usual, explore the taken for granted and to render the normal as strange. Hick's and Murray (2009) argue that dialectical approaches to social work emphasise how "social and political change begins with social relations of people's everyday lives" (p.89 in Grey and Webb, 2009). Change results from the unity and synthesis of opposites and there are spaces in-between binary opposites such as the good or bad social worker, true or false or individualism verses materialism. These opposing forces and tensions /contradictions become the basis for social change in dialectical social work (Mullaly, 1997).

This thesis provides a method which fosters self-realising self-consciousness in the context of the personal and professional self during social processes of identification (socialisation) and utilises Critical Discourse Analysis and methods in education and critical social work practice.

Reframing the relation between teaching and research: the case of German academics

Natalla Karmaeva, National Research University-Higher School of Economics/Bielefeld University

Research background

The implementation of the Bologna reform alongside new public management policies (e.g. the introduction of market principles into the evaluation of academic work and the distribution of funding) and general cost-cutting measures in different countries have led to the changing conditions and content of academic work (see for example Henkel 2000; Chandler et. al 2001; Bleiklie et al. 2009 for the European context, and Krücken/Kosmützky/Torka 2007; Teichler 1988, 2007, 2008, 2013; Teicher/Höle 2013 for Germany).

Recent analyses of teaching show that changes in the framing and practice of teaching come together (Henkel 2005). According to Musselin (2011), the relation between teaching and research is put into question both in terms of the framings and conditions of work. Thus, the worsening economic situation of the universities coupled with the growing enrollment numbers could result in a greater division between research and teaching. At the same time, the growing teaching load is especially characteristic of the positions below professor (Bloch/Burkhardt/Franz et al. 2011, p. 6). For junior faculty, this trend is expected to take place together with the "rising share of part-time employment, third-party funding, and non-tenured positions" (ibid., p. 7; see also Bloch/Burkhardt 2010; Kehm 2011; Klechat/Reimer 2008; Lange-Vester/Teiws-Kügler 2013). Moreover, academics are becoming increasingly research-oriented (Teichler 2008, p. 149).

Analysis of the nature of academic work shows that it is a contested space. Humboldtian tradition resides on the idea of autonomous learning based on scientific enquiry. The ideal of teaching-research nexus is challenged by the fact that concentration of some academics on either teaching or research means their greater "specialization". Recent studies call for a new understanding of academic teaching (Huber/Hellmer/Schneider 2010; and Visser-Wijnveen et. al. 2010).

Problem statement

The goal of this paper is to show how academics reframe academic teaching under given structural conditions. To achieve this goal, the framings of teaching will be identified, as well as the structures which support or constrain them. The focus on one of the cases will show how reframing and recontextualization of teaching is constrained by the structures of German academia.

Theoretical framework

New-institutionalist analysis shows a high potential in capturing social dynamics and the role of individual actors in it (Owen-Smith/Powell 2001; Streeck/Schmitter 1985; Krücken 2003; Westenholz/Pedersen/Dobbin 2006; Swan et. al 2010). When considering the teaching academics, questions about the new ways of acting and the new opportunities for action come up. In this regard, the

questions posed by Fligstein in his analysis of action are relevant: “Where do the opportunities for these new forms of action come from? ... Which meanings are available and which are unavailable and why? Why and how do actors who are supposed to only be able to follow scripts recognize these situations and create new institutions?” (Fligstein 2001a, p. 111). Thus, the social-constructivist account was applied in this study.

Data collection

Qualitative interviews as a data collection method were chosen for getting the interpretations of actors while they explain the situations they find themselves in to justify their actions (see Witzel 1985). Procedures of Grounded Theory were applied in data analysis. Structures of the academia were captured both in the aspects of discourses and material reality in the interviews (Meisenbach 2008).

The interview participants were from the social sciences representing educational science, sociology and social work. Their teaching load varied. The selection was made to ensure diversity in the sample in terms of gender, employment situation, work assignments and organizational context, as well as the representation of different disciplines in the social sciences. The disciplinary focus was to ensure homogeneity in academic work characteristics in terms of not only teaching and research but also the job opportunities in the labor market outside academia.

The interview partners were in the career stage of doing (9 interviewees) or having completed their doctorates (7 interviewees). They were involved in teaching and other professional activities at a sociology department, an educational science department, or an interdisciplinary doctoral training school at various universities and in a research center.

