CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
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With the advent of industrialisation and technological change and consequent dependence on professional skills, professions have come to occupy an important place in modern life and modernising societies. Professionalisation in the occupational field is spreading rapidly and number of occupations aspiring to professional status is also increasing. Through the expansion and application of knowledge, the twentieth century has seen a proliferation of professions. This professionalisation of work or the intellectualisation and rationalisation of work has not only vastly increased the proportion of people who are professionals in a modern society, but has also given them a central position in the conduct of government, business, industry and organised religion. In fact "professionalisation is a twentieth century phenomenon".¹

Professionalisation does not occur in a vaccum. The process of professionalisation is inextricably linked with the kind of society in which it takes place namely, to its political form, its cultural form and its structural, as well as its stage of technological development. In a discussion of the impact of metropolitan conditions on occupations Carr-Saunders² has

remarked, "under the impact of metropolitan conditions, the
concept of a profession has become transformed .... Professional men were formerly regarded as possessing a broad
culture, a wide special competence and a general understanding
of affairs. Consequently they were influential members of
society. A measure of leadership fell into their hands ....
Today professional men are regarded by the public as experts
- persons with high competence in a restricted sphere. Great
deferece is paid to them while they act within their particular
range .... The change is not so much of a transformation, as
a disintegration of the traditional professional concept.

Everett C Hughes⁴ points out that professionalisation in
modern society is not only a mechanism for allowing social
mobility of individuals in their working careers, but also for
entire groups within the larger society. Professionalisation
is thus an important ingredient in the open society. Earlier,
in an important essay on occupations, T H Marshall², recognised
that "the professionals are today weaned from excessive indivi­
dualism and are adapting themselves to the new standards of social
service." The current changes noted by Marshall are: the ever
greater dependence of modern society upon professional services,
an increase in the variety of such services and in the number
of professions. Indeed the community at large is the client of

1 E C Hughes: Professions. ⁴ Deadalus ⁴, 656-668, 1963.
2 T H Marshall: The Recent History of Professionalisation in
relation to social structure and social policy. Canadian
1939.
some new professions and in increasing measure of older ones. Marshall was, of course, not the first among these sociologists, to have considered the profession as a central feature of society, a key to understanding of social structure. Herbert Spencer considered the elaboration of profession the central feature of a civilised society. In an eloquent passage he tells us that the medical man increases the amount of life; the artist elevates the emotions; the historian and the man of letter raise men's mental state; the scientist and the teacher increase mental illumination, all in their own way increasing life.

Emile Durkheim\(^1\) having devoted his chief treatise on human society to the division of social labour could not well avoid discussing the place of professions. What concerned him was the propensity of professional groups to generate social rules and sanctions and to become impermeable to attempts of outsiders to control them. He saw professional groups as organs of society, partly autonomous systems of relations, which cannot, however, exist except in contact with other organs of society. As social advocate, he favoured the kind of society in which occupational groups would be the chief organs of control, represented as such in the government.

Tonnies, Park, Max Weber and Simmel had all written of the multiplication of occupations based on the applications of science and reason as a mark of urban society. Warner is of opinion that professionalisation is in part a study of social advancement or mobility. The advancement, according to him,

is of two kinds. The first is the rise of the individual by getting into an occupation of high prestige or by achieving special success in his occupation. The second is the collective effort of an organised occupation to improve its place and increase its power in relation to others.

Since professionalisation helps the process of social transformation and social mobility, sociologists have started taking interest in the sociology of professions. During the last quarter century a number of researches have been carried out relating to different occupations/professions, recruitment of personnel, expected role performance, actual behaviour of incumbents, their values and perceptions of themselves, their working conditions and so on. Most of them confine to raw imperialism without any clear perspective and thereby produced a number of reports in a subjective way. More or less following the footsteps of such western studies, in recent years, Indian sociologists too have started working on such projects. However, in the midst of lack of clear sociological dimensions, there are some tentative attempts which aim at arriving some or other framework in the study of professions. In this context, it is worthwhile to understand the concerned reality. This would be a stepping stone for providing a framework to the present study.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Section I

The concept of profession:

Most of the discussion on professions centres round the concept of "professions" and the process of professionalisation among various occupations. Profession is an ideal type of occupational organisation which does not exist in reality but which provides the model of the form of occupational organisation that would result if any occupational group becomes completely professionalised. Thus the concept of "profession" can be applied only to an abstract model of occupational organisation. The occupations may be placed somewhere on a continuum between the ideal-type of "profession" at one end and completely unorganised occupational categories or non-professions at the other. The distinction between the two is a quantitative and not a qualitative one with fulfilled profession possessing attributes to a greater degree, while occupations possessing them to a lower degree. The concept of professionalisation may be used to refer to the dynamic process whereby many occupations can be observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession. These crucial characteristics constitute the specific criteria of professionalisation.

