Confused Professionals?: Capacities to cope with pressures on professional work

Carina Schott, Daphne van Kleef & Mirko Noordegraaf

Abstract

Public professionalism is increasingly subject to organizational and societal pressures, which has led to ambiguity concerning its nature. Professionals face conflicting situations due to potential clashes between multifaceted professional, organizational, and societal factors. This raises questions about how these factors affect professional work, how professionals experience conflicts and how they cope. We investigate such conflicts, confusion, and coping strategies in a group of veterinary inspectors. Using semistructured interviews, we analyse their work and link the resulting insights to different perspectives on professionalism. We show that workers experience conflicts as less stressful when they accept organizational factors, or when they are able to enact a more integrated set of professional/organizational work principles. We call this organizing professionalism. We trace factors that hinder and favour such organizing coping strategies.

CONFUSED PROFESSIONALS?

Capacities to cope with pressures on professional work

Carina Schott, Daphne van Kleef and Mirko Noordegraaf

Carina Schott
Institute of Public Administration
Leiden University
Den Haag
The Netherlands
E-mail: c.schott@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Daphne van Kleef
Institute of Public Administration
Leiden University
Den Haag
The Netherlands
E-mail: d.d.van.kleef@cdh.leidenuniv.nl

Mirko Noordegraaf
Utrecht School of Governance
Utrecht University
Utrecht
The Netherlands
E-mail: M.Noordegraaf@uu.nl

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have discussed the state of public professionalism (e.g. Broadbent, Dietrich, and Roberts 1997; Duyvendak, Knijn, and Kremer 2006; Freidson 2001; Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd, and Walker 2005; Noordegraaf 2013; Noordegraaf and Steijn 2013). Ideas on what professionalism entails are shifting due to organizational and social changes such as technological advancement, increasing knowledge intensity, the introduction of new public management (NPM), increased public attention, demographic changes, and changing work preferences (e.g. Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008; Noordegraaf 2007, 2011, 13). Instead of embodying specialized theoretical knowledge, status, and autonomy, as defined by the sociology of professionalism, professionalism is now perceived as being embedded in broader organizational and societal contexts. The influence of organizations on professionals is emerging as a particularly important aspect of professionalism (e.g. Evetts 2011; Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011; Muzio, Ackroyd, and Chanlat 2007). At the same time, it is commonly held that occupational and professional principles and organizational factors conflict (e.g. Lipsky 1980; Raelin 1986; Freidson 2001; Reay and Hinings 2009). This raises questions on the interrelatedness of organizational and occupational principles, as well as on professionals' experiences of (actual or potential) tensions and pressures between these principles (e.g. Noordegraaf and Steijn 2013).

Several approaches can be discerned, including 'new' ones that interpret (or reinterpret) classical sociological approaches to professionalism, namely: *occupational professionalism* (e.g. Freidson 2001), *organizational professionalism* (e.g. Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008; Evetts 2009), and *hybridized professionalism* (e.g. Kurunmäki 2004; Noordegraaf 2007; Kurunmäki and Miller 2004; Kirkpatrick and Noordegraaf 2015). They provide possible – but differing – answers to the questions of how multiple principles affect professional work. They vary with regard to the question of how organizational and professional principles interact within the broader concept of public professionalism. However, these different types of professionalism do not provide a sufficient answer to the question of how public professionals *experience* these conflicting principles in and around their work, and what coping strategies they employ.

We examine these questions in the case of Dutch veterinary inspectors employed by The Netherlands Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority *Nederlandse Voedsel-en Waren Autoriteit* (NVWA). The NVWA is in charge of monitoring food and consumer products to protect public health and animal welfare. In those parts of production chains in which living animals are involved, veterinary inspectors are responsible for inspecting and safeguarding the standards of public health, animal health, and animal welfare. Veterinary inspectors constitute a critical case for a study on changing forms of professionalism. Veterinary inspectors are both trained veterinarians and trained inspectors. They are classic professionals with strong professional norms that they have

internalized during their long academic education, and they work for a large organization and must comply with organizational objectives and standards. In other words, the profession of veterinary inspectors is almost by definition *confused*: the profession incorporates different conflicting (or potentially conflicting) principles, which may cause tensions and pressures. Moreover, veterinary inspectors are also affected by an increasing number of societal forces, such as public scrutiny of their work, and demographic changes in the work force.

The point of departure for the present study is not only to clarify today's state of professionalism by addressing the question of how multiple work principles interact (cf. Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011). We also focus on the implications for how professionals experience their work, that is, how public professionals deal with pressures resulting from multiple and conflicting principles. This paper focuses on the following research question:

> How can veterinary inspectors' professionalism be understood in terms of potentially conflicting work principles, and how does this affect the way in which they experience and deal with work pressures?

This central question includes several sub-questions. Are professional principles (occupational professionalism) or organizational principles (organizational professionalism) dominant for veterinary inspectors, or do these two forms of professionalism coexist (hybridized professionalism)? How do veterinary inspectors cope with the conflicts resulting from the multiplicity of factors and forces that operate within the public sector? Is it the case, as some have argued (Noordegraaf 2011, 2013), that 'new' work principles are appearing that integrate professional, organizational, and societal principles? Empirical knowledge can contribute to the current debate on 'professionalism in context' by providing evidence on how organizational and occupational principles are related in daily practice. However, this research also goes one step further. We analyse how individuals experience their work and potential work pressures, in times when broader societal dynamics rather than mere organizational forces affect the work of public service professionals.

This article consists of the following sections. First, we discuss how increasing organizational and societal changes and pressures have weakened traditional sociological images of professionalism. Second, we elaborate three approaches to professionalism that illustrate different responses to outside pressures on professionalism; they present views upon how occupational and organizational principles interact. Third, after explaining our focus on veterinary inspectors, we briefly describe our methods and analysis. Fourth, we provide a description of our main findings; we show how the various forces and factors affect day-to-day work; how veterinary inspectors experience work pressures; how inspectors deal with these pressures. Finally, we discuss our findings and draw conclusions.

CHANGING PROFESSIONALISM: PROFESSIONALISM IN CONTEXT

Traditionally, professionalism is perceived as the collective control of specialized theoretical knowledge, applied to specific cases, based upon institutionalized procedures and ways of working, as well as socialized professional norms and values (e.g. Abbott 1988; Elliot 1972; Freidson 2001). Professionals are granted autonomy in order to apply their (tacit) knowledge to complex cases (Evetts 2003; Freidson 1994), whilst their professional behaviour is socialized, supervised, and sanctioned within and by the professional group. Professional associations are formed to regulate professional practice by transmitting practical skills, theoretical knowledge, and self-defined codes of conduct; this results in predominantly uniform professional behaviour. From this perspective, medicine, engineering and law are clear and classic examples of 'true' professions (e.g. Krause 1996). Other scholars use the concept 'professionalism' in a less restrictive manner (e.g. Adler and Kwon 2013; Andersen and Pedersen 2012; Moore 1970). Andersen and Pedersen (2012), for example, claim that professionalism needs to be seen as a comparative occupational variable. They argue that university lecturers have a higher level of professionalism than secondary school teachers, who in turn have a higher level of professionalism than primary school teachers.

Unfortunately, this sociological approach to professionalism pays little attention to the notion that professionalism cannot be detached from its context, even though 'most professional activity now takes place in organizational settings' (Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011, 390) and 'organizational capacities' are called for, 'also inside professional domains' (Noordegraaf 2011, 1349). Seen in this light, the classic perspective on professionalism is rather one-dimensional. Changing circumstances mean that classic characteristics of professionalism, such as technical knowledge, autonomy, and professional norms and values (professional principles) are subjected to many pressures (e.g. Noordegraaf and Steijn 2013; also Adler and Kwon 2013). They are no longer self-evident and are therefore no longer sufficient for defining professionalism. In studying what professionalism means today, therefore, we also need to consider organizational and societal factors.