Results

The paper will briefly outline different ways of reframing teaching and research of those interview participants who position themselves “in between” academia and economy. It will focus on one case to highlight the role of structures in promoting or constraining reframing of teaching.

The analysis of different framings of academic work in the interviews allowed for the arrangement of them according to the criterion of contextualization, as rather non-academic or academic. Some interview participants refer to the broader context when conceptualizing their work. The interviewees identify themselves as “experts” and “consultants” rather than “scientists”. The interviews also show the variety of individual framings of teaching and the teaching-research relation.

The case of Lea is of special interest, because it demonstrates contingencies and reveals structural constraints. She developed the framing of “teaching as applied methods training” in the interview when she narrated on various experiences of her career. In this framing she establishes the unity between her “research” on software supported data analysis and “teaching” as short trainings. She faces economic insecurity as a self-employed professional so that she is looking back again to the universities and/or research institutions for stability. Lea stresses that she does not share the professional values of academia (“publish or perish”, fixed disciplinary specializations). She criticizes university structures for being rigid, hierarchical (“to fit into the pattern (“Raster”); “to be greeted by “Mr. (“Her”) Professor” etc.). Lea understands that she is out of traditional (established) careers. Nevertheless, she sees her activities as teaching and research and seeks recognition from the senior academics and the broader professional community, as well as Lea identifies herself as a researcher.

Engaging Doctors and Health Professionals: What Is It? Does It Matter? [Session linked to EU FP7 COST IS0903 ‘Medicine and Management’]

Oral papers

Activating professional innovation through organizational design: case study of a national managed network

Susan Hamer and Fiona O’Neil, NHR CRN

The complex health environment has required the European Health System to develop new types of organizations in order to address the key challenges in how healthcare services are delivered and how professionals operate in the system.

A key problem is not a lack of knowledge at an individual level but a lack of ability to share that knowledge for the greater benefit of the whole system. In response networks have developed as a way of coordinating action and sharing tacit knowledge. The emergence of managed networks, in which large

networks have an integrating body to oversee its management, has been seen as a new design which combines the need for agile working and faster organisational learning.

This paper will present the work of a national managed network as it applies an understanding of how clinical professionals innovate and develop practice boundaries. Based on earlier work by Plochg and Hamer (2012) which considered the role of doctors in innovation and management The National Institute for Health Research, Clinical Research Network has intentionally established a number of professional communities of practice to enable networking and to accelerate the development of its professional workforce. The paper will offer a critique of this management approach which endeavors to create a new connection between the clinical professional communities and the governance of the organization. Selected case studies from the organization will be used to illustrate the impact of this work.

Making a difference: a decentred comparative study of inspectors using discretion at inspectorates in England and the Netherlands

Suzanne Rutz, Erasmus University Rotterdam/Joint Inspectorate for Youth, Antoinette de Bont, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Dinah Mathew, Care Quality Commission, United Kingdom and Paul Robben, Erasmus University Rotterdam

It is widely agreed that inspectors assessing the quality of care need discretion to come to balanced judgments. Individual discretion is associated with increased responsiveness to specific cases, but also with a negative impact on consistency. This paper contributes to understanding organized discretion. We introduced the notion of organized discretion to refer to the collective work to create and use discretion - in contrast to individual discretion and adhering to rules.

We systematically compared the individual and collective work inspectors perform to create and use discretion via a decentred comparative approach. Two contrasting cases were selected: the English Care Quality Commission where individual inspectors carry out standardized inspections and the Dutch Joint Inspectorate for Youth carrying out reflexive inspections in teams. We conducted semi-structured interviews (n=28), held focus groups with inspectors (n=2) and collected documents to gain information on how inspectors use their discretion.

Paradoxically there are few differences between the two contrasting cases in the individual and collective work inspectors perform to create and use discretion. At both inspectorates, inspectors depend on collective work to use their discretion effectively, which entails engaging other actors (colleagues, managers and external stakeholders) to gain mandate, include other perspectives and broaden their repertoire.

Based on our findings, we argue that organized discretion increases both responsiveness and consistency. Our findings suggest that rather than controlling and constraining discretion, which is the traditional response to discretion, it is important for inspectorates to strengthen and organize collective processes to obtain benefit from discretion.

New professional roles in Europe?

