

LINKING CATEGORIES TO INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS: EXAMINING CHANGE IN
LEGAL PRACTICES BY ASSOCIATION WITH CHANGES IN THE HISTORICAL
PREVALENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Much has been written about the effects of institutional logics in various contexts and at different levels of analysis. Yet, little is known about how and why multiple institutional logics coexist and in particular coexist in the institutional order of the professions. Even less is known about how changes in institutional environments affect the processes of co-existing institutional logics and the formation of professional practice categories. Building on recent advances integrating theory on categories and institutional logics and cueing on the concept of the symbiosis of multiple institutional logics, this dissertation addresses two unanswered questions regarding the coexistence of multiple institutional logics: 1) how the coexistence of multiple logics shaped legal practice categories and 2) how changes in institutional environments affected institutional logic influence on categories.

This analysis focuses on the categorization process from the perspective of how the effects of institutional change influence the development and effects of institutional logics on legal practice categories. This dissertation employs a historical archival time series research design to examine the categorization process in the context of the U.S. legal profession over a 150 year observation period. Through extensive coding of commonly subscribed U.S. law directories from 1860 to 2011 (from the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*), I developed a proprietary longitudinal data set. This documentary research enabled grounding my knowledge of legal practices developed and the systematic testing of hypotheses regarding how the coexistence of multiple logics shaped those practices.

Findings reveal how repeated competition among institutional logics in the legal profession shaped the attention of legal professionals, explaining both the dominance of logics and the balance of the dominant logic with newly emerging institutional logics. Subsequent changes in legal practice categories, representing the influence of multiple institutional logics, suggests professional practices are shaped by the interaction of multiple logics. This process can be affected by inter-professional and intra-professional environments that surround the U.S. legal profession. Using independent variables as proxies, this dissertation examines the effect of changes in institutional environments on institutional logic influence on categories.

This study contributes to the nascent literature using the institutional logics perspective to explain the role of the institutional context in the origin and change in categories. It aims to understand how institutional logics can be theorized as a meta-theoretical framework to analyze categories in which the influences of each logic collectively competes with other logics to create a symbiotic balance of institutional influences on the development of the U.S. legal profession.

DEDICATION

To the Lord who lights our way

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NOMENCLATURE

ABA	The American Bar Association
FTC	Federal Trade Commission
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Institutional Theory to Analyze the Professions and Professional Work

The institutional character of societies is attributed to their capacity to understand the process of institutional change aligned with the changes at the societal level. Institutional scholars have contributed to understanding the rationalizing of institutional change in various contexts by providing cases of emerging, maintaining, and diminishing institutions. There is a long history of institutional analysis in sociology, first focusing on values and leadership in organizations (Selznick 1957), and later on structural relations between organizations within fields (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). However, the theoretical apparatus of these earlier variants of institutional analysis did not develop the capacity to explain how to heterogeneity of institutions guide individual and organizational behavior (Friedland and Alford 1991)—which is required to understand increasing differentiation of cultural and social contexts that produce logics.

More recently, increased attention is being paid to understanding the changing nature of professional work from isomorphic institutional change to heterogeneous institutional change in the research on the institutional logics perspectives (Thornton 2002; Thornton 2004; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). The institutional logics perspective is a meta-theoretical lens to analyze the relationships of inter-institutional systems of various actors in the society (Friedland and Alford 1991). As an alternative theoretical framework to neo-institutional theory, it emphasizes heterogeneity of institutional logics rooted in symbolic and material practices that guide and shape individual and organizational behavior (Thornton and Ocasio 1999). Neo-

institutional theory has been widely viewed as the primary institutional theory; however, its origins and institutional legacy stemming from block modeling and relational networks make it focus on the structural perspectives of institutions and their isomorphic effects in organizational fields (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Later unrealized advances focused on cognition (Powell and DiMaggio 1991), but also eschewed the earlier work on values (Selznick 1957) so central to understanding the heterogeneous and complex interrelationships of individuals and organizations in social systems (Thornton et al. 2012).

According to the institutional logics perspective, society is conceptualized as an interinstitutional system based on culturally heterogeneous institutional orders of the family, community, religion, market, state, corporation, and the professions (Friedland and Alford 1991; Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012). Social actors such as individuals, professionals, and organizations are situated in institutional multiplicity (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, and Lorente 2010) or pluralism (Kraatz and Block 2017), representing both symbolic and material practices. Institutional logics are “rules of action, [social] interaction, an interpretation that [shape], guide, and constrain decision making” (Thornton and Ocasio 1999: 804). The institutional logics perspective has developed at the meso- and macro-levels and is most recently advancing cross-level research to capture cultural and social heterogeneity in how changes in institutional environments are driven by social actors (Kok, de Bakker, and Groenewegen 2019), drawing upon the institutional logics perspective (Glaser, Fast, Harmon, and Green 2016) and focusing on professional work (Harrington 2019).

Especially in professional fields, the landscape of professional work has been drastically transformed, and institution theory has provided substantial explanations for the changing nature

of professional work. Due to drastic social change, the transformation of professional work has been more heterogeneous and less predictable, which has disrupted the solid jurisdictional boundaries of the professional domain. Although sociological institutional theorists have explored professional development, the existing literature drawing on institutional theory is centered on finding the causal effects of isomorphic societal pressures on the homogeneous institutional change of professions. The institutional logics perspective is becoming an integral theoretical pillar to institutional theory that discusses the challenges and changing nature of the professions shaped by symbolic and material practices (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Rather than arguing that a central or dominant logic shapes and constrains the behaviors of individuals and organizations in the professions, in this dissertation, I extend the institutional logics perspective by providing a better understanding of the symbiosis of multiple institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession by analyzing the historical patterns of the categories of legal practices.

1.2. Main Research Questions

The early literature using the institutional logics perspective as a meta-theoretical framework to examine professionals and professional work largely focuses on the consequences on decision-making of a shift of a dominant logic from the professional to the market logic (Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Thornton 2001; 2002; 2004). Later, scholars built on the body of institutional literature with multiple logics in professional work such as pharmacy (Goodrick and Reay 2011) and medical education (Dunn and Jones 2010). In contributing to the literature on the institutional logics perspective in professional work, this dissertation will explain how the U.S. legal profession has been guided and shaped by coexisting multiple logics rather than the

prevalence of a single dominant logic. Although a similar research question was examined by Goodrick and Reay (2011) in the field of the American pharmacy, the U.S. legal profession entails different contextual and historical discourses and has been shaped by unique professionalism while connecting with other social actors outside of law. Unlike journalism, pharmacy, nursing, and other professional domains, the legal profession is considered a high-end professional field with longer educational credentialing and a higher structured professional association (e.g., American Bar Association) (Besbris and Petre 2020). Therefore, exploring the coexistence of multiple institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession will develop a theoretical concept regarding the historically changing nature of professional work influenced by the relationship between the professional logic and other coexisting institutional logics.

Goodrick and Reay (2011) examined the coexistence of multiple logics in the U.S. pharmaceutical profession, and Dunn and Jones (2010) also investigated the coexistence of two competing logics in medical education over a century, from 1910 to 2005. These studies provide evidence of how competing multiple logics have coexisted in the field of the professions; however, it is difficult to generalize their arguments across the domains of professions because the field of the U.S. legal profession is situated in profoundly different historical contexts and field logics than other professions. Besides these two studies, the extant literature is not sufficient to shed light on the coexistence of multiple logics in professional work due to relatively short time period of observations (Gestel and Hillebrand 2011; Vasudeva, Spencer, and Teegen 2013). Thus, this dissertation addresses gaps with a historical approach to the U.S. legal profession by answering questions related to the coexistence of multiple logics: 1) how multiple institutional

logics have repeatedly coexisted in the U.S. legal profession and 2) how field level institutional logics are influenced by changing institutional environments.

By employing a historical approach, this dissertation is able to observe how the coexistence of competing and cooperating logics repeatedly strengthened and weakened in the U.S. legal profession. This dissertation follows the foundational studies of professional work and the institutional logics perspective derived from classic institutional theory and draws on category studies to analyze changes in legal practice categories. The U.S. legal profession is an exemplary field to examine institutional stability and change for the following reasons. First, the legal profession historically represents one of the longest high-end professional domains (Besbris and Petre 2020). Although the changing nature of the U.S. legal profession has been emphasized by various scholars, the majority of the relevant studies are practical reviews without empirical findings to shed light on institutional multiplicity in the legal profession.

Second, using the category studies (i.e., the essential categories shown in *the Martindale-Hubbell Law Directories* from 1870 to 2011 as legal practices) will provide a unique contextualization on how the categories of symbolic and material practices in the U.S. legal profession have been constructed, have emerged, and waned over 150 years. Although Durand and Thornton (2018) suggested approaches for theoretical compatibility for assumptions combining institutional logics and category studies, little is known about how to empirically specify mechanisms and processes of integration of institutional logics and category studies. In the law directories, symbolic and material attributes of the legal practice are represented by categorical information that helps legal professionals (e.g., category makers) communicate with audiences (e.g., category consumers) in the professional domain. This dissertation empirically

examines how categories in the U.S. law directories have been constructed alongside the coexistence of multiple institutional logics; these logics establishes institutional consensus and professional agreement (Negro, Hannan, and Rao 2011; Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2015).

Finally, the U.S. legal profession is defined as “the most influential, contemporary crafters of institutions” (Scott 2008: 223). This statement emphasizes that professionals and organizations constitute institutions. On the contrary, this dissertation demonstrates that institutional environments (internal and external) constitute social agreements represented by categories in the law directories, which temporarily craft the influence of each institutional logic reflected in the symbolic and material practices of professionals (i.e., lawyers and law firms). In sum, I argue the reverse causality of the classic perspective on the professions of institutional theory derived from isomorphic institutional change.

This dissertation expands and combines theories of institutional logics and categories by analyzing the changing influence of multiple institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession to provide a better understanding of how multiple logics have coexisted, which shapes and guides symbolic and material practices reflected in the categories of legal practice. In doing so, categorization is employed as an analytical approach to find how informative categories in the law directories represent the changing nature of the professions while coexisting with other institutional logics. This study empirically employs the archival case study to develop theoretical framework about how the primary logic of the professions is intertwined with other institutional logics in the creation of categories. By conducting an archival analysis, this dissertation contributes to the body of knowledge in institutional theory by adding new evidence about how the creation and change of market categories guide professional work as a varying constellation

of institutional logics. Then, quantitative regression estimation is employed to examine the effects of institutional environments on the influence of multiple institutional logics in the legal profession.

Prior research has addressed institutional multiplicity (Greenwood, Dias, Li, and Lorente 2010) and the constellation of multiple institutional logics in professional domains (Dunn and Jones 2010; Goodrick and Reay, 2011), but little is known about how the symbiosis of multiple field logics is repeatedly shaped over time and how it is associated with the creation and demise of categories of legal practice. As the institutional logics perspective is becoming a central paradigm in institutional theory to explain institutional change aligned with cultural heterogeneity and dynamic social contexts, this dissertation is expected to contribute evidence of the coexistence of multiple logics to provide the understanding of the inter-institutional system with categorization as an analytical approach to the institutional change in the legal profession. The category studies have been explored as cognitive and semantic analyses because market categories are considered a communication channel between producers and consumers (Durand and Thornton 2018). Recently, a few scholars have narrowed a gap between the literatures of institutional logics and category studies), but still there is an unexplained void about how the creation and demise of categories shape the coexistence of multiple institutional logics.

1.3. Purpose of the Study and Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation addresses the institutional change and stability of the U.S. legal profession as represented by the emergence of categories in the law directories. Professional fields are a long-standing context of study in institutional theory. By using a historical approach

that combines archival and quantitative analyses, this dissertation explores institutional change and stability of the U.S. legal professional work associated with the multiple institutional orders and logics of society. The professions are “organized bodies of individual members who create knowledge and belief systems” within areas of professional jurisdictions (Abbott 1988; Thornton 2002: 83). Despite the stability of professional work, the professions face increasing challenges to meet effectiveness and efficiency pressures of market capitalism (Goodrick and Reay 2011).

The legal profession changes more slowly than other professional domains, such as medicine and pharmacy (Abel 1986). Through drastic social and economic change, the landscape of the legal profession became central to the market and corporate institutional orders rather than the professional order. Prior research regarding professional work drawing on the institutional logics perspective explains institutional change as logic switching (McPherson and Sauder 2013), logic balancing (Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, and Spee 2015), and state mandates in the healthcare profession (Reay and Hinings 2009). Also, Thornton and her colleagues (Thornton 2002; Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Thornton et al. 2012) suggest that a dominant field level shift from the logic of the profession to the logic of the market. In this dissertation, I extend the professions and the institutional literature by discussing multiple institutional logics’ coexistence reflected in categorical emergence and change in the U.S. legal profession.

The professions and professional work are historically institutionalized to produce and distribute expert services organized by a division of expert labor (Abbott 1988). In the legal profession, since the legitimacy of professionalism is derived from personal expertise and reputation, the action of professionals is culturally embedded in the logics of the professions (Thornton 2002). Professionals are one of the most important social actors that play a role in

structuring core professional principles, protecting professional interests and ethics, and delivering expert services to the public, and they are viewed as the “contemporary crafters of institutions” (Scott 2008: 223).

Although professions are constituted from normative controls and specialized role identities based on professional expertise and memberships, social change that places professionals in bureaucratic corporate-like firms (e.g., mega law firms) might erode professional values and ethics (Suddaby and Viale 2011). Professional values are supported by the autonomy and independent discretion of professional members; however, professional values can be undermined when professionals are controlled by efficiency-oriented principles. This social phenomenon is interpreted as the incursion of the market logic into professional values, which leads to a shift of a dominant field logic from the professional to the market logic (Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Thornton 2002; Thornton et al. 2012). On the other hand, Reed (1996) argued that professionals evolve in large organizations that selectively couple with professional logics. Goodrick and Reay (2011) were also of the view that professional work is placed under the control of corporate and bureaucratic realms. Although the professional logic as a dominant logic shapes and guides the action of professionals and organizations, there are multiple subordinate (or secondary) logics that coexist with a dominant logic but do not primarily guide the behaviors of professionals.

In the dynamism of professional work, the legal profession is considered as having maintained stability and durability of institutional arrangements. The legal profession is investigated to see how a professional institution is constructed and coupled with occupational and educational credentialism that legitimizes professional expertise of legal attorneys. The

extant literature demonstrates that the legal profession has been through institutional reconstruction that embraces corporate-like professional firms and blends market-oriented commercial values, changing the nature of professional values (Ackroyd and Muzio 2007). To date, scholars have developed the understanding that professionals (e.g., legal, medical, and pharmaceutical professionals) have adapted and transformed in alignment with normative social change (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Brint and Krabel 1989). This dissertation draws the overarching theme of the institutional logics perspective as a meta-theoretical framework to demonstrate the effects of the coexistence of multiple institutional logics on the determination of different types of professional categories at the field-level.

As a meta-theoretical framework, the institutional logics perspective is widely used as a lens of institutional theory to provide a better understanding of how institutions change with heterogeneous social change and environments. There are, however, issues remaining regarding the mechanisms of the institutional logics perspective. The following chapters will examine how the multiple competing and cooperating logics in the U.S. legal profession have coexisted by adapting to institutional changes. Despite a clear ideal type of institutional order proposed by Thornton et al. (2012), terminologies of market and corporate logics are misused for managerialism, business-like logic, or efficiency, which creates confusion in academic audiences. This dissertation reviews the existing literature and suggests clear distinctions between market and corporate logics by describing the coexistence of institutional logics in the legal profession over time.

Institutional multiplicity implies multiple institutional logics at the field level with different formations: primary logics and minority logics (Durand and Jourdan 2012), interacting

multiple logics (McPherson and Sauder 2013), durability (Nicolini et al. 2015) and compatibility of multiple logics (Besharov and Smith 2014), and distinctive multiple logics (Greenwood et al. 2010). However, by proposing the concept of coexisting institutional logics as balancing and competing multiplicity, this dissertation highlights the evidence of the changing symbiosis of multiple logics in the legal profession. Linking the institutional logics perspective to category studies is integral to demonstrate institutional heterogeneity based on the historically created categories reflected in practice. Categorical change in the legal profession will be analyzed to empirically demonstrate changes in professional characteristics within the legal profession, thus explaining the symbiosis of multiple institutional logics that historically coexist.

In the following chapter (Chapter 2), the existing literature on institutional logics will be reviewed to provide a better understanding of the development of research regarding the institutional logics perspectives in different contexts. In Chapter 3, I formulate a set of hypotheses regarding macro-level institutional change aligned with professional work and values in the U.S. legal profession, which activates the formation of institutional logics in the field of professions. In Chapter 4, the sources of empirical data and the methods employed will be explained, and in chapter 5, the two parts of the empirical tests will be analyzed. The first part of the historical approach is to demonstrate the coexistence of the multiple logics reflected in categorical changes of practices in legal practices, and the second part analyzes a series of regression models to examine the relationship between institutional environments and the influence of institutional logics. In Chapter 6, finally, I discuss the findings and explain how they contribute to the literature on institutional theory and professional work for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Institutional Logics Perspective with a Dominant Field-Level Logic

The concept of institutional logics has been explored and used to explain how the action of individuals and organizations are influenced by institutional belief systems reflected by cultural heterogeneity. Institutional logics guide beliefs, rules, and principles that motivate, shape, and constrain individual and organizational behavior and practices, which ultimately changes existing institutions and creates new ones. Friedland and Alford (1991) initially introduced institutional logics to conceptualize “society as an interinstitutional system with distinct logics” associated with different social actors and societal sectors (Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick 2013: 101). Later, the concept of the institutional logics perspective was developed by the following scholars: Thornton and Ocasio (1999) developed a theoretical and analytical framework empirically examining how institutional logics shape and constrain power in higher education publishing firms by defining institutional logics as “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules” (804).

Initially, Selznick’s old institutional theory asserted that values in society and culture are embodied as organizational action. By describing a variety of leadership styles, the organization integrates and infuses divergent values in organizational actions, which leads to institutionalization. Unlike neo-institutional theory that focuses on the organizations’ adaptation to the institutional environment and the dominance of processes of isomorphism in society (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977), the concept of institutional logics was viewed as the new stream of institutional theory, explaining how the action of individuals and

organizations was situated in institutional beliefs, values, and norms that concretize symbolic and material practices (Thornton et al. 2012).

Although neo-institutional theory provided structural approaches to institutional change, it largely focuses on the similarities of organizations as a result of institutional effects rather than the differences. As an alternative to institutional analysis, the institutional logics perspective has received increased scholarly attention, aiming to conceptualize the institution as the interinstitutional system constituted by different institutional orders. The institutional logics perspective provides broader schemas of institutionalization both in the horizontal institutional orders (X-axis) and the vertical categorical elements of those orders (Y-axis).

As a general and conceptual proposal to institutional theory, Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested the institutional logics approach as the new explanation for institutional heterogeneity and change. Logics as accumulated social values, norms, beliefs, and rules are “a set material practices and symbolic constructions that constitute organizing principles” (243; 248), which ultimately guide and shape institutions. Friedland and Alford’s seminal work was not analytically and mutually exclusive identification of the institutional orders, making it difficult to translate this discursive essay into a research design. Despite an alternative explanation of institutional theory, the early institutional logics perspective was highly influenced by the neo-institutional theory’s field-oriented approach to the diffusion of dominant norms and cultures across institutions (Hirsch and Lounsbury 1997).

Friedland and Alford briefly explicated the coexistence of multiple institutional logics lying across institutions by arguing about potentially contradicting (or competing) institutions (1991); however, they mainly identified the diffusion of the “commodification of human

activity” in the institution of capitalism that guides symbolic and material practices as action of individuals and organizations, which enables market capitalism (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). Their “commodification logic” was viewed as impacting social actors and their action, arguing the relationship between a central logic and institutions. Subsequently, remarkably intensive attention has been paid to understand the relationship between logics in one institutional field, and how the relationships between logics vary with types: 1) competing between a dominant and other logics, and 2) multiple coexisting logics.