A careful survey of literature reveals two main approaches to the conceptualisation of a profession - that is, attributional and processual. Implied in these approaches are two broad conceptions of professions which may be called normative and organisational respectively.

Various authors have mentioned different attributes or characteristics of professions. Carr-Saunders\(^1\) in England was perhaps the first social scientist to analyse systematically the transition of diverse occupations in terms of the process of professionalisation. He defined profession in terms of specialised skill and training, minimum fees or salaries, formation of professional associations and code of ethics governing professional practice. He says, "A little reflection shows that what we now call a profession emerges when a number of persons are found to be practising a definite technique founded upon a specialised training. A profession may perhaps be defined as an occupation based upon specialised intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary?"

According to Hughes, "Professions profess to know better than others the nature of certain matters and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs". Flexner\(^2\) enumerates the following six criteria of professions:

1) They involve essentially intellectual operations;
ii) they derive their raw materials from science and technology;
iii) they work up this material to a practical and definite end;
iv) they possess an educationally communicable technique;
v) they tend towards self-organisation; and
vi) they are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation.

To the above list, Libermann\(^1\) would add following two criteria of great significance:

i) A broad range of autonomy for both the individual practitioners and for the occupational group as a whole; and

ii) an acceptance by the practitioners of broad personal responsibility for the judgements made and acts performed within the scope of professional autonomy.

Another set of criteria is suggested by Barber\(^2\). In fact, he looks at the profession of teaching from the viewpoint of professional behaviour of which he regards the following four attributes as essential:


i) A high degree of generalised and systematic knowledge;

ii) primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest;

iii) a high degree of self-control of behaviour through codes of ethics internalised in the process of work socialisation and through voluntary associations organised and operated by the work specialists themselves; and

iv) a system of rewards (monetary and honorary) that is primarily a set of symbols of work achievement and thus an end in itself and not means to some end of individual interest.

These four essential attributes define a scale of professionalism, a way of measuring the extent to which it is present in different forms of occupational performance. The most professional behaviour would be that which realised all four attributes in the fullest possible manner.

According to Goode¹ two characteristics of professionalisation are "a prolonged specialised training in a body of abstract knowledge and a collectivity or service orientation". He has characterised profession as "community within community" and pointed out that occupations in the process of professionalisation slowly acquire the traits of community.

Greenwood\textsuperscript{1} mentioned five major attributes that are unique to a profession. The first of these is the presence of an element of superior skill supported by a body of theory. The performance of a professional service presumably involves a series of unusually complicated operations, mastery of which requires lengthy training. The skills that characterise a profession flow from and are supported by a fund of knowledge that has been organised into an internally consistent system, called a body of theory.

The second attribute is the professional authority. The professional authority is derived from the first attribute. Because of the complex skills required in a professional occupation, the professional is invested with authority to decide freely the needs of his client. The client's subordination to professional authority invests the professional with a monopoly of judgement and the client is subordinated to professional authority. The client derives a sense of security from the professional's assumption of authority. The authoritative air of the professional is a principal source of the client's faith that the relationship he is about to enter contains the potentials for meeting his needs\textsuperscript{2}.

The third attribute is the sanction of community. Every profession strives to persuade the community to sanction its authority within certain spheres by conferring upon the profession

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid, pp. 12-13.
\end{itemize}
a series of powers and privileges. Among its powers is the profession's control over its training centres. This is achieved through an accrediting process exercised by one of the associations within the profession. By granting or withholding accreditation, a profession can regulate its schools as their number, curriculum and calibre of instruction. The profession also acquires control over admission into the profession. The community grants certain professional privileges such as confidential communication and immunity of the professional from community judgement. These powers and privileges constitute a monopoly granted by the community to the professional group. Therefore when an occupation strives towards professional status, one of its prime objectives is to acquire this monopoly.\(^1\)