Iris Wallenburg, Maarten Janssen, Antoinette de Bont, Erasmus University Rotterdam and Munros team

This paper focuses upon the development and evolution of new professional roles in different health care settings in Europe – such as new technical roles, new advanced roles (e.g. case management) and new professions. In this paper we present the results of a comparative study in which we analyzed 18 case studies in nine European countries. We use the notions of institutional logics and institutional work to examine the impact of new professional roles on vested healthcare practices. We explore how new professional roles play out in the organization and day to day work of healthcare provision. Institutional logics distinguish unique organizing principles, practices and symbols that differently shape how reasoning takes place and how rationality is perceived and experienced (Thornton et al. 2012). Institutional work focuses on the activities that social actors conduct to create, maintain or disrupt institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006). In this paper, we describe the conflicting and overlapping pressures stemming from multiple institutional logics to explain the development of new professional roles. The study shows that the differences in the development of new roles in health care organizations between the nine countries are smaller than differences in education and legal frameworks would suggest. Micro processes like specialization, protocollization and new forms of supervision reinforce the position of physicians and nurses –rather than the position of new professional roles.

Influence of nurse habitus on the emergence of leadership in the daily practices of nurse middle managers in hospitals

Pieterbas Lalleman, HU University of Applied Sciences Utrecht and G.A.C. Smid, OpenUniversity NL / Sioo

Nurse middle managers play important roles in hospitals. They are supposed to mediate between care, cure and control worlds. In this hybrid managerial position, they experience various challenges. To understand these, we use a Managerial Work and Behaviour approach and a Bourdieusian 'toolkit' to study daily practices of these managers. We shadowed sixteen nurse managers (> 560 hours) in four different hospitals in the Netherlands and the United States. We focused on nursing habitus 'giving itself away' in daily managerial work and the influence of this professional habitus on the emergence of their leadership practices. The paper presents nursing habitus as a dynamic system of dispositions. The habitus consist of a wide range of dispositions, i.e., caring, clinical, collegial, teaching, professional, scientific, administrative and control. These dispositions generate various capital, depending of both a profession-as-field and organization-as-field perspective. The dispositions of habitus both hinder or help nurse middle managers dealing with daily work challenges. Answering the call for help, a manifestation of a caring disposition turned out to be an essential element of a nursing habitus which, unreflectively, could hinder nurse managers leadership. Notably, the scientific disposition acts as a moderator of the various dispositions which support the emergence of leadership. Our conclusion is that these managers must be aware of their habitus because of its potential negative influence on patient, employee and organization value.

Consequences of Italian health reforms on medical profession: the case of specialists doctors

Federico Soffritti, Università della Valle d'Aosta

This paper aims to explore the outcomes of public health reforms on medical doctors' professional identity. Therefore, a chief research hypothesis posits that marketization of healthcare has brought about some organizational transformations, whose effects influence certain critical features of doctors' identity, such as the general concept of profession, the professional ethos, and "Medical Dominance" issues. As a result, public healthcare system is characterized by two institutional logics and corresponding on-the-job cultures: the logic of classic professionalism and the logic of business-like healthcare. These changes have permitted the appearance of a new kind of medical professionalism. Medical profession's reaction to healthcare reforms have shown to be many-sided: there are various ways to interact with new organizational issues.

My research deals with the findings of an empirical study about medical specialists working in two Tuscan local health organizations (A.S.L.). The focus of the 25 semi-structured interviews undertaken is on the impact of managerialism and consumerism on professionals' autonomy, the relationship between doctors and managers, and the change of medical skills.

The results show that medical profession is changing and that a reframing of professional identity is ongoing: professional ethos is influenced by organizational change. Change has been understood by detecting three major "ideal-types" of specialist doctor: the first is linked to a traditional model of professionalism; the second accepts partially business-like organizational issues, while trying to create individual spaces of autonomy in daily work; the third accepts totally new organizational issues, which become part of professional ethos.

The 'Spaces and Places' of Professional Work in the Post-crisis Economy [Session linked to EU FP7 COST Action IS1202 'Dynamics of Virtual Work']

Oral papers

Class Formation in the Collaborative Economy. Co-workers in Milano.

