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"DEVILS MAY SIT HERE:" THE ROLE OF ENCHANTMENT IN INSTITUTIONAL MAINTENANCE

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

The increasing body of literature on institutional work—"intelligent, situated institutional action" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 219)—provides a nuanced view of the relationship between actors and institutions (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010; Lok & de Rond, 2013). In this paper, we focus specifically on one aspect of institutional work—institutional maintenance. How institutions survive beyond the lifespan of their creators is often seen as remaining in the realm of "the mystery" of institutions (Alvesson & Karreman, 2007; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Lok & de Rond, 2013). Earlier studies of institutional maintenance focused on various types of work done by people; for example, adherence to rules, or reproducing these rules and existing norms (Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, & Waring, 2012; Dacin et al., 2010; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zilber 2002, 2009). These earlier studies provided valuable insights into how people maintain institutions through their actions but, due to a focus on overly cognitive explanations, they did not properly consider the link between emotions and organizational spaces in institutional maintenance. Spaces have a potential to generate emotional responses in the people occupying them (Keith & Pile, 1993; Massey, 1984), so without understanding the role of spaces, institutional theorizing fails to consider the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutional maintenance. We argue that a better understanding of the role of spaces, and the enchantment they evoke, allows us to look beyond the work done by humans, and cast new light on institutional maintenance.

The role of the building as "a strong material anchor" (Monteiro & Nicolini, 2014: 4) in maintaining institutions is often recognized, but how this effect is achieved is not well understood. In her article on the creation of the London School of Economics, Czarniawska (2009: 430) commented on the importance of the building as a *stabilizing artifact* for the institution: "With the exception of clandestine schools, a school is not a school without a building." In another study, Delacour and Leca (2011) proposed that the inadequacy of the material base for the

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nineteenth century annual arts exhibition in Paris, and its physical dispersion among several locations, could have contributed to its demise. The shape and size of the building, which houses the institution, matters too; as does its age and the standing of its architect because buildings housing institutions are said to proclaim status by their size, age, and grandeur, thus announcing the financial soundness of the institution, and serving as a symbol of the institution's standing in society (Jones & Massa, 2013; MacDonald, 1989). And although the role of the building in the survival of institutions has been recognized in the literature (Jones & Massa, 2013; Lawrence & Dover, 2015), *how* this stabilizing effect (Czarniawska, 2009) is achieved needs further exploration.

In our ethnographic study, we analyze the case of Scottish advocates, a profession that for many centuries has remained central to the Scottish legal system and whose unique approach to independence and collegiality is closest to the ideal of liberal or independent professions (Abbot, 1988; Johnson, 1972; Lazega, 2001; Reed, 1996). We use an institutional perspective to study the profession of advocates, following recent approaches that treat professions as institutions in themselves (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2013; Muzio, Brock, & Suddaby, 2013). These approaches draw on the work of Scott (2008: 219), who saw professions as "preeminent institutional agents of our time." Muzio et al. (2013) emphasized the value of studying professions as institutions, and connected the patterns of professionalization with the broader processes of institutionalization. Viewed from this perspective, professions are not only the key mechanisms for institutional change, but also the primary targets of the processes of institutionalization (Adler & Kwon, 2013; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Kipping & Kirkpatrick, 2013; Reay & Hinings, 2009; Suddaby & Viale, 2011). We refer to advocates as an institution and, because all Scottish advocates belong to the Faculty of Advocates, we treat the Faculty as the organizational aspect of the institution following a long-standing recognition of both normative and structural elements of institutions (Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville, & Scully, 2010; Scott, 1987).

Advocates are an old profession, which has been in existence for over 500 years and located in the same building for over 300. The significance of the building to the institution was evident throughout the study, which led us to pose a question: what would happen if Parliament House burned down in a fire—would the institution survive in the same form when moved to a different location? Our interest in advocates was driven by the following research question: what role does organizational space play in institutional maintenance? To answer this question, we focused on the micro-foundations of institutional maintenance; specifically, we investigated how institutionalized practices at the micro level maintain the Faculty of Advocates at the center of the Scottish legal system. We found that the recursive relationship between actors and their physical environment has an important role to play in maintaining institutions over time. Drawing on our data, we demonstrate how organizational space plays an important role in reproducing institutions, and how social actors maintain institutions by interacting with the physical environment and enacting the rules of the space that they occupy. Our focus on the actual physical location of practice leads us to limit our attention to one aspect of advocates' practice, namely their work in and around Parliament House (Figure 1) and the Advocates Library (Figure 2). This follows from our premise that spatial boundaries within the Faculty are a manifestation of more symbolic practices, which have for centuries reinforced a certain institutional order. By linking spaces with the emotions that they evoke, our study draws on the emerging body of literature on the aesthetic and emotional nature of maintenance processes (Howard-Grenville, Metzger, & Meyer, 2013; Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016; Voronov & Vince, 2012).

We make three contributions to the theory of institutional maintenance. Firstly, our case study shows how spaces, and how institutional actors interacting with them, have a stabilizing effect on the institution, which leads to two important outcomes: maintenance of closure and reproduction of the

FIGURE 1
Parliament Building

FIGURE 2
The Corridor in the Library

status order. Secondly, extending the analytic framework proposed by Dale and Burrell (2008), we show how three spatial phenomena underpinning this stabilizing process are intertwined, thus enabling the process of institutional maintenance: (1) emplacement (everyone in the right place), (2) enactment of space, and (3) enchantment of space. Thirdly, by foregrounding the role of enchantment related to organizational spaces we highlight the importance of the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutional maintenance. We conclude by arguing that an understanding of how people experience spaces provides important insights into how institutions persist, and how they may be disrupted.