One area in which this is evident is general medical practice. Physicians, who used to be solo practitioners or the owners of small-scale specialized practices, now often work in large hospital settings, together with many colleagues (e.g. Scott et al. 2000). Another example is the rise of large organizations such as mega-law firms and the Big 4 accountancy firms (Cooper and Robinson 2006). Such developments mean that instead of being their own boss and having a lot of autonomy, today's professionals often work in large-scale organizations that apply more business-like management techniques, especially since the introduction of NPM in the public sector in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In particular, these organizations introduced 'cost control; targets; indicators; quality models; market mechanisms, prices, and competition' (Noordegraaf 2007, 765) in order to increase effectiveness and efficiency, and reduce cost. In fact, today's professionals may well work in 'managed professional businesses'

(e.g. Brock, Powel, and Hinings 1999), or transnational 'professional service firms' (e.g. Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008; Von Nordenflycht 2010). As professionals have a history of autonomy and discretion, external mechanisms of control are likely to provoke tensions and conflicts. An additional threat to traditional images of professionalism comes from the fact that the omnipresence of competing claims in and around organizational practices and methods puts pressure on professional legitimacy (Sander and Harrison 2008). Groups of experts, for example, might agree on the best approach for preventing and curing cancer, but other groups might have developed new and more diverse treatments.

In addition to organizational forces, societal changes such as changing levels of education and the increased transparency and accessibility of information also impinge on 'classic' forms of professionalism (e.g. Adler and Kwon 2013; Brint 2015). The more highly educated consumers become, the more easily they can access information for themselves and the more critical and demanding they become, resulting in resistance against professional authority. Changes in the demographic composition of the workforce, including a changing gender distribution, provide another challenge to professionalism. Such changes influence both the work preferences and career patterns of professionals (e.g. Leicht and Fennel 2001), which generates more fragmented professional domains (e.g. Noordegraaf 2013).

In sum, organizational as well as societal pressures make it necessary to develop new perspectives on professionalism as classical characteristics of the sociology of professionalism are hollowed out. These developments raise questions about how professionals experience and cope with possibly conflicting societal and organizational forces. In the following paragraphs, we discuss three different approaches to professionalism: *occupational professionalism, organizational professionalism*, and *hybridized professionalism*.

CLASHING PRINCIPLES: PERSPECTIVES ON PROFESSIONALISM

The growing number of changes in the contexts in which professionals find themselves shows that organizational and societal pressures cannot be detached from professionalism, and that we need to consider these pressures in studying professionalism. However, it is commonly held that professional and organizational principles conflict in many situations (e.g. Lipsky 1980; Raelin 1986; Cooper and Robson 2006). The idea of multiple, possibly conflicting principles is not only a topic in the field of 'professionalism in context'; it is also frequently studied by institutionalists, who view these principles as fundamental and conflicting 'logics' (e.g. Frieland and Alford 1991; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Thornton, Jones, and Kury 2005; Reay and Hinings 2009). Reay and Hinings (2009) point out that the logic of business-like health care introduced by organizations – such as cost-effective treatment and lowest cost providers – competes with the logic of medical professionalism, which emphasizes professional

knowledge and values as behavioural guidelines. In a four-year study on the UK Health Service System, Currie and Guah (2007) found that the introduction of the national programme for information technology (NPfIT) failed to become institutionalized. The authors argued that this resulted from conflicting forces in the mobilization, interpretation, and legitimation of the NPfIT. Other scholars have been less sceptical about the compatibility of organizational and professional principles. Adler and Kwon (2013) argue, for example, that the successful adoption of innovative practices depends on questions about whether the innovation has already been adopted by peers elsewhere.

This raises questions concerning the interrelatedness and compatibility of professional and organizational principles and, related to this, possible problems of identification and action for the individual. Such aspects are frequently studied in psychology and sociology, with an emphasis on *identity*, including professional *role identity* (e.g. Burke and Stets 2009) and *nested identities* (Spyridonidid, Hendy, and Barlow, forthcoming), as well as professional *coping* (e.g. Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2012). When multiple competing logics and principles are at stake in changing settings, they can trigger conflicts and/or generate new accounts for activity (Owen-Smith and Powel 2008). Conflicts might generate stress and a lack of well-being (e.g. van Horn et al. 2004; Schaufeli et al. 2009) as well as a lack of 'empowered' coping, that is, powerlessness and alienation (e.g. Tummers 2013). In this section, we will elaborate three different interpretations of the classical, sociological approach to professionalism (occupational professionalism, organizational professionalism, hybridized professionalism). They vary with regard to the question of how professional and organizational principles interact in organizational and societal contexts.

Occupational professionalism

A first reaction to safeguard professionalism in times of contextual change is to return to more 'purified' forms of professionalism. This implies criticism of extending the notion of professionalism beyond the field of the 'true' professions. So-called 'new' professions, such as education, social work, or policing are denigrated because they lack substantive content and institutional control (Noordegraaf 2007). Only those who directly render services to clients are viewed as professionals, and not those who support the rendering of services (e.g. consultants, managers, auditors). Purified professionalism fits well into the school in the research literature that focuses on *occupational professionalism*. Professionalism as an 'occupational principle' (cf. Freidson 1994), as well as an occupational value, can be interpreted as a distinctive way of organizing and controlling professional work and professionals that have genuine advantages for both, professionals themselves and their clients (Elliot 1972; Freidson 1983). Freidson (2001) uses the term 'third logic' in arguing that, in comparison with consumerism and bureaucracy, professionalism is an ideal mechanism of control for

complex services in the public sector: it is believed not to standardize working procedures and therefore not to demotivate professionals. Similarly, Fournier (1999) points out 'that the appeal to the discursive resources of professionalism in new occupational domains potentially acts as a disciplinary mechanism that serves to profess "appropriate" work identities and conducts' (280). As working conditions, professional objectives, and standards are assumed to be set by professionals themselves, this view of professionalism represents a bottom-up approach.

Organizational professionalism

A second approach to professionalism in the light of modern knowledge societies is *organizational professionalism* (Clarke and Newman 1997; Larson 1977). Organizational and commercial logics are used to promote and facilitate occupational change and to assure appropriate behaviours on the part of professionals. It is not professional values and principles, but organizational objectives that define client-practitioner relations and set achievement targets and performance indicators. In other words, professionalism is depicted as a top-down strategy that can be used instrumentally by organizations to control professionals. Professional service firms become 'significant actors' as well as 'sites' of professional control and regulation (Suddaby, Cooper, and Greenwood 2007). This perspective can be linked to debates on professional service firms (e.g. Greenwood and Suddaby 2006; Von Nordenflycht 2010), in which professional services are embedded within corporate organizational structures and principles. Large corporations increasingly emerge as primary loci of professionalization. They increasingly activate and secure professional values, objectives, and rewards connected with professionalization through organizational structures, strategies and reward systems (see also e.g. Brivot 2011). However, the organizational pressures on professionalism might be less radical than many assume. Ackroyd et al. (2007), for example, argue that the effect of organizational pressure depends on the degree of professionalization and on the values that are central to the profession. Occupations that are 'commercialized' and have a low degree of professionalization are more likely to accommodate organizational objectives than strongly professionalized occupations in which professional values are associated with 'a social service ethos'.

Hybridized professionalism

Third, there is an increasing number of scholars who take a more integrative approach to professionalism (Adler and Kwon 2013; Cooper and Robson 2006; Faulconbridge and Muzio 2008; Gleeson and Knights 2006). Professional control is no longer seen as either bottom-up agency by professionals, or top-down strategy by managers. Instead,

professionalism is seen as the co-product of both parties being involved. The distinction between managerialism versus professionalism, or the debate about occupational professionalism versus organizational, becomes blurred. Faulconbridge and Muzio (2008), for example, focus on the interconnection between different mechanisms of organizational and occupational control through the concept of *occupational or organizational professionalism*. Others focus on *hybridized professionalism*. Reay and Hinings (2009) identify four strategies for managing conflicting work logics that make it possible for rivalry logics to coexist.

Noordegraaf (2011, 2013) goes one step further. The author introduces the concept of *organizing professionalism*, pointing out that these 'new' hybrid capacities and skills become crucial aspects of professionalism, as they are necessary to be able to react to contextual changes in an appropriate way. Especially in situations where there is a lot of media attention, these capacities are indispensable for mastering difficulties. Learning and cooperative skills become more important, too, because multifaceted problems require solutions that can only be provided by multi-disciplinary and multi-agency teams. In addition, professionals must establish standards that go beyond rendering effective and efficient services, linking professional practices to organizational objectives, as well as to broader social and economic developments, in order to strengthen the viability and legitimacy of professional services.