Adam Arvidsson, Università degli Studi di Milano and Eianor Colleon, Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca

In modern society knowledge workers were understood as the apolitical subject par excellence. As a group they do not threaten anyone; as individuals, they do not practice an independent way of life as C.Wright Mills concluded in 1951. In the last decades however this group has gone through a process of

marginalisation and precarization that has precluded the lifelong corporate careers that made possible their individualistic embrace of consumer culture. Lately however there are several signs of an ongoing reorganisation of freelance knowledge work. In part this takes the form of a more or less coherent ideology, where catchwords like sharing, social, co-working, peer to peer or 'makers' circulate as part of a new social vision embraced by key strata of freelance knowledge workers. In part this reorganisation takes the form of bottom-up innovations of new business models, new forms of collaboration and new moral economies that make possible new ways of being on the market, and of sharing productive resources as well as social capital. Based on survey research, interviews and a digital ethnography of freelance knowledge workers active in co-working spaces in Milano, this paper Examines the make up of this new ideology and its relation to new ways of organising social practice: Is it possible to speak of a new process of class formation whereby a particular social consciousness is marred to and integrated with new ways of organising market subjectivity?

'Working around' in modern labour markets: Mobile work, coworking and employee sharing models in Europe

Irene Mandl, Eurofound

In 2013-2014, Eurofound conducted a large research project mapping new employment trends across Europe, and investigating their effects on working conditions and the labour market. With regard to 'new spaces and places of work', three emerging employment forms have been identified and will be presented in the paper. ICT based, mobile work means work conducted by dependent employees and self-employed from anywhere at any time, with the strong support of modern technologies. It is found to be increasingly expected by both, employers and workers (particularly high skilled ones) and accordingly has strong potential for transforming the traditional work organisation. Coworking refers to the sharing of premises and back office services by freelancers, self-employed and micro enterprises. A key element is the opportunity for peer exchange and cooperation, helping the workers to overcome the social and professional isolation they might suffer otherwise. It has been observed to be a rather urban phenomenon, with strong links to the Creative Industries and particularly increasing in Germany and Spain. However, there are some indications that this is a temporary hype rather than a sustainable development on the labour market. Finally, employee sharing describes a model in which a group of employers jointly hire an employee to work in the participating companies on a rotating basis. Hence, the worker has several work places – one in each of the participating firms. This is considered as an innovative form of cooperative HR management, creating permanent full-time employment in regions where otherwise only precarious jobs would be available.

Knowledge & skills acquisition for digital creative work

Rebecca Ye, Stockholm University

The shift towards the service economy owes in part to the development of digital media technologies that are now integrated into nearly every facet of society and the economy. Goods in the creative industries have been seen as major drivers of economic growth, even though their value is not entirely dependent on their physical characteristics but self-generated by the ones who invent, make and use these goods (Hutter, 2011, p. 202). Behind the interface of digital products and services are legions of digital creative workers. As a relatively new type of "occupational" group that has emerged since the turn of the century, questions about their work-lives remain to be explored. For example, how do these wireless workers – e.g. web developers, user-experience specialists, and interactive designers – enter the field of work, survive and compete in the marketplace of digital ideas and information? How are they remunerated in the labour market and is that market stratified, and along what lines? This paper utilises education and labour market data from the unique and comprehensive Swedish registers to address these queries that relate to the labour market trajectories of digital creative workers.

Sweden presents itself as an interesting site for this proposed examination. The share of economic activity driven by the digital sector has been estimated to total SEK 275 billion (approximately 30 billion euros), or almost 8 percent of the total Swedish economy in 2012, a comparable level of activity to that of the construction and utilities industries combined (Alström et al., 2013). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, policy discourse surfaced, driven by the Knowledge Foundation (Stiftelsen för Kunskap och Kompetens), that championed the 'experience economy' (Power, 2009). Only quite recently has this discourse shifted to one that emphasises 'creative business' (kreativa näringar) and creative and cultural entrepreneurship,

as economic development policymakers become increasingly aware of the importance of creative services for Sweden (ibid.). Such changes in the policy environment have shaped, both directly and indirectly, the landscape that digital creative workers have to navigate. For example, besides spurring demand for these products and services, there have also been institutional efforts to develop the educational sector.

The first section of the paper will be devoted to discussing the rise of education and training institutions that have been established in Sweden with the purpose of preparing a workforce to meet the growth of the country's creative industries. The discussion explores the question of how receiving education and training, especially in particular elite creative schools, could generate networks (Granovetter, 1995) and status (Aspers, 2009) and serve as means of qualification (Callon et al., 2002) that is used as a judgment device (Karpik, 2010). Following this, I present a methodological proposal around a longstanding challenge of studying creative workers who are often difficult to track due to their varying employment configurations (part-time, self-employed, contract) and sources of income. I follow up with this proposal by attempting to follow cohorts of individuals who have participated in relevant educational training programmes that prepare them for forms of digital creative work, and examine where these individuals end up in the labour market. With the empirical evidence at hand, I attempt to make sense of the questions earlier posed about how these individuals enter the field of work. With more than 500 programmes offered across universities, university colleges and vocational institutions in Sweden that currently provide a certification or qualification in digital-related skills acquisition, the final section of the paper will discuss how the dissemination of knowledge on producing for the digital sphere has undergone interesting changes and has led to the institutionalization of educational and occupational trajectories in this field, compelling further questions about whether the changing role of recognizing some knowledge over others promote social closure and boundary work.