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

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Institutional Maintenance

Institutional work is concerned with agency in relation to institutions, and is broadly defined as "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). Most institutional perspectives in organizational theory focus on how institutions govern action, but theories of institutional work reverse the emphasis by exploring how actions affect institutions, especially the practical actions by which institutions are created, maintained, and disrupted (Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional work recognizes institutions as "products of human action and reaction motivated by idiosyncratic personal interests and agendas for institutional change and preservation" (Lawrence et al., 2009: 6). Central to the theories of institutional work is the work of actors as they attempt to shape the processes that affect institutional arrangements (Lawrence, 1999; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011). Institutional work is a distributed phenomenon and signifies the "coordinated and uncoordinated efforts of a potentially large number of actors." (p. 55). And while it may involve heroic figures able to shape institutions through their visible and dramatic actions—so-called "institutional entrepreneurs" (Hardy & Maguire, 2008; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004)—institutional work may also be mundane, involving little more than day-to-day adjustments to practice (Lawrence et al., 2009; Smets & Jarzabkowski, 2013). In contrast to the sociological approaches that overestimate the force of institutional constraint—i.e., the oversocialized conception of man (Wrong, 1961)—institutional work emphasizes that actors have the ability to reflect on and strategically operate within the institutional context and, with intentionality and effort, create, maintain, and disrupt institutions (Lawrence et al., 2011).

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

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

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

Organizational Spaces

The interdependence between physical space and social practices has interested a number of scholars of organization studies (e.g., Alvesson & Wilmott, 2003; Czarniawska, 2004; Dale, 2005; Elsbach & Pratt, 2007; Hatch, 2013; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004), and underpins theoretical traditions such as symbolic interpretivism and materiality (Latour, 2005, 2009). The key theme underpinning these traditions is the link between physical and social structures and power relations. Thus, Lefebvre (1991) observed that all space is socially produced, and that a physical setting in a workplace reveals its underlying power relations by symbolizing the social status of individuals and imbuing social relations with the symbols of the physical space. Lefebvre made a distinction between conceived spaces (conceptualized and planned by architects), perceived spaces (the enactment of architectural design), and lived spaces (interpretations of space by those who occupy it). This idea that a physical setting symbolizes the social status was in itself hardly new: kings and their architects, for example, have always had a sure working knowledge of the area. Among scholars, Soja (1989) argued that space is not merely an innocent backdrop to practices, but is filled with politics that produce and reproduce ideas tied to the material interests of the powerful. In the same vein, Bourdieu noted that buildings are objectified histories in the sense of being "systems of classifications, hierarchies and oppositions inscribed in the durability of wood, mud and brick" (Bourdieu, 1981: 305–306).

Interest in the relationship between space and social relations has spawned a literature stream on *spatiality* (Tally, 2013), a term that denotes the spatial embeddedness of human life (Hatch, 2013), or the spatial organization of society (Guthley, Whiteman, & Elmes, 2014; Soja, 1989). The spatiality of an organization includes a number of elements of the physical structure. Thus, geographical location determines the demographic, political and social profile of an organization; the architecture of the buildings, the layout and spatial arrangement of physical objects, and the human activities affect communication among people occupying these spaces; coordination of their activities, design, and décor offer important clues to the organization's culture and its image to outsiders; and physically realized organizational symbols mediate human interaction and evoke emotional responses. Different theoretical traditions have different ways of looking at space. The modernist's take on space foregrounds physical metrics, whereas a perspective based on symbolic interactionism foregrounds the symbolic meanings of spatial arrangements. There is also a perspective that defines spatial relationships in terms of power (Keith & Pile, 1993; Massey, 1984). This latter insight is not confined to post-structuralists or Foucauldians. From an explicitly Marxist perspective, Burawoy (1979) argued that spaces secure and obscure power; i.e., through spaces power is maintained and its origins and processes remain hidden. Dovey (1999), the leading architectural critic, suggested that power, while not lodged inertly in the built form, is found in everyday practices that are mediated by the built form. This focus on power leads to an

observation that is central to the notion of symbolic conditioning, that physical structure has a potential to guide people's actions.

An obvious corollary to the detection of power in spatial arrangements is the economy of boundaries (Elsbach & Pratt, 2007; Hatch, 1987; Keith & Pile, 1993). "Drawing boundaries is a political act" (Dale & Burrell, 2008: 171) and a paradigmatic exercise of power because boundaries include some people and exclude others. Boundaries shape people's identities and guide their actions; hence, groups in the process of forming a strong identity tend to construct visible spatial boundaries (Elsbach & Pratt, 2007; Hatch, 2013; Massey, 2005; Thrift, 2011). Elsbach and Pratt (2007) noted that elements of the physical environment, such as enclosures and barriers, can be associated with both desirable and undesirable outcomes because of tensions inherent in the life of the organizations they studied. In other words, embodied knowledge based on spatial orientations shapes individual, group, and organizational identities, which the literature on institutional maintenance fails to consider.

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

EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

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

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

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

Formally, there are three positions in the Faculty—advocates, Queen's Counsel (QC), and office bearers. However, the status of individuals in the Faculty is graded in a more nuanced fashion on the basis of experience, noteworthy litigation, and honorific offices held. Advocates receive fees for their work, but these fees are not recoverable by the normal process—i.e., as a matter of contract—since they are quaintly classified as "honoraria." In many ways, the business model represented by the traditional Faculty practices can be seen as anachronistic—advocates cannot incorporate, cannot sue for fees, cannot properly compete with solicitor-advocates or barristers, and "are inhibited from developing their services by arcane practice rules which have their origin in the eighteenth century" (The Firm, 2014). Because of these constraints, becoming an advocate may sometimes prove to be detrimental to a lawyer's earnings.