The early research drawing upon institutional logics suggested that a new dominant field-level logic is strengthened, impacting the action of organizations and competing with or replacing the existing logic. The concept of a dominant logic (referred to as central or primary logic) in the early studies of institutional logics was still affected by the widely accepted influence of neo-institutional theory that emphasized mimetic diffusion of institutional rules that lead to similarity of the organizations in society. The following studies empirically investigated how competing logics in daily organizational life shape institutions, and how a new logic obtains dominance while the preexisting logic is diminished or replaced (Haveman and Rao 1997; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2003). Thornton and Ocasio’s (1999) seminal work developed competing logics as a shift from an editorial logic to a market logic by empirically analyzing executive succession in higher education publishing industry.

As Thornton (2002; 2004) subsequently provided the grand view of competing logics; the relationships between logics have emphasis on how a market-oriented dominant logic changes the organizational behavior or decision-making process and challenges the editorial logic (or professional logic) over time. Studies about competing and shifting logics contribute to

explicating how the actions of individuals and organizations are influenced by irreconcilable logics that compete with each other to dominate the symbolic and material practices at the field level, shifting the institution's arrangements along with a dominant force.

2.2. The Institutional Logics Perspective with Multiple Logics

Although the early research emphasized the competition between two logics or a shift from one to the other dominant logic, the typology of institutional logics has been developed with the ideal type analysis, which provides a comprehensive theoretical framework of the institutional logics perspective as the interinstitutional system (Thornton 2004; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Thornton et al. 2012). The seven ideal-type institutional orders (i.e., family, religion, community, state, market, profession, and corporation) were elaborated upon and theorized with elemental categories (Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012). Subsequently, the concept of institutional complexity encompassing institutional dynamism and change evolved with the development of multiple institutional orders (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, and Lounsbury 2011; McPherson and Sauder 2013).

The recognition of the coexistence of multiple logics triggered the big question of how relationships among more than two logics influence institutional change and maintain institutional stability. This recognition was accelerated by the suggested seven ideal types of institutional logics because the prior studies of institutional logics largely focused on the frictions and conflicts between two logics (Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012; Ocasio, Thornton, and Lounsbury 2017). Thornton and Ocasio (1999) did not only emphasize a shifting of the prevalence of a logic from an editorial to a market logic but also suggested the prevalence of two

coexisting logics and the prevalence of two logics depending on historical contingency. This means that two competing logics can be reconciled although there will be friction as two logics in one context are inevitably competitive.

The concept of the coexistence of multiple logics is paired with the synergetic effects of two cooperative logics, whereas the concept of a dominant field-level logic implies that the strength of one logic can result in the weakening of the other (Waldorff, Reay, and Goodrick 2013). In the field of mutual funds, the professional money management firms, as professional service firms, embrace the emergence of a performance logic when a trustee logic is prevailing; however, the two logics, performance and trustee logics, coexist depending on geographic areas rather than the field embracing one primary logic (Lounsbury 2007). Scholars are interested in how multiple logics are differently associated with social actors and action of individuals and organizations in the same institution. Likewise, different logics can be segmented based on geographic location (Waldorff and Greenwood 2010), different forms of organizations (Marquis and Lounsbury 2007), and practices of the industry (Thornton, Jones, and Kury 2005). Reay and Hinings (2009) also found that organizational behaviors can be segmented by actors. Actions of physicians are shaped by the professional logic while actions of managers are guided by the business-oriented corporate logic, which implies that two different types of actors can be differently guided as multiple logics coexist in the medical field.

Goodrick and Reay (2011) argued that multiple logics have differently guided the practices and actions of the U.S. pharmacy profession over 150 years with the concept of the constellation of institutional logics. They used the term “constellation,” referring to the combination of logics that simultaneously guide the action of individuals and organizations. The

concept of the constellation of multiple logics views the society as composed of various logics, and these multiple logics collectively influence social actors within the institution. Research began to emphasize the coexistence of multiple logics to identify how multiple logics simultaneously influence symbolic and material practices, which can be either cooperative or not. First, the coexistence of multiple logics can constrain social actors' behaviors from innovation and institutional change because the field should be inherently competitive and dominated by the primary logic. Second, the relationship among multiple logics can strengthen the primary logic as other logics are encouraged as well, which implies the co-evolution of multiple logics between social actors (e.g., individuals and organizations) and institutions (Licolini, Delmestri, Goodrick, Reay, Lindberg, and Adlfssoon 2015). Thus, the coexistence of multiple logics can be synergetic depending on historical contingency, resources, and institutional orders. In the following section, I will review the extant literature explaining how the coexistence of multiple logics can either constrain or facilitate professional work and professionals with a link to the category studies.

2.3. Institutional Logics in Professional Work and the Category studies

The institutional logics perspective received attention from institutional theory scholars studying professionals and professional work because the so-called managerialism, market logic, or business-like profession had been explored within the use of the institutional logics perspective to interpret a logic shift from professional logic to market logic (Reay and Hinings 2009). The concept of competing and shifting logics was emphasized in the studies of professional work drawing upon the institutional logics perspective. As an example of a

dominant field-level logic influencing professional work, Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna (2002) examined how a single dominant societal-level logic in different time periods influenced organizational structures, cultures, and principles of the healthcare professional field. The era of each dominant institutional logic changes because the professional logic is interrelated with the social changes influenced by other institutional logics. During the professional dominance time (1945–1965), healthcare organizations and medical professionals heavily depended on professional associations, and this association model determined the action of professional organizations rooted in the professional logic. During the era of the state model (1965–the early 1980s), social welfare policies based on the *Great Society* programs largely influenced the landscape of healthcare organizations with Medicaid and Medicare programs. In the rise of the market logic after the 1980s, healthcare organizations adopted a managerialism model by hiring managers and contracting out to improve efficiency.

Subsequent studies have discussed the diffusion of the market logic into the professional fields as becoming the dominant field logic by replacing the existing dominant logic of the professional logic because professionals pursued economic efficiency, which transforms their organizations into the corporate-like professional service firms (e.g., mega law firms, for-profit hospitals, and accounting firms). However, research points out the important nature of the professionals with regard to the legitimacy of expert knowledge and skills that claim idiosyncratic professional jurisdictions and distinguish professional work from general occupational groups (Abbott 1988). Although high-end professionals pursue efficiency and profits due to the rapidly increasing competition in their fields, professional logic is still reflected in practices and behaviors, while other multiple logics are accessible to professionals and in

professional organizations (Voronov, Clercq, Hinings 2013). The coexistence of multiple logics in professional fields is constituted by their nature. Through the process of professionalization, occupational groups become legitimized by their unique expertise and the relational networks of professional associations (Thornton et al. 2012). This process enables professional work to be grounded in the nature of the logics of professions. Although the professional logic is deeply embedded in practice and behaviors, professional work reflects societal reality and different principles as organized by capitalism (market logic), corporate-like forms (corporate logic), and public policy (state logic) (Friedson 2001; Goodrick and Reay 2011).

To date, most discussion in the institutional logics perspective addresses the relationship between a dominant logic and the effects of other logics on the field level by focusing on the diffusion of the market logic into professional work (Johansen and Waldorff 2017); however, recent studies found the meaning of multiple institutional logics that coexist in professional fields but vary across actors, sub-fields, and/or locations (Besharov and Smith 2014; McPherson and Sauder 2013). In line with this reasoning, Binder (2007) articulated that “no one [single or dominant] logic is matter-of-fact for everyone in organizations; rather, several different [or multiple] logics are common-sensical for different organizational departments and their staffs” (568). Likewise, in the U.S legal profession, a form of mega law firms with multiple divisions (e.g., corporate law, labor law, criminal law divisions, and so on) is affected by the interplay between the professional logic and other logics as the coexistence of multiple logics, which constitute new types of organizations, sub-field cultures, and social actors.

As the relationships between different logics create agency and potential institutional change, the coexistence of multiple logics can possibly create new categories of symbolic and

material practices in professional work (Jones, Maoret, Massa, and Svejnova 2012). Along with the coexistence of multiple logics in the legal profession, this study focuses on the emergence of new categories rather than the emergence of organizational forms or structures because new categories also constitute institutional change at the societal level. Categories in the context of organization and management studies are defined as “interfaces of cognitive agreement about the considered object” (Durand and Thornton 2018: 632), and categorization is the process of the classification structure to provide a reciprocal understanding between key actors and audiences. In market institutions, categories are constructed by “market-makers” that expand markets by spanning niches and boundaries, as constructed categories are used by “market-takers” that consume or evaluate categories as market audiences (Pontikes 2012). Categories in markets emerge and vanish based on changing demands from audiences (Durand and Thornton 2018). The process of categorization can be an effective analytical tool because categorizing products, organizational identities, and practices reduces the transaction costs and enhances the mutual understanding between market (category)-makers and market (category)-takers. Although the process of categorization is aligned with institutional change, only a few scholars have conducted category studies using institutional theory (Durand and Thornton 2018; Coslor, Crawford, and Leyshon 2019; Jones et al. 2012).

Since market audiences rely on clear categories to evaluate industrial identities and product values, market-makers seek to obtain legitimacy and span categories to get attention from audiences (Zuckerman 1999). Unlike the market institution, professional work is stably maintained and converged by individual professionals and professional firms, and professional associations that play the role of gatekeepers (Foster, Borgatti, and Jones 2011). Professionals

and professional work are independently assessed by themselves (i.e., professional service firms and professional associations), creating the standards of practice and license or certification rules, which are relatively decoupled from state and market institutions (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Although there are clients that consume knowledge and expertise, professional discourses and practices are difficult for laymen to evaluate. Hence, professionals play the roles of both category-makers and -takers in professional work by setting higher barriers to understand the features of professional practice. This exclusivity enables professionals to monopolize professional specialties and practice areas by creating as well as consuming professional categories.

Categories as the agents of institutions are harnessed as formal or informal codes to create and expand professional practices (Rivera 2010). Producing categories constitutes instances and emergences of institutions through communicative events in a variety of organizations and institutional fields (Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2014). For instance, the new practice of virtual care developed with technological advancement, creating a new category called “telehealth” in healthcare professional field. The categories of professional practices shape the role identities, boundaries, and legitimacy by serving as reference points among professionals themselves. However, due to the nature of professional work, professionals pursue stability and are reluctant to adapt to drastic institutional change. Likewise, formal and ethical codes for physicians and medical doctors have been relatively consistent with the standardization of medical practices (Abbott 1988). The frequency of categorical change in professional practices slowly varies with specific boundaries. Hence, horizontally, the categorical boundaries of professional practice are clear with claimed jurisdictions. This phenomenon sustains the

professional logic although dynamic social and economic changes infuse other institutional logics (e.g., market, state, and corporate) into professional work. Therefore, in this dissertation, the categories of professional practices are investigated as an analytic tool to see the changing coexistence of multiple institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession.

By linking category studies to the institutional logics perspective, I examine how the categories of professional practices are constructed, recognized, practiced, and/or vanished by professionals themselves while being affected by other coexisting institutional logics. The categories of professional practices serve as social and cultural agreements in professional fields for themselves. Thus, employing categorization as an analytic tool is effective for examining how professional logic affects the practices and action of the U.S. legal profession with emerging and vanishing categories of professional practices as the construction and evaluation of categories are simultaneously influenced by coexisting institutional logics. Although these two literatures have received much attention from scholars, little is known from empirical quantitative studies that combine these two literatures in the context of the U.S. legal profession (Durand and Thornton 2018). In the following chapters, this dissertation integrates these two perspectives into the context of the U.S. legal profession by theorizing about institutional logics and mobilizing conceptual tools from the category literature.

3. CONTEXTS, THEORY, AND HYPOTHESES

3.1. Historical Context of the U.S. Legal Profession

Professions are alternative means to organize expertise or for the division of labor (Abbott, 1988). Each professional field has unique attributes that enable adaption and competition with rivals related to changes in institutional environments. While scholars have shown that the role identity of the professions is shaped and framed by dominant field-level logics, professionals can also act as “Lords of the Dance,” playing a leading part in creating and expanding institutions in concert with the changes in social, economic, and political systems (Muzio, Brock, and Suddaby 2013; Scott 2008). As a “contemporary crafter of institutions,” (Scott, 2008) the professions have a unique capacity to couple with and decouple from other institutional orders and to claim exclusive autonomy over control of knowledge and to define professional boundaries (Abbott 1988). Research has shown that, as the prevalence of the market economy has developed in the U.S., the professions have transformed their forms of organization and practices to increasingly pursue economic efficiency and commercialization (Scott et al 2000; Thornton and Ocasio 1999); however these are key attributes of the market logic, not of the professions. This trend increases conflicts in the role identity of the professions (McGivern, Curry, Ferlie, Fitzgerald, and Waring 2015), which can be attenuated by the coexistence of multiple institutional logics (Reay and Hinnings 2009).

In the legal profession, particularly in the U.S., professionals’ specialized expertise is collectively institutionalized through professional associations, the emergence of law firms, and accredited professional education (e.g., law schools). The U.S. legal profession is characterized

by specific features: rationalized formal profession (Kritzer 1999) and/or independent profession (Adler, Kwon, and Heckscher 2008) in the quasi institution (Abel 1986; Kritzer 1991). Although Besbris and Petre (2020) described the legal profession as “the most influential and high-status professional institution,” the U.S. legal profession is not only a contemporary influence on institutions and organizations but is also historically influential. Like other forms of organization of expertise, such as corporate hierarchies and exchange markets, the legal profession has played a historical role in formalizing and rationalizing institutions in which multiple logics have jointly influenced (Adler, Kwon, and Heckscher 2008). Accordingly, there are several features that sociological institutional theorists explain institutional change aligned with the coexistence of multiple logics in the U.S. legal profession: legitimization, rationalization, and marketization.

3.1.1. Legitimization

Despite the fact that the legal profession is currently viewed as a well-institutionalized profession, its jurisdiction was not clearly claimed until the mid-nineteenth century (Pinansky 1986). This time period brought by the extreme change in social contexts is identified as “unsettled time” with a lack of legitimation and rationalization for the professions (Jones et al. 2012; Swidler 1986). Until the early 20th century, the legal profession was also in the process of legitimization by gaining market power and autonomy over expertise and knowledge monopolies of the professions. In the late 19th century, rather than large law firms, most legal services were provided by individually practicing lawyers who mainly sought lucrative clients such as business merchants and wealthy individual clients. The American Bar Association (ABA) was founded in 1878; prior to the foundation of ABA, the legal professional work and system experienced a

series of fundamental changes reflected by societal change, aligned with the social development of the U.S. (Horwitz 1992). Horwitz (1992) also argues that, by the 1860s, legal services were central to natural law and the primacy of the justice system depended on the skills of individual lawyers. On the contrary, after mid-nineteenth century, the American society underwent significant social, economic, and political turmoil due to the Civil War and dramatic economic growth (Wahl 2001).

The changes in society, politics, and economy were required to be supported by the development of commercial law, which newly conceptualized the principle of property, compensations, contract, and market competition. The emerging concept of the commercial, market, and property laws affected by the post-Civil War era constituted experienced lawyers with knowledge, practices, and skills related to complicated commercial and corporate knowledge needed for the business community in the U.S. Hence, the necessary conditions legitimized the legal profession (Pinansky 1986). In the mid-nineteenth century, the reason why the legal professional jurisdiction was vague is because legal services were created by both lawyers and non-lawyers (e.g., paralegal, community leaders, and/or bankers) (Pinansky 1986). In response to the growing market demand from corporate clients and the increasing government regulations on commercial laws, the goals of the legal profession expanded to protect their professional work by claiming clear jurisdictions and their legal practice categories (Abbott 1988). There were three social and economic conditions legitimizing the legal profession and shaping the professional role identities and practices of lawyers and the jurisdictions they claimed: 1) the growth of large corporations, 2) the expansion of the public sector, and 3) technological advance (Friedman 1973).

First, gaining market power is an essential part of legitimizing professionals and professional work. The market principle is considered one of essential elements that organize and legitimize professional status because the alliance between the legal profession and business market facilitated the legitimization of the professional status of legal services in the mid- and late nineteenth centuries (Adler, Kwon, and Heckscher 2008). The emergence of corporate capitalism induced the legal profession to demarcate professional status and expertise when large corporations became seemingly profitable clients. Although legal services were provided by one or two-lawyer offices rather than large law firms then, gradually, the growth of corporate law required highly complicated and expert skills and knowledge to meet demands, resolving corporate problems with increased litigation and transaction costs (Swaine 1949). These corporate problems that could be solved by lawyers and legal services created “corporate lawyers,” and professionals. Lawyers increasingly began working together in organizations recognized as law firms rather than practicing in sole or two individual lawyer offices (Adler, Kwon, and Heckscher 2008; Freidson 1970). Ultimately, the rise of lucrative corporate clients unprecedentedly attracted substantial numbers of individual lawyers into the practice of corporate law. This expansion and clarification of the category of corporate law practice propelled by the rise of large corporate institutional environment was fundamental to the emergence of large law firms that effectively serve corporate clients.

Second, the expansion of market and corporate capitalism did not only increase the demands for corporate lawyers from large corporations but also affected the growth in the demand for lawyers from the public sector (e.g., local, state, and federal governments and agencies) to legally and effectively design public policies that regulate market monopolies,

financial mismanagement, and corporate corruption. After the foundation of numerous governmental commissions (e.g., the federal railroad commissions and the interstate commerce commission in the late nineteenth century), both public and private sectors needed thorough legal advice in response to new public policy and laws that forcibly regulated laissez-faire capitalism. In particular, the Sherman Anti-trust Act was legislated in 1890 and turned into law. After that, the private sector actively looked for corporate lawyers and law firms. The public sector also needed skilled and knowledgeable lawyers that were able to implement effective public policy for these rapidly emerging market regulations. In addition, with the geographical expansion of the U.S., more territorial areas were claimed, and so, property lawyers, banks, and real estate agents were required. As a result, the relationship between the legal profession and business continued to develop as the alliance produced synergetic effects for both. Thus, the expansion of the government in multiple dimensions played a key role in legitimizing the legal profession by implementing new and complex public policy and regulations.

Third, during the era between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, new technologies advanced society and facilitated rapid social change. This technological advancement also played a role in legitimizing the professionalism of the legal services. Especially, technological advancements spurred by the emergence of large corporations (e.g., General Electric (GE), American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), etc.), and these large corporations reaped enormous profits with their patent protection. Lawyers whose expertise was patents and corporate protection became valuable human capital to corporations and the legal profession. On the one hand, the growth in new technologies of communication and transportation influenced the evolution of law firms that had multiple offices throughout the U.S

and claimed clear jurisdiction for legal work. Without technological communication and transportation (e.g., telephone and automobile), the role of unskilled labors such as law clerks and paralegal agents, was important in delivering messages; however, legal services became more professionalized and embedded in organizations of the legal professions (Pinansky 1986). Moreover, the advent of professional legal education with accredited law schools was simultaneously paralleled by this scientific and technological advancement. Social evolution as an ideology was prevalent, and further established the need for law and legal services with scientific methods embedded in legal educational programs (Besbris and Petre 2020). In sum, technological advancement was a critical factor driving the legitimization of the legal profession with the growth in patent lawyers, law schools (accredited professional law schools), and law firms with multiple offices in different locations (Pinansky 1986).

This process legitimizing the legal profession was viewed as occurring between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries by claiming professional experts and knowledge as independent and autonomous jurisdictions (Abbott 1988; Abel 1986). According to Alder, Kwon, and Heckscher (2008), the mechanism of professionalization entails three organizing principles: community, hierarchy, and market. These principles were saliently observed in the process that legitimized the legal profession during the early era of the legal profession. The principle of community was typically prevalent while collaborating and allying with economic institutions such as banks, real estate agents, and large corporations, which caused the emergence of corporate lawyers and large law firms. The principle of hierarchy relies on authority from professional associations (e.g., American Bar Association and state/local bar associations) and positions in large law firms. Ultimately, the market principle was an essential element that

enabled the legal profession to obtain the power to be a legitimized and institutionalized profession.