The analysis in this paper is part of a bigger PhD study on digital creative workers, an occupational group that is organized in a non-traditional way, set against the backdrop of an economy where the rules of job search and tenure have changed. Theoretically, I draw from the toolkit of economic sociology to dissect processes of valuation and qualification in the work-lives of these workers. The project adopts a mixed methods approach where both registry data and qualitative data from field observations are employed and analysed to address the respective research questions.

New workplace paradigm ? From the automation era to the media technologies pervasiveness

Tatiana Mazali, Politecnico di Torino, Massimiliano Spelat and Roberta De Bonis Patrignani, Istituto Superiore Mario Boella

The paper will present the results of an exploratory survey focused on the impact of the most advanced digital technologies – from the perspective of industry and factory 4.0 – in manufacturing sector, in order to analyze the impact of digital innovation on Italian industry workplaces.

The keystone of future production processes, of new workplaces layout, of new relationship between workers and machines, is represented by “soft” technologies, as media technologies. The use of ICTs in today's industry is embodied in technological innovation for vertical process integration and automation, but the new paradigm called “industry 4.0” will rather involve horizontal integration between flexible, interconnected and communicating units. Technologies – already extensively available – will enable a revolution not as much in terms of technology as such but in processes, which will affect the approach to work.

The paper tries to depict what the future workplace will look like. The pervasiveness of mobile devices (e.g. smartphones and tablets), the application of the Internet of Thing (IoT) paradigm, the availability of cloud computing resources, the wearable technologies, the evolution of human-to-machine interfaces, will be described through the analysis of best practices worldwide. Then, the paper will focus on the case study of ALSTOM Savigliano, one of the most important center for rolling stock design and production of the Italian railway industry. ALSTOM Savigliano contains the seeds of new paradigm, in term of different worker-work arrangement, led by the pervasiveness of the media technologies in workplaces.

The paper will observe and discuss the implications of this new paradigm by using an interdisciplinary approach: the lens of communication and media studies will be linked to the technology-related aspects. The research group is composed of sociologists and engineers.

It is here to stay. 'Le métier du collaborateur' and the collaborative economy in Andalusian Universities

Manuel García Bernárdez, Taraceas S. Coop. And. and Lucía del Moral, Universidad Pablo de Olavide

Over the last few years, the so-called Collaborative Economy (CE) is gaining weight within the whole global economy. Not in vain, some digital CE platforms are at the star-ups' front-line of in terms of turnover. Meanwhile, CE also involves a vast variety of innovative non-profit practices which shows strong links to the territory and their communities. Universities have not remained at the side-line of these processes. The project UNIEC analyses the position of the ten Andalusia Universities in this field, the ways in which they are contributing –or not- to the promotion of this kind of initiatives and how they could facilitate the conformation and sustainability of collaborative production, professions and organization practices among their students, their staff members and the society as a whole. This paper proposes a cartography of university-related CE practices in Andalusia, a classification according to their different scope (accommodation, mobility, finances, eating, product&services provision...) and their diverse positioning within the different possible scenarios of the CE. It also examines their opportunities, challenges and good practices and raises a set of recommendations. The research methodology involved interviews with experts to delineate the notion of CE within an academic environment; the conformation of a multidisciplinary group of academics –one from every Andalusian University- which helped to map the existing CE practices at their universities; an online survey applied to an stratum-selected sample of them (each stratum refers to one Andalusian province) and two participatory workshops involving some of these initiatives.

LV chairs and pizzas: the production of social spaces in Taiwan's innovative startup eco-system

Wing-Fai Leung, University College Cork

Taiwanese corporations build over 90% of the world's laptops for global brands under the OEM system. At the same time, Taiwanese brands such as Acer and HTC are under threat from Samsung, Apple, and the lower costs of Mainland Chinese competitors. As Taiwan's high-tech industry is dependent on exports, the economic crisis in North America and Europe of 2008-9 adversely affected its economy. The country's industrial structure is now in a period of transition. I am conducting a qualitative research project on entrepreneurs who have started innovative, creative and online companies because they are at the forefront of industrial changes in the country.