CASE SELECTION

As mentioned earlier, veterinary inspectors – who are employed by the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority[1] NVWA – provide a critical case in the context of 'professionalism in context'.

First, both organizational and societal contexts of veterinary inspectors are changing. The government-wide ambition to cut costs by reducing administrative costs and moving towards more self-regulation directly affects the work processes of the NVWA. By introducing what is known as a 'surveillance vacation' for organizations that can prove solid self-regulation, the NVWA aims to increase self-regulation and reduce direct control (Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport 2008). In order to reduce administrative costs and increase efficiency, the NVWA has gone through a number of major reorganizations over the last decade.

Veterinary inspectors work in an increasingly demanding environment. When a food scare or animal welfare scandal erupts, media and political attention for their work puts a lot of pressure on their authority. Public reactions to the outbreaks of animal diseases such as mad cow disease (in the 1980s and 1990s), foot-and-mouth disease (early twenty-first century), Q-fever in goats, and more recently the scandal of dioxin-contaminated eggs in Germany, for example, prompt public scrutiny of the work of veterinary inspectors.

A remarkable societal change that has affected traditional types of professionalism is related to the gender composition of first-year veterinary medicine students. In the past, veterinary medicine was a male-dominated discipline. By 1990, the gender composition had become equal, and over 80 per cent of first-year students are now female. The consequences of this demographic development – which include a demand for more flexible working hours and part-time jobs – were the key subject of the 2013 annual symposium of the Dutch Professional Association of Veterinary Medicine *Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Dierengeneeskunde* (KNMvD). An additional reason why veterinary inspectors constitute a critical case arises from the fact that they are trained veterinarians (academic degree) and inspectors (expertise-based public servants) at the same time. They are classic professionals, with strong professional norms and principles internalized during their long academic education, whilst at the same time being public servants who work for a large public organization in a position that requires them to comply with the organizational guidelines and objectives.
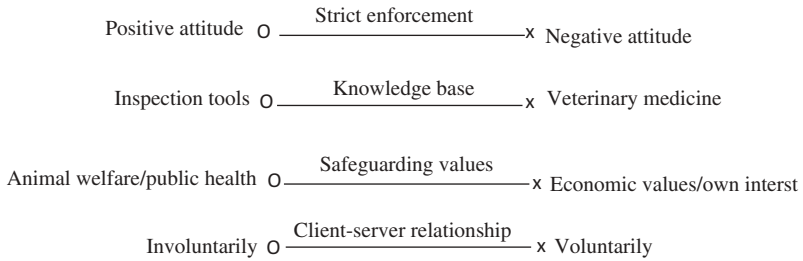
A crucial component of the task of the NVWA, as a government inspectorate, is the strict and consistent enforcement of rules as a means to protect its core values – public health and animal health/welfare – and manage potential risks for society. The importance of rule enforcement is reflected, for example, in the NVWA's training programme, which lays a strong emphasis on the theory and practice of enforcement and behavioural skills and aims to increase uniform enforcement among veterinary inspectors (Vanthemsche et al. 2011). However, this is not enough to make a good inspector. Good inspectors need to be able to distinguish serious from less serious violations of rules and to focus their efforts on the former (Bardach and Kagan 2006). In other words, they need to be reasonable and selective. In addition, a good inspector has to possess 'sufficient scientific knowledge and understanding of the law to enable his citations to stand up in court' (Bardach and Kagan 2006, 127). Other important characteristics of good inspectors include communication skills and the ability to get along with different types of people in order to ensure rule compliance without using legal sanctions. Inspectors who do not have these skills are more likely to foster non-cooperative attitudes among the people being regulated. Mertens (2011) uses several evaluation reports of major incidents in the Netherlands to describe the development of good government monitoring. To be considered trustworthy, inspectors must be coherent and consistent towards the individuals they are inspecting. In the same vein, it is important that they work transparently and demonstrate their independence.

All veterinarians are 'part of one single profession that is governed by – at least on a national level – a central professional body that sets down the codes of ethics and professional conduct to which all veterinarians are expected to adhere' (Swaabe 1999, 113). These professional principles, established by the KNMvD, relate to animals, animal owners, and society at large (Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschapij voor Dierengeneeskunde 2010). This raises the question of where veterinarians' responsibilities lie and how they view their professional role (de Graaf 2003, 2005). Does their loyalty lie with the animals in their care, or with the owner who pays the bills? The question is salient as the interests of animals

and animal owners do not always coincide (Porter 1989); neither do the interests of veterinarians themselves (Tannenbaum 1985). By means of discourse analysis, de Graaf (2003) shows that veterinarians consider the interests of both animals and animal owners in their daily practice. These findings do not come as a surprise; after all, the curriculum of the study veterinary medicine focuses on animals and their owners. In addition to their medical and clinical training, students also attend courses on the economic aspects of farming and the social responsibility of veterinarians. This multifaceted curriculum is also reflected in public opinion on the qualities a veterinarian should possess. A good veterinarian is considered to be somebody who has strong business and communication skills, who is compassionate towards animals and their owners, who possesses a thorough knowledge of veterinary medicine, and who is able to remain calm and respond swiftly in an emergency.

If we compare these professional principles with the organizational principles of the NVWA outlined above, we see some overlap. Good communication skills, a high level of technical knowledge, and the ability to respond to the environment seem to be important for both. However, tensions also emerge between the professional and organizational norms, and this could give rise to pressures. Veterinarians have several clients, so they are obliged to serve various interests: those of animals, of animal owners, and of society at large, as well as economic interests, and, last but not the least, their own interests. The inspector's job, in contrast, involves managing and reducing risks for primarily 'one' stakeholder: society at large. Moreover, the client-server relation is very different for veterinarians and inspectors. As Patterson (1998) suggests, as a customer one is typically in a voluntary relation, but dealings with bureaucracies are often non-voluntary. Rather than benefiting their 'clients', the work of inspectors entails disadvantages for the people they have dealings with (Alford and Speed 2006). It is the inspector's task to enforce laws and regulations even if she or he encounters resistance. Veterinarians, in contrast, are voluntarily called in by animal owners, who are often willing to pay large amounts of money for their animals. This means that inspectors often experience resistance and low levels of appreciation, while veterinarians enjoy high social standing and a great deal of interest in their work. Figure 1 provides a schematic overview of the opposing work principles of veterinarians and veterinary inspectors.

To summarize: it is inherent to the work of veterinary inspectors that they are frequently confronted with tensions between their professional principles as veterinarians and the organizational guidelines emphasized by the NVWA. Organizational forces focus on consistent rule enforcement in order to reduce risks for society at large, whereas the principles of veterinarians are directed towards many different interests (e.g. interest of animals, animal owners, and society at large, as well as economic interests). For this reason, the case of veterinary inspectors provides an excellent opportunity to increase our knowledge concerning the question on (a) how intensified and multiplied organizational and societal forces interact with professional principles and (b) how this interaction affects the way professionals within large organizations experience and deal with work pressures.