The fourth attribute is a presence of an ethical code which emphasises altruism and service to society, regulate client professional and colleague-colleague relations. Towards the client the profession must assume emotional neutrality which Parsons calls universalism. Parsons also calls attention to the element of disinterestedness in the professional - client relationship which means that the professional is motivated less by self-interest and more by the impulse of social service. The ethics governing colleague-colleague relationship demand behaviour that is co-operative, equalitarian and supportive.\(^2\)

The fifth attribute of profession is the existence of professional culture with its distinct values, beliefs, motives, norms

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1 Ibid, pp. 13-14.
2 Ibid, pp. 14-16
and symbols.\textsuperscript{1}

Thus Greenwood used similar elements of Carr-Saunders in his discription of the ideal type of profession. But Vollmer\textsuperscript{2} and Mills condensed his description of the same basic elements into three categories:

i) Acquisition of a specialised technique supported by a body of theory;

ii) development of a career supported by an association of colleagues; and

iii) establishment of community recognition of professional status.

Hall\textsuperscript{3} has categorised various attributes into structural attributes and attitudinal attributes. The structural attributes are found at the level of an occupation, while attitudinal attributes are found at the level of individuals. The structural attributes mentioned by Hall are Wilensky's\textsuperscript{4} formulation of various stages that occupations pass through in the process of becoming professions. These various stages are:

i) The creation of full time occupation which involves the performance of old as well as new functions as a response to the needs of social structure.

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid, pp.16-19.


ii) The establishment of a training school which reflects the knowledge base and efforts of early leaders to improve the lot of occupations. This is followed by affiliation of training school with established universities. In the newer professions university affiliation is concurrent with the establishment of training school.

iii) Formation of professional associations followed by a change of the occupational title, attempts to define their role and eliminate incompetent practitioners from the emerging profession. Local associations unite into national associations. With the formation of stronger associations, securing licensing laws and protection from competing occupations become important functions.

iv) Formation of a code of ethics concerned with both internal (colleague) and external (clients and public) relations.

The attitudinal attributes are:

i) The use of professional organisations as a major source of reference which involves both the formal organisation and informal colleague groupings as a major source of ideas and judgements for the professional in his work.¹

ii) Belief in service to the public which includes the idea that the work performed benefits both the public and practitioner.²


iii) Belief in self regulation which involves the belief that the person best qualified to judge the work of a professional is a fellow professional and such a practice is desirable and practical\(^1\).

iv) A sense of calling to the field which reflects the dedication of the professional to his work and the feeling that he would probably do the work even if fewer extrinsic rewards are available\(^2\).

v) Autonomy which involves the feeling that the practitioner ought to be able to make his own decisions, without external pressure from clients, non-members of the profession or employing organisation\(^3\).

Apart from these attitudinal attributes mentioned by Hall, various scholars have mentioned several other attitudinal attributes. Members aspiring to a particular profession should have a wide knowledge of specialised technique, sense of obligation to one's art, sense of group identity and significance of occupational service to society\(^4\). Self-seeking motives feature minimally in the choice of a profession\(^5\). A professional is

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1 See Greenwood op cit
4 Edward Gross, op cit p.77.
motivated in his work for intrinsic rewards of an occupation in opposition to pecuniary benefits\(^1\). It is never viewed solely as a means to an end; it is an end in itself\(^2\).

Other authors like Sutherland\(^3\) have observed that most elements of professionalisation occur in the activities of members of "off beat" occupations not commonly recognised by outsiders as "professions". At the same time Sutherland admitted that the basic fund of information and occupational control of professional thieves are less explicit than those of more commonly accepted professional groups. Thus thievery differs from more professionalised occupations in degree. At the same time, it may also be said to differ in kind, for Sutherland pointed out that "the one characteristic listed by Carr-Saunders and Wilson which they(thieves) lack is the ethical standards which minimise the pecuniary motive". This raises the question whether ethical standards which minimise profit considerations are indispensable to the basic process of professionalisation.

Talcott Parsons\(^4\) throws more light on this question in his paper, where he says that the basic economic motivations of people in both "professions" and "non-professions" actually do

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1 E Gross: *op cit*, pp.78-80.
2 A Johnson: *op cit*, pp.1181-1189.
not differ much in modern society, though their modes for expressing these motivations (e.g. through advertising) may vary considerably. He concludes that the often acclaimed "service orientation is not a meaningful characteristic by which to distinguish professional occupations from others".