In assessing the ways in which advocates fit into the Scottish legal system and the socio-economic and political fabric of Scottish society, it is necessary

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

Exogenous pressures for change. Advocates are an institution deeply rooted in their tradition, and the many practices associated with being an advocate have remained largely unchanged for hundreds of years. However, despite the historical legacy of elitism, the socioeconomic and political systems within Scotland have changed and advocates function under modern conditions in a different social world from the past. Thus, advocates have not been free from pressures for change, and some of the quainter traditions have yielded to the changing culture; e.g., a requirement for an entrant to mount an oral defense in Latin was discontinued in the 1960s. Other pressures come from the trend toward the "democratization" of legal services; e.g., the Government's move toward extending the rights of solicitors who cannot be Faculty members to appear in the supreme courts (Ozturk et al., 2017; Thomson Review, 2010). There are more differentiated paths outside of the Faculty for talented people to follow if they aspire to political power. The processes of modernization have also led to a rationality of function and control. The courts now operate with a greater sense of urgency, and are under pressure to meet performance targets; hence, today's advocates complain of ever-closer bureaucratic control. In addition, concerns have arisen over the decrease in state-funded financial aid for legal representation, which has reduced the earnings potential of advocates. These changes constitute a threat to the elite status of the profession of advocates in the wider Scottish legal system.

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

Advocates, as *The Great British Class Survey* (Savage et al., 2013) testifies, occupy a very high place in the social hierarchy of Scottish society, and the building that houses the Faculty definitely reflects this. Since the seventeenth century, the Faculty has been based in Edinburgh at Parliament House on the Royal Mile, adjacent to St Giles' Kirk, one of the most conspicuous and historic buildings in the city. Parliament House, which was designed as the physical and symbolic heart of Scottish political power, is now the physical and symbolic heart of the Scottish legal system, further indicating the Faculty's elite position in the apparatus of the Scottish state. Until 1707, the Scottish parliament also met in Parliament House, sharing the space with advocates. Today, Parliament House comprises Parliament Hall, the Laigh Hall, two criminal and 11 civil courts, the Library and a restaurant. Parliament Hall is an impressive space at the heart of the seventeenth-century building. Parliament House is also the home of the Advocates Library, which was established in 1682 by Sir George Mackenzie and has provided a base for the Faculty ever since. Although Parliament House is accessible to the public, the Library is not. Only advocates and devils are allowed entry into the Library; solicitors and solicitor advocates are prevented from using the Library or its resources.

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

METHODS

Very little research has been conducted on Scottish advocates from the Faculty's inception in 1532. The

extant literature has mainly focused on its history and its function in the justice system (Cairns 1994, 1999). Gaining unique access to such an ancient organization was a fascinating experience and provided a wealth of ethnographic data. The world of advocacy is no doubt "quirky," and unique in its "old-worldliness," but, because it is so old and appears to have remained, in some respects, unchanged for centuries, it provides interesting insights into the foundations of more modern institutions that remain unchanged (Lawrence et al., 2013; Lok & de Rond, 2013; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

Data Sources

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

We chose an inductive, single-case-study methodology to gain rich insights into foundations of institutional maintenance. We attempted to demonstrate the empirical richness of our case study, and we believe that our analysis will have explanatory power for other institutions whose practices are intertwined with the physical site. Our research was conducted in the midst of the community of advocates over a period of 18 months. The role of the researcher could be classified as participant-as-observer; i.e., the researcher was immersed in the community but was known to be conducting research and had explicit permission to do so. Based on the initial contact with the Faculty, the lead researcher negotiated access to the field and discussed the scope of the inquiry with the key contact—the director of education and training. A full ethics application was submitted to the lead author's university, and ethics approval was granted.

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

After the observed sessions, the researcher engaged in informal conversations with the participants—either asking for clarification, or eliciting their reflections. Detailed written records of observations and casual conversations were made regularly. The lead researcher spent around 110 days over a period of 18 months in the Faculty, and over 200 extensive field notes were generated. An observation schedule was developed, which included categories relating to the geographic or situated dimensions of advocate practice. The intensive observation of participants *in situ* was especially suitable for a study focused on organizational spaces.

Document analysis. In preparation for fieldwork we consulted historical studies of the Faculty; for example, those related to the educational background of advocates in the eighteenth century (Cairns, 2003), the criteria for assessment of the suitability of candidates for the role of advocate (Cairns, 2001), the general origins of the legal profession (Brundage, 2008), and the educational prerequisites for advocacy. Additionally, we analyzed five internal documents distributed to devils during their nine-month period of devilling: (1) *Getting it Right*, (2) *Devils' Handbook*, (3) *Code of Conduct*, (4) *The History of the Faculty*, and (5) *The History of Parliament House*. These documents were analyzed with a view to identifying the ways in which the practices in and around Parliament House were discussed and communicated to advocates.

Interviews. As well as collecting data through observation, we conducted 43 interviews with devils,

devilmasters, and expert informants—i.e., office bearers or QCs with authority in the Faculty. We asked the interviewees to describe their experiences of working in the Faculty of Advocates, with particular emphasis on the physical setting of the institution. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to two hours, and were recorded and transcribed. In total, 47 hours of interviews were recorded and subsequently analyzed.

Data Analysis

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

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

The analysis of the data comprised three stages. In the first stage we coded the data, searching for themes related to organizational spaces and practices shaped by these spaces, and, in line with analytical induction, coded our data for references to the physical location of the Faculty and the internal spaces of Parliament House. In other words, we were looking for evidence of the dynamics of social relations that were in some way intertwined with spaces. The examples of codes include references to various rooms in the Library, restricted access, seating arrangements, practices associated with certain spaces or with walking up and down Parliament Hall, and the arrangement of boxes in the Box Corridor. Another set of codes relates to the emotions that being in various spaces in Parliament House evoked—these were found to be both negative (e.g., anxiety about where to sit) and positive (feeling pleased about being part of the grand setting, or pride of the historical legacy of the Faculty). In formulating our codes, we consulted the existing classifications used in the study of emotions (Russell, 2003; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985), and the literature on emotions in organizations and institutions (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Maitlis & Ozcelik, 2004; Moisander et al., 2016; Walsh & Bartunek, 2011).