Positive attitude O ————— Strict enforcement ————— x Negative attitude

Inspection tools O ————— Knowledge base ————— x Veterinary medicine

Animal welfare/public health O ————— Safeguarding values ————— x Economic values/own interst

Involuntarily O ————— Client-server relationship ————— x Voluntarily

X Veterinarian **O** Veterinary inspector

Figure 1: Schematic overview of (adverse) work principles of veterinarians and veterinary inspectors

SAMPLE, METHOD AND ANALYSIS

In seeking to answer the central research question 'How can veterinary inspectors' professionalism be understood in terms of potentially conflicting work principles, and how does this affect the way in which they experience and deal with work pressures?' we held interviews with 38 veterinary inspectors. Interviews are an effective research method for studying possible differences in the dominance of organizational and professional principles and experiences of tensions that might accompany conflicts between them (Boeije 2010). They provide deeper insights into individual perceptions that lead to actual behaviour, and the level of work-related pressures and distress experienced. The respondents of the interviews were selected by the organization on the basis of age, gender, tenure, and team.[2] Most of the semi-structured interviews were conducted by the first and second author of this study together. On average they lasted an hour. After they were recorded, the interviews were transcribed, anonymized, coded using MAXQDA, and analysed. The coding process for the interviews was based on the theoretical description of the logic of veterinary medicine and organizational principles of inspection services as outlined above. Our strategy for analysing the interviews consisted of three steps. First and foremost, relevant work situations or incidents were identified: situations that potentially represented conflicts between professional and organizational principles. The central question here was 'What situations do you find difficult in your work?' Second, we analysed how individuals handled these specific situations. If respondents were not clear about how they acted in situations of conflict, we asked follow-up questions such as 'How did you handle this situation?' or 'What did you base your decisions on?' We classified the perceptions of veterinary inspectors as either in line with professional values and norms or with organizational rules and objectives. Accordingly, respondents who indicated that they were service-oriented, who deviated from rules in order to come up with more pragmatic solutions, and whose decisions were strongly driven by specialized knowledge of veterinary medicine were coded as occupational professionals. Respondents who – in situations of conflict –

consistently complied with strict rule enforcement, saw rules and regulations as their primary knowledge base, and were driven by a desire to safeguard the core values of the NVWA (public health and animal health) – were categorized as organizational professionals. If perceptions were based on both principles, we coded the respondents in question as occupational/organizational professionals. It should be noted that the analysis was based on the perceptions of individuals. This does not exclude the possibility that veterinary inspectors may rely on professional norms in one situation and organizational principles in others. In the third step of the analysis, we re-read the coded fragments of the interviews. By assessing how the veterinary inspectors perceived situations of conflict, we analysed whether and to what extent those who were categorized as belonging to the different types of professionalism felt pressurized. We focused on signs of uneasiness, distress, and also positive feelings. The Appendix contains a list of all topics addressed in the interviews (Table A2) and a coding scheme (Table A3).

RESULTS

On the basis of the interviews, seventy-five situations could be distinguished in which participants were confronted with a conflict between organizational and professionals principles. The different perceptions deduced from these situations could be classified into three categories: participants who indicated that they followed the norms and values of veterinary medicine (occupational professionalism, twenty considerations); those who complied with the guidelines of inspection services (organizational professionalism, twenty-five considerations); and those who combined arguments from both work principles (occupational/organizational professionalism, thirty considerations). This latter group of participants, rather than being guided by the professional code of conduct of veterinarians or by organizational rules and objectives, seemed to follow a combination of both work principles. In this section, we describe the three categories separately.

Occupational professionalism: The principles of veterinary medicine

There were many difficult situations in which veterinary inspectors tended to focus on the principles of veterinary medicine. This affiliation expressed itself in a more service-oriented attitude towards those inspected, which might originate from the fact that traditionally veterinarians are dependent on their clients for generating income. Since most veterinary inspectors have formerly been self-employed, they can empathize with the economic struggles of farmers and slaughterhouses as entrepreneurs.

> [T]hese are cases were you indeed want to make a penalty report, but then you hear the story of the conveyer, and then you think 'oh ok'. (*R33*)

Moreover, many veterinary inspectors in this category seemed to be more 'flexible' with respect to strict rule enforcement, and to pay less attention to formal procedures and rules. They focused more on pragmatic solutions. This could be explained by the nature of their original profession (the veterinarian profession). Veterinarians often have to work in difficult circumstances with no back-up, which calls for pragmatic and creative stances. Consequently, they may pay less attention to formal procedures.

> [F]or example, if you are at a slaughterhouse at night-time to do the inspection [of arriving animals] … there is no slaughtering …(..).. if there are animals with bad bone fractures ..(..)… officially these animals have to be slaughtered within two hours. However, I do not do that. I separate the crippled animal neatly from the rest. And there they are. The next day at 7 o'clock they will be slaughtered first. This is not according to the rules, but I say: 'We are not going 125 mph here!' The animals lie calmly …(..).. lie well, in no pain. (*R1*)

We also see that where veterinary inspectors do deviate from rules and procedures in difficult situations, they build an argument on the basis of the principles of veterinary medicine. This is best illustrated by the example of a veterinary inspector who encountered a cow with an abscess that was so heavy that – on the basis of formal work directives – the cattle should have been rejected right away. In first instance, that was exactly what the inspector was planning to do. Under pressure of the animal's owner, however, he decided to examine the animal. This decision was based on the fact that he knew that eating the bad parts of this animal would not endanger public health, but only affected the quality of the meat. In the end, the veterinary inspector changed his decision and passed the rear end of the animal, while rejecting its midsection. This example illustrates that some veterinary inspectors are more susceptible to the influence of those inspected and are primarily guided by their specific knowledge of veterinary medicine. It could be argued that this flexible interpretation of rules is made possible by the fact that veterinary inspectors consider one specific case at a time. In contrast, directives have to cover all possible situations, which leaves less room for exceptions. In order to be sure that following the directive does not lead to dangerous situations, the veterinary inspectors indicated that they calculate a safety range.

Organizational professionalism: The principles of inspection services

Many situations could also be identified where veterinary inspectors showed more commitment to the guidelines of the inspection services. The data showed that in this group the focus in situations in need of a decision was clearly on how to enforce the rules and regulations. Veterinary inspectors stressed the systematic way

in which this should be done and seemed to be very meticulous about gathering the evidence needed to enforce the rules. Furthermore, it emerged that they were less sensitive to the negative consequences for those inspected that resulted from negative test results.

> [T]hat's not my problem! And then you tell them: Fix it! They are not allowed to leave the property, which clearly entailed costs for them. So what?! (*R11*)

There seem to be two main reasons that make veterinary inspectors more committed to organizational principles. For one group of inspectors, the reason seems to be situation-dependent. For example, respondents expressed that they were strict enforcers of rules and regulations in situations that involved inspectees who had proved difficult in the past, or in situations involving extreme risks for public health and animal suffering caused by the drive for economic gain.

> [O]nce I thought the chickens were not dead yet [before the feathers were removed] … I stopped the process because I thought they needed to be stunned in a proper way …(…..)… in the end it turned out that I was wrong. (*R 38*)

Second, some inspectors indicated that strict enforcement is a 'core trait' of veterinary inspectors. For this latter group of veterinary inspectors, it did not matter whether there were extreme circumstances that called for extreme measures. They reported that they enforced rules and regulations strictly, regardless of whether the core values of the NVWA (public health, animal welfare) were at risk or not.

> [A]n animal always has to be seen by an veterinary inspector [before it is slaughtered]. If that's not the case, you have to reject it. Again, enforce the rules in a very strict fashion! (*R18*)

> [A]t such a moment, I'm very willing to enforce. That's how it is stated in the legislation. That's how it has to be done …()… if you think about it … regarding public health … it might not even be very dangerous. But it's stated very clearly in the legislation …()… I stick to the law even though I know that the risk for public health is limited. (*R18*)

In addition, these inspectors seemed to be strongly driven by their technical knowledge of rules and regulations. One inspector, for example, decided to 'recall' a cow, meaning that the meat that had already been distributed had to be returned and destroyed. His decision was based on the fact that this specific animal was slaughtered one day too early after being treated with medications. This situation did not really constitute a risk to public health because the time period in which an animal is not allowed to be slaughtered after being treated with medication is defined very generously in order to ensure that no residue is left in the animal.

Occupational/organizational professionalism

However, as stated above, there were also many situations in which veterinary inspectors were guided neither by professional principles nor by organizational principles. In these situations, rather than being a strict enforcer of rules and regulations or a more service-oriented and flexible professional, veterinary inspectors seemed to have generated new (dominant) guidelines for behaviour that combined both professional and organizational norms and values. Among other skills, they relied on their detailed medical knowledge, technical knowledge of rules, and communication skills to find ways to increase animal welfare and public health while at the same time remaining sensitive to the concerns of those inspected.