As part of the digital economy, these companies operate mostly over the Internet, but where do the founders work? For a theoretical frame, I deploy Henri Lefebvre's (1974/1991) work on the production of the (social) space; and the three dimensions within: spatial practice (perceived), representations of space (conceived) and spaces of representation (lived). I will focus on two types of the spatial arrangement: the spatial connection between traditional high-tech industry and the startup eco-system (conceptualized as macro-level spatial practices), the incubators and co-working spaces as places of work (micro-level spatial practices). I consider the physical, mental and social aspects of these spatial practices. Physical spaces can be thought of as less relevant in the online economy and yet, the cultural and social aspects of these spatial practices explain the importance of sociality for the entrepreneurs, and why these places of work remain significant in the organization of virtual labour.

The art of co-working in occupied spaces: linking political struggle and social innovation in the creative city

Alberto Cossu, Università degli Studi di Milano

In May 2012, a group of artists and knowledge workers occupied an abandoned skyscraper in the business district of Milan, founding Macao or "The New Center for Arts, Research and Culture" to materialize the need of urban spaces for culture, looking for new forms of production (and life-work) in the cultural industry. Its most recent developments seem to point towards a hybrid form in which political mobilization appears strictly and fundamentally tied to the innovative forms of work. Based on an extensive ethnography, the paper I present intends to investigate the process of appropriation of innovative forms of cultural production from the vantage point of a social movement. Such a process implies two crucial aspects: relations and political subjectivation. Relations constitute one of the main structuring factors of Macao, making is collaborative, relational, is a making together, be it the collective identification as Macao or fixing the rooftop, within a frame of refusal of the neoliberal notions of work and

time. It is from this background that Macao approaches common based peer production, establishes a co-working space and engages itself in a dialogue with other innovators in the urban environment of Milan. So, how to reconcile the need to make things together and, at the same time, produce change both at the imaginary level and at everyday life level? My suggestion is that the concept of receptive antagonism might be useful to understand the peculiar dialectic established by Macao among political struggle, new forms of cultural production and the creative city.

Magazine Journalists in Romania: working conditions and job (in)satisfaction

Romina Surugiu, University of Bucharest

This paper will focus on magazine journalists in Romania, in an attempt to understand their working conditions and job satisfaction/insatisfaction. We start from the assumption that understanding the journalists' working arrangements, practices and routines is important for a clear picture of how media work has changed in the last years due to the digital switch and to the neoliberal economic measures.

The semi-structured interviews and the personal observations made by the author show that many young journalists are willing to work for low wages in magazines publishing. They are also keen to accept any type of duty or chore, including administrative ones, and they are willing to accept many working arrangements (including working from home). All the journalists interviewed enjoyed teamwork, but they claimed they acted as individual practitioners: they strongly believed that success was obtained only through personal struggle and personal qualities. The high proportion of women interviewed suggests a gender imbalance in the magazine industry. Magazine journalism is a feminized field at the base of the job/position pyramid, where many women can be found.

The journalists interviewed internalised the economic crisis of the media companies they worked for. It was seen as an external factor that had to be taken into consideration when discussing wages/salaries. However, they complained about having to produce more and more articles every year, largely because they produced different versions of the stories for multimedia platforms and because the number of employees had decreased over the last years and also by the disappearance of the classic separation between work space and home.

The internet, social media and professional dissonance among student healthcare professionals.

Patricia Neville, University of Bristol

This paper contends that the Internet and social media poses a particular challenge to the existing 'professional paradigm' used by medical and dental practitioners and educationalists. Research conducted in the US with medical students indicates that students do not realise that their online behaviour has a bearing on their offline/real world life and professional status. Instances of student medics breaching patient confidentiality or posting inappropriate content through their social media posting have been recorded(e.g. Chretien et al 2010, Von Muhlen and Ohno-Machado 2012). Though the seriousness of these breaches has resulted in many Registration Bodies, including the General Dental Council (2013) and General Medical Council (2013) in the UK to issue social media guidelines to its members, the issues remains: why do student health professionals appear confused by the professional implications of their online actions, and what can dental and medical educationalists do to prevent such instances of professional dissonance occurring for their students? This paper will attempt to address both of these issues. Research from the sociology of new media and digital ethnography will be used to help answer the former question. From this, some recommendations on the teaching of e-professionalism to dental and medical students will be made.