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

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

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

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

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

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

FINDINGS

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

Maintenance of Closure

A prominent aspect of the maintenance of the institution in our case study is drawing boundaries and enacting them. Parliament Hall and the Box Corridor are open to the public (subject to security

checks at the entrance to the building); the Library, however, is not accessible to anyone apart from advocates, judges, and devils. Other legal professionals, solicitors, or solicitor advocates, are not permitted to use the Library or its facilities, which is symbolic of their lower status, and the fact that they are not allowed to perform certain duties in court that are reserved only for advocates. The existence of boundaries between the Faculty and the outside world signaled the group's efforts to maintain closure, preserve their identity, and retain the status of the profession and its associated rewards. Crossing of the external boundaries by people from outside the profession might also disrupt the status order of the wider Scottish legal system. Greater representation of clients in court by nonadvocates is a threat to the advocates' position, and consequently their earnings. This is why allowing nonadvocates physical access to the Library might symbolically open doors for them to take the advocates' place in the courtroom, or to pursue a judicial career.

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

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

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

Inclusion and exclusion were crucial in understanding the organization of the Faculty, especially the fact that both inclusion and exclusion evoked some emotional reactions. As an inaccessible space, the Library amplifies the sense of exclusion for outsiders, which was evident in the devils' comments about their frustration about being unable to use the resources when they were still solicitors. Access to the Library also magnifies the excitement and sense of entitlement for legitimate members, the pride of being part of "the club," which we observed on numerous occasions. For devils, being in the Library is the first step toward legitimacy in the Faculty, and gives them a sense of belonging, but it also evokes strong emotions—excitement about being part of this elite world, and anxiety about the demands that being an advocate imposes. One devil commented on feeling proud to be part of the profession: "[Being able to work in the Library] probably gives you the sort of feeling of membership. And it's difficult not to feel that you are slightly privileged; in that you are being invited to, well as I say, 'join the club.'" The anxiety, on the other hand, was evident in the devils' comments about breaking the unspoken rules, failing to behave in an appropriate manner, or failing to dress appropriately for this dignified space.

Reproduction of the Status Order within the Faculty

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

Emplacement: "Everyone in the Right Place"

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

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

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

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

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

For those allowed access to the Library, there are a number of further restrictions within the Library space. Thus, while devils are allowed to work in the Laigh Hall, they are restricted to sitting at two tables with 16 seats, marked with signs bearing the poignant legend, "Devils may sit here" (Figure 3). This area is furthest away from the Faculty Reception and the Library Inquiries desk, which is indicative of the peripheral position of the devils.

One room in which devils are not permitted is the Reading Room—the social area for members. During the week, coffee, tea, and biscuits are available, and work in this room is actively discouraged. Members can sit and read daily papers and journals, or generally relax and chat. For special occasions, such as celebratory dinners, receptions, or the annual Burns' supper (a traditional Scottish celebration) the room is used in the evening, and for such use permission has to be sought from the Dean. A devil would not expect to be invited to such an event, and one office bearer described it as "a private room." The Reading Room is also the general venue for Faculty meetings, and for the wine reception for devils on the eve of their admission to the Faculty. This will normally be the first time devils enter the Reading Room.

The Corridor is another room in which the demarcation of space is evident. It is generally populated by "mid- to senior-ranking counsel;" however, there is little precision in what these terms mean and who is allowed to work in the Corridor. The status order is also visible in other parts of the building. The

FIGURE 3
The Laigh Hall

Box Corridor is one of the "spatial outcomes" (Markus, 1993: 57) and is a richly symbolic space in the Faculty (Figure 4). Advocates for hundreds of years had the right to place a lidded wooden box in this corridor to allow legal instructions and papers to be received. This was a well-observed tradition, where one advocate did not look in another advocate's box or interfere with someone else's papers. The Box Corridor had its origins in the practice of court cases being conducted in previous centuries by way of written pleadings or documents that were put in front of the judges. The advocates' boxes were placed on shelves along the Corridor in the order of the advocate's admission to

FIGURE 4
The Box Corridor

the Faculty. As the advocate progressed through his or her career, the box was physically moved along the shelves until it came to a final position on the upper shelf in the main Box Corridor. Once it was there, it would only be moved on retirement, or if the advocate was elected to a senior office. If the boxes were moved, their position along the shelf changed, but the order remained the same.[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Status and privilege are also attached to two of the doorways to the Law Room—one from the Corridor and one from Parliament Hall. There are two doorways, but it is not the case that either door can be used indifferently. Normal entry and exit is by the doorway to the Corridor, and only more senior members use the other doorway to Parliament Hall (Figure 5). While there is a general understanding that seniority is the controlling factor there, this again coexists with a distinct lack of clarity about this rule and the rationale behind it. One devilmaster told his devil, "See this door—I am going to tell you a secret—don't ever try to go through it." Another advocate denied that the length of service matters, and suggested that going through this door may only be appropriate if the member is in court dress and attending court. Despite the lack of clarity surrounding this rule, no attempts to break the rule were noted or reported—i.e., none of the newly admitted advocates have been seen attempting to enter the Reading Room through this door.

Another reflection of the status order is the rule related to the fireplaces in Parliament Hall. In the hall are two large open fireplaces—one, on the wall between the entrance to the Faculty Reception and the Parliament Hall door to the Law Room, is regularly lit

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

FIGURE 5
Entrance to the Law Room

FIGURE 6
Parliament Hall

during the winter months. The History of Parliament Hall (Figure 6) stated that "There appears to be no other government building in Britain with a daily coal fire," which emphasizes the uniqueness of the institution even further. Not everyone is allowed to stand in front of this fire, and the right to do so is a matter of one's seniority in the Faculty—demonstrating clear divisions of space.