One veterinary inspector, for example, indicated that she had suggested putting 100 carcasses in cold storage after a technical defect during the slaughtering process at the end of the day. She did this because she wanted to examine more carefully the next day whether the 100 carcasses could still be used for human consumption. Following the organizational rules would have meant rejecting all the carcasses outright in order to eliminate any risk to public health. Following the principles of veterinary medicine, the decision would have been directed towards reducing the financial damage for the persona inspected. In this situation, the veterinary inspector seems to have followed a 'new' behavioural principle. She used her communication skills to make an arrangement with the owner of the slaughterhouse, which shows that she tried to minimize the risk for society while also remaining sensitive to the financial damage related to the destruction of such a large number of animals. She relied on both her detailed medical knowledge and the objectives of the inspection service.

The fact that a combination of professional and organizational principles is used by a large number of veterinary inspectors raises the question of whether veterinary inspectors have integrated these principles, or whether they simply coexist? In other words, is the profession of veterinary inspection evolving into an organizing profession, or is it still a hybridized one? To answer this question, we had to look further into how veterinary inspectors *experience* their work. If these behavioural guidelines simply coexist, inspectors may eventually have to choose between them in situations of conflict. However, if veterinary inspectors have succeeded in integrating them, they will not have to make a choice. In the next section, we explore different reactions of veterinary inspectors towards their work, focusing on the tensions they do or do not experience and how this is related to the different forms of professionalism.

EXPERIENCES OF WORK PRESSURES

As illustrated above, veterinary inspectors have to deal with conflicting principles in their work, which can cause distress and confusing situations. This raises the question of

the extent to which these professionals indeed experience conflicts as stressful. Do individuals who primarily follow professional principles, for instance, experience a higher level of work-related distress than those who have succeeded in integrating professional and organizational principles?

The interviews show that not all veterinary inspectors seem to experience conflicts and clashes in the same way. We could distinguish different levels of distress and coping strategies that vary with respect to the type of professionalism the respondent adheres to. Some respondents expressed that they were not negatively affected by the conflicts inherent to their work. However, there were also veterinary inspectors who reported experiencing a lot of pressure and tension as a result of the contextual forces on their professional practices.

Veterinary inspectors primarily guided by their professional norms and values – the group of occupational professionals – seemed to experience a high amount of distress.

> [Y]ou're always standing back and watching hard-working people with your hands in your pockets and this, by definition, creates tension. And sometimes I find that difficult. (*R3*)

The fact that this individual did not consider observing and inspecting people as a work-related activity shows that she or he is highly committed to professional principles. In contrast to organizational principles, principles of veterinary medicine imply that veterinarians should almost always be physically active and pragmatic. Because veterinary inspectors have a more service-oriented attitude and are sensitive to the interests of those they inspect, they experience tensions in situations where enforcing rules and regulations implies negative economic consequences for the person inspected.

> [S]ome slaughterhouses can hardly survive. 20 pigs fewer means a financial loss that day. If you enforce all rules the business would go down the drain, and that would mean bankruptcy. You cannot always do that. And then at training sessions they tell you: 'That's the slaughterhouse's problem. You're here to enforce the law – blah blah blah'. It is sometimes difficult to do. (*R5*)

Like veterinary inspectors who are guided primarily by the principles of veterinary medicine, those who relied on both professional and organizational principles but did not succeed in integrating them also experienced tensions in their work. This can best be demonstrated by the case of ritual slaughter. Many veterinary inspectors clearly expressed that, from a personal and occupational perspective, ritual slaughter is considered unacceptable. However, because of their commitment to the organizational guidelines – which require inspections of ritual slaughter – most veterinary inspectors agreed to supervise the slaughter process when necessary. As the behaviour associated with the professional norms and values clashes with the behaviour associated with organizational forces, veterinary inspectors experienced high levels of distress.

> [W]ith ritual slaughter …(…).. the law allows it …(…)… once a year, during the Eid al-Adha, I'm helping out because many people are needed for such an event. And there I am …(..)… I really do not like it …()… That's the thing I disagree most with I think. I do not support the idea that such a thing is allowed in the Netherlands. (*R35*).

However, there were also some veterinary inspectors who indicated that they did not experience tensions as a result of conflicts inherent to their work. Some, for instance, perceived enforcement as a constant 'game', comparing it to the job of a 'kindergarten teacher' or being a 'father' or a 'mother'. Perceiving the interaction between inspector and inspectee as a strategic game seems to take the edge off situations in which those being inspected tried to sabotage the inspection process. This way of dealing with uncooperative behaviour by those inspected might be related to the idea of organizing professionalism, in which professionals have developed 'new' ways to deal with difficult situations by integrating professional and organizational principles.

> [S]ometimes it is funny to play kindergarten teacher. Slaughterhouses are like.., well just like kindergarten, now and then. They know what they are allowed to do and what not, but they still [break the rules]. Yes, just like playing a game with each other ….. (*R13*)

The extent to which veterinary inspectors become frustrated by the bureaucratic nature of their work may be related to their ability to accept the status quo. The ability of some veterinary inspectors to accept bureaucracy as all part of the job implies an integration of professional and organizational principles. Here too we seem to see veterinary inspectors following the principles of organizing professionalism.

> [Y]ou can either fight against it, or you can say it's all part of the job [slow delivery of hardware]. I try to put no energy in the fact that it annoys me …(..)… because it seems to be part of being a civil servant, and there are also many advantages that compensate for this. (*R35*)

Like inspectors who followed the principles of organizing professionalism, those who focused on their role as inspector – emphasizing strict rule enforcement and safeguarding public health – seemed to experience less distress from tensions in their work. This implies that adopting an organizational perspective (or organizational professionalism) helps veterinary inspectors to experience conflicts as less stressful.

> [I] I think you have to be very aware of what your position is, from a societal point of view. You're employed by the government to enforce the law. The inspection tasks are specified and tested against rules and regulations. And that's it. I mean, that's what you have to focus on. (*R24*)

In sum, veterinary inspectors who are guided by organizational and organizing professionalism seem to be less susceptible to stress and role conflicts. Veterinary inspectors

Table 1: Typology of professionalism applied to Dutch veterinary inspectors and experienced level of work-related tensions

Dominant principle in conflict situation	Professional	Organizational/occupational		Organizational
Topology of professionalism	Occupational	Hybridized	Organizing	Organizational
Experienced pressures	High	High	Low	Low

who follow professional principles or who are guided by a combination (not integration) of occupational and organizational norms and values seem to experience pressures resulting from the tensions in their work (see Table 1).

COPING WITH WORK PRESSURES

The case of veterinary inspectors working for the Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority suggests that – in the majority of situations – it is difficult for professionals to make decisions on the basis of organizational rules alone. Professional principles are still needed to be able to interpret and apply the different rules and regulations correctly. In other words, both organizational guidelines and professional principles are necessary for appropriate decision-making and behaviour, which implies that in most situations they are combined. According to the inspection service's directives (organizational guideline), only animals that are 100 per cent healthy may enter the food chain. To determine whether an animal is healthy, knowledge of veterinary medicine is needed. Integrating organizational guidelines and professional principles seems to generate 'new' behavioural guidelines that help veterinary inspectors to reduce the inherent tensions in their work by rationalizing them. They reframe tensions as a 'game' that is all part of the job, for instance, and they accept bureaucracy as an inherent aspect of their work. The heterogeneous nature of veterinary inspectors' work and their ability to cope with the increased complexity of public services by generating new ways of thinking accords well with the line of research called *organizing professionalism* (Noordegraaf 2013).

In addition to individuals who more or less fully integrate professional norms and values and organizational rules, there is also a group of individuals who are separately committed to both – potentially competing – behavioural guidelines. This finding can be linked to the work of Reay and Hinings (2009), who conclude that in situations in which no dominant logic serves as a guiding principle, 'actors maintain[ed] their separate identities in pragmatic collaboration that allows them to accomplish work and meet professional responsibilities' (647). In this case, the profession is not organized but *hybridized*. The authors point out that in some cases maintaining separate identities may be more successful for temporary or longer-term collaboration than

attempts to develop one single identity. Archiving desired outcomes collectively (e.g. physicians together with managers) is seen as an important factor that helps professionals working in large organizations to manage competing principles.