These institutional environments in the early era of the legal profession were collectively created by dramatic social change, which implies that the professional logic is not the only logic that guides and shapes the action of legal professionals (e.g., lawyers and law firms), but the interdependent relationship between the professional logic and corporate/market/state logics also influences action and creates the categories of legal practices. The professional logic's root metaphor is "relational network", and in the early era, it was more saliently proven by the relationship between the legal profession and other institutions (Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012). The professional logic in the legal profession mostly coexisted with market and corporate logics but competed with the state logic; however, this coexistence and competition with other institutional logics produced cooperative and synergetic effects that strengthened the legal professional work.

3.1.2. Rationalization

In the middle or the aftermath of the legitimization process, the legal profession became rationally institutionalized with autonomous control, which enabled the legal profession to be a formal profession. Although Max Weber emphasized "profession" with an occupational definition, the legal profession entails more concepts than a definition of occupational groups (Liparito and Miranti 1998). Professional associations (i.e., American Bar Association and state/local bar associations) were organized to gain autonomy from the government. The government typically grants autonomy and monopolistic control to the professions rather than

regulating them itself. As with this nature of professional work, the exclusivity and autonomous control of the legal profession have continued; therefore, the rationalization of professional work was facilitated with particular features: systematization and standardization of knowledge distribution and the development of specialized procedures and practices.

Legal professionals have been referred to as individuals (lawyers) that derive their legitimacy and knowledge from their licenses, accredited education, and expertise (Hwang and Powell 2009). Rationalization denoted the development of the entry process for the legal profession by credentialing bar licenses and accrediting law education. Professional associations historically control the entry process of the professions with a method of apprenticeship that depended highly on the personalities of the masters (individuals) who spontaneously permitted and limited the entry. To formalize the profession and spur this rationalization process, the legal profession began accrediting professional law schools. With the increasing educational opportunities and the increasing demands for lawyers, the number of graduate professional law schools continually increased within existing universities through the 1960s and 1970s (Sommerlad 1995). The development of formal education for expert legal professionals shifted the entry process from the personalized apprenticeship system to the professionals with standardized legal practice categories.

The process of specialization is another feature that rationalized the legal profession with this historically changing nature of professional work. As formal education for professionals developed, practice areas became increasingly narrow and specialized. The acceleration of specialized practice categories is related to the increasing demands from clients and complex social change. As a comparison, in the medical profession, general physicians who diagnose

minor symptoms disappeared, but they are re-categorized in the field of family medicine. All other medical specialists have their own practice areas based on professional boundaries because the rapid pace of technology and knowledge along with market demand, specialized physicians making the identification of patient symptoms and public health became more complex (Abbott 1988). On the contrary, historically, the U.S. legal profession resisted adaption to the formalization of specialized practice areas. In small and rural areas, lawyers provided legal services covering multiple practice areas. More recently, rainmaking and skyrocketing demands for corporate and commercial laws, legal professionals (i.e., lawyers and law firms) began to seek highly profitable specialties (e.g., white-collar and corporate security litigations, mergers and acquisitions, anti-trust, intellectual property, and bankruptcy) rather than being generalist lawyers (Henderson and Bierman, 2009).

This rationalization of the legal profession also entails the standardization of training procedures and the specialization of practice areas. Ironically, the rationalization process of the legal profession has led to the loss of exclusivity by lowering the entry barriers and levels of autonomy. Exclusivity control of the legal profession can be achieved by a clear distinction between professions and non-professions based on the high entry barriers. However, the rationalization process and a social trend for open information with the advanced technology did not continue to guarantee full exclusivity.

3.1.3. Marketization

The contemporary legal profession is constituted by rationalization as well as marketization. The rapidly changing institutional environments—increased demands for

profitable practice areas and control from corporate clients, internal complexity of the legal profession including lowering entry barriers, increasing number of law schools and Juris Doctor degree (J.D.) enrollments—have facilitated the process to become increasingly market-oriented (Kritzer 1991). The legal profession used to exclusively control the production of producers and the production by producers (Kritzer 1991) as lawyers played the dual roles of both market category-takers (i.e., consumers) and makers. However, institutional environments in professional fields have drastically changed to be market- and corporate-oriented. The U.S. legal profession has been losing self-control (i.e., self-regulation and autonomy) of professional work and the relationship with clients; control of the professional field has been taken over by market- and corporate-oriented clients.

Despite the increasing number of J.D. enrollments and the changing demands for seeking for profitable corporate clients, an emphasis on professional ethics has become neglected. According to Max Weber (2009), professionalism ought to stand for piety and responsibility. Although Weber did not directly mention general professionalism and professional ethics, professionalism have been implicitly explained in his essays *Politics as a Vocation* and *Science as a Vocation*. In the context of professionalism from Weber's essays, professions as a vocation are developed by bureaucracy and rationalization in the organizational and social contexts (Kalberg, 2005). Later, the concept of professionalism had been developed by categorical characteristics: “power, a doctrine, rational training, vocational qualification, specialization, full-time occupation, clients, salaries, promotion, and professional duties” (Bruce and Ahmed 2014: 3; Ritzer 1975). The term “duties” accounts for upholding the honors of the public and protecting the society from unethical and substandard practices; and in skilled, trained, and knowledgeable

professions, duties are mandated to improve self-discipline and self-regulation (Roddenberry 1953).

In addition, the professions are historically distinguished from other occupational groups by adding features of altruism, self-regulation through peer review process, and autonomy over service (Abbott 1988). Through the process of rationalization, professionals are likely to control the relationship with clients because clients or customers do not have enough expertise and knowledge to control the relationship. Due to the drastically changing nature of the legal profession, the legal education, bar associations, and law firms began neglecting professional ethics in the educational programs and/or workshops. In the meantime, educational programs in law schools started focusing on corporate laws and highly specialized cases reflected by “post-professionalism” and “de-professionalization,” and the law firms altered strategies to focus on lucrative cases rather than practicing altruistic pro bono cases. In such circumstances, professionals tend to become highly specialized and self-regulatory without or with little professional ethics and/or sense of altruism.

Institutional change in the legal profession is saliently observed in the changing structure of law firms. Compared with the 1960s and 1970s, individual lawyers increasingly tend to work as employees of bureaucratically organized professional service firms (e.g., law and accounting firms) and large corporations (Abel 1986; Greenwood and Suddaby 2005). The increased competition to acquire resource and external pressures forced professionals to be efficient by reducing transaction costs and leveraging collectivities to provide legal services to clients. Therefore, lawyers are less likely to individually practice and be independent contractors; they tend to be members of large law firms instead (Besbris and Petre 2020). Law firms became

corporate-like (or bureaucratic) professional service firms with multiple divisions and hierarchies. In the so-called mega law firms, divisive hierarchies began appearing just like in business corporations by the adaptation of the Cravath Model as the standard and general rule among the large law firms. The initial Cravath Model was divided into two groups: associates and partners by attaining partnerships; however, the model became increasingly hierarchical with multiple categories: equity partner, nonequity partner, partner track associates, non-partner track associates, contract lawyers, and other non-professional employees (Sherer and Lee 2002). In addition, the internal structure of law firms has been shifting from a practice area-based structure (labor law, criminal law, and litigation) to industry-based structure (IT, healthcare, and pharmaceuticals). This change indicates that a shifting emphasis on commercial and market pressure for institutional change of the legal profession is inevitable and is becoming a symbol of post-professionalism in the legal service by replacing an emphasis on stand-alone professionalism. As a result of marketization, the legal profession has been challenged by the diffusion of market and corporate capitalism; however, the professional logic has still been maintained, coexisting with the market and corporate logics.

3.2. Historical Contingency of Professional Jurisdiction in the Legal Service

Through the processes of legitimization and rationalization, professional jurisdictions are claimed by recognized expertise and professional control (Abbott 1988). Based on the exclusivity of professional work, professional fields do not interrupt other fields' jurisdictions, and individual professionals are protected from competing with non-professionals. Despite their high specialization, providing legal services has become complex and continue the provision of

service to adapt to drastic social change. For instance, information technology changes faster than the adaptation of legal services, and legal professionals inevitably get consultation from outsiders (e.g., computer scientists or engineers). The legal profession's jurisdictions have been sustained by claiming clear boundaries for production both of producers and by producers (Abel 1986). Boundaries between professional fields are clearly differentiated by professional roles and identity (i.e., recognized expertise and knowledge). Professions claim their differentiated skills and expert knowledge to exercise strong jurisdictional boundary control. The American Bar Association was empowered to claim full jurisdiction and enable legal professionals to practice law exclusively and independently (Abbott 1988; Noordegraaf 2011; Francis 2020).

The legal profession has been institutionalized through the specialization of practice areas and expert differentiation between themselves (lawyers) and other professionals (e.g., accountants or medical doctors). Claiming professional jurisdictions and securing legal boundaries have been challenged by multi-specialization and a shift in relationship control from the professions to corporate clients (Gardner 2017). Deals from corporate clients require complex expertise related to tax and accounting, which erodes clear boundaries between the legal and accounting professions. First, the accounting profession found profitable opportunities from increasing demands for tax- and accounting-related deals from corporate clients. In this jurisdictional conflict between professional fields, the Big Five accounting firms merged small law firms under them to deal with corporate clients for comprehensive accounting and tax services including their legal concerns, which triggered a jurisdictional struggle in professional work (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). Paradoxically, the specialization of legal services was

processed due to demands from commercial and corporate clients, but demands for commercial and tax-related experts dissolved the solid jurisdictional boundaries between professional fields.

Not only horizontal boundaries across professional fields, vertical boundaries between professionals and non-professionals in delivering legal services are challenged by advanced internet technology enabling legal service accessibility. Due to open information on the Internet and the standardization of legal procedures, legal professionals and law firms have difficulties in controlling professional boundaries and securing clients. Small civil and minor criminal cases can be dealt with by standardized legal services at relatively low costs, which does not require high-end professional knowledge and expertise. This de-skilling of law is happening in the Internet community where lay individuals share their legal experiences, enabling others to rely on self-help rather than purchasing expensive legal services. In addition, the social welfare policy implemented by local and state governments extends to deliver pro bono services, instead of law firms acting in the interests of social responsibility by following professional ethics. On the one hand, nonprofit organizations (e.g., the Legal Aid Society) for civil rights recruit recently graduated lawyers, union representatives, and non-legal consultants as volunteers, which dissolves the solid jurisdictional boundaries between professions and non-professions.

Although state regulations and public health policy have significantly constrained the authority of the medical professionals, the legal profession has maintained autonomy from the state. The U.S. federal government implements more and more regulations on commercial businesses, and state and local governments have just begun regulating environment-related businesses. For instance, some states (e.g., New York and Pennsylvania) banned the hydraulic fracturing of shale energy to protect the natural environment, which leads the legal profession to

be coupled with the public policy to deliver legal services for energy corporations. The dissolution of jurisdictional boundaries in the legal profession occurs not only because of market-oriented institutionalization but also because of the changing institutional environments of the legal profession. In the following section, I will develop hypotheses regarding how institutional change affected by the coexistence of multiple institutional logics in the legal profession rather than the stand-alone dominant institutional logic that solely guides the action of the profession. In addition, I will posit the relationship between the institutional environments and the formation of institutional logics in the legal profession.

3.3. The Coexistence of Multiple Logics and Categorical Change in the Legal Profession with Hypotheses

In the prior sections, I described the historical contexts and the changing institutional environments in the U.S. legal profession. Although the legal profession has been through different processes of professionalization, the professional logic has consistently remained as a primary logic, yet other secondary logics have been intertwined with it. As such, the professional logic allied with the market logic but competed with the state logic in the early era of the development of the legal profession. Later, with their diffusion, the market and corporate logics gradually began competing with the professional logic. On the one hand, this changing coexistence of multiple logics is affected by changes in institutional environments. Therefore, this study posits that the underlying institutional environments that constitute the coexistence of the multiple logics reflected in the categories of the legal practices, also create changing institutional environments.

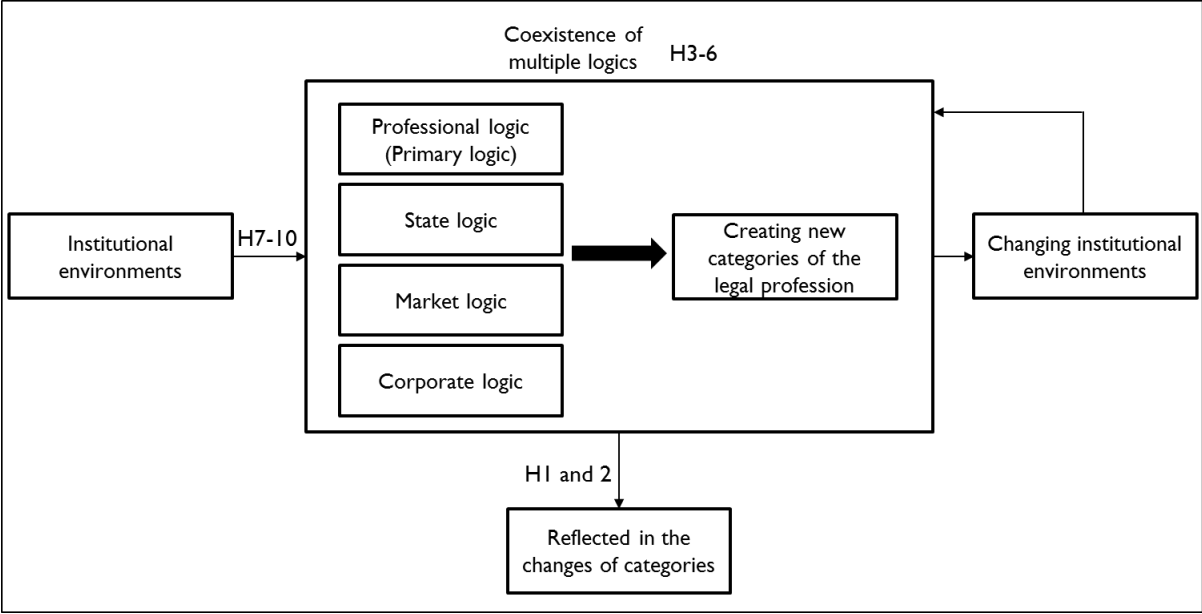


Figure 1. Model of Symbiotic Category Change and Institutional Change

The hypotheses are set in three parts. First, the categories of the legal practices change over time, reflecting the changes of the legal profession. Second, multiple logics reflected by the changes of categories have coexisted in the legal profession; instead, a single dominant logic affects the legal professional work. Third, the coexistence of multiple logics has been affected by changes in institutional environments. Figure 1 summarizes the model of symbiotic category change and institutional change with the hypotheses. The relationships among logics and between logics and institutional environments are recursive: this study captures a part of the recursive relationship by focusing on how categories change over time (H1 and 2), how multiple

logics have coexisted (H3, 4, 5, and 6), and how institutional environments affected each logic that coexisted with other logics (H7, 8, 9, and 10).

Although the early institutional logics studies suggest that the market logic has replaced the prevailing professional logic in the higher education publishing industry (Thornton 2002; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012), the following studies reveal that coexisting multiple logics sustain professional work that shapes institutional multiplicity over time in many industries, for example health care (Dunn and Jones 2010) and pharmacy (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Hence, this dissertation posits that the legal profession is not determined by one single dominant logic such as the diffusion of the market logic, but it is simultaneously or collectively affected by multiple coexisting logics. Despite the fact that the U.S. legal profession was influenced by the changing nature of professional work, legal professionals are controlled by a strong inertia rooted in professional exclusivity, values, and ethics. Goodrick and Reay (2011) revealed that, in other professional fields, multiple coexisting logics simultaneously affect professionals and professional work. Dunn and Jones (2010), in particular investigated how multiple logics in the medical profession persist over time while interacting with institutional environments.

The legal profession produces laws, principles, rules, and legal services for social actors grounded in multiple institutional logics. Although multiple logics have coexisted in the legal profession over time, the strength of each logic varies as well, which might introduce new categories of symbolic and material practices shown by precedents through the process of legitimization and rationalization. The analysis focuses on time rather than space because institutional change of the legal profession is influenced by historical patterns and institutional

contexts (Dunn and Jones 2010). Categorical information representing symbolic and material practices of professional work is constructed and legitimized by institutional logics aligned with social contexts, historical contingencies, the relationships with other institutional orders, and technological advances. Once new categories of legal practices emerge, agencies of individual lawyers or law firms are more likely to adopt new categories, thus shaping and reshaping the collective role identities of legal professionals (Jones, Maoret, Massa, and Svejenova 2012). Adopted categories of legal practices are routinely practiced throughout legal services, and this may effect institutional change of professional work.

***Hypothesis 1:** The number of categories of legal professional work will change over time.*

***Hypothesis 2:** The scope of categories of legal professional work will expand over time.*

The jurisdiction of the U.S. legal profession was legitimized and claimed between the 1870s (the foundation of American Bar Association) and the early 1930s. Prior to this time period of Legitimizing Professions (1870s–1930s), the legal profession was neither firmly established nor standardized as professional work. During this time period of “unsettled time” (Jones et al. 2012), the professional logic constituting professional value spheres began dominating the field to claim clear professional jurisdictions by distinguishing services provided by lawyers and non-lawyers while cooperating or competing with multiple institutional orders: market, corporate, and state. In the meantime, legal professionals expanded the realm of practices to obtain full independence and market power by playing the roles of both category

producers (makers) and consumers (takers) for the production both of producers and by producers with exclusivity (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Pontikes 2012).

After the 1960s, the American society became more diverse in accordance with social movements and pluralism (Edelman and Suchman 1998). As a result of becoming a more diverse society, workplace diversity increased, and pro bono as community service was encouraged for individual lawyers and law firms. This social phenomenon suggests that professional ethics and values were emphasized to sustain the professional values and ethics embedded in symbolic and material practices. McAdam and Scott (2005) point out that the professional fields significantly grew during the 1970s, influencing institutional change across professional fields. In the growth of the legal profession, professional environments became competitive because the legal profession became intertwined with diverse social and economic environments over time, which implies a coexisting relationship between the legal profession and the market logic. This dissertation hypothesizes that the professional logic constantly sustains over time while coexisting with other institutional logics in the legal profession.

***Hypothesis 3:** The influence of the profession logic on the categorization of the legal professional work will be (relatively) constant over time.*

As in the process of legitimization, professional associations (ABA and state bar associations) played a key role in standardizing professional work (Freidson 1970), thus protecting professionals that had expert knowledge and skills (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Professional fields were self-regulated by associations decoupled from other institutional orders,

and legitimacy was gained by maintaining high levels of professional values and ethics (Thornton et al. 2012). Being decoupled from other institutional interruptions, guaranteed autonomy, self-evaluation, and full authority of internal controls (March, Olsen, Christensen, and Cohen 1976). Prior to the 1930s, however, the legal profession was not fully decoupled from the state (e.g., government regulations and agencies), but was largely involved in implementing public policies and supporting corporate clients (Gorman 2014). To empower professional autonomy, professional associations tended to increase barriers at the entry level and introduced educational accreditation for lawyers graduating from accredited law schools, which allowed the professionalism of legal practices to be recognized as a full-time vocational occupation (Abel 1986). All states in the U.S. began to adopt professional legal education by accrediting law schools that provided Juris Doctorate (J.D.) and Master of Law (LL.M.) degrees. This study posits that the influence of the state logic on the legal profession, represented by the categorization of legal practices, declines while rationalizing professional work.

***Hypothesis 4:** The influence of the state logic on the categorization of legal professional work will decrease over time.*

As argued, these significant changes in the legal profession are driven by the coexistence of multiple institutional logics rather than one dominant force of either the logic of the market or the logic of professions. Organizational structures in the legal profession are socially constructed and subject to historical and institutional changes (Cooper et al. 1996). The changes of organizational structures in the legal profession were attributed to competitive institutional

environments based on the growth of the size and the number of lawyers. There are several key factors that embed market and corporate logics in the legal profession, such as the significant growth in the number of lawyers, specialization, financial compensation, the decline of ethical code of the profession, demographic changes, and technological advancement (Linowitz 1994). The growth in the size of law firms and in the number of lawyers increased competition, which led professional law firms to be more likely to be corporations. The number of lawyers in 1951 was 221,605, which increased to 355, 242 in 1971. In 2000, the number peaked to slightly more than 1 million (ABA 2015). Besides, the number of law firms in 1950 was less than 40, and most of law firms had less than 50 lawyers. Currently, the number of all law firms in the U.S. is not even countable; the smallest law firm in the top 200 has approximately 100 lawyers, and the largest law firm, DLA Piper, employed 4,000 lawyers in 2012 (The AmLaw 2016).