Enactment of Rules Surrounding the Library

Enactment in Dale and Burrell's (2008) framework is about how spaces are lived and experienced, and indicates the routinized ways in which people engage in social spaces. Enactment also signifies everyday bodily ways of engaging with the world. In our case, acceptance of the rules of the Library featured prominently in our data, with very little evidence of questioning or resistance from advocates and devils. Devils enact such space by accepting the restrictive nature of their access to some rooms, not being allowed to sit on some chairs, and being prohibited from entering the Law Room through one set of doors (Figure 7). Despite the unwelcoming effect these rules might have, advocates and devils continue to observe them. As one devil remarked:

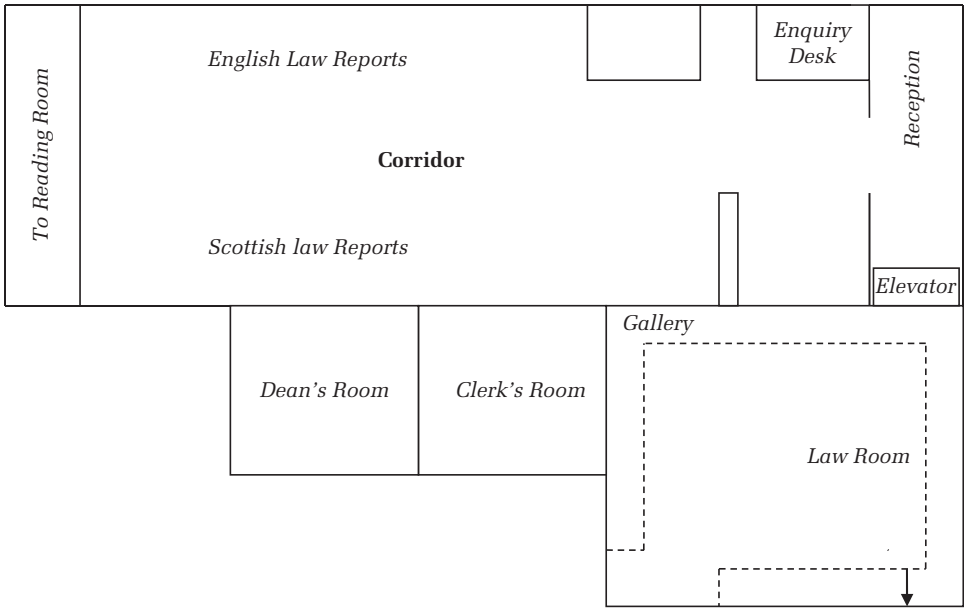
> [The Library] does have rules that devils can do this and can't do that which are different from what full members can do, but that's not unlike many other institutions. If you were wishing to make it, shall we say, more welcoming then you would probably remove rules like "you can't be in the Reading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

Another devil made a similar comment, justifying the restrictiveness of access with reference to "tradition:"

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

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

FIGURE 7
The Advocate Library: Corridor



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

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

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

The spaces within Parliament House constrain some practices, but they also enforce others. When in the Great Hall, advocates are not supposed to stand and talk; instead, they walk up and down—in pairs or small groups. This practice is believed to have developed as a method of engaging in private discussion with no one to overhear. The tradition of walking during conversation exists only in Parliament Hall, and is not replicated elsewhere in the Scottish courts. One advocate found the practice appealing and at the same rationalized it, which illustrates how a space can have an active disciplining effect:

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

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

> Devils are subject, in matters affecting conduct as an Intrant and admission to the Faculty, to the discipline of the Dean. If you conduct yourself in such a manner as to render you unfitted to the exercise of the public office of advocate the Dean may (. . .) remove you from the Roll of Intrants.

Compliance with the rules is, to an extent, motivated by the "discipline of the Dean;" however, the boundaries are also enacted out of fear of social embarrassment. Negative emotions were also evident in the advocates' unease about where they are allowed to sit. In order to avoid crossing invisible boundaries

and breaking the tacit rules, new advocates prefer to occupy the "safe" spaces; i.e., those that less experienced members of the Faculty are definitely allowed in. Even after admission into the Faculty, some new entrants still prefer to sit in the places designated as devils' desks:

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

Another newly called advocate said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Very few of these rules of the space observed by us were explicit (one example "Devils may sit here" notice, Figure 3), and, as Giddens (1984) noted, rules do not have to be explicitly codified to be effective. Unlike in other institutions where boundaries are deliberately visible and their visibility gives them potency (Crang, 1994; Guthley et al., 2014; Keith & Pile, 1993), the boundaries in the Library are invisible, but crossing them can upset the status order of the profession, and impact on individuals' careers. Despite the difficulty in negotiating a way round the space in the Library, it is important to know one's place in the Faculty. It is also important to enact the rules of the space. The invisible boundaries in the Library are an example of uncodified rules, which have been enacted for hundreds of years. The existence of visible and invisible boundaries, and the potential consequences of crossing them, determine the practices of advocates striving for legitimacy in the social and physical space of Parliament House. These behaviors, on the other hand, reproduce the boundaries, and, consequently, maintain the divisions within the institution. As much as drawing

boundaries is a political act (Dale & Burrell, 2008), so too are decisions on whether to cross them. It was surprising that little dissent was voiced to us, and all devils and most advocates appear to accept the rules and enact spatial boundaries. Counterintuitively, it is the newcomers who are more likely to observe the rules of the space than the experienced advocates, which suggests that the newcomers play a crucial role in institutional maintenance. This raises interesting questions: *why* don't newcomers resist these quirky rules and *why* are they willing to enact them? The answer to these questions emerging from our data lies in enchantment, which takes us to the main part of our analysis.