The results of our study, however, suggest that where professional values and organizational guidelines coexist individuals tend to experience high levels of distress in their work. In addition to individuals characterized as hybridized professionals, individuals who are primarily guided by the principles of the profession of veterinary medicine (occupational professionalism) also experience high levels of stress. This prompts the question of what explains these patterns? How can we explain that some individuals manage to *reframe* and *restrain* tensions, and others *reject* or *resist* tensions, with major consequences for their work experiences and coping behaviour?

Explanatory factors

In situations in which the enforcement of rules implies negative financial consequences for the person or company inspected, the level of distress expressed is high. Even though a more extensive analysis is needed, it seems that the amount of time an inspector worked in veterinary practice influences his or her commitment to professional norms and values. Practising veterinarians are used to being confronted with situations for which no clear-cut solutions exist. They are used to relying on their own judgement and are more focused on supporting farmers. Since some procedures and rules can be very time-consuming and may not result in the desired outcome, some inspectors indicate that they become frustrated and choose their own way of dealing with situations.

Low levels of work-related tensions, on the other hand, are expressed by individuals who have adapted to an organizational perspective (organizational professionalism). This does not come as a surprise, as their way of thinking is consistent with organizational principles; professional principles are suppressed. These organizational principles seem to be taken as a guiding principle in situations in which public health and animal welfare are severely at risk. In situations where the risk to public health and animal welfare is less immediate, inspectors are more likely to follow professional principles. This implies that the dominance of either organizational forces or professional principles might be *situation*-dependent. On the other hand, there are also veterinary inspectors who are strict enforcers – more or less independently of the context. They sometimes overstep the boundaries of what Bardach and Kagan (2006) term 'reasonable behaviour'. They do not balance offence and consequences but simply blindly apply the rules. In this case, the organizational principles are overruling. They seem to be entirely internalized and focused on reducing any risk, no matter how small.

In 2008, Vanthemsche et al. (2008) published a highly critical evaluation report about the functioning of the Dutch Food and Consumer Safety. The authors concluded

that the NVWA was neglecting its tasks in terms of enforcing rules and regulations consistently and strictly. As a result, an intensive training programme was introduced, focusing on teaching veterinary inspectors the 'enforcement' part of their work. This training programme brought the organizational principles more to the forefront, forcing veterinary inspectors to combine these with the principles of veterinary medicine. The consistent use of both work principles brought about a fundamental change in the professionalism of veterinary inspectors. However, since this development is relatively new, both professional principles and organizational guidelines can still be found to coexist. The existence of the four different kinds of professionalism could therefore be seen as a sign of professionalization, or an evolution towards a more organizing, and therefore less confused profession. Longitudinal research will be needed in order to clarify how professionalism will develop over time as a result of increasing pressures on professional practices.

The large number of situations in which veterinary inspectors rely on both professional principles and organizational guidelines might also be explained by the fact that the inspection services are increasingly the object of public scrutiny. Since the public have become better informed and more critical, it is more difficult for inspectors to follow one single behavioural guideline. Giving in too much to the individual or company inspected will provoke the reaction that veterinary inspectors are negligent. Overly strict enforcement, on the other hand, will provoke the reaction that they act too much as bureaucrats and do not take the contextual circumstances sufficiently into account.

DISCUSSION

The increase of societal and organizational pressures on professionals employed by large organizations has led to much discussion of the state of public professionalism (e.g. Adler and Kwon 2013; Brint 2015; Broadbent, Dietrich, and Roberts 1997; Duyvendak, Knijn, and Kremer 2006; Freidson 2001; Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd, and Walker 2005; Noordegraaf and Steijn 2013). In the literature on professionalism, different approaches can be found, which provide varying answers to the question of how organizational and professional forces interact with external forces (organizational, occupational, and hybridized professionalism). We showed that professional inspectors may respond in different ways. They experience high or low levels of stress, depending on how they cope with organizational or professional tensions. They can *reframe* or *restrain* these tensions, which leads to lower levels of stress, for example, when the work is seen as a 'game', or they can *reject* or *resist* tensions, which leads to higher levels of stress.

This in itself adds a few insights to the literature on pressured professional work, but the above analysis also revealed another aspect. First of all, why

professional inspectors experience and cope with pressures as they do not depend only on individual outlooks, but also to a large extent on both the situations and settings they face. It is easier to cope with tensions in some situations than in others; it is easier to reframe professional or organizational principles in certain settings than in other settings. Second, we showed that in addition to individual characteristics and situations, another mechanism might play an important role in strengthening professional action. If professional disciplines as well as professional organizations improve professionals' ability to cope, for example, by introducing training programs, this may help the professionals to deal with conflicting work principles.

This implies that what really counts is *not* the levels of pressures, stress, and coping as such, as objective conditions, but how these factors are (a) interrelated and (b) manipulated – that is, actively reworked – in specific contexts. Depending on professional work situations and organizational settings, professionals might develop the *capacity to cope* with conflicting work pressures. They might reframe and restrain pressures and thereby perform tasks in healthy manners. This calls for further research that combines public administration, the sociology of professions, and occupational psychology.

This would imply an escape from the dichotomies identified in much of the literature. Instead of *either* emphasizing burdensome pressures, perceiving professionals as victims, and analysing how they cope or 'survive' despite these pressures (also following e.g. Lipsky 1980), *or* seeing professionals as active, 'institutional agents' who seek and maximize opportunities (cf. Scott 2008; also Mangen and Brivot 2014), we might develop a richer understanding of professionals in action. As Mangen and Brivot (2014, 21) stress:

> […] our theorization fits squarely into an approach centred on agents and has implications for institutional logics within an organization: it suggests that individual agents not only are defined by logics […] but also define institutional logics […].

Because both occupational and organizational logics are at stake, it is important to provide professionals with both professional and organizational mechanisms, needed to strengthen skills and capabilities. Both professional and organizational support could enable them to acquire strategies to manage potential work and value conflicts. Through the training programs that were mentioned, as well as through knowledge exchange, coaching and organizational back up, professionals might:

- understand value conflicts in specific work situations;
- develop reasonable interventions;
- justify actions.

As the results of this study are based on data collected in only one professional field, we do not know whether the findings can be generalized to other public service professions. However, there is every reason to expect that the results could be transferred to other confused professions: professions where strong professional norms are confronted with an increasing number of organizational and societal forces, such as physicians working for the health care inspectorates, for instance. Future research might benefit from investigating the case of strong professionals and semi-professionals with less strongly internalized professional norms and values. Such research might compare medical doctors or teachers working in health care and educational inspectorates with those working in other settings.

CONCLUSIONS

With regard to the first part of the research question 'How can veterinary inspectors' professionalism be understood in terms of potentially conflicting work principles?', the results show that veterinary inspectors cannot exclusively be categorized as following professional principles (occupational professionalism), the guidelines of inspection services (organizational professionalism), or a combination (hybridized professionalism). In order to further differentiate between hybridized and organizing professionalism empirically, it is necessary for the analysis to include the way professionals experience work tensions that arise from the growing number of organizational and societal forces that impinge on their work. The results of thirty-eight interviews with veterinary inspectors show that the type of professionalism that predominates in a given individual affects the extent to which he or she experiences work-related tensions. Workers who are guided by organizational forces (organizational professionalism), and who are able to integrate organizational forces and professional norms and values (organizing professional), experience conflicting work forces as less stressful than workers who primarily follow professional principles (occupational professionalism), and workers who combine but have not managed to integrate both types of work forces.

The conclusions that can be drawn from these results and the contribution of this research are twofold. First, on the basis of the results we conclude that work pressures and conflicts do not primarily lie in work situations as such – but in the responses and capabilities of the professionals who encounter them, most specifically the reframing and restraining capabilities. This has implications for the question of how employees can optimally be supported and work ideally be organized. The results show that it is not necessary to try to reduce contextual forces on professionalism, or to enlarge the professional *capacity to cope*. Rather, employees might benefit most from trainings that focus on the development of organizing capacities and skills such as, for example, the ability to connect to other disciplines and professionals and to be reflexive (Noordegraaf 2013).