The second approach - "the processual approach" that identifies processes-passing through which an occupation eventually becomes a profession - was analysed by Carr-Saunders\(^1\). The technical change and industrialisation in large scale organisations necessitated increased specialisation of functions based on special knowledge. This is followed by emergence of specialised occupations around the application of scientific knowledge. The members of specialised occupation attempt to form a professional association to distinguish themselves from unqualified and attain public recognition. They prescribe certain qualifications for membership in these organisations which guarantee their competence and honour. They also attempt to define rules of professional conduct and raise the status of a profession.

When occupations approach professional status, they slowly acquire the traits of profession and its incumbents play a greater role in the process. Structural changes in an occupation and relations of its practitioners to society takes place. But the structural changes and attitudinal attributes may not coincide. Often structural attributes are more professionalised and attitudinal attributes lag behind.

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According to Bucher and Strauss the extent of professionalisation may not be uniform within any occupation. Conformity to professional norm varies even in the established professions. Members of an occupation play a greater role in contributing to the process of professionalisation by raising professional standards, becoming active members of professional associations, conformity to professional ethics and holding positive attitudes to work which acts as an incentive to better professional advancement.

The importance of attitudes of incumbents in the process of professionalisation is strengthened by Seymours argument that professionalisation is a state of mind and not a reality. Neither statute nor regulation, neither code nor shibboleth will make a teacher a professional. It can be achieved only through dedicated pursuit of excellence. Hall was of the opinion that conformity of the members of a profession to the professional model varies depending on their background, professional socialisation and professional setting.

Hughes observes that the significant question to ask about occupation is not whether or not they are professions but to what extent they exhibit characteristics of professionalisation.

3 R H Hall, op cit, p.91.
By professionalisation he means a change of status of the occupation in relation to its own past and to the other people - clients, the public, other occupations-involved in its work sphere. Such a change entails more independence, greater recognition, a higher standing, a larger measure of autonomy in managing its affairs and a claim to authority in relation to clients.

The processual approach has found special favour with some writers. This approach, as Turner and Hodge argue, is especially useful in exploring the more general problems associated with studies of professions and professionalisation. These are:

1) The degree of substantive theory and technique in the practising of professional or semi-professional activities;

ii) the degree of monopoly over claimed professional or semi-professional activities;

iii) the degree of external recognition of a profession or semi-profession; and

iv) the degree of organisation of a profession or semi-profession.

This four-fold scheme is of great utility in understanding the character of a movement, popular in western countries, whereby several occupational associations are laying a claim to professional status. The most notable feature of this movement is the

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demand for autonomy made repeatedly by the occupational associations claiming "professional" status.

A few scholars have identified various stages occupations during the process of professionalisation. But complete unanimity is lacking in this regard. Wilensky\(^1\) formulated four stages in this process. They are:

1. Creation of a full time occupation;
2. the establishment of a training school;
3. the formation of professional associations; and
4. the formulation of a code of ethics.

Caplow's\(^2\) formulation, on the other hand, is slightly different. He suggested the following sequence of stages:

1. Formation of professional association;
2. a change of occupational title;
3. the development of a code of ethics;
4. prolonged political agitation; and
5. the emergence of training facilities directly or indirectly controlled by the professional society, particularly with respect to admission and final qualification.

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Depending on the degree of professionalisation various occupations/professions have been categorised. Carr-Saunders\(^1\) differentiated four major types of profession in industrial society. They are:-

i) Old established professions;

ii) new professions;

iii) semi-professions; and

iv) would be professions.

Wilensky\(^2\) identified four different occupation types. They are:

i) Established professions;

ii) other in-process or marginal professions;

iii) new professions; and

iv) doubtful professions.

The basis on which these two classifications have been formulated is different. While Carr-Saundar's differentiation is based on the degree of presence of professional attributes in occupations, Wilensky's formulation is based on the degree which an occupation proceeds through the sequence of stages without error or ties.

Etzioni\(^3\) has identified two important types: fulfledged professions and semi-professions. Semi-professions are


\(^2\) H J Wilensky, op cit, p.143.

distinguished from fulfledged professions in that they have a large proportion of female members and that they are employed largely in bureaucratic organisation. Their associated characteristics are a shorter period of training than fulfledged professions, a less legitimated status, a less specialised body of knowledge and less established rights to privileged communication. In addition, they have less autonomy from supervision or society control than the profession. The examples of semi-professions are school teaching, nursing and social work.