Enchantment: "The Charm that Never Wears off"

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

History and tradition. The enchanting quality of the space and associated traditions is arguably what attracts people to the Faculty, as the space, like other symbols of the profession—e.g., the wigs and gowns—is associated with high professional and social status. Pride of the profession, and pride of the place that advocates occupy, is clearly visible in the way devils and advocates engage in their activities in Parliament House. Enchantment is evoked by constant references to history and tradition—a source of continuity with the past or cultural inheritance (Dacin & Dacin, 2008)—a point many participants in the study emphasized both during and after the interviews in casual conversations with us. Neither the advocates nor their special place, Parliament House, are innocent of history. The *History of Parliament House* pamphlet points out architectural details of the building's interior, explaining the symbolism of the sculptures and the events documented in the pictures, and recounts how the Scottish Court of Session took residence in this building in 1642. Pride in the building and the Library is instilled from the very beginning of the devils' career through formal sessions during which devils are instructed about the building's history, its architecture, and the artworks collected within it. Thus, when taking their first tour of the building, devils receive a pamphlet on the history of Parliament Hall that evokes the sense of history and ancient majesty:

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

The spaces in the building have the power to seduce and enchant, and enchantment produces powerful effects that "take your breath away." These powerful effects come from the monumental form of the building, its grandeur and aesthetic qualities. The Faculty is located in one of the most historic and dignified buildings, a point that came across strongly in the interviews with devils. The advocates and devils often recalled how, when they entered the building for the first time, the space invoked a sense of pride. The building itself is maintained with great dedication to preserve its historical and architectural legacy, meaning that the space is enchanting because of an appreciation for its intended function. As conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991), Parliament House was designed as the home of the Scottish parliament and incorporates governmental power in every feature—grandeur, size, shape, and symbols. Age itself is also a factor here, as the antiquity of the building enhances the enchantment of the institution. The history and tradition in the Faculty were evoked with almost Shakespearian pathos by advocates, who often linked the functionaries of justice with the site of power and political decision making. The historical legacy of the seat of Parliament was significant because it mythologized the Faculty's past. Arriving in Parliament House for the first time, as researchers we were struck by the grandeur of the building and sensed its historical significance. The building is also redolent of authority and grandeur, rich with symbols that remind observers of the proximity of the advocates to the sources of state power.

Charm that never wears off. The charm and beauty of the physical setting was raised by the members of the Faculty throughout the study. Many of those interviewed referred to the feeling that Parliament House is a "beautiful place" evoking an emotional reaction, and individuals appeared to derive a sense of social status from working in the building, and a sense of exclusion by those who were not. Some members of the Faculty described it as a straightforward workspace and were concerned to provide apparently rational explanations to sustain the rules. For example, one advocate noted that "people get into the Library and suddenly discover that actually it's just a very large Library with lots of books and some seats that are comfortable and some seats that are very uncomfortable." However, such comments were not often heard; the great majority of advocates took a more aesthetic approach, and said "the charm never wears off." When asked about the apparent irrationality and quaintness of the rules, they responded that these rules are "charming" and at the same time "harmless—so why change them?" Although advocates do not have to work in the Library since they are entitled to carry out their work elsewhere, many of them choose to come into the Library every day; they explained that this is what makes them feel they belong to this "amazing" world. Becoming a member of the Faculty gives one access to an exclusive space, and the attraction to this space reduces the motivation to change the institution. Enchantment with the Library was evident in the advocates' and devils' expressions of excitement about being able to work inside it. They emphasized their pride of the impressive collections of legal books, antique furniture, sophisticated décor, and portraits of key figures from the world of Scottish legal history. It is not surprising, therefore, that being granted access to the Library, partial though it may be, not only gives devils a sense of privilege and professional status in the Scottish legal system, but also a high social standing in Scottish society.

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

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

Another advocate said, "there's a dark art, there's no rules about this really not written down anywhere." Yet another added that there is a "sort of cloak and dagger mystique about it" and "a lot of pride and arcane assumptions." Although entering this world is seen as "nerve-wracking," the fascination with it is a significant part of the appeal of the profession.

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

Pomp and circumstance. The location of the Admissions Ceremony in the Reading Room, which marks individuals' entry into the Faculty, is also symbolic of entering the "inner sanctum," and of becoming one of the chosen few who have the right to occupy the space. The ceremony, which is full of pomp and circumstance, is a rite of passage, during which entrants are introduced to the Faculty but also for the first time allowed entry into the Reading Room. The ceremony legitimizes an entrant's status as an advocate, and also their access to some parts of the Library, which are out of bounds to devils:

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

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

Only a few very experienced advocates showed a willingness to defy the Library rules, which might suggest that only when legitimate and very secure in a stable and predictable environment do institutional actors show willingness to pursue change. Although a few advocates commented on the rules of the Library as "not very functional," they showed no inclination to change them. The very few advocates with entrepreneurial aspirations were far outnumbered by those who "loved the place" and showed willingness to continue with the tradition. In this respect, enchantment with the space explains the Faculty's persistence over time and the relatively low motivation among the advocates and devils to question the rules, and move the visible and invisible boundaries. The seductive power of the space—the Library in Parliament House—conditions the desire on the part of devils to maintain the status quo. If the price to pay for the privilege of gaining a share of the space is to observe the rules, which may at times seem irrational, then those devils enchanted by the space are seduced into doing so.