Due to the increasing competition to secure clients and retain experienced corporate lawyers, the legal profession adapted efficient management models rather than emphasizing professional ethics and values (Sherer and Lee 2002). This shift to the competitive professional environment triggered an increasing number of mega law firms to operate like corporations (Krash 2008). The shift from the Professional-Partnership (P2) model to the M-form model law firm is a result of diversified legal practices and the adoption of the corporate-like business model to efficiently manage human professionals (Hitt, Bierman, and Collins 2007). Scholars studying the legal profession point out that managerialism infiltrated the legal profession, significantly effecting institutional change (Hitt et al. 2007). Like other professional fields, human capital is a central source that maintains the legal profession. While the profession was growing in terms of the scale and scope of practices, including a wide range of corporate and

intellectual property laws, law firms shifted to focusing on the efficient management of the human capital of lawyers.

As an adaptation process within the legal profession, most large law firms adopted bureaucratic human resource management (e.g., Cravath model) (Sherer and Lee 2002). As the origin of the Cravath model, Paul Drennan Cravath, one of the founders of Cravath, Swaine, & Moore law firm, began hiring junior lawyers from elite law schools as associates. Six years later, all associates were determined to be either partners or out of law firms. Subsequently, the Cravath model was developed as the up-or-out system based on the system of evaluations and promotions (Sherer and Lee 2002). A managerial rationale for the Cravath model was to secure the human capital of fresh lawyers from elite law schools. The Cravath model became common as the standardized human resource management model in the legal profession, and the competitive environment influenced the form and structure of law firms. Cooper, Hinings, Greenwood, and Brown (1996) suggested that there was a salient shift from a professional model to a corporate business model in the legal profession by the building of competitive strategies. Furthermore, large U.S. law firms began to expand operational areas from one headquarter office to national and international markets (Hitt et al. 2007).

In addition, financialization significantly drove institutional changes for the proliferation of the market logic, becoming the primary logic that conflicted with other institutional orders in professional fields (Hall and Lamont 2013; Krippner 2001). With substantial economic growth, market values and principles as the core economic system aligned with the market logic have played a role in facilitating industrial innovations and enhancing market power. However, the proliferation of market logic was stimulated by the coexisting field-level corporate logic. Davis

(2009) argues that, in American society, large corporations are a dominant force that influence the social construction known as the “corporationalization” of organizational structures in multiple institutional orders.

Research regarding the diffusion of the market logic draws upon the institutional logics perspective that employs similar labels and concepts of corporate logic as the market logic, which confuses scholarly audiences even though the distinct ideal types of the interinstitutional system are introduced between corporate and market logics (Thornton 2004; Thornton et al. 2012). The ideal type of corporate logic is rooted in the market position of the organization as a source of legitimacy and administrative control over the human capital in the hierarchy. The market logic is derived from the concept of profit maximization in the pursuit of market capitalism; however, managerial capitalism constructs organizational structures for the effective management of human professions despite an increase in the inefficient transaction costs through intermediaries (Coase 1937; Williamson 1975, 1981). Although financial and entrepreneurial firms are constructed by the pure market logic that is oriented to self-interest and shareholder activism, managerial capitalism as a core economic system of the corporate logic facilitates the emergence of corporation-like mega law firms by increasing the size and diversifying the legal practices rather than focusing on a few specialties (Lander et al. 2017).

During the early era of the legal profession, legal professionals interacted with local bankers and merchants to protect local markets from outside influences, suggesting an interdependent institutional system of professional and market logics. After the 1980s, with the increased attention given to effective management of the human resources in the profession, the coexistence of professional and market logics was interrupted by corporate logic. This

institutional change of the legal profession is usually referred to as the diffusion of the market logic into professional values. However, this dissertation aims to explore if this is misidentified, and to determine if the diffusion of managerial capitalism can be interpreted as corporationalization infiltrating the professional values rooted in the values of the human resources in the profession. The organizational identity of law firms as professional organizations shifts to different types of managerial professional business models (Cooper et al. 1996; Greenwood and Hinings 1993). Drawing upon the institutional logics perspective, this analysis will provide a comprehensive understanding of the institutional contexts while focusing on the historical patterns in the legal profession.

***Hypothesis 5:** The influence of the market logic on the categorization of legal professional work will be (relatively) constant over time.*

***Hypothesis 6:** The influence of the corporate logic on the categorization of legal professional work will increase over time.*

As noted earlier, the professions are more likely to be subject to the coexistence of multiple logics than other fields because professional fields are constituted by multiple institutional spheres, and their practices are embedded in multiple cultural logics rather than a single dominant logic (Dunn and Jones 2010; Kraatz and Block 2008). From a historical approach, professions are a consistently evolving institution in relation to the changing institutional environments and the social contexts (Fligstein 1990; Davis and Greve 1997; Meyer and Rowan 1977), which manifests the coexistence of multiple logics in the professions

(Goodrick and Reay 2011). Professional work, especially medical and legal professions, has always undergone “internal dialectic tensions, jurisdictional disputes, incursion of external dynamics, and historical events” (Abbott 1988; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). The changing institutional environments underlying professional work affect institutional change and the stability of the professions associated with the coexistence of multiple logics (Dunn and Jones 2010; Lounsbury 2007). This study conceptualizes institutional environments as internal and external, which strengthen and/or weaken the influence of each logic in the U.S. legal profession, following Dunn and Jones’s narrative approach (2010) to coexisting logics in medical education.

During the post-WWII era, the rise in the public attention to the legal profession increased law school enrollments and the number of law schools because of the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944 (i.e., the G.I. Bill) to support veterans to attend colleges or universities (Cooper, Hinings, Greenwood, and Brown 1996). With the G.I. Bill’s education benefits, the increased opportunities induced professional law schools to accommodate more students. In 1948, the total J.D. enrollment in the U.S. was 42,255, which increased to 105,708 in 1975 (the American Bar Association 2020). Hence, increasing the number of legal professionals elevated competition, creating more room to accommodate other logics. When the total population of professionals dramatically increases, the logics embedded by missions, values, and beliefs are more likely to be supported by the changing institutional environments (Dunn and Jones 2010).

This change of the intraprofessional environment triggered competition among the legal professionals over resource acquisition. Due to the increasing competition for resources, legal practices were more specialized, and the claimed jurisdictions were disputed over by adjacent professions such as accounting and financial professions (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005;

Lounsbury 2007). As such, internal dialectic tensions and jurisdictional disputes caused by intraprofessional competition led to the expansion of the legal professional practices as institutional pluralism. Along with the dynamics of social movement in the 1950s and 1960s, anti-war and civic movements changed the social contexts, which embedded multiple cultural logics in the legal profession. For instance, the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* of 1954 integrated the civil rights movements into the social contexts and generated more opportunities for legal professionals to embrace institutional pluralism (Ruef 2000). Later, as a result of the civil rights movement, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 was legislated, banning employment discrimination against minorities. The social contexts changed the institutional environments of the legal profession to be pluralistic by accepting multiple institutional logics. Although the professional logic operates as the primary logic that sustains its professional boundaries with professionals' prestige of expertise, knowledge, and autonomy, changing intraprofessional environments also strengthen or weaken other institutional logics that coexist with the professional logic.

Early studies drawing upon the institutional logics perspective suggested that the market logic increasingly diffused into the professions, and professional control shifted from exclusivity and autonomy to a managerialism in the pursuit of capitalistic efficiency within the field-level domain (Edelman, Uggen, and Erlanger 1999; Lounsbury 2002; Thornton and Ocasio 1999). External institutional environments dramatically changed in reflection of the rise of market capitalism during the post-WWII era. Salient economic growth was observed with the generation of significant market surpluses and creation of an exponential number of business corporations. However, the influence of the market logic in professional work was not considered

homogenous, it varied considerably while the professional logic sustained. In the legal profession, the diffusion of the market logic was also salient due to the increasing competition for resource acquisition caused by the changes of internal institutional environments. The increasing influence of large corporations significantly changed the form of the legal professional organization to mega law firms with numerous lawyers and more specialized divisions to deal with corporate clients. In the meantime, legal professionals also maintained professional values and ethics by providing pro bono service. The meaning of pro bono service was institutionalized at the time when the influence of market and corporate logics were being strengthened because the legal profession sought a way to incentivize lawyers and legitimize their professional work with differentiated experts (Granfield 2007).

The legal profession also experienced technological advancement (Alexander and D'Aunno 1990). Technological advancement transformed the legal profession to legitimized professional work by distinguishing service productions by lawyers with non-lawyers, and in the era of rationalization, marketization and technological advancement with an increasing number of industrial patents, corporations needed more specialized legal services to protect their patents and secure profits. Although research views technology as guiding and shaping the action of individuals and organization within the professions (Faik, Barrett, and Oborn 2020), it does not specify the ideal type categorical elements of institutional logics (Thornton et al. 2012). On the contrary, technology advances along with the market (i.e., capitalism and/or managerialism) and corporate logics (i.e., business-like law firms and corporate clients), often with public policy guided by the state logic. Thus, this dissertation considers technological advancement as a changing institutional environment, leading to the coexistence of multiple logics and affecting

the influence of each logic. As Figure 1 depicted, hypotheses 7 through 10 posit that institutional environments, intra- and inter-professional, are associated with the influence of each coexisting logic (e.g., professional, state, market, and corporate) on the categorization of the legal profession.

***Hypothesis 7:** The influence of the professional logic on the categorization of legal professional work will be associated with changes in the institutional environments.*

***Hypothesis 9:** The influence of the state logic on the categorization of legal professional work will be associated with changes in the institutional environments.*

***Hypothesis 8:** The influence of the market logic on the categorization of legal professional work will be associated with changes in the institutional environments.*

***Hypothesis 10:** The influence of the corporate logic on the categorization of legal professional work will be associated with changes in the institutional environments.*

4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

4.1. The Sources of Data and Collection Process

I collected data primarily from the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* to construct the analytical narrative of multiple institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession. This dissertation focuses on the historical patterns of the legal professional work and practice influenced by multiple institutional logics. To establish the conceptualization of institutional logics within the legal profession, I developed a database to systematically analyze historical changes. First, although numerous sources can represent the history of the U.S. legal profession, I utilized the law directory that provides comprehensive information related to lawyers, law firms, and legal services. In particular, the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* has continuous historical information from 1868 to the present, providing important information to the lawyers, law firms, and stakeholders in the legal profession. In addition, the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* was primarily intended for the use of lawyers and lawyers themselves as a communication funnel (the *Martindale Law Directory Preface 1890*). This is why the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* functions as the main source of data.

Second, the first edition of the one-line of the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* was published in 1931; however, the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* originally consisted of two different sets of law directories. The *Martindale Law Directory* was first biennially published in 1868, and the *Hubbell Law Directory* was first published in 1870. These law directories appeared even before the foundation of the American Bar Association in 1878, which implies that analyzing the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* will provide a comprehensively historical and

analytical description of the process of professionalization of the U.S. legal profession. The categorical information in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* has changed over time by reflecting the stakeholders' demands (e.g., clients, lawyers, and law firms) and the dynamism of social change, capturing how institutional logics have guided and constrained actors of the legal profession in claiming professional jurisdictions and coexisting with actors of other institutional orders (Abbott 1988; Thornton 2002).

Third, institutional logics are constructed by streams of communication among social actors, which produce and change the underlying beliefs, rules, norms, and principles that affect the constitution of institutional logics (Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2015). In the same line of reasoning, the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directories* were published to play the role of correspondents in extending the relationships with business and consolidating the reliability of fellow lawyers by providing trustworthy information of the legal profession. Thus, this dissertation considers the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* as the channel of professional communication collectively accumulated and distributed throughout legal practices and can either converge or diverge the system of categorical information to constitute field-level institutional logics (Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2015).

To effectively capture the change of institutional logics in the U.S. legal profession, I needed a systematic coding scheme to construct the dataset that encompasses the 150-year history. I chose the year 1931 as a threshold year for effective data organization and representation because the one-lined, consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* was first published in 1931, and before then, two separate publications used different categories for providing information to the field. The year 1931 is not considered the threshold that caused or

characterized the events of the legal professional history but is technically chosen because categories that provide information changed after the merging of the two publications. After publishing the consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, the full bibliographical list of lawyers in the U.S. and other information were provided in two volumes. Although 1931 is a technical threshold time dependent on the dataset, this dissertation uses this year because the merging of the two law directories significantly affected the legal field through a stream of communication based on categorical information.

Broadly, the dataset was grouped using two conceptual eras: 1) *legitimizing professions* (1870–1930) and 2) the *modern era of formal professions* (1931–2011). Research in the legal profession history suggests that the legal service was gradually established as a formal profession by the claiming of professional jurisdiction that clearly distinguished between legal work by lawyers and non-lawyers in the early 20th century (Kritzer 1999). Between WWI and WWII, society faced challenges and dynamic social change through the Great Depression; the existing literature on the legal history views this time period as the entry of the formalized legal profession with the rationalization of legal services, protection for professional members, and autonomy from the government (Black 1984). Although the year 1931 is technically fixed based on the dataset, it might imply the legal profession's historical transition, entering into the formal profession (Abel 1986).

The main research interests lie in better understanding of the coexistence of multiple logics and how multiple logics are affected by institutional environments over time by drawing on institutional theory and professional work literature. In doing so, this dissertation employs the category studies as an appropriate methodology to classify all informative categories in the

Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory into four ideal types for each institutional logic: professional, state, market, and corporate. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) suggest that ideal types for institutional logics help scholars advance institutional analyses that link the interinstitutional system to institutional theoretical approaches as a typology and tool kit. These four ideal types for institutional logics are modified following prior research that focuses on the history of professional work in different contexts (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Employing a modified keyword analysis of the dataset, this study's goal is to identify how multiple institutional logics historically coexist.

To do so, I first classified identifiable categories appearing in the table of contents in two separate publications of the *Martindale* and *Hubbell Law Directories*, which allowed me to link all of the categories to one of the four institutional logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011; Nicolini et al. 2015). Throughout the time period of Legitimizing Professions from 1870 to 1930, the two law directories' primary purpose was to connect law and business to obtain market power for the legal profession, but they used different tables of contents. Table 1 and 2 show the categories that appeared in the table of contents in the two law directories that I classified, by institutional logic. Table 1 shows categories in the table of contents that developed and changed over time, reflecting social change. For instance, a category of the name of lawyers appeared in 1885, and it developed in 1896, now including the lawyers' date of birth and date of admission to the bar, reflecting social change and demand from the readers. This trend was also applicable to the *Hubbell Law Directory* (Table 2). The categories did not consistently appear in the two publications throughout the time period, but some categories emerged, disappeared, developed and/or re-emerged as the profession was coming to define itself and its clients.

With the emergence of the consolidated publication of the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* in 1931, the distinctive features of the two separate publications linking lawyers to financial, market, and corporate institutions were rapidly becoming standardized categories with consistent categorical information. Due to the change in categorical information, the categorized *confidential keys* (i.e., the revised categorical information of lawyers and law firms for readers) were used to capture the institutional logics reflected in the legal profession during the modern era of Formal Professions (1931–2011). Table 3 shows the categories that appeared in confidential keys and the table of contents the consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*.

Table 1. Ideal Types of Institutional Logics and Associated Categories in the *Martindale Law Directory*, 1870-1930

Categories of Institutional logics	
Institutional Logics	
Professional logic	Name of law firms, Name of lawyers, Name of law firms, Name of banks, Name of real estate agent, State law digest, Court calendar Bankrupt law, List of post office, Recommended lawyers, Practice areas, Annual report of banks, Court forms and rules, Annual report of real estate agents, Martindale law association membership, Legal ability estimate, Estimated worth, Court information, Lawyers' date of birth, Lawyers' date of admission, Lawyers' reliability, Judges' rank, Ethics in the legal profession, Law digests, Court calendars, Bank information, Lawyers' credit standing, Patent laws and lawyers, Trade mark law digests, Lawyers' promptness in paying bills, Lawyers in newfoundland, Law digest of newfoundland, Military service, List of accountants, List of colleges and universities, List of law schools, Collection rate, Foreign lawyers, Foreign law digests, Treatise information, Consular service information, Tariff information, Foreign consuls, and Expert service for lawyers
Market logic	Name of banks, Name of real estate agents, State law digest, Bankrupt law, A list of post office, Recommended lawyers, Practice areas, Annual report of banks, Annual report of real estate agents, Estimated worth, Court information, Judges' salaries, Bank information, Lawyers' credit standing, Patent laws and lawyers, Trade mark law digests, Lawyers' promptness in paying bills, Lawyers in newfoundland, Law digest of newfoundland, List of accountants, Collection rate, Tariff information, and Some of expert service list for lawyers (e.g., banks, charter companies, corporate companies, registration companies, and title companies)
Corporate logic	Name of banks, Name of real estate agents, Bankrupt law, Annual report of banks, Annual report of real estate agents, Practice areas, Bank information, Trade mark law digests, List of accountants, Collection rate, and Some expert service lists (e.g. Banks, charter companies, corporate companies, hand writing companies, registration companies, and title companies)
State logic	Court calendars, List of post offices, Practice areas, Court forms and rules, Court information, Judges' rank, Patent laws and lawyers, Trade mark law digests, Lawyers and law in newfoundland, Military service, Foreign lawyers, Large cities, Foreign law digests, Treatise information, Consular service information, Tariff information, and Foreign consuls

Table 2. Ideal Types of Institutional Logics and Associated Categories in the *Hubbell Law Directory*, 1870-1930

Categories of Institutional logics	
Institutional Logics	
Professional logic	Name of law firms, Name of lawyers, Collection law, Court calendar, Name of law firms, Bankrupt law, Law firm location, List of banks, Patent laws and lawyers, List of commissioners, American Bar Association membership, List of U.S. consuls, Court jurisdiction, Trade mark laws, Tax and war profit procedures, List of secretary of state and attorney generals, Court information, and Foreign law synopses
Market logic	Collection law, Name of law firms, Bankrupt law, List of banks, Patent law and lawyers, List of commissioners, Trade mark laws, Tax and war profit procedures, and Court information related to the market
Corporate logic	Name of law firms, Bankrupt law, List of banks, List of commissioners, and Court information related to corporate law and corporations
State logic	Court calendar, Lawyers' and law firms' geographic location, Patent laws and lawyers, List of U.S. consuls, Court jurisdiction, Trade mark laws, Tax and war profit standard procedures, List of secretary of state and attorney generals, Court information, and Foreign law synopses

Table 3. Ideal Types of Institutional Logics and Associated Categories in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 1931-2011

Categories of Institutional logics	
Institutional Logics	
Professional logic	Lawyers’ date of birth and admission to the bar, Lawyers’ legal ability, Recommendation, Estimated worth, Lawyer’s promptness in paying bills, Court information, Collection practice, the number of law offices, List of colleges and universities, Law firm information in local, Professional jurisdiction of lawyers, American Bar Association membership, Local admission of firm members, Canadian Bar Association membership, Patent and trade mark practice, Lawyers’ position in the law firm, Lawyers’ relationship with public offices, Lawyers’ position in the law firm or other entities, Field of law, Law of jurisdiction, Concentrated practice areas, Responsibilities of practice areas, General practice areas, Mark for Martindale-Hubbell preeminent lawyers, Rating for lawyers, and Ethical standard rating
Market logic	Lawyers’ legal ability, Recommendation, Estimated worth, Lawyers’ promptness in paying bills, Collection practice, the number of law offices, Patent law expertise, Lawyers’ law firm information, Law firm information in local, List of colleges and universities, professional jurisdiction of lawyers, Client characteristics, Local admission of firm members, Patent and trade market practice, Corporate law department, other law department, Related professional and commercial companies under the law of the jurisdiction, Lawyers' position in the law firm, Firm rating, Field of law, law of jurisdiction, Concentrated practice areas, Responsibilities of practice areas, General practice areas, Martindale-Hubbell preeminent lawyers, American Corporate Counsel Association membership
Corporate logic	the number of law offices, Lawyers’ position in the law firm, Patent law expertise, Law firm information in local, Professional jurisdiction of lawyers, Local admission of firm members, Patent and trade mark practice, Corporate law department, other law department, Related professional and commercial companies under the law of the jurisdiction, Firm rating, Field of law, Law of jurisdiction, Lawyers' law firm information, Concentrated practice areas, Responsibilities of practice areas, General practice areas, American Corporate Counsel Association membership,
State logic	Court information, List of colleges and universities, Military service, Patent law expertise, Local population, Public service experience, Local information, Lawyers' relationship with public offices, Field of law, Law of jurisdiction, Concentrated practice areas, Responsibilities of practice areas, General practice areas,

Conceptualizing society as an inter-institutional system has a long history in the development of modern sociology beginning with Weber's values spheres (Kalberg, 2005), to its current incarnation as institutional orders of society (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al. 2012). Thornton (2004) in reading canonical texts in sociology and organization theory conceptualized the elemental categories of the institutional orders of society as ideal types in the Weberian tradition. These ideal types have been extensively used by numerous scholars to conceptualize and measure the features of institutional logics (e.g., professional, market, corporate, and state) (Goodrick and Reay, 2011). Ocasio, Thornton, and Lounsbury (2017) provide a detailed recount of this theory development. Using the elemental categories of each of the institutional orders in this prior development of the institutional logics perspective, I identified the best match with the categories of legal practice as indicated in the tables of contents and confidential keys of the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*¹. The coding scheme was pre-tested by an independent coder with 100% inter-rater reliability. In addition, to run the second part of the regression analyses examining the relationship between institutional environments and logics, the variables for institutional environments are collected from multiple sources: the American Bar Association, World Bank, the White House, Federal Reserve Bank, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and the U.S. Census.