The above two conceptions, attributional and processual, are derived from two theoretical propositions in the sociological study of profession - functional and conflict. The functional theory assumes that society has certain needs and that it develops certain institutional structures in order to fulfil such needs. Following this assumption the perspective posits the existence of a functional linkage between professions and society. From the same premise it is contended that professions have the traits they have because it is through them that society's central needs are best served. It is further argued that professionalisation is both an indicator and a facilitator of modernisation particularly in developing societies.

As against this, the conflict orientation seeks to explain professions in terms of their power relations to society. Instead

of viewing society as a collectivity of undifferentiated interests, the conflict orientation recognises it as comprising of collectivities having different interests participating in the process of negotiation\(^1\). In the present context, professions are held to negotiate with power elites for acquiring monopoly, autonomy and authority which the power elites only grudgingly grant to them\(^2\). The question arises how do the professions manage to secure power and turn their initially dependent power into autonomous power. Gyarmati locates the source of the professions' power in the symbiotic relationship between the university and professional system, for the university certifies the totality of knowledge on which a profession is based.

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Though the two perspectives appear to represent extreme positions, they need not be viewed as absolutely antithetical, because they have in common certain elements of a profession, such as, specialised knowledge, work autonomy, code of ethics and community sanction. They differ only on the primacy they accord to these different elements. If the functionalists accept special knowledge and service orientation as the ends of a profession and treat its special prerogatives like monopoly,

\(^1\) G K Gyarmati: Notes for a Political theory of the Professions, paper presented to ad hoc group No.4 (The Professions and the social structure) of the IX World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala(Sweden), 1978, (mimeographed).

autonomy and authority as having instrumental value for the above ends, the adherents of the conflict orientation put this relationship in the reverse order. In the conflict orientation prime importance is attached to the power and privileges of professions as reflected in their monopoly, autonomy and authority and specialised knowledge and service orientation are viewed as elements in an ideology which is used to legitimise the power and privileges of professions. The point is that all these elements are present in every profession and they seem to stand in a sort of mixed relationship. Therefore, there is no way to determine if these elements stand in this direction of relationship or that. Perhaps, one is likely to find evidence in support of both perspectives, for they highlight different sides of the same coin. It will, therefore, be only right to treat both perspectives as complementary rather than competitive.

Thus efforts at a clear definition of the concept of professionalism has had a long history. The problem of definition derives from our attempt to give precision to a social or occupational role that varies as a function of the setting within which it is performed, that is itself evolving, and that is perceived differently by different segments of society. Furthermore, the concept of the professional cannot be defined by any single criterion. Different sociologists have given different weights to different criteria, but all have agreed on
the necessity to use a multiple criterion definition such as the following:

i) The professional, as distinct from the amateur, is engaged in a full-time occupation that comprise his principal source of income.

ii) The professional is assumed to have a strong motivation or calling as the basis for his choice of a professional career and is assumed to have a stable life time commitment to the career.

iii) A profession involves activities essentially intellectual. The professional possesses a specialised body of knowledge and skills that are acquired during a prolonged period of education and training.

iv) The professional makes his decisions on behalf of a client in terms of general principles, theories or propositions, which he applies to the particular case under consideration i.e. by "universalistic" standards, in terms of Parsons' pattern variables (Parsons 1959).

v) At the same time, the professional is assumed to have a service orientation which means that he uses his expertise on behalf of the particular needs of his client. This service implies diagnostic skill, competent application of general knowledge to the special needs of the client and an absence of self-interest.
vi) The professional's service to the client is assumed to be based on the objective needs of the client and independent of the particular sentiments that the professional may have about the client. The professional promises a "detached" diagnosis. Thus, the professional relationship rests on a kind of mutual trust between the professional and client.

vii) The professional is assumed to know better what is good for the client than the client himself. In other words, the professional demands autonomy of judgement of his own performance. Even if the client is not satisfied, the professional will, in principle, permit only his colleagues to judge his performance. Because of this demand for professional autonomy, the client is in a potentially vulnerable position. How does he know whether he has been cheated or harmed? The profession deals with this potential vulnerability by developing strong ethical and professional standards for its members. Such standards may be expressed as codes of conduct and are usually enforced by colleagues through professional associations or through licensing examinations designed and administered by fellow professionals.

viii) Professionals form professional associations which define criteria of admission, educational standards, licensing or other formal entry examinations, career lines within the profession and areas of jurisdiction for the profession.
Ultimately, the professional association's function is to protect the autonomy of the profession, it develops reasonably strong forms of self-government by setting rules or standards for the profession.

ix) Professionals have great power and status on the area of their expertise, but their knowledge is assumed to be specific. A professional does not have a license to be a "wise man" outside the area defined by his training.

x) Professionals make their service available but ordinarily are not allowed to advertise or to seek out clients. Clients are expected to initiate the contact and then accept the advice and service recommended, without appeal to outside authority.