DISCUSSION

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

Although organizational studies and management literature have acknowledged the importance of choosing the right location for the organization (Dale & Burrell, 2008; Hatch, 2013; Jones & Massa, 2013; MacDonald, 1989), previous studies have not explained how the stabilizing effect of the building is achieved and how institutional actors' interactions with spaces maintain institutions and prevent institutional entropy. A notable exception is the study by Lawrence and Dover (2015) that made an important contribution to our understanding of the role of spaces in institutions. These authors found that places contain, mediate, and complicate institutional work, and that the roles are linked with a distinct ontology of a place comprising social enclosures, signifiers, and practical objects. Although the authors did not ascribe agency to places, they recognized the potential for spaces to motivate actors to work to shape institutions through the material and symbolic resources. In a similar vein to Lawrence and Dover's (2015) study, we have moved beyond the building as a symbol of the institution and a backdrop to events by focusing on the role of spaces in institutional work. However, in contrast to Lawrence and Dover (2015), we have not treated spaces only as social enclosures and interpretive filters, but instead identified the role of emotional and aesthetic reactions evoked by these spaces in maintaining institutions.

Drawing on the literature on organizational spaces has allowed us to throw some theoretical light on this topic, but through our analysis we have also made some contributions to the study of organizational spaces. The literature on organizational spaces has used emplacement, enactment, and enchantment as a theoretical framework to analyze how power in organizations is secured and maintained. In light of this literature, the buildings housing organizations are designed and used by leaders to impress or to intimidate various stakeholders (Clegg, 1989; Dale & Burrell, 2008). The relationship between power and built form is often analyzed in the literature through

the conceptual lens of domination, intimidation, discipline, or surveillance (e.g., Foucault, 1975; Sudjec, 2005). This theoretical lens evoking the notions of emplacement and enactment is often associated with securing and obscuring power (Burawoy, 1979), while enchantment evoked by monumental form is interpreted as providing symbolic links with deity; for example, in medieval cathedrals (Dovey, 1999). However, rather than focusing on the analysis of how power relations are shaped by spaces, we provided a link between the experience of spaces and institutional maintenance. In addition, in contrast to the standard rendering of emplacement, enactment, and enchantment as three separate phenomena, we demonstrated how their interweaving contributes to institutional maintenance.

The Interweaving of Emplacement, Enactment, and Enchantment

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

The literature on power and enactments of spaces suggests that disciplinary mechanisms and norms nakedly enforced tend to generate resistance (Clegg, 1989; Dovey, 1999; Elsbach & Pratt, 2007; Hatch, 2013; Jarzabkowski, et al., 2015; Massey, 2005). In contrast, emplacement in our study did not follow the same pattern and did not trigger resistance. Instead, and counterintuitively, institutional actors willingly enacted the tacit and sometimes quirky rules of the space, reinforcing emplacement and reproducing the status order. The key explanation for this counterintuitive lack of resistance is the dominant role of enchantment. Our institutional actors, especially the newcomers, became enchanted by the building, thus explaining why they did not subvert the rules, or did not resist emplacement. Consequently, they did not disturb the status order. By agreeing to being emplaced and by enacting the rules of the space, institutional actors reproduce these rules from generation to generation. This self-reinforcing cycle explains why institutional actors might be less likely to question the existing status order of the institution. For them, subverting the spatial arrangement would take the magic away from the spaces, and would make the spaces less "sacred" or "enchanting." Enchanted newcomers in our study wanted to be part of the setting and thereby aspired to progress toward the center of the "closed" institution. The enchantment with spaces—*mise-en-scène*, ancient myths, the beauty of the building and its artworks—evoked an emotional reaction in those who occupied this space. By becoming part of the institution, individuals gained privileged access to an attractive and enchanting space, and ensured that outsiders are not allowed in, thus maintaining closure.

The Role of Enchantment in Maintaining Institutions

By identifying this dominant role of enchantment in maintaining closure and reproducing the status order, we highlight the *emotive aspect* of institutional maintenance. Our analysis suggests that when it comes to institutional maintenance there is room for recognizing the aesthetic, symbolic, and mythical at the expense of the regulative and imperative (Elsbach & Pratt, 2007; Hatch, 2013; Massey, 2005). Thus, economic rationality may be complemented by the desire to occupy certain spaces because they have a symbolic value that offers status, and because they are "attractive" spaces that evoke certain emotions in those who occupy them.

The spaces in our case study were deemed to be attractive partly because of the mystery surrounding some of the rooms, and the unclear rules that governed their use. This suggests a further important aspect of enchantment—secrecy. Secrecy makes the spaces in our case study enchanting, and any

attempts to raise the veil and uncover the mechanism by questioning the purpose of the rules would only serve to rationalize those rules. According to Weber (1976), rationalization leads to disenchantment, as participants in the mystery seem to understand instinctively, so the veil in enchanted institutions remains undisturbed. One possible explanation for this tendency to maintain secrets can be found in Simmel (1906), who argued that the value of secrecy lies implicitly in the notion of distance. For him, separation is value in itself—it signals an individual's superiority, and in the case of elites, such as aristocracy, it symbolizes unwillingness to give oneself a character common with others. Simmel wrote: "Secrecy and pretense of secrecy (*Geheimnistuerei*) are means of building higher the wall of separation, and therein a reinforcement of the aristocratic nature of the group" (1906: 486). Arguably, in our case study, secrecy and the lack of transparency in the rules of behavior enable closure and a mechanism of institutional maintenance. Both bodies of literature—on institutional maintenance and organizational spaces—have reminded us that an organization cannot only be a prisoner in a cultural "iron cage" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991), but can also be held hostage to its own history (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Selznick, 1957). Our findings suggest that investigating institutional processes through the lens of enchantment may also open the door to further consideration of history's influence on institutional maintenance, and its power to enchant institutional actors into reproducing the existing institutional order.