¹ All categories described in Tables 1, 2, and 3 were systematically analyzed and evaluated to capture institutional logics: professional, state, market, and corporate. The categories related to the key texts of professional values, ethics, services, and work were evaluated as the professional logic. The categories related to the federal, state, and local governments, commissions, and courts were classified as the state logic. The categories related to business, bank, real estate, merchants, commercial laws, trade laws, and market were classified as the market logic. Lastly, the categories related to the Cravath model (e.g., associates, non-equity partners, and equity partners) corporate law division of law firms, corporate-related to work, and organizational structure of law firms were classified as the corporate logic.

4.2. Methods

This dissertation consists of two parts: the time series analysis and regression analysis. For the first part of the time series analysis, I measured the frequency of each logic by evaluating the extent to which logics are suitable to be matched by the categories that appeared on the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*. To do this, the categories implied by the ideal type of each logic are empirically compared in each era. Table 4 shows the complete set of numerical categories for each logic in two separate time periods. During the era of Legitimizing Professions (1870–1930), 76 categories were shown: 24 categories in the *Hubbell Law Directory* and 52 categories in the *Martindale Law Directory* respectively. During the era of Formal Professions (1931–2011), in total, 55 categories emerged and vanished in the consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*. Numerical categories in Table 4 are described with the absolute number of categories by each logic in two separated law directories. For the era of Legitimizing Professions (1870–1930), I summed the categories of the two law directories for the total number of categories in each year, and then calculated the proportion of categories of each logic to the total number of categories that appeared in each year; the proportion was measured as below:

$$\frac{\textit{The number of categories in each institutional logics in each year}}{\textit{The total numer of categories in each year}}$$

For the era of Formal Professions (1931–2011), in the consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, the proportion of categories of each logic to the total number of categories that

appeared in each year was calculated (Table 4). To examine the historical patterns of the coexistence of multiple institutional logics with the longitudinal data, the evaluated categories for each logic will be visually displayed in the two separated eras.

For the second part, which examines the association between the institutional environments and the frequency of each logic, I employed several independent variables as proxies for the institutional environments, as described in Table 5. The second part of the analysis focuses on the era of Formal Professions (1931–2011) to examine the changing nature of professionalism with the association between institutional environments and coexisting institutional logics. The independent variables as proxies for intraprofessional and interprofessional environments which can shape and guide the institutional logics of professional work (Dunn and Jones 2010). First, to measure the intraprofessional environments as indicators of the size, competition, gender equality, and accredited education, I employed three variables: the number of law schools, J.D. enrollment, and the percentage of female J.D. enrollment. After WWII and during the growth of the national economy and population in the 1960s and the early 1970s, professional fields got significant attention, leading to the development of professional fields in both quality and quantity.

Table 4. Evaluation of Categories by Institutional Logics, Law Directories, and Historical Eras

Publication	Categories	Professional logic		Market logic		Corporate logic		State logic	
		Mean	Max	Mean	Max	Mean	Max	Mean	Max
M (1870 - 1930)	Number of categories	14.60	32.00	7.90	21.00	2.00	10.00	13.20	25.00
H (1870 - 1930)	Number of categories	13.60	21.00	7.80	12.00	3.60	6.00	8.00	14.00
M&H (1870 - 1930)	Proportion of categories	0.83	1.00	0.49	0.77	0.19	0.62	0.51	0.85
MH (1931 - 2012)	Number of categories	10.20	15.00	10.50	17.00	7.50	15.00	4.70	7.00
	Proportion of categories	0.62	1.00	0.57	0.74	0.39	0.65	0.27	0.37

Note: M: Martindale Law Directory, H: Hubbell Law Directory, M&H: Martindale and Hubbell Law Directories, MH: Consolidated Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory

Table 5. Independent Variables as Proxies for the Institutional Environments

Independent variables	Indicator	Construction	Source
Number of law schools	Educational professionalization	Raw number	American Bar Association
J.D. Enrollment	Professional competition	Raw number	American Bar Association
Percentage female J.D. Enrollment	Professional diversity	Percentage to the total enrollment	American Bar Association
National GDP per capita	Economic growth	Adjusted for inflation over time	World Bank
Percentage of individual income tax	National budget increase	Percentage to the total tax receipts	White House
Gross value added corporate business	Corporate client increase	Billions of Dollar, yearly adjusted for inflation	Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis
Number of utility patents	Technological environment	Raw number	U.S. Patent and Trademark Office
Number of design patents	Industrial art environment	Raw number	U.S. Patent and Trademark Office
Economic recession and depression	Economic downturn	Dichotomous variable	The. U.S. Census

As Davis (2009) mentioned “large corporations are a dominant force in American Society” (27), and therefore have become an important and substantial environment that affects the symbolic and material practices of the legal profession. To capture the influence of the interprofessional environment of corporate forces, a variable for gross value added in the corporate business was employed as an indicator of the rise and fall of the American corporations. As indicators for other interprofessional environments of national economic growth and federal tax profits from individual income tax, I employed three variables: national GDP per capita, the percentage of individual income tax to the total tax receipts, and economic recessions and depressions. To analyze the exogenous force of technological and industrial advances that changed the nature of professionalism, the number of utility and design patents registered in the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office was employed.

The second part of the analysis will examine the effects of the institutional environments on the dependent variables of each logic (e.g., professional, market, corporate, and state), measured by the proportional categories that appeared in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* by using General Estimating Equation (GEE) regressions to test our hypotheses. Although the era of Formal Professions covers from 1931 to 2011 in the first part of the analysis, the second part of the analysis covers from 1948 to 2011 with 63 years due to the limited accessibility to obtain all years. GEE regression models are effective for the longitudinal data as the unbiased time-series method with population-average coefficient and controls for autocorrelation allows for much flexibility (Dunn and Jones 2010; Ghisletta and Spini 2004). A GEE model is an extended version of General Linear Model Models (GLM) that adjusts for an appropriate specification of distribution and link function. Therefore, the equation of the regression model is similar to the GLM estimation (Pekár and Brabec 2018):

$$f(\mu_i) = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{i1} + \beta_2 X_{i2} + \dots + \beta_k X_{ik}$$

As noted, fitting in a GEE model requires to specify three options: Link Function, Distribution of the dependent variable, and the correlation structure of the dependent variable. I used the Gaussian distribution and Identity link function. To allow much flexibility, I also controlled for one period of autocorrelation (AR1). Identity link function was selected because it is the most basic option for the longitudinal data, which involves no transformation and should be aligned with the Gaussian distribution option. To remedy endogeneity and examine the casual effects of institutional environments on the frequency of logics, I employed prior year values for all independent variables in all regression models. GEE regression models employ the frequency of logics measured by the proportion of categories to the total number of categories that appeared in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* as dependent variables. In addition, to alleviate the issue of multicollinearity among independent variables, I assessed the independent variables in five separate regression models that do not cause multicollinearity. The mean variable inflation factors (VIFs) were of acceptable levels, ranging between 2.5 and 4.5. The coefficient remained relatively stable across GEE models, which suggests that multicollinearity is not an issue for these separate regression models.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Part One: Time-Series Analysis

In the first part of the analysis, I sought to understand how multiple logics have historically coexisted in the legal profession as captured from law directory archival sources. I identified multiple logics of profession, state, market, and corporate based on categories used to communicate in the legal profession. The frequency of each logic was analyzed in two eras: Legitimizing Professions (1870–1930) and Formal Professions (1931–2011). The frequency of each logic can provide empirical evidence regarding the coexistence of multiple institutional logics by testing hypotheses 1 through 6, although the frequency of each logic varies with historical patterns and contingencies.

5.1.1. The Era of Legitimizing Professions (1870–1930)

During this era, the frequency of the categories aligned with the professional logic was more frequent. The process of legitimization was emphasized by the legal profession building the alliance with other institutional orders (e.g., banks, real estate agents, and government agencies). Figure 2 presents the changing number of categories in total and of each logic.

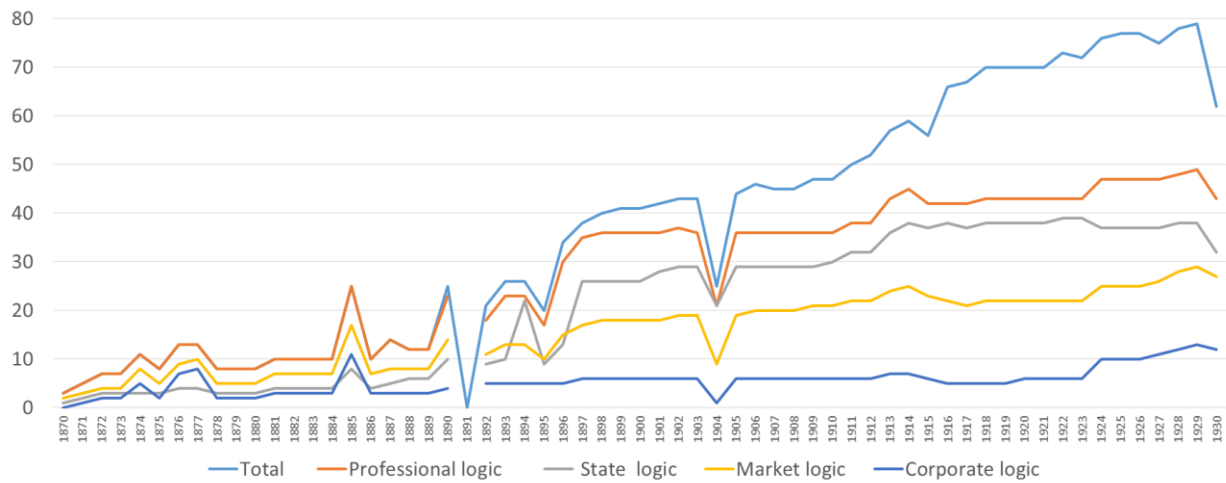


Figure 2. Number of Categories in the Legal Profession from *Martindale and Hubbell Law Directories*, 1870-1930

The number of categories from the two law directories increased over time and expanded the scope of multiple logics, as shown in Figure 2 (also see Appendix A). From 1870 and 1890, the *Martindale and Hubbell* law directories were biennially published; both law directories began annual publication in 1891, and the number of categories constantly increased and expanded the scope in multiple institutional logics during the era of Legitimizing Professions, which supports hypotheses 1 and 2. The number of categories of the professional logic constantly increased. Prior to this era, professionalism was not fully conceptualized in symbolic and material practices in legal services. Hence, categories in the law directories provided professional information that was able to legitimize the role identities of professionals.

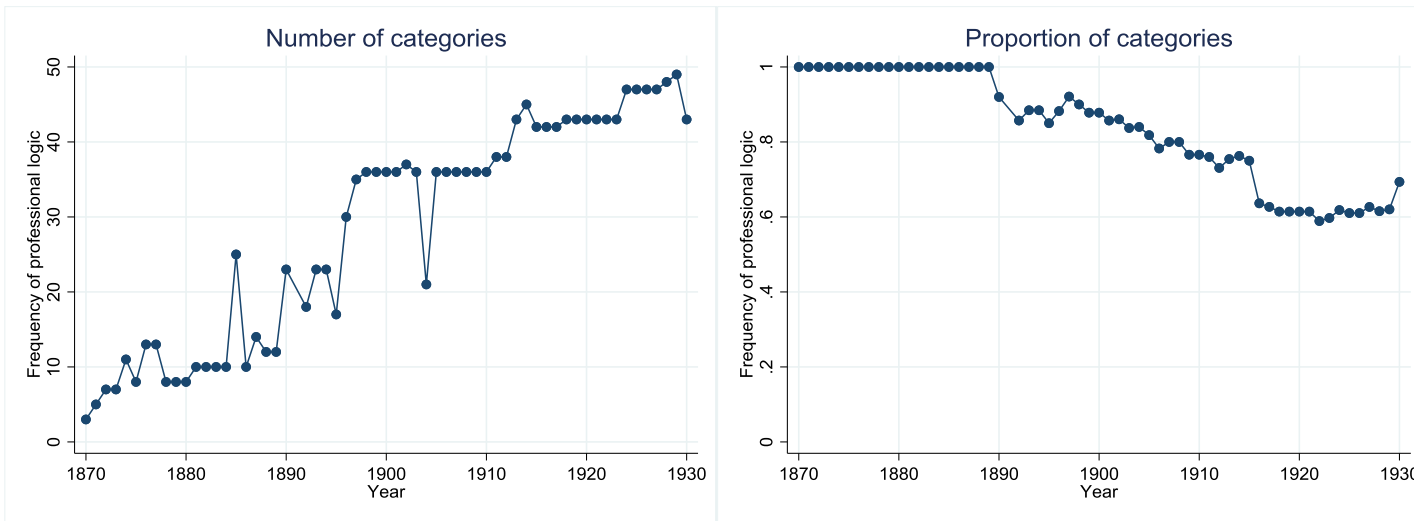


Figure 3. Frequency of the Professional Logic in the Legal Profession, 1870-1930

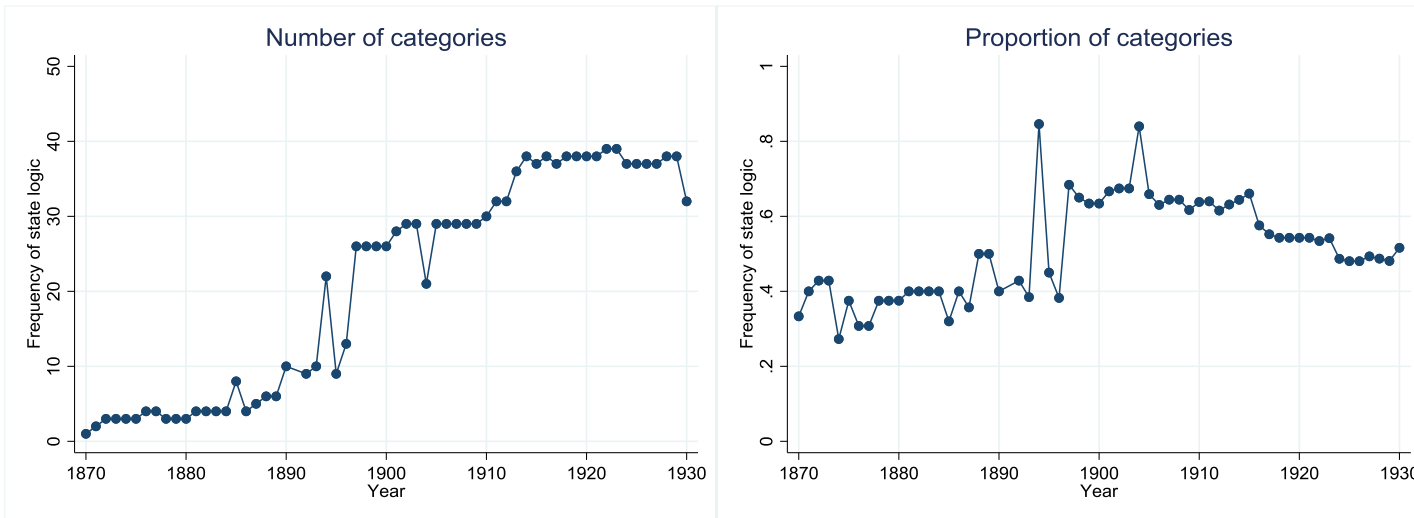


Figure 4. Frequency of the State Logic in the Legal Profession, 1870-1930

Figure 3 visually presents the frequency of the professional logic during this era. As can be seen in the left side of Figure 3, the number of categories of the professional logic significantly increased prior to the 1900s, and most categories were classified as the professional logic. Since the era of Legitimizing Professions similarly begins with the foundation of the American Bar Association that clearly distinguishes the legal practices by lawyers and clarifies the professional requirements to be a lawyer, the action of professionals (e.g., individual lawyers, nascent law firms, and bar associations) was reflected in the strong frequency of the professional logic on the legal practices as the frequency increased and remained consistent.

During this era, the levels of government regulations increased to control for lawyers' legal practices as well as market businesses. The legitimization process for the profession requires to be decoupled from the state (Meyer and Rowan 1977); however, the government constantly sought to influence legal practice by implementing regulations that restricted lawyers and standardized legal services, just as the medical and pharmacy professions were restricted by government agencies (Goodrick and Reay 2011). For example, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) was founded in 1914 for the enforcement of U.S. antitrust law and to protect market consumers from large corporations. The FTC defines lawyers as "creditors" and has imposed federal regulations on lawyers that excessively defend corporate clients (McMillon 2010). During this era, at the federal level, many commissions and agencies were founded to control for the market business and legal practices, and at the state and local levels, state attorney general offices gained stronger authorities to audit over the market and bar associations that licensed bars to lawyers (Pinansky 1986). As a result, the strong frequency of the state logic is observed during this era, as depicted in Figure 4, which does not support hypothesis 4.

Professional associations sought legitimation by expanding their relationship with market actors, such as banks, real estate agents, and merchants, which needed standards that legal services and practices could provide. To avoid government regulations, market-based business needed legitimizing alliances. As depicted in Figure 5, the strong frequency of the market logic was reflected in the legal profession. Legal services by lawyers were needed by merchants, bankers, and manufacturers as commercialization was expanding. As explained in the preface of the *Martindale Law Directory* of 1890, “[the law directory] was primarily intended for the use of lawyers in the transaction of business with one another, the demand for [the directory] in mercantile, manufacturing and other lines of business has been even greater than among lawyers” (The *Martindale Law Directory* Preface 1890). Although lawyers and law firms sold their knowledge, skills, and legal services in the market, the demand from business was greater, and the legal profession recognized an opportunity to obtain market power and legitimize the profession by demonstrating that professional experts were necessary to transact business during this era (Pinansky 1987). The results in Figure 2 and Figure 5 support hypothesis 5, and in particular, in comparing Figures 3 and 5, the spillover effect between the categorization of the professional logic and the market logic is observed because these two institutional orders symbiotically coexist.

Since it is very complex and time-consuming to deal with corporate laws, lawyers tended to work in organizations and structure a division of expert labor (e.g., corporate law department and labor law department within the law firm). The frequency of the corporate logic represents categories related to structured or corporatized legal professional service firms and corporate clients. In 1892, there were only 58 large law firms in the top ten cities of the U.S. As the Anti-trust act became law, the number of large law firms substantially increased through the 1910s

and 1920s. As shown in Figure 6, the frequency of the corporate logic constantly remained lower than other institutional logics, but it began increasing in the 1920s, which partially supports hypothesis 6. During the era of Legitimizing Professions, there was a spillover effect between the professional, market, and corporate logics. Although the legal profession had conflicts with the state logic, the profession and state logic positively affected each other as the number of categories in both logics increased.