Second, we contribute to the theoretical debate about changing influences on professional practice (e.g. Cooper et al. 1996; Noordegraaf 2013) and the changing state of professionalism (e.g. Duyvendak, Knijn, and Kremer 2006; Freidson 2001; Kirkpatrick, Ackroyd, and Walker 2005; Noordegraaf 2013; Noordegraaf and Steijn 2013) by illustrating the increased number of organizational and societal forces that confront veterinary inspectors and by providing empirical evidence regarding the question of which guidelines veterinary inspectors follow and how they experience conflicts within their work. We conclude that – for this particular field, at least – not only the forces on professionalism but also the state of professionalism itself is changing. Longitudinal research is necessary to increase our understanding of the question of how public professionalism is developing. Is it moving towards further professionalization in terms of strengthened professional or organizational principles? Or will it eventually evolve into organizing professionalism? In that sense, changing professionalism remains confusing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

NOTES

1 The Dutch Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority is an independent agency of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation and a delivery agency for the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport.

2 See the Appendix Table A1 for an overview of the respondents' characteristics.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. 1988. *System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of the Expert Labour*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Ackroyd, S., I. Kirkpatrick, and R. M. Walker. 2007. "Public Management Reform in the UK and Its Consequences for Professional Organization: A Comparative Analysis." *Public Administration* 85 (1): 9–26. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00631.x.

Adler, P. S., and S. Kwon. 2013. "The Mutation of Professionalism as a Contested Diffusion Process: Clinical Guidelines as Carriers of Institutional Change in Medicine." *Journal of Management Studies* 50 (5): 930–962.

Alford, J., and R. Speed. 2006. "Client Focus in Regulatory Agencies: Oxymoron or Opportunity?" *Public Management Review* 8 (2): 313–331. doi:10.1080/14719030600587703.

Andersen, L. B., and L. H. Pedersen. 2012. "Public Service Motivation and Professionalism." *International Journal of Public Administration* 35 (1): 46–57. doi:10.1080/01900692.2011.635278.

Bardach, E., and R. A. Kagan. 2006. *Going by the Book*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Boeije, H. 2010. *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Brint, S. 2015. "Professional Responsibility in an Age of Experts and Large Organizations." In *Professional Responsibility*, edited by D. E. Mitchell and R. K. Ream. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Brivot, M. 2011. "Controls of Knowledge Production, Sharing and Use in Bureaucratized Professional Service Firms." *Organization Studies* 32 (4): 489–508. doi:10.1177/0170840611400284.

Broadbent, J., M. Dietrich, and J. Roberts. 1997. *The End of the Professions? The Restructuring of the Professional Work*. London: Routledge.

Brock, D., M. J. Powel, and C. R. Hinings. 1999. *Restructuring the Professional Organisation: Accounting Health Care and Law*. London: Routledge.

Burke, P. J., and J. E. Stets. 2009. *Identity Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clarke, J., and J. Newman. 1997. *The Managerial State: Power, Politics and Ideology in the Remaking of Social Welfare*. London: Sage.

Cooper, D. J., B. Hinings, R. Greenwood, J. L. Brown, D. J. Cooper, B. Hinings, R. Greenwood, and J. L. Brown. 1996. "Sedimentation and Transformation in Organizational Change: The Case of Canadian Law Firms." *Organization Studies* 17 (4): 623–647. doi:10.1177/017084069601700404.

Cooper, D. J., and K. Robson. 2006. "Accounting, Professions and Regulation: Locating the Sites of Professionalization." *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 31 (4): 415–444. doi:10.1016/j.aos.2006.03.003.

Currie, W. L., and M. W. Guah. 2007. "Conflicting Institutional Logics: A National Programme for IT in the Organisational Field of Healthcare." *Journal of Information Technology* 22 (3): 235–247.

de Graaf, G. 2003 "Tractable Morality: Customer Discourses of Bankers, Veterinarians and Charity Workers." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Rotterdam.

de Graaf, G. 2005. "Veterinarians' Discourses on Animals and Clients." *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 18 (6): 557–578. doi:10.1007/s10806-005-1802-0.

Duyvendak, J. W., T. Knijn, and M. Kremer. 2006. *People, Policy and the New Professional*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Elliot, P. 1972. *The Sociology of Professions*. London: McMillan.

Evetts, J. 2003. "The Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Occupational Change in the Modern World." *International Sociology* 18 (2): 395–415. doi:10.1177/0268580903018002005.

Evetts, J. 2009. "New Professionalism and New Public Management: Changes, Continuities and Consequences." *Comparative Sociology* 8 (2): 247–266. doi:10.1163/156913309X421655.

Evetts, J. 2011. "A New Professionalism? Challenges and Opportunities." *Current Sociology* 59 (4): 406–422. doi:10.1177/0011392111402585.

Faulconbridge, J., and D. Muzio. 2008. "Organizational Professionalism in Globalizing Law Firms." *Work, Employment and Society* 22 (1): 7–25. doi:10.1177/0950017007087413.

Fournier, V. 1999. "The Appeal to 'Professionalism' as a Disciplinary Mechanism." *Sociological Review* 47 (2): 280–307. doi:10.1111/1467-954X.00173.

Freidson, E. 1983. "The Theory of Professions: State of the Art." In *The Sociology of Professions*, edited by R. Dingwall and P. Lewis. London: MacMillan.

Freidson, E. 1994. *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Freidson, E. 2001. *Professionalism: The Third Logic*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Frieland, R., and R. R. Alford. 1991. "Bringing Society Back in: Symbols, Practices, and Institutional Contradictions." In *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, edited by W. W. Powell and D. J. DiMaggio. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Gleeson, D., and D. Knights. 2006. "Challenging Dualism: Public Professionalism in 'Troubled' Times." *Sociology* 40 (2): 277–295. doi:10.1177/0038038506062033.

Greenwood, R., and R. Suddaby. 2006. "Institutional Entrepreneurship in Mature Fields: The Big Five Accounting Firms." *The Academy of Management Journal* 49 (1): 27–48. doi:10.5465/AMJ.2006.20785498.

Kirkpatrick, I., S. Ackroyd, and R. Walker. 2005. *The New Managerialism and Public Service Professions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirkpatrick, I., and M. Noordegraaf. 2015. "Hybrid Professionalism: The Re-shaping of Occupational and Organisational Logics." In *The Oxford Handbook on Professional Service Firms*, edited by L. Empson, D. Muzio, J. Broschak, and B. Hinings. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschapij voor Dierengeneeskunde. 2010. "Codes voor Dierenarts." Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschapij voor Dierengeneeskunde. Accessed February 17, 2015. https://www.knmvd.nl/media/default…/code+voor+de+dierenarts.pdf

Krause, G. 1996. *Death of Guilds*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kurunmäki, L. 2004. "A Hybrid Profession—The Acquisition of Management Accounting Expertise by Medical Professionals." *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 29 (3–4): 327–347. doi:10.1016/S0361-3682(02)00069-7.

Kurunmäki, L., and P. Miller. 2004. *Modernisation, Partnerships and the Management of Risk*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.

Larson, M. S. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leicht, K. T., and M. L. Fennel. 2001. *Professional Work: A Sociological Approach*. New York: Blackwell.

Lipsky, M. 1980. *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in the Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Mangen, C., and M. Brivot. 2014. "The Challenge of Sustaining Organizational Hybridity: The Role of Power and Agency." *Human Relations*. doi:10.1177/0018726714539524.

Maynard-Moody, S., and M. Musheno. 2012. "Social Equities and Inequities in Practice: Street-Level Workers as Agents and Pragmatists." *Public Administration Review* 72 (s1): S16–S23. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2012.02633.x.

Mertens, F. 2011. *Inspecteren: Toezicht Door Inspecties*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.

Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport. 2008. "Voorgenomen Kaderbelsuit Nieuwe Autoriteiten i.o. Risicogericht, Slagvaardig en Transparant." Miniserie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport. Accessed February 17, 2015. https://www.nvwa.nl/txmpub/files/?p_file_id=2001401

Moore, W. 1970. *The Professions: Roles and Rules*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Muzio, D., and I. Kirkpatrick. 2011. "Introduction: Professions and Organizations – A Conceptual Framework." *Current Sociology* 59 (4): 389–405. doi:10.1177/0011392111402584.