As can be seen, these various criteria fit best the traditional, ancient or "learned" professions of medicine, law and divinity. They fit in varying degrees professions like architecture, social work, engineering, teaching and management. Moore (1970) has proposed that the above criteria (particularly numbers i, ii, viii, iii, v and vii in that order) be arranged as a kind of scale of professionalisation, thus permitting one to judge any given occupational group in terms of its degree of professionalisation.

The ultimate criterion of professionalisation, according to most of the leading sociologists, is the achievement of "autonomy" which implies - a) knowing better what is good for the client
than anyone else because of extended technical education or training, b) subjecting one's decisions only to the review of colleagues and c) setting all one's standards pertaining to jurisdiction of the profession and entry into it through peer-group associations. These characteristics give rise to professional "communities" implying a common sense of identity, self-regulation, life time membership, shared values, a common language, clear social boundaries and strong socialisation of new members.

In summary, it is not as easy to define what constitutes a profession as one might at first assume. The ideal model to which most professions aspire can be described but it rarely applies in practice and is itself shifting.

II) Socialisation

Occupational values which influence one's occupational choice are largely transmitted through the institutions of family and school. Many have shown positive correlation between social class and occupational preferences.1

Entry into different professional careers is not equally easy for all men or women. Ease of entry varies according to the social origins of entrants, as does the way in which they move through career patterns. For example, a number of studies of occupational mobility have shown that movement into and through professional career is conditioned by one's family status, which, in turn, is

largely a function of the occupation of one's father\textsuperscript{1}.

Reiss, Jr., follows the approach of Carr-Saunders and Classifies occupations according to the degree of their professionalisation, from established profession to "marginal profession"; and then examines the social origin and mobility patterns of individuals in each professional category. The author found marked differences in social origin associated with different career patterns\textsuperscript{2}.

It is also important to note that parents having negative attitudes towards their own work do not want their children follow their own profession and these attitudes are passed on to children. In analysing the relation between parents and job choice, Smith\textsuperscript{3} arrived at a very interesting observation. He found that men violate the wishes of parents more frequently than women. Lipset\textsuperscript{4} has found some useful observations about parental influence. In attempting to determine the extent to which advice played a part, he found that parents in higher socio-economic categories provide their children with more advice than parents from the lower economic classes. Consequently, working class people tend to grasp the first available job they find.


But the data on parental influence are not conclusive, while others feel that family background impose relatively fewer restrictions on children. Bendix\(^1\) et al argue that occupational career patterns may be considered in terms of integenerational mobility of people. The social pattern of the larger society appears to outflank arguments supporting the family. Another protagonist of the anti-family position is Stubins\(^2\), who believes that the degree of realism involved in vocational choice is unknown. In this study he found that age, father's occupational level, number of siblings played no great part in parson's employment choices.

The parental influence on their children's occupational choice is concomitant to the social class factor. Hiremath\(^3\) finds that the most important differentiation between the classes regarding their evaluation of work relates to the job itself. Middle class children consider the intrinsic features of a job more important than do lower class children. The intrinsic aspects include the satisfaction one gets from the job, closely related to these are vocational service values. Boys from lower class consider service jobs unmanly, while the reverse is true for middle class boys. Of course, both lower and middle class groups of people select lower status jobs least frequently. From this analysis, the conclusion seems to be that an ideological difference exists in

regard to work life. Apart from social class variables which are likely to have an influence on one's occupational choice, some other variables studied by Lipset have also been found to be important. He says, "The individual's relations with his parents, the number of siblings and their relative age, position within the family, the education of parents, intelligence and general academic record all have played a role in determining the attitudes which an individual has towards employment"\(^1\).

Apart from family, schooling in the early stages of career is important in preparing for an occupation and getting people committed to careers. Goode\(^2\) remarks that the long socialisation makes the individual incapable of changing occupations, since both his skills and attitudes are relatively fixed.