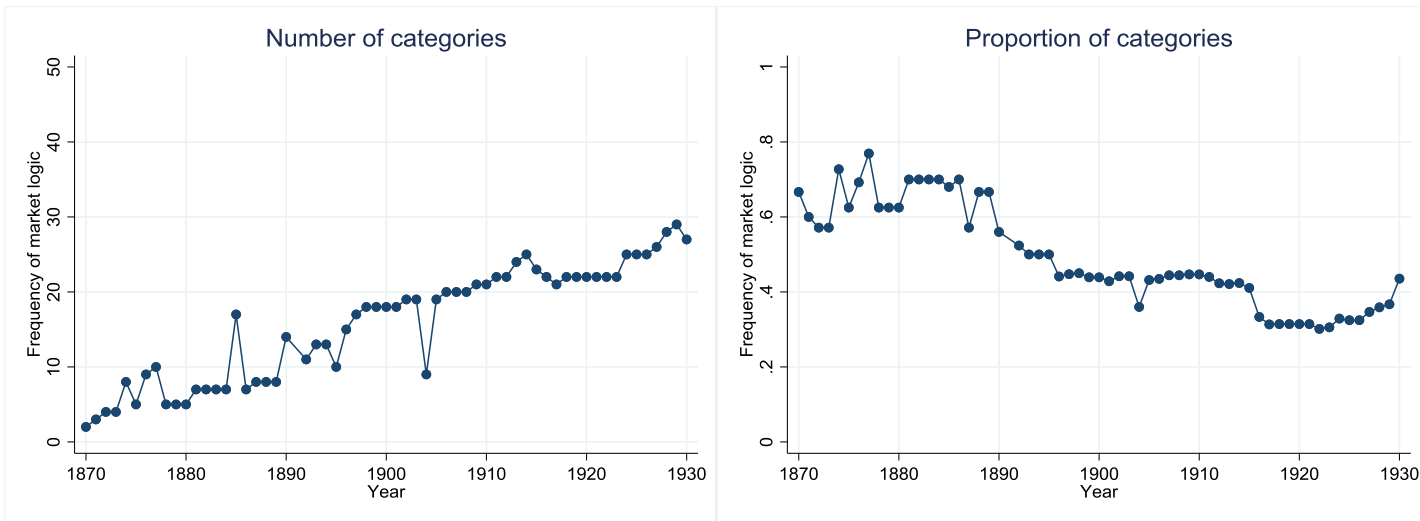


Figure 5. Frequency of the Market Logic in the Legal Profession, 1870-1930

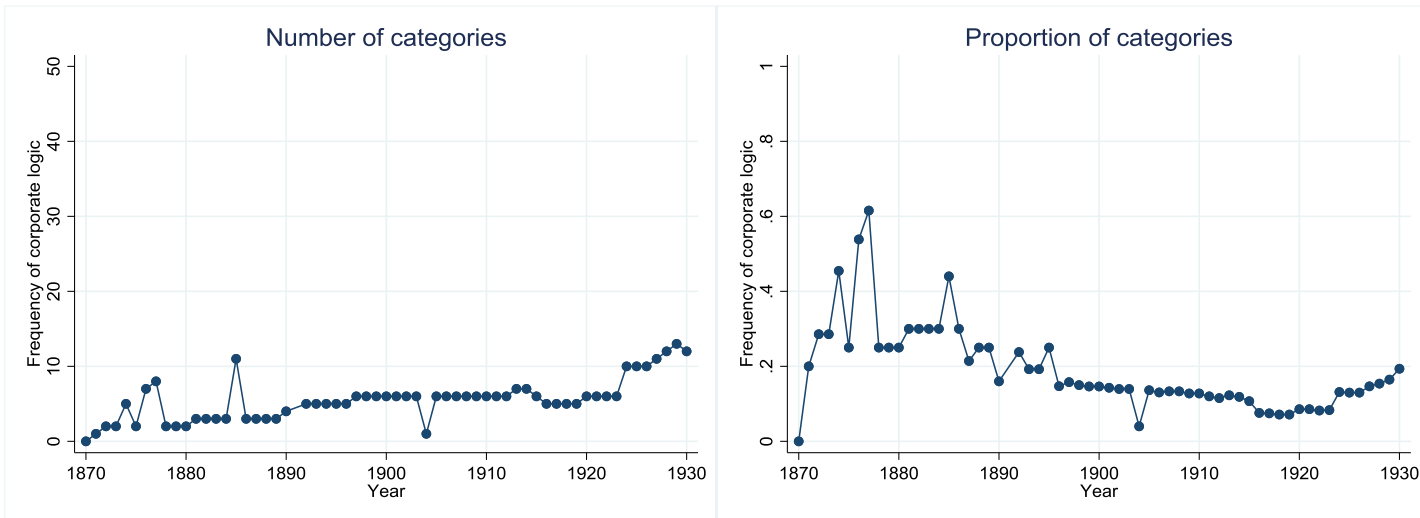


Figure 6. Frequency of the Corporate Logic in the Legal Profession, 1870-1930

5.1.2. The Modern Era of Formal Professions (1931–2011)

During the era of Formal Professions, the legal profession went through significant social change that transformed the nature of professional work. Meanwhile, the consolidated *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory* began playing a role in providing more comprehensive information of legal service than the two separate directories.

The publishers have spared no effort in their endeavor to accurately compile a list of the bar with ratings for legal ability, local standing and other information of importance in the selection of counsel; to publish dependable digests of laws and court calendars; publish a directory which will meet every requirement of the active law office for comprehensive legal directory service. (The Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory Foreword 1931: 3)

This quotation indicates the purpose of the consolidated law directory and the intention to continue to focus on the relationship between the legal profession and other institutional orders. Prior to this era, the professional logic played a role in legitimizing the process of professionalization by providing legal practice categories, and in the beginning of this era, the legal service provided by lawyers was well institutionalized and they began playing an advanced role as legal professionals bringing expert knowledge about complex patent, corporate, and commercial laws (Gorman 2014). Although the professional logic interacted with the enormous market expansion that replaced the dominant field logic at professional fields, the legal practices and services were symbolically and materially reflected in increased educational programs (e.g., law schools) and lawyers. On the other hand, as the large corporations needed more legal and financial advice, the legal profession was threatened by the conflicts of professional jurisdictions with big accounting firms (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005).

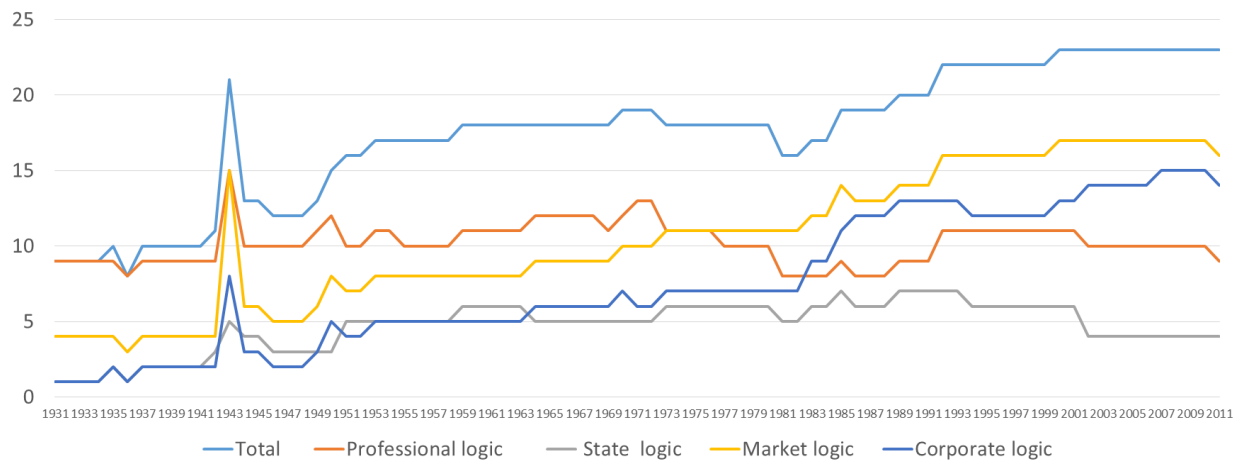


Figure 7. Number of Categories in the Legal Profession from the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 1931-2011

Figure 7 presents the changing number of categories in total and of each logic, and as depicted in Figure 8, the overall frequency of the professional logic remained moderately high and began declining during the 1980s, which supports hypothesis 3 positing that the influence of the professional logic on the categorization of the legal professional is constant over time.

The influence of the state logic, as reflected in the frequency of the categories, remained moderately low during this era. In particular, in the aftermath of the Great Depression, the influence of the state logic became slightly strong, but it became a moderate low. Due to the economic depression, the legal profession allowed government regulations on market capitalism, and the profession and market institutions largely depended on new economic policies. The state tightly regulated the pharmacy and medical professions as the Great Society expanded a set of domestic welfare policies that initiated Medicare and Medicaid programs (Dunn and Jones 2010;

Goodrick and Reay 2011). On the contrary, the legal profession enjoyed more autonomy and independence while being decoupled from the state (Meyer and Rowan 1977) as the legal professionals were viewed as “the most influential, contemporary, crafters of institutions” (Scott 2008: 223). As market capitalism expanded after the WWII and the U.S. experienced a series of economic recessions after the 1970s, the federal governments started deregulating restrictions on the market, which affected the influence of the state logic, decreasing and maintaining it moderately low. The results of the time-series analysis support hypothesis 4 during this era, as seen in Figure 9.

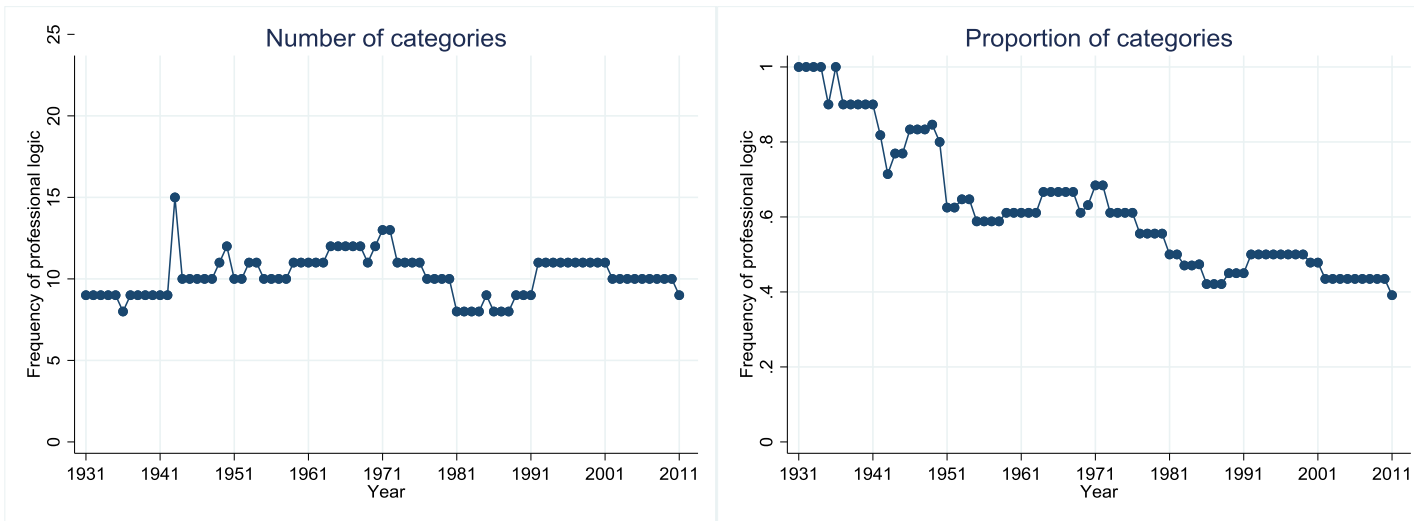


Figure 8. Frequency of the Professional logic in the Legal Profession, 1931-2011

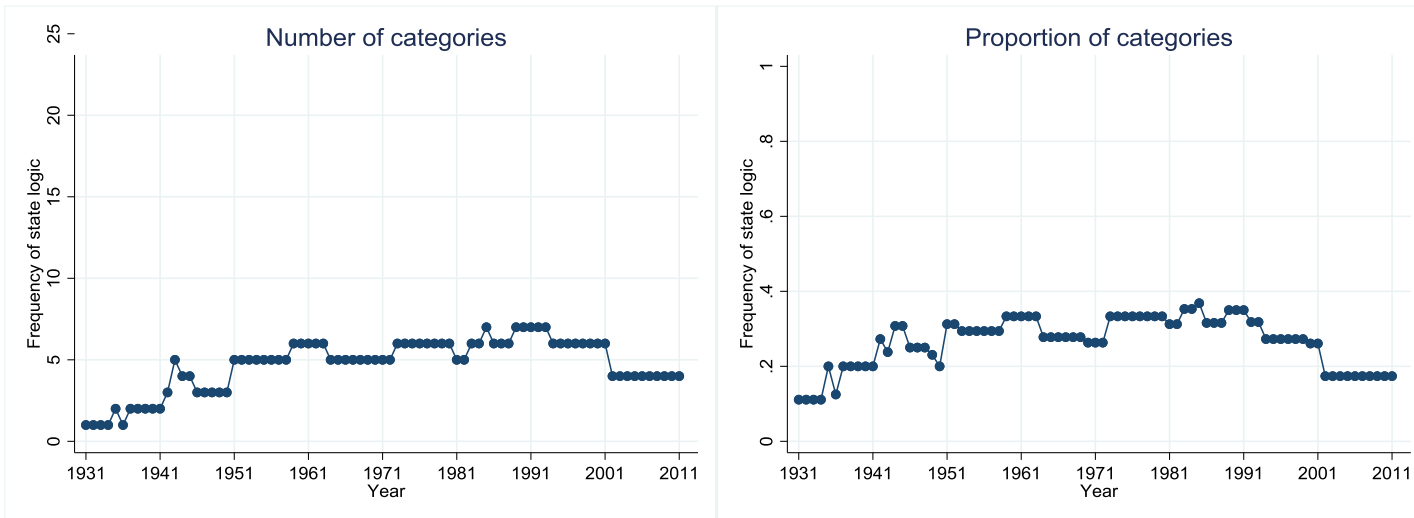


Figure 9. Frequency of the State Logic in the Legal Profession, 1931-2011

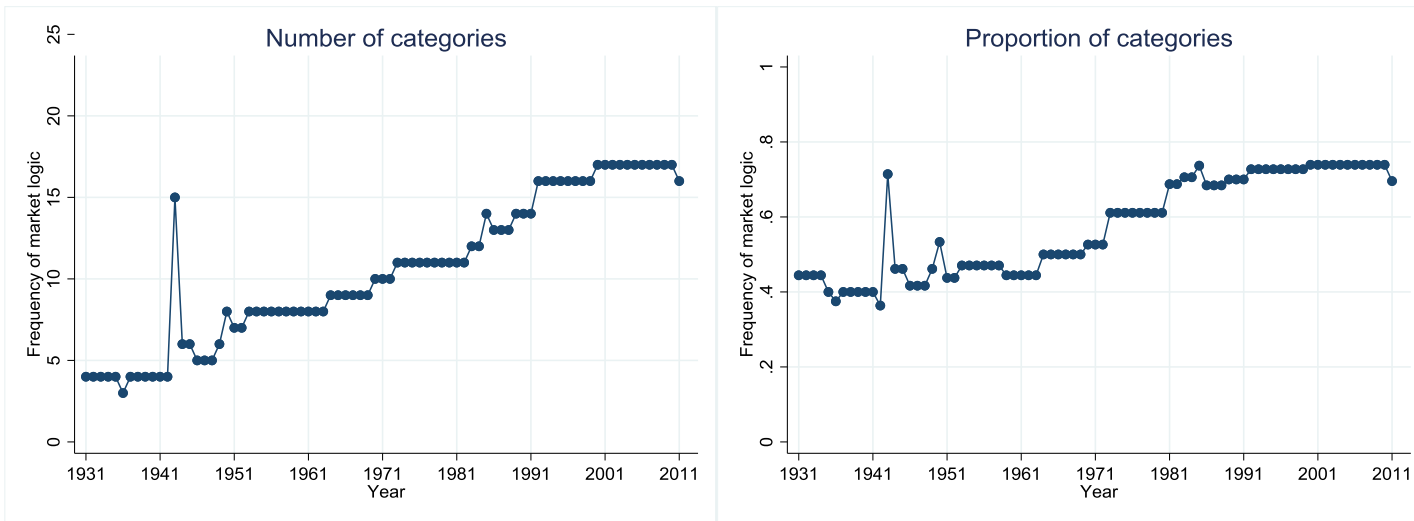


Figure 10. Frequency of the Market Logic in the Legal Profession, 1931-2011

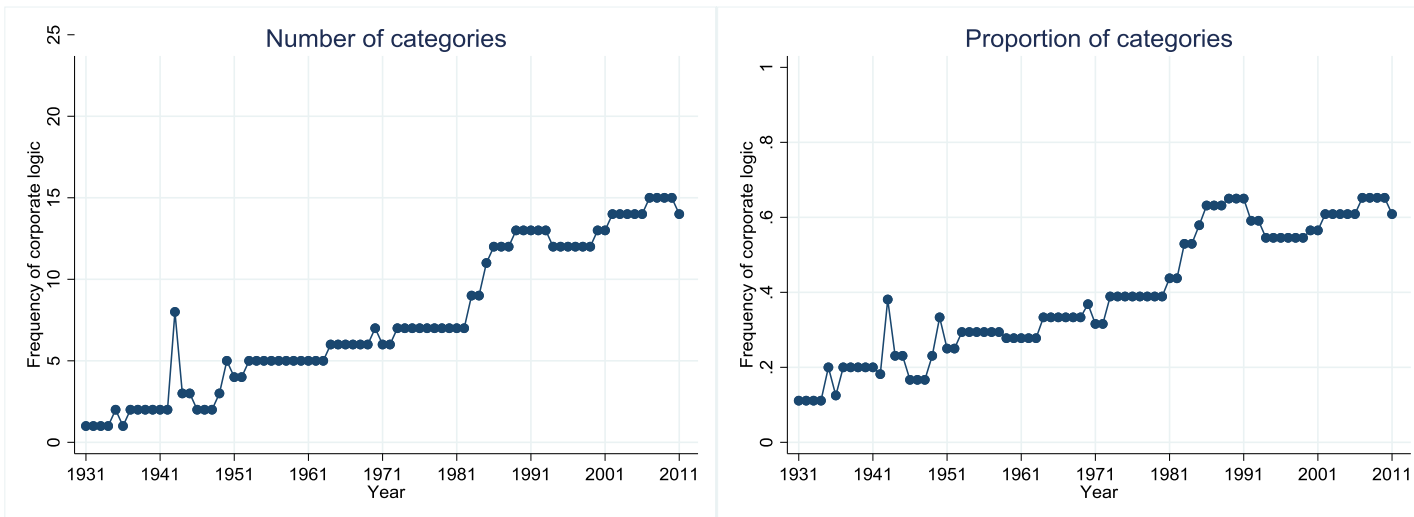


Figure 11. Frequency of the Corporate Logic in the Legal Profession, 1931-2011

During this era, the strong influence of the market logic in the legal profession is observed by the increased frequency of categories related to market institutions, as shown in Figure 10. Research suggests that the market logic reflected in commercialization and financialization largely becomes the primary institutional logic in numerous professional fields such as medical, publishing, and pharmacy (Thornton and Ocasio 1999; Scott and Ruef 1998). Practice areas in the legal profession substantially focus on commercial and corporate laws for lucrative corporate clients. The strong influence of the market logic is paired with the strong influence of the corporate logic, as shown in Figure 11. On the contrary, during the era of Legitimizing Professions (1870–1930), although corporate law clients became important, they had little impact on making the influence of the corporate logic strong. As the number of law schools and lawyers skyrocketed in the 1960s and the 1970s, individual lawyers tended to practice in organizations to survive in increasing competition (Adler, Kwon, and Heckscher 2008), which increased the number of mega law firms. Prior to this era, legal services were mostly provided by individual or two-man office lawyers; however, the concept of law firms became more likely to be bureaucratized and corporatized for profitable corporate law services, which is reflected in the strong frequency of the corporate logic on the categorization. The results in Figure 11 support hypothesis 6.