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

Two of the phenomena—emplacement and enactment—are features of many organizations and institutions, such as hospitals, schools, private clubs, and military organizations. In these organizations, spaces allow for power relations to be both maintained and normalized; i.e., people know their place and stay within it, or else they face negative consequences (Dovey, 1999; Massey, 2005). Although emplacement and the enactment of the rules in these organizations are evident, they are in themselves not sufficient for reproduction of the status order and maintenance of closure. Emplacement and the enactment of rules are rarely intertwined with enchantment, and hardly ever do individuals working in hospitals or military establishments take delight in the aesthetic qualities of the organizational spaces within which they operate. However, there are some organizations and institutions, like the one in our case study, where the disciplining power is intertwined with the aesthetic and emotional aspects of the institution, elicited by the interaction of people with spaces. In such organizations, people obey the rules and reproduce power relations not for fear of discipline and punishment, but because they are enchanted by the spaces they occupy. Examples include churches, parliaments, and ancient universities. People in these institutions know their place, and observe the rules of the space because of the overwhelming sense of awe created by ancient buildings, grand form, and decorative interiors. Although the age of the institution was an important factor in our case study, not all "enchanting" institutions will be old; examples of new buildings housing institutions can easily be found in modern concert halls, art galleries, and libraries. Some spaces might enchant for reasons other than monumental form or ornamental interiors; surgeons might feel enchanted by operating theaters, actors by being on stage, and airplane pilots by sitting in the cockpit. Such more modern spaces also have the power to enchant institutional actors.

Maintenance of Closure and Reproduction of the Status Order

We adopted an institutional perspective to study the profession, following recent approaches that

have treated professions as institutions in themselves (e.g., Adler & Kwon, 2013; Bevort & Suddaby, 2016; Muzio et al., 2013). Following on from the work of Scott (2008) and more recent contributions by Adler and Kwon, (2013), Kipping and Kirkpatrick, (2013), and Muzio et al. (2013), we emphasized the value of studying professions as institutions, and connected the patterns of professionalization with the broader processes of institutionalization. So how does our analysis of institutional maintenance help us explain maintenance of professions?

The concept of closure has great explanatory power in the formation and maintenance of professions (Parkin, 1979; Weber, 1978), referring to how professions maintain the identity and preserve their share of rewards and resources denied to individuals on the outside (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). The maintenance of closure specifically preserves the uniqueness and dignified status of the profession within the wider social system, differentiating it from other professions. However, earlier literature on closure has focused on social and economic devices aimed at limiting access to a profession and preventing other groups from copying and using professional skills (Currie et al., 2012; Kirkpatrick & Ackroyd, 2003; Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd, & Walker, 2004; Saks, 2016). These devices include formal qualifications or membership of professional bodies that limit recruitment into the profession. In contrast to these studies, our study identified tacit boundaries enacted and reproduced by institutional actors, and aesthetic and emotional appeals that create closure. The enchanting qualities of the profession—its uniqueness, quirkiness and "old-worldliness"—attract some people, but they also discourage others. For example, newcomers who aspire to become members of this elite profession are attracted to these spaces; while those who dislike the "pomp and circumstance" associated with being a member of this profession avoid them. Similarly, emplacement and the enactment of space keep the outside on the outside, leading to closure. Closure of the profession is crucial in its maintenance as it ensures that its members continue to occupy the highest positions, unrivalled by other professions.

Reproduction of the status order refers to maintaining the institution's internal structure, and allowing distribution of the prestige and economic rewards associated with a senior position within the institution. Because of the enchantment that enchanting organizational spaces evoke, institutional actors agree to being emplaced, and reproduce the status order. In other words, the space symbolically realizes the status enjoyed by institutional actors. By preserving its own status order, and closing off opportunities for other professionals, the profession maintains its position in the wider social system. In this sense preservation of the internal status order is an extension of the external closure, as it solidifies the overall ordering of the status of the profession.

Conclusion and Future Research Questions

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

The novel contribution of our study lies in using analytical tools borrowed from the literature on organizational spaces to investigate the role of spaces and emotional and aesthetic reactions evoked by these spaces in maintaining institutions. We argue that three spatial phenomena—emplacement, enactment of space, and enchantment—work together to achieve the institutional maintenance. So although emplacement, enactment of space, and enchantment are interlinked and all three are important to our analysis, we single out enchantment as the most significant of these phenomena in our study, and the one that most clearly highlights the emotional and aesthetic aspects of institutions. Enchantment allows us to explain how people's experience of spaces may have a stabilizing effect on institutions. We argue that individual and group actors engage in institutional work by interacting with these spaces, thereby creating a stabilizing effect on the institution. Such a perspective invites us to consider spaces as places in which institutional actors behave in certain ways because of the qualities of the spaces that they occupy (Crang, 1994), and because these spaces may provide institutional actors with material and symbolic resources

(Lawrence & Dover, 2015). Of course, like most "determinisms," spatial determinism is to be avoided, and we do not want to overstate the effect of the physical setting on social practices. Organizational spaces do not determine people's behaviors, but they might prompt them to act in certain ways that are appropriate for the cultural significance of these spaces (Meusburger, 2008). We maintain that organizational spaces can order social relationships and shape practices, and that looking through this theoretical lens has allowed us to explore the material basis of an institution in a manner that goes beyond giving it the status of a backdrop to events and interactions.

Our case study's institution is unique in many ways, but not in terms of being palpably embedded in material structures. There are many other institutions, such as historic church foundations, private schools, ancient universities, concert halls, and parliaments, whose shape and mythic, symbolic, or aesthetic appeal are inextricably linked with the building. The relationship between these institutions and their buildings is often taken for granted, but in this study we explored in more detail the role that buildings play in maintaining institutions. And although ours is a study of institutional maintenance in an institution with a long history of tradition, it could be that what is true there will also apply to institutions that are much less burdened with historical legacy. This raises a number of questions: what would happen if a building housing an institution burned down in a fire—would this institution survive in the same form in a different location? If preserving the organizational space may guarantee institutional reproduction over time, is the reverse true? Will moving to a new building lead to the disruption of an institution? These are matters for further theoretical and empirical inquiry.

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