III) **Occupational Choice**

Every individual seeks to make some sense out of the world around him as he moves through it, to find some meaning, some implications, some predictability in events as he experiences them in his life. In the pre-industrial society, before a high degree of occupational specialisation occurred, the individual's work experiences tended to be a part and parcel of his interpretation of the rest of life. There was little division between the work site and other areas of individual and family activity. Today, work tends to be compartmentalised from other aspects of life and sociologists speak of "multiple group membership" and "different

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reference groups", when they describe the social context of modern life. Certainly the work context exercises crucial influences over other aspects of life experiences. Therefore, an understanding of how an individual enters and moves through a career in a more or less professional work context is fundamental to understanding the totality of his life experiences.

One of the most important dimensions in the "sociology of professions" is the motivation of people to join a particular profession rather than following some other career. The study of the motivations for following an occupation is a difficult task because it is not easily amenable to empirical enquiry and is based on numerous individual and social factors. The complexity of the nature of occupational choice has not, however, prevented social scientists from exploring this aspect of profession.

Some studies indicate that occupational choices are made on the basis of values. Different arguments are developed for the interpretation of values regarding work. Some are metaphysical explanations, as men labour for the expiation of sin, for salvation, for getting rid of fear of domination, and self actualisation. In contrast to the substantive metaphysical explanations, there have also been some economic interpretation like Locke's notion of labour as the originator of individual ownership and

source of all economic values, which Mills calls a harsh justification for the economic man motivated in his work by the money he earned\(^1\). While Taylor\(^2\) also stressed economic motives, Hawthorne studies pointed out as many incentives to work of which money is at least important under normal conditions. Becker\(^3\) and Strauss pointed out that musicians preferred freedom to play rather than earning more money, better playing places and getting good working conditions.

More and Nathan have shown that individuals are attracted to a particular profession possessing the following features:

i) prestige;

ii) financial earning;

iii) human service; and

iv) autonomy and manual skill.

"What draws the young men into a particular occupation, must be seen as a complex pattern of motives, each of which may be related to a well-defined characteristic of the occupation\(^4\)."

McLelland and others have discussed the need of achievement, affiliation and autonomy in the case of teachers\(^5\).

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1 Quoted in Mills \textit{op cit}, p.217, 1956.
Kuhleen and Dipboye agreed that persons select teaching because of intrinsic satisfaction derived from the job. Neither are they eager to get ahead nor do they have outstanding autonomy needs. Becker says that American emphasis on mobility should not lead to an assumption that everyone wants to rise to the highest level or to rise quickly. Individuals often take satisfaction in their competence at certain techniques and develop self-conceptions around them.

Rejecting any one of the motivational basis for work, Vroom provided five motivational bases. They are financial remuneration, expenditure for energy, intrinsic satisfaction, social interaction and social status. These various motivational bases, according to him, assume different configurations for different people.

Some scholars like Hughes argues that career pattern is one of the most crucial and significant aspects of profession and hence the sociology of profession has to give due emphasis on it. He says: "One of the main problems in the study of profession is to discover the career lines of people who follow it. This in turn requires the identification of significant phases of careers."
Hughes indicated that career includes the individual perception of his surroundings and changes in one's self. He says: "Career includes not only the process and sequence of learning the techniques of an occupation, but also progressive perception of the whole system and of the possible places in it and the accompanying changes in and one's self in relation to it ... the phase adult socialisation being applied to some of the process involved". Thus Hughes recognised the adult socialisation process that includes relevant training in acquiring new social roles determining self-identify, self-conception and social status.

Substantiating the career aspect of Hughes, Becker's sociology of work has included a series of opportunities and dangers, rewards and disappointments that confront new entrants into occupations. Besides, he has also emphasized the subject experiences of various kinds/career passages, like the nature and particular type of commitment to an occupation/organisation.

He viewed subjective experience in process. He considers these subjective experiences both at a given stage in conformity with a given position and at a mobile state in opposition to the changing position. In other words, both static and mobile realms of subjective experiences and their dependence on determinants are brought into the frame of analysis. Further, he also makes an attempt to clarify the respective relevant positions of the occupants towards their commitment. Of course, for him commit-

ment is nothing but progressive identification of an individual with role requirements.

The description of the phases of career has been provided by Miller and Form. They categorised the total career of an individual into a) preparatory period, b) initial period, c) trial period, d) stable period and e) retirement period. This frame of work is useful for ordering data about careers rather than for explaining differing mobility patterns.