The first part of the time-series analysis provides the results testing hypotheses 1 through 6 and suggesting that there coexist multiple institutional logics in the history of the legal profession. Although the influence of the professional logic remains strong in two different eras, the professional logic coexists with other logics while symbolically representing the social and economic changes reflected in the categories of the legal practices. The results indicate that the professional logic was not replaced by the other dominant logics (e.g., the market or corporate

logic), but it coexisted with the other logics while conflicting with the state logic, and producing a spillover effect with the market and corporate logics despite the variation of historical contingencies based on the eras. I illustrate the patterns of multiple institutional logics with the ten-year rolling average of the proportion of categories as visualized in Figure 12. Although the measure of the categories switched in transition of the era (i.e., 1931), Figure 12 depicts the symbiosis of four institutional logics while three other institutional orders (e.g., state, market, and corporate logics) become interdependent with the professional logic over time.

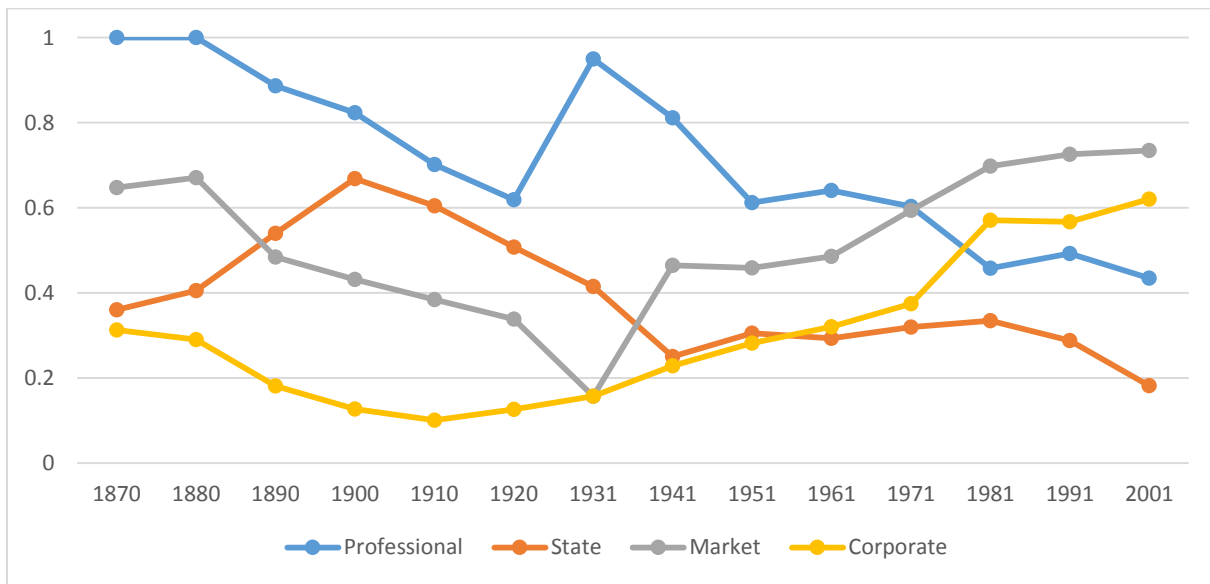


Figure 12. Average Frequency of Institutional Logics by Ten Years, 1870-2011

5.2. Part Two: The Relationship between the Institutional Environments and the Frequency and Strength of Each Logic

The part one analysis provided empirical evidence to understand the coexistence of multiple logics and the changing frequencies and strengths between the professional logic and the other three logics in the legal profession. As the second part of the empirical analysis to test hypotheses 7 through 10, I estimated a series of GEE regression models for the era of Formal Profession (1948–2011) by employing several independent variables as proxies for various aspects of institutional environments. Table 6 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations among all variables.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Variables

Variables	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dependent variables								
1 Professional logic	0.62	0.17	1.00					
2 State logic	0.27	0.07	-0.40***	1.00				
3 Market logic	0.58	0.13	-0.84***	0.10	1.00			
4 Corporate logic	0.40	0.17	-0.91***	0.15	0.95***	1.00		
Independent variables								
5 Number of law schools	159.28	25.93	-0.89***	-0.35***	0.95***	0.93***	1.00	
6 J.D. Enrollment	95267.17	40818.78	-0.82***	-0.278**	0.98***	0.91***	0.97***	1.00
7 Percentage female J.D. Enrollment	26.27	19.11	-0.89***	-0.34***	0.97***	0.95***	0.96***	0.97***
8 National GDP per capita	27117.04	13255.60	-0.87***	-0.01	0.92***	0.94***	0.96***	0.92***
9 Percentage of individual income tax	41.33	9.29	-0.73***	0.42***	0.52***	0.52***	0.41***	0.39***
10 Gross value added corporate business	2256.89	2749.26	-0.72***	-0.28**	0.82***	0.85***	0.89***	0.82***
11 Economic recession and depression	0.34	0.48	0.0644	-0.07	-0.04	-0.06	-0.1405	-0.14
12 Number of utility patents	82364.62	55753.01	-0.67***	-0.30***	0.77***	0.79***	0.82***	0.73***
13 Number of design patents	7441.35	6484.72	-0.55***	-0.42***	0.69***	0.72***	0.81***	0.74***

*Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Standard errors in parentheses*

Variables	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
7 Percentage female J.D. Enrollment	1.00						
8 National GDP per capita	0.94***	1.00					
9 Percentage of individual income tax	0.38***	0.55***	1.00				
10 Gross value added corporate business	0.87***	0.94***	0.36**	1.00			
11 Economic recession and depression	-0.16	-0.08	0.14	-0.08	1.00		
12 Number of utility patents	0.75***	0.89***	0.3528**	0.95***	-0.065	1.00	
13 Number of design patents	0.78***	0.85***	0.2108	0.96***	-0.0353	0.93***	1.00

*Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Standard errors in parentheses*

Hypothesis 7 encompasses the relationship between institutional environments and the frequency of the professional logic, and institutional environments are examined in internal and external environments in separate regression models. As seen, an increase in the number of law schools (accredited professional programs) and in J.D. enrollments led to increasing competition in the legal profession, which caused less occupational security and weakened professional values and ethics. The number of law schools (model 1-1) and J.D. enrollments (model 1-3) are negatively associated with the frequency of the professional logic in Table 7. This implies that the expansion of the size of the professional field with more educational opportunities and accessibility is associated with the erosion of the professional logic because the misalignment between supply of and demand for lawyers led the legal profession to lowering levels of professional principles and ethics to secure clients in the severe competition. As for the other internal environmental variable, the percentage of female J.D. enrollment is also negatively associated with the frequency of the professional logic in models 1-4 and 1-5 in Table 7, which suggests that all internal environment variables are negatively associated with the frequency of the professional logic. External institutional environments (e.g., corporate influence, national GDP, economic downturn, and the number patents) are negatively or insignificantly associated with the frequency of the professional logic. The growth in national economic growth (i.e., measured by national GDP per capita) has a negative association with the strength of the professional logic in model 1-2 because the market expansion in the era of Formal Profession eroded and weakened the professional ethics and values.

Table 7. Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) Regression Analysis: the Changes of Institutional Environments on the Frequency of the Professional Logic

Variables	Model 1-1	Model 1-2	Model 1-3	Model 1-4	Model 1-5
Number of law schools	-0.00361*** (0.000886)				
Gross value added corporate business	-7.64e-07 (8.67e-06)		-1.49e-05 (9.56e-06)		
Percentage of individual income tax	0.000522 (0.00278)				
J.D. Enrollment		-5.99e-07 (8.56e-07)	-1.39e-06** (6.45e-07)		
National GDP per capita		-6.36e-06** (2.97e-06)			
Economic recession and depression		0.0117 (0.00870)	0.0128 (0.00923)		
Percentage female J.D. Enrollment				-0.00463*** (0.000832)	-0.00492*** (0.000821)
Number of utility patents				-1.21e-07 (2.86e-07)	
Number of design patents					1.83e-07 (2.20e-06)
Constant	1.100*** (0.161)	0.802*** (0.0479)	0.720*** (0.0459)	0.680*** (0.0218)	0.675*** (0.0187)
Time period	1948-2010	1948-2011	1948-2012	1948-2012	1948-2013
Observations	63	63	63	63	63
Wald chi square	68.81***	36.57***	37.94***	68.86***	71.34***

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, Standard errors in parentheses*

Table 8. Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) Regression Analysis: the Changes of Institutional Environments on the Frequency of the State Logic

Variables	Model 2-1	Model 2-2	Model 2-3	Model 2-4	Model 2-5
Number of law schools	0.00229*** (0.000575)				
Gross value added corporate business	-3.37e-05*** (5.58e-06)		-2.77e-05*** (5.44e-06)		
Percentage of individual income tax	0.000608 (0.00196)				
J.D. Enrollment		1.34e-06** (5.81e-07)	1.13e-06*** (3.65e-07)		
National GDP per capita		-6.66e-06*** (2.02e-06)			
Economic recession and depression		-0.00855 (0.00671)	-0.00706 (0.00626)		
Percentage female J.D. Enrollment				-0.000993 (0.00112)	-0.00102 (0.00109)
Number of utility patents				-1.34e-07 (2.58e-07)	
Number of design patents					-1.04e-06 (2.08e-06)
Constant	-0.0182 (0.107)	0.359*** (0.0308)	0.251*** (0.0258)	0.307*** (0.0371)	0.304*** (0.0352)
Time period	1948-2010	1948-2011	1948-2012	1948-2012	1948-2013
Observations	63	63	63	63	63
Wald chi square	43.66***	14.03***	30.53***	1.79	1.78

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, Standard errors in parentheses*

Table 9. Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) Regression Analysis: the Changes of Institutional Environments on the Frequency of the Market Logic

Variables	Model 3-1	Model 3-2	Model 3-3	Model 3-4	Model 3-5
Number of law schools	0.000989 (0.000941)				
Gross value added corporate business	6.98e-06 (1.21e-05)		2.57e-06 (3.85e-06)		
Percentage of individual income tax	-0.00396** (0.00162)				
J.D. Enrollment		2.46e-06*** (3.44e-07)	2.62e-06*** (2.57e-07)		
National GDP per capita		1.17e-06 (1.20e-06)			
Economic recession and depression		0.0138** (0.00577)	0.0137** (0.00578)		
Percentage female J.D. Enrollment				0.00577*** (0.000476)	0.00574*** (0.000477)
Number of utility patents				-1.83e-08 (1.70e-07)	
Number of design patents					-2.56e-08 (1.31e-06)
Constant	0.593*** (0.163)	0.342*** (0.0170)	0.356*** (0.0181)	0.467*** (0.0123)	0.466*** (0.0105)
Time period	1948-2010	1948-2011	1948-2012	1948-2012	1948-2013
Observations	63	63	63	63	63
Wald chi square	8.75**	362.67***	341.39***	311.18***	310.37***

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, Standard errors in parentheses*

Table 10. Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) Regression Analysis: the Changes of Institutional Environments on the Frequency of the Corporate Logic

Variables	Model 4-1	Model 4-2	Model 4-3	Model 4-4	Model 4-5
Number of law schools	0.00288** (0.00113)				
Gross value added corporate business	1.59e-05 (1.21e-05)		1.79e-05* (1.07e-05)		
Percentage of individual income tax	-0.00415* (0.00231)				
J.D. Enrollment		1.71e-06** (8.29e-07)	2.11e-06*** (7.27e-07)		
National GDP per capita		5.52e-06* (2.87e-06)			
Economic recession and depression		0.0135* (0.00703)	0.0126* (0.00722)		
Percentage female J.D. Enrollment				0.00637*** (0.000882)	0.00589*** (0.000905)
Number of utility patents				1.95e-07 (2.76e-07)	
Number of design patents					3.19e-06 (2.21e-06)
Constant	0.132 (0.186)	0.113** (0.0536)	0.194*** (0.0541)	0.270*** (0.0243)	0.273*** (0.0232)
Time period	1948-2010	1948-2011	1948-2012	1948-2012	1948-2013
Observations	63	63	63	63	63
Wald chi square	34.83***	49.32***	45.16***	101.83***	92.68***

*Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, Standard errors in parentheses*

Hypothesis 8 posits that there were the effects of institutional environments on the frequency of the state logic during the era of Formal Professions. Unlike the effects of internal institutional environments on the profession logic, in Table 8, two variables, an increase in the number of law schools and J.D. enrollment as proxies for internal institutional environments, are positively associated with the frequency of the state logic, which leads to the strong influence of the state logic. In model 2-1, the number of law schools is positively associated with the frequency of the state logic; moreover, in models 2-2 and 2-3, the results reveal that the number of J.D. enrollment is positively associated with the frequency of the state logic. The results regarding the number of law schools and J.D. enrollments imply that the expansion of the legal profession's size and quantity leads to the strong influence of the state logic because the increased size of the professions weakens the professional autonomy and independence from the government (Abbott 1988; Scott 2008). On the other hand, the external institutional environments are consistently negatively associated with the frequency of the state logic. The variable for corporate business, as a proxy for the growth in American corporations, is negatively associated with the state logic in models 2-1 and 2-3; and per capita GDP, as a proxy for the economic growth, is also negatively associated with the state logic in model 2-2.

Hypothesis 9 posits the association between institutional environments and the influence of the market logic on the legal profession. In Table 9, the linear relationship between institutional environments and the influence of the market logic on the legal profession has been tested, and the results indicate that the internal environments, the number of J.D. enrollment, is positively associated with the strong influence of the market logic on the legal profession in model 3-2 and 3-3, and the increasing percentage of the female J.D. enrollment is positively associated with the frequency of the market logic in model 3-4 and 3-5. On the other hand,

external environments have mostly insignificant association with the frequency of the market logic. The results reveal that the expansion in the size of the legal professionals strengthen the influence of the market logic in the legal profession because an increase in the number of J.D. enrollment might increase the supply of the professionals. This increasing competition among legal professionals which allows the market business to have more opportunities to find better lawyers at the lower costs.

Hypothesis 10 posits the association between institutional environments and the influence of the corporate logic in the legal profession. As the frequencies of both market and corporate logics were strengthened during the era of Formal Professions, the effects of the institutional environments are similarly expected. Model 4-1 in Table 10 demonstrates that for each law school that is founded, the frequency of the corporate logic gets strengthened in the legal profession with an increase in the number of categories. Models 4-2 and 4-3 in Table 10 also suggest that an increase in the number of J.D. enrollment leads to increased public attention paid to the corporate logic as the number of categories increases. In model 4-5, the percentage of female J.D. enrollment is also positively associated with the frequency of the corporate logic. In sum, the expansion of internal environments in quantity of law schools, lawyers, and gender diversity positively strengthens the influence of the corporate logic in the legal profession as categories appeared in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*. The results with external environments indicate that the growth in corporate business (model 4-3) and national economies (model 4-2) in Table 10 suggest a positive association with the frequency of the corporate logic. The results imply that the strength of the institutional environment causes the relative emphasis on the corporate logic, influencing the changing nature of the legal profession.

6. DISCUSSION

This dissertation examines the historical patterns of institutional change in the U.S. legal profession to shed light on the understanding of how institutional logics have been sustained and how institutional environments affect the strength and weakness of each institutional logic over time. Further, this study emphasizes the institutional multiplicity, i.e., interpreted as institutional pluralism by Dunn and Jones (2010), suggesting that multiple logics compete and cooperate with each other rather than that one single logic dominating other logics in the field of the U.S. legal profession. This study contributes to advancing an understanding of the constellation of multiple institutional logics. Goodrick and Reay (2011) first used the conceptualization of a constellation to explicate the combination of multiple institutional logics that shape the action of individuals and organizations in the field of the U.S. pharmacy. By viewing multiple logics as collective influences, this study empirically identifies that more than two logics have interacted while facilitating and competing with each other, creating and reinforcing new categories of legal practices. Hence, the relationships among multiple logics can be defined as the symbiosis of multiple logics of the legal profession in which they interact, compete, and cooperate to develop the realms of the profession.

More importantly, the symbiosis of multiple institutional logics is described by analyzing categories of legal practices in the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*. This dissertation contributes to bridging the literature on institutional logics with the category studies as Durand and Thornton (2018) suggested for further research. As Suddaby and Viale (2011) suggested, categorization is a unique process to classify professional practices because categorization refers to the view and communication of professionals in response to the legitimation of

professionalism and interaction of professional fields with other institutional orders. The legal profession plays a key role in institutionalizing social and legal systems across institutional orders, and legal professional work is inherently engaged with different institutional logics (Greenwood and Suddaby 2005; Quack 2007). Thus, legal professionals create and legitimate new categories of legal practices intertwined with institutional change, and the adoption of new categories of legal practices can be understood as the process of legitimization or rationalization.

In Figure 12, I visually illustrated the results of a categorical change of the legal practices that represent the symbiosis of multiple logics. Goodrick and Reay (2011) conceptualized three types of constellations of coexisting institutional logics in the U.S. pharmacy profession: 1) one dominant logic over other logics, 2) equally influential multiple logics, and 3) symbiosis between moderately influential logic and less influential logics. Among three types, the U.S. legal profession cannot be clearly identified, but all three types of the coexistence of multiple logics can explain the legal professional work during lengthy time periods of observation. Figure 13 summarizes the strength of each logic by historical eras of the U.S. legal profession. As illustrated, the professional logic underwent ups and downs strengthening and weakening over time, but maintained its strength relative to facilitating other logics. This emphasizes that the strength of an institutional logic is nonzero sum, but multiple logics are collectively facilitated while creating and enforcing categories of legal practices. Overall, this dissertation contributes to the body of literature on institutional theory, the category studies, and professional work in three ways: 1) by empirically demonstrating institutional change with the concept of multiple logics symbiosis, 2) by illustrating how the coexistence of multiple institutional logics is reflected in changes in categories of legal practices, and 3) by demonstrating how institutional environments affect the coexistence of multiple logic.

6.1. Mechanism of Institutional Change in the U.S. Legal Profession

The results of institutional change in the legal profession do not show homogeneous patterns in history but considerably vary with time and changing institutional environments. The time-series analysis for the lengthy time periods reflects the variation of the strength of the professional, state, market, and corporate logics. As the institutional logics perspective is distinguishably different from prior streams of institutional theory (e.g., old and new institutional theories), the logics perspective as a meta-theory allows scholars to comparatively analyze the mechanisms of institutional change that affects the action of social actors. In the study of the sociology of organizational and institutional theory, prior research has already accomplished in providing an understanding of the mechanism of institutional change focusing on how institution logics are shaped such as switching (McPherson and Sauder 2013), selectively coupling (Pache and Santos 2013), the prevailing logic (Thornton and Ocasio 1999), and logic hybridization (Battilana and Dorado 2010). To date, scholars moved to focus on the coexistence of multiple logics at the organizational (Besharov and Smith 2014) and field levels (Dunn and Jones 2010; Goodrick and Reay 2011), and even multiple logics can vary with geographical separation (Lounsbury 2007).