Muzio, D. S., S. Ackroyd, and J. F. Chanlat. 2007. *Re-directions the Studies of Expertise: Doctors, Lawyers and Management Consultants*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Noordegraaf, M. 2007. "From 'Pure' to 'Hybrid' Professionalism: Present-Day Professionalism in Ambiguous Public Domains." *Administration & Society* 39 (6): 761–785. doi:10.1177/0095399707304434.

Noordegraaf, M. 2011. "Risky Business: How Professionals and Professional Fields (Must) Deal with Organizational Issues." *Organization Studies* 32 (10): 1349–1371. doi:10.1177/0170840611416748.

Noordegraaf, M. 2013. "Reconfiguring Professional Work: Changing Forms of Professionalism in Public Services." *Administration & Society*. doi:10.1177/0095399713509242.

Noordegraaf, M., and B. Steijn. 2013. *Professionals Under Pressure: The Reconfiguration of Professional Work in Changing Public Services*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Owen-Smith, J., and W. W. Powel. 2008. "Networks and Institutions." In *The Sage Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism*, edited by D. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin, and R. Suddaby. London: Sage.

Patterson, P. 1998. "Market Metaphors and Political Vocabularies: The Case of the Marginalized Citizen." *Public Productivity and Management Review* 22 (2): 220–231. doi:10.2307/3381034.

Porter, A. 1989. "The Client/Patient Relationship." In *The Status of Animals: Ethics, Education and Welfare*, edited by D. Paterson and M. Palmer. Wallingford: C. A. B. International.

Raelin, J. A. 1986. *The Clash of Culture*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Reay, T., and C. R. Hinings. 2009. "Managing the Rivalry of Competing Institutional Logics." *Organization Studies* 30 (6): 629–652. doi:10.1177/0170840609104803.

Sanders, T., and S. Harrison. 2008. "Professional Legitimacy Claims in the Multidisciplinary Workplace: The Case of Heart Failure Care." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 30 (2): 289–308. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9566.2007.01052.x.

Schaufeli, W. B., A. B. Bakker, F. M. M. A. van der Heijden, and J. T. Prins. 2009. "Workaholism, Burnout and Well-being among Junior Doctors: The Mediating Role of Role Conflict." *Work & Stress* 23 (2): 155–172. doi:10.1080/02678370902834021.

Scott, R. W., M. Ruef, P. J. Mendel, and C. A. Caronna. 2000. *Institutional Change and Healthcare Organizations: From Professional Dominance to Managed Care*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Scott, W. R. 2008. "Lords of the Dance: Professionals as Institutional Agents." *Organization Studies* 29 (2): 219–238. doi:10.1177/0170840607088151.

Spyridonidid, D., J. Hendy, and J. Barlow. Forthcoming. "Understanding Hybrid Roles: The Role of Identity Processes Amongst Physicians." *Public Administration*.

Suddaby, R., D. J. Cooper, and R. Greenwood. 2007. "Transnational Regulation of Professional Services: Governance Dynamics of Field Level Organizational Change." *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 32 (4–5): 333–362. doi:10.1016/j.aos.2006.08.002.

Swaabe, J. 1999. *Animal, Disease and Human Society*. London: Routledge.

Tannenbaum, J. 1985. "Ethics and Human-Companion Animals Interaction: A Plea for Veterinarian Ethics of the Human-Companion Animal Bond." *The Veterinary Clinics of North America: Small Animal Practice* 15 (2): 431–447. doi:10.1016/S0195-5616(85)50315-0.

Thornton, P. H., C. H. Jones, and K. Kury. 2005. "Institutional Logics and Institutional Change in Organizations: Transformation in Accounting, Architecture, and Publishing." *Transformation in Cultural Industries* 23: 125–170. Special Issue: Transformation in Cultural Industries. doi:10.1016/S0733-558X(05)23004-5.

Thornton, P. H., and W. Ocasio. 2008. "Institutional Logics." In *The SAGE Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism*, edited by R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin, and R. Suddaby, 99–129. London: Sage.

Tummers, L. 2013. *Policy Alienation and the Power of Professionals. Confronting New Policies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

van Horn, J. E., T. W. Taris, W. B. Schaufeli, and P. J. G. Schreurs. 2004. "The Structure of Occupational Well-Being: A Study among Dutch Teachers." *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 77: 365–375. doi:10.1348/0963179041752718.

Vanthemsche, P., C. Landuyt, I. Van Vlaenderen, and T. Vanoverschelde. 2011. *Vervolgaudit aangaande het functioneren van de nieuwe Voedsel en Waren Autoriteit (nVWA) inzake de controle op slachtplaatsen en exportverzamelplaatsen*. The Hague: Auditcommissie-Vanthemsche.

Vanthemsche, P., B. Matthijs, C. Landuyt, and I. van Vlaenderen. 2008. *Het Functioneren van de Voedsel- en Warenautoriteit VWA in de Controle op Slachthuizen en Exportverzamelplaatsen*. Den Haag: Rapport van de Auditcomissie-Vanthemsche.

Von Nordenflycht, A. 2010. "What is a Professional Service Firm? Toward a Theory and Taxonomy of Knowledge-intensive Firms." *Academy of Management Review* 35 (1): 155–174. doi:10.5465/AMR.2010.45577926.

Appendix

Table A1: List of respondents

Respondent	Gender	Team	Tenure	Age
R1	M	T1	11	≥60 and <65
R2	M	T2	12	≥55 and <60
R3	M	T1	16	≥50 and <55
R4	F	T3	11	≥40 and <45
R5	F	T4	24	≥45 and <50
R6	M	T5	16	≥45 and <50
R7	F	T5	13	≥55 and <60
R8	M	T5	12	≥40 and <45
R9	M	T7	12	≥60 and <65
R10	F	T8	12	≥50 and <55
R11	M	T9	3	≥50 and <55
R12	F	T13	6	≥35 and <40
R13	M	T9	6	≥35 and <40
R14	F	T7	4	≥30 and <35
R15	M	T10	4	≥30 and <35
R16	M	T4	4	≥30 and <35
R17	M	T10	3	≥35 and <40
R18	M	T4	2	≥30 and <35
R19	F	T4	3	≥35 and <40
R20	M	T11	3	≥45 and <50
R21	M	T6	3	≥45 and <50
R22	F	T12	9	≥45 and <50
R23	F	T3	2	≥30 and <35
R24	M	T10	7	≥50 and <55
R25	F	T12	3	≥30 and <35
R26	F	T7	2	≥45 and <50
R27	F	T14	2	≥40 and <45
R28	M	T2	12	≥40 and <45
R29	M	T13	7	≥40 and <45
R30	F	T14	4	≥45 and <50
R31	F	T10	18	≥55 and <60
R32	F	T5	23	≥55 and <60
R33	M	T4	12	≥45 and <50
R34	M	T7	29	≥55 and <60
R35	F	T3	8	≥40 and <45
R36	M	T15	15	≥45 and <50
R37	M	T2	15	≥55 and <60
R38	M	T2	12	≥40 and <45

Note: The abbreviations of the variable team have been changed in order to guarantee anonymity.

Table A2: Topic list

Introduction
- Personnel introduction of researcher(s)
- Content and goal of study
- Confidentiality, anonymity, recordings

Work motivation*
Situations of conflicting principles
- What situations do you find difficult in your work?
- How did you solve them?

If perceptions of how conflicting principles are experienced are NOT mentioned
- How did you handle this conflict situation?
- Where did you base your decisions on?

Note: * Topics are not part of this article.

Table A3: Codes and sub-codes

Occupational professionalism
- Service-orientation
- Focus on pragmatic/flexible solution
- Sensitive to (financial) interests of inspectee
- Knowledge base: specialized veterinary knowledge

Organizational professionalism
- Focus on strict rule enforcement
- Strong drive to safeguard public health and animal welfare
- Knowledge base: technical knowledge rules and regulations

Organizational/occupational professionalism
- Combination of occupational and organizational professionalism

Experience of work-related tensions
- Distress, uneasiness, tensions
- Positive feelings