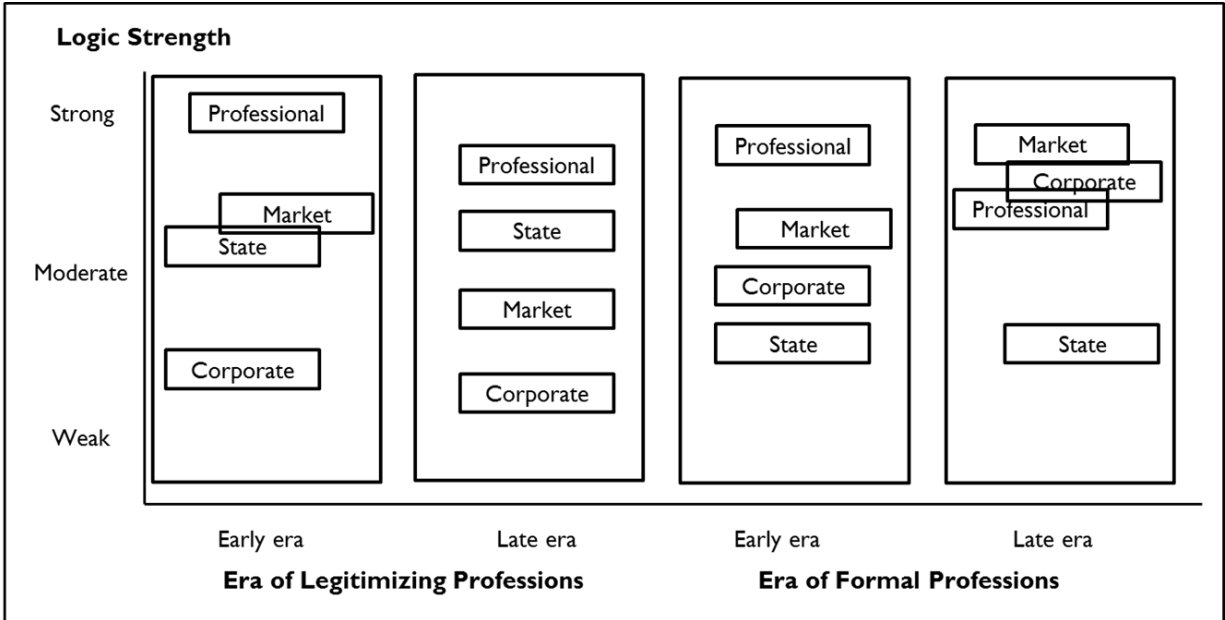


Figure 13. Historical Change in the Relative Influence of Institutional Logics in the U.S. Legal Profession

Although some studies revealed that more than two logics simultaneously compete and cooperate with each other as historical patterns of professional work, the mechanism of institutional change in the legal profession with an emphasis on the symbiosis of coexisting multiple logics has not been examined. Conceptualizing the symbiosis of multiple logics helps capture historical patterns of professional work consistently and simultaneously influenced by the combination of logics. This dissertation provided the important empirical evidence that describes the coexistence of multiple logics from the foundation of the American Bar Association as the initiation of legitimizing legal professional work to the present. As illustrated in Figure 13, the patterns of the coexistence of multiple logics heterogeneously changes over time with three types: 1) a single dominant logic over three weak logics (the early era of

legitimizing professions), 2) one moderate logic with three relatively weaker logics (the late era of legitimizing professions and the early era of formal professions), and 3) three simultaneously strong logics over one weak logic (the late era of formal professions).

In the early era of legitimizing the legal profession, I observed that the categories of legal practices mostly were reflected by the professional logic as a single dominant logic. The other three logics (e.g., state, market, and corporate) remained substantially weaker than the professional logic. Particularly, the professional logic is observed as being allied with the market logic while competing with the state logic. This model shows that the pattern of the symbiosis of multiple logics is saliently identified by a single dominant logic and three other secondary logics that have the potential to either compete or cooperate with the professional logic. In the late era of legitimizing the legal profession, the role of some secondary logics was highlighted, influencing different types of the symbiosis of multiple logics. In this era, the role of market logic significantly increased as the alliance with the legal profession that legitimized their professional work by obtaining market power. On the other hand, the state logic was strengthened by competing with the professional logic by restricting the market capitalism with regulations, public policy, and new government agencies. As the professional logic cooperated with the market logic but competed with the state logic, the historical event of the Great Depression triggered the influences of the state logic. In this situation, the more categories related to the state logic were strengthened; however, the professional logic still remained as the primary logic.

In the early era of the formal profession, the changes in the strength of secondary logics were identified. In this era, dramatic changes in economic growth and society affected the legal professional work with increasing numbers of lawyers, large law firms, and corporations as the

expansion of the market capitalism. Prior to this era, although the standards of legal practices were already established by the ABA, new legal services and practices were created alongside the growth in the market and corporate economies, changing the influence of the secondary logic. Evidence indicates that the professional logic is highly coupled with the strength of corporate and market logics. On the other hand, the trend of deregulations weakened the state logic in the era. Thus, I observed that the cooperative relationship between one relatively dominant logic (the professional logic) and two secondary logics (market and corporate logics) persisted because the categories of legal practices were guided by different logics. In the late era of the formal profession, the relationship among logics become more competitive. In this era, prior studies identified the highly competitive relationship between two logics (e.g., professional and market/corporate logics) (Greendwood and Suddaby 2006). The increasing influence of the market and corporate logics dealing with corporate clients and market competition embedded new practices and services into professional logic. Consequently, the legal profession is simultaneously guided by three competitive logics, which produces the synergetic effects to expand the legal profession rather than trade-off effects.

The competitive relationship between two logics received substantial attention in the literature; the cooperative or facilitative relationship was little examined in the context of professional work. Goodrick and Reay (2011) revealed that the relationship among multiple logics is the nonzero-sum and can be additive. The mechanism of institutional change in the U.S. legal profession can be identified as the symbiotic relationship with an emphasis on the changing relationship among multiple logics. While balancing or competing between the professional logic and the other logics, the relationship generates the synergetic effects of realms of legal practices represented by the categories in the law directory as the spill-over relationship rather than the

trade-off relationship. This affirms the symbiosis of multiple logics in the legal profession and illustrates how the influence of logics at the field level does not need to be competitive but can be additive and cooperative that produces the synergetic effects of the coexistence of multiple logics.

6.2. Categories of Legal Practices with Institutional Logics in Professional Work

Another contribution of this dissertation is to bridge the logics perspective with category studies. Although early category studies focused on the emergence and demise of categories, there has been little research to explain changes in categories within the historical and social contextualization (Durand and Thornton 2018). The combination of two theories, institutional logics, and category studies, can provide a better understanding of the historical process of institutionalization at the field level. More importantly, in professional fields, the mechanism of institutional change creates and legitimizes new categories, which allows scholars to analyze the formation of institutional logics based on the evolution of professionalism. Categorization entails the cognitive mechanism that social actors reflect their attentions and process of sensemaking in different ways (e.g., rhetorical narrative and agreement) by establishing the category system at the field level (Nigam and Ocasio 2010). Field level actors construct the category system by converging cognitive attention and consensus, mobilizing categories, and evaluating categories. On the other hand, the institutional logics perspective is drawn to account for the cultural and contextual variances across institutions. Despite the natural difference between two pieces of literature, this dissertation is an advance because it captures the change of legal professional views reflected in the symbiosis of coexisting multiple logics.

There is also a level of analysis difference between category studies and the institutional logics perspective. Recent research on category studies mostly consists of meso-level studies to examine the organizational level's cognitive mechanism as a sensemaking or action process (Jones, Maoret, Massa, and Svejenova 2012). On the contrary, the institutional logics perspective is a meta-theory that can be applied to cross-level, micro, and macro level analysis capturing the mechanism of institutional change (Durand and Thornton 2018). This dissertation adjusts the asymmetry of level differences by integrating the category studies into the macro-level analysis. Categories are products of the legal profession created by field-level actors' agreed cognition, which can play a role as a conduit in reflecting action guided by institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). This dissertation's results empirically connect the cognitive and social mechanisms of institutional change in the U.S. legal profession. The category studies can help measure changes in the formation of institutional logics, and expanding scope conditions of the two literature will advance theory growing.

Zuckerman's seminal study about categorical imperative contributed to founding category studies. However, it overgeneralized the categorical imperative (1999). Category studies are subject to historical and social contextualization, and the cognitive mechanisms vary with the difference of field-levels. Even in professional work, categories are differently contextualized by fields. For instance, the categories of legal services are differently formed and consumed from medical categories. Further, as the coexistence of logics changes over time, categories are differently recognized and mobilized by actors. Although Jones and her colleagues (2012) explored how the process of new category formation is associated with institutional logics, they did not focus on professional work and did not include the professional logic. This dissertation emphasizes the changing identification and process of categorization over time with field level

contextualization. This is a clear contribution by integrating two works of literature in the empirical setting of the legal profession. The empirical evidence reveals that the categorical imperative depends on the mechanism of institutional change reflected in the symbiosis of institutional logics, and this mechanism can vary by contexts and periods of time.

Many works on the category studies found evidence of category-spanning; however, it has been often examined by organizational ecologists in a particular empirical setting. This is one of the first attempts that empirically combine the two literatures related to the legal professional work. Since the institutional logics perspective is a meta-theory that encapsulates the heterogeneous institutional change, it needs to be integrated with other theories. In line with this reasoning, category studies can be an excellent theoretical partner that can capture institutional logics' cognitive mechanism. This dissertation's general approach provides implications for future research on how to identify the changing formation of institutional logics at the field level and reconcile different views between category studies and institutional logics by adjusting levels of analysis. Particularly, in other professional fields, the role identity has changed across practice areas and over time. By analyzing the change in professional role identity with the categorization process, the formation of institutional logics can be captured.

6.3. The Influence of Institutional Environments

This dissertation emphasizes that the U.S legal profession has been guided by the changing coexistence of logics rather than a single logic while the relationships among logics are reflected in categories of legal practices; the symbiosis of multiple institutional logics is recursively associated with changes in institutional environments, which affects the action and dynamics of legal professionals. Institutional logics do not only shape and guide social actors'

behaviors but also explain “who or what they are” as a set of constructed symbolic and material practices (Reay, Goodrick, Waldorff, and Casebeer 2017: 1046). Thus, the results reveal that the underlying institutional environments as inter and intra-professional factors have the effects on the changing forms of institutional logics; however, the effects of institutional environment vary on each logic. The growth in the legal profession with the numbers of law schools and lawyers as the expansion of intra-professional environments strengthens the frequency of the professional logic, whereas it weakens the frequency of the market logic. Although the relationship between market and professional logics was cooperative during the era of legitimizing professions, the relationship turns into competitive during the era of the formal profession. The changing relationships among multiple logics are affected by underlying institutional environments. Therefore, this study points to the importance of how the symbiosis of logics sustained and changed over time in accordance with intra and interprofessional environments.

Institutional environments represent the social context that narratively changes for lengthy periods of time. Changes in institutional environments can be gradually evolved in relation to insidious social change or can significantly change when historical events are triggered (Lounsbury 2007). According to neo-institutional theory, in professional fields, institutional change occurs in the way of normative isomorphism as professions homogenously change institutional environments (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Drawing on the institutional logics perspective as a meta-theory, this study provides the empirical evidence of how legal professionals’ attention reflected in categories evolves while being associated with environmental dynamics and social contexts. Intraprofesional tensions and interprofessional dynamics may affect the relationships among multiple logics, which recursively create new environments for the coexistence of logics to evolve further (Dunn and Jones 2010). In the case

of the U.S. legal profession, the changing nature of professionalism has been observed with the phenomenon of “deprofessionalization” or market-oriented professionalism (Besbris and Petre 2020), yet little is known about how multiple logics have been affected by the social context and environments.

One of the important contributions is that the study focused on heterogeneous and dynamic institutional environments associated with the changing coexistence of multiple logics and the moving attention of legal professions reflected in categories. Although other professional fields such as medical and pharmacy professions have been examined in this question (Schneiberg and Clemens 2006; Reay, Goodrick, Waldorff, and Casebeer 2017), this is the first attempt to examine the association between institutional environments and the symbiosis of logics in the legal profession. Further, this dissertation views the institutional environments as causes that affect institutional logics' formation rather than focusing on the consequences of change in institutional logics. Prior research investigated how institutional logics at the industry level affect organizational decisions (Thornton and Ocasio 1999). Even studies on the coexistence of multiple logics examined how two coexisting logics differently affect firm performance depending on geographic locations (Lounsbury 2007). As Scott (2008) argues that professionals are “the most influential crafters of an institution,” legal professionals expand and create new institutional environments. Although Scott’s argument is correct when viewing on one side of institutional change, it neglects to consider a larger institutional context. This dissertation reflects on Scott’s argument by revealing that institutional environments within the larger social context encompassing intra and interprofessional dimensions affect legal professions (e.g., lawyers and law firms) reflected in categorical change.

7. CONCLUSIONS

As noted earlier, this dissertation has focused on the symbiosis of multiple logics and the effects of institutional environments, in the historical case of the U.S. legal profession, and a link between institutional logics and categorization. As prior studies on the institutional logics perspective have shown, institutional logics carry historically different patterns depending on the societal eras of legitimation, rationalization, and marketization of the legal profession, and logics can, in turn, be reflected in the categories of legal practices. As shown in this dissertation, the coexistence of multiple institutional logics can be affected by macro-level factors derived from internal and external environments of the legal profession, which leads each logic to compete or cooperate with each other. Bridging the coexistence of multiple logics to the category studies can have implications for important outcomes at the field level professional work, such as the changing professional role identity, the expansion of categorical spanning by disrupting professional boundaries, and collective cognitive attention and behaviors of professionals concerning the coexistence of multiple logics. This approach justifies theorizing that the categories of professional work can play a role as agents in embedding dynamic social and historical contexts in the legal service, which allows multiple logics to simultaneously coexist by competing and cooperating with each other as the symbiosis of the legal professional field. My strategy for exploring the research questions has been empirically addressed in two parts: 1) historical time-series analysis with the archival data identifying the coexistence of multiple logics and 2) regression models examining the effects of institutional environments on the frequency of each logic. However, this dissertation contains some limitations. First, since there has been no standard procedure for the classification of categories, it was difficult to identify the

categories that are the elements of each logic. To date, there was no empirical studies that link the institutional logics perspective to the category studies in field level professional work. Hence, the procedure used to classify categories, appearing in the *Martindale Hubbell Law Directory*, for each institutional logic might provide some advantages to future research. Second, the second part of the empirical analysis includes the small number of observations from 1948 to 2011 because all independent variables as proxies for institutional environments were not found due to limited accessibility. By lowering the level of analysis to the state-level or law firm level, the quantitative analysis can increase the number of observations for future research.

Despite these limitations, this dissertation opens future research questions and is expected to expand the body of literature to other institutional contexts, which allows scholars to examine the symbiosis of multiple logics in other professional fields. Although the institutional logics perspective received significant attention from scholars as an alternative approach to neo-institutional theory, it has been difficult to conceptualize and measure the frequency of institutional logics in different empirical settings. By linking the logics perspective as a meta-theory to category studies as an analytical theory, future research can benefit to more clearly conceptualize and measure institutional logics at the field and organizational levels. More importantly, this dissertation also provides evidence of the symbiosis of multiple coexisting logics. Although it seems that the incursion of market and corporate logics into the professional fields is salient for now, it might be just a snapshot of the current circumstance. In considering the historical contextualization, multiple logics that have simultaneously coexisted have collectively guided and shaped legal professionals' action. For future research, it should be noted that how the symbiosis of multiple logics in professional work can turn out to be affecting other institutions, which can result in either positive or adverse outcomes.

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APPENDIX A

Table 11. Number of Categories in the Legal Profession from *Martindale* and *Hubbell* Law Directories, 1870-1930 (For Figure 2)

Year	Number of categories				
	Total	Professional logic	State logic	Market logic	Corporate logic
1870	3	3	1	2	0
1871	5	5	2	3	1
1872	7	7	3	4	2
1873	7	7	3	4	2
1874	11	11	3	8	5
1875	8	8	3	5	2
1876	13	13	4	9	7
1877	13	13	4	10	8
1878	8	8	3	5	2
1879	8	8	3	5	2
1880	8	8	3	5	2
1881	10	10	4	7	3
1882	10	10	4	7	3
1883	10	10	4	7	3
1884	10	10	4	7	3
1885	25	25	8	17	11
1886	10	10	4	7	3
1887	14	14	5	8	3
1888	12	12	6	8	3
1889	12	12	6	8	3
1890	25	23	10	14	4
1891			missing		
1892	21	18	9	11	5
1893	26	23	10	13	5
1894	26	23	22	13	5
1895	20	17	9	10	5
1896	34	30	13	15	5
1897	38	35	26	17	6
1898	40	36	26	18	6
1899	41	36	26	18	6
1900	41	36	26	18	6
1901	42	36	28	18	6
1902	43	37	29	19	6
1903	43	36	29	19	6

Table 11. Continued

Year	Number of categories				
	Total	Professional logic	State logic	Market logic	Corporate logic
1904	25	21	21	9	1
1905	44	36	29	19	6
1906	46	36	29	20	6
1907	45	36	29	20	6
1908	45	36	29	20	6
1909	47	36	29	21	6
1910	47	36	30	21	6
1911	50	38	32	22	6
1912	52	38	32	22	6
1913	57	43	36	24	7
1914	59	45	38	25	7
1915	56	42	37	23	6
1916	66	42	38	22	5
1917	67	42	37	21	5
1918	70	43	38	22	5
1919	70	43	38	22	5
1920	70	43	38	22	6
1921	70	43	38	22	6
1922	73	43	39	22	6
1923	72	43	39	22	6
1924	76	47	37	25	10
1925	77	47	37	25	10
1926	77	47	37	25	10
1927	75	47	37	26	11
1928	78	48	38	28	12
1929	79	49	38	29	13
1930	62	43	32	27	12

Table 12. Number of Categories in the Legal Profession from the *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 1931-2011 (For Figure 7)

Year	Number of categories				
	Total	Professional logic	State logic	Market logic	Corporate logic
1931	9	9	1	4	1
1932	9	9	1	4	1
1933	9	9	1	4	1
1934	9	9	1	4	1
1935	10	9	2	4	2
1936	8	8	1	3	1
1937	10	9	2	4	2
1938	10	9	2	4	2
1939	10	9	2	4	2
1940	10	9	2	4	2
1941	10	9	2	4	2
1942	11	9	3	4	2
1943	21	15	5	15	8
1944	13	10	4	6	3
1945	13	10	4	6	3
1946	12	10	3	5	2
1947	12	10	3	5	2
1948	12	10	3	5	2
1949	13	11	3	6	3
1950	15	12	3	8	5
1951	16	10	5	7	4
1952	16	10	5	7	4
1953	17	11	5	8	5
1954	17	11	5	8	5
1955	17	10	5	8	5
1956	17	10	5	8	5
1957	17	10	5	8	5
1958	17	10	5	8	5
1959	18	11	6	8	5
1960	18	11	6	8	5
1961	18	11	6	8	5
1962	18	11	6	8	5
1963	18	11	6	8	5
1964	18	12	5	9	6
1965	18	12	5	9	6
1966	18	12	5	9	6

Table 12. Continued

Year	Number of categories				
	Total	Professional logic	State logic	Market logic	Corporate logic
1967	18	12	5	9	6
1968	18	12	5	9	6
1969	18	11	5	9	6
1970	19	12	5	10	7
1971	19	13	5	10	6
1972	19	13	5	10	6
1973	18	11	6	11	7
1974	18	11	6	11	7
1975	18	11	6	11	7
1976	18	11	6	11	7
1977	18	10	6	11	7
1978	18	10	6	11	7
1979	18	10	6	11	7
1980	18	10	6	11	7
1981	16	8	5	11	7
1982	16	8	5	11	7
1983	17	8	6	12	9
1984	17	8	6	12	9
1985	19	9	7	14	11
1986	19	8	6	13	12
1987	19	8	6	13	12
1988	19	8	6	13	12
1989	20	9	7	14	13
1990	20	9	7	14	13
1991	20	9	7	14	13
1992	22	11	7	16	13
1993	22	11	7	16	13
1994	22	11	6	16	12
1995	22	11	6	16	12
1996	22	11	6	16	12
1997	22	11	6	16	12
1998	22	11	6	16	12
1999	22	11	6	16	12
2000	23	11	6	17	13
2001	23	11	6	17	13
2002	23	10	4	17	14
2003	23	10	4	17	14
2004	23	10	4	17	14

Table 12. Continued

Year	Number of categories				
	Total	Professional logic	State logic	Market logic	Corporate logic
2005	23	10	4	17	14
2006	23	10	4	17	14
2007	23	10	4	17	15
2008	23	10	4	17	15
2009	23	10	4	17	15
2010	23	10	4	17	15
2011	23	9	4	16	14