Miller and Form have also identified six types of career patterns and some of their major defining characteristics. These are: a) Stable, which is evidenced by early entrance into a stable job. b) Conventional where the worker progresses normally to his stable position. c) Unstable, where the worker returns to a trial job. d) Single trial, as evidenced mainly among younger workers. e) The disestablished who returns to his trial job after a brief flirtation with a stable position. f) The multiple trial, who never escapes the trial period. Lipset and Bendix have classified all the workers in their study as manual and non-manual and discovered that there is "little permanent occupational movement across the basic line. This means that although many persons have experienced in a wide variety of occupations, most of it will be homogeneous to the extent that it will be manual or non-manual". Warner and Abegglen in their

study of the American business elites noted that successful men were inclined to move from one firm to another even after they achieved their high positions.

Becoming a professional is a gradual process. It does not happen all at once. The gradualness of career decision appears to be one characteristic of most professional occupations in contrast to less professionalised lines of work. According to Hall, four stages may be singled out as follows:

i) generating an ambition;
ii) incorporation into the institutions;
iii) acquiring a clientele, retaining and improving it improving it and perhaps eventually transferring it to a successor; and
iv) developing a set of informal relationships with colleagues (inner fraternity)\(^1\).

An analytical approach to the analysis of careers is provided by Thompson\(^2\) and others. They pointed out that depending on individual’s orientation towards career, competence, aspirational level and the structure of job market, individual adapts one of the following four career strategies:

i) the heuristic career strategy;
ii) occupational strategy;
iii) organisational strategy; and
iv) stability strategy.

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iv) **Occupational choice, institutional set up and professional commitment**

Occupational commitment means a consistent pattern of behaviour beginning with the choice of occupation to the determination to continue with it. Usually there is a strong correlation between occupational choice and occupational/professional commitment. In cases where the choice is made voluntarily, there would be positive adherence to the job and institutional role performance; and in cases where the choice is made involuntarily, that is, due to the scarcity of opportunities or other limitations, then there would be a near negative association with the occupation or profession and the expected institutionalised role. In other words, a stable equilibrium relationship within the system of occupation would refer to a situation where the occupational choice of occupants is at their "free will" and thus manifests harmonious relationship; while a dynamic equilibrium relationship within a system of occupational would refer to a situation, where the choice of occupants is forced under circumstances and hence reflects disharmony leading to gradual accumulation, adoption and modification within the range of alternatives. However, in actual empirical setting, neither would exactly conform to the complex relations though a disequilibrium would be noticed inherently which is to a tolerable extent modified through various mechanism of social control. In this context, the point is to evaluate the actual existence within the ideal framework for analysis and thereby expose the incongruencies and incompatibilities within both the latent and manifest structures and process. Besides, there may be conditions of external pressure, where irrespective of profession being
voluntary or involuntary, the involvement of all occupants in the role may not be in conformity with the expectations and may vary with the variations in purposes and respective involvements.

Goffman\(^1\) has shown that individuals may identify with their role and regard it as a sincere expression of their view of themselves or may create a gulf between their performance and their true self conceptions (role-distance). It is not necessary that the attachment of people to an organisation is given for all times by the initial orientations which they bring from past social experiences. The involvement of people is also influenced by their experience of organisation itself, in particular the way in which they invalidate prior expectations and generate new ones. Many studies have assumed that the character of attachment of members is determined by the nature of organisations and psychological propensities which they bring to it\(^2\). The involvement of people varies with the goals and expectations people have and the organisational capability to satisfy them.

In the case of professional occupations, conflict may exist between professional and organisational values. In an analysis of scientists, Kornhauser has reported four areas of built in strains between the professional and organisational values. They are (a) the nature of goals sought (b) the source of control


over scientific work (c) the kind of incentives sought, and (d) matter of influence\(^1\).

Conflicts are likely to occur wherever professionals are employed by bureaucracies. Scott\(^2\) has laid down four areas of role conflict.

i) Professional's resistance to bureaucratic rules.

ii) Professional's rejection to bureaucratic standards.

iii) Professional's resistance to bureaucratic supervision.

iv) Professional's conditional loyalty to bureaucracy.

In the teaching profession, the social and cultural climate of the college, other academics have an influence in modifying the attitudes of teachers. This process of professional socialisation interacts with the initial motivations resulting in strengthening or nullifying the initial choice made before joining the profession.

Various incongruencies may exist between professional values and organisational values. One of the most important aspects where the incompatibilities in higher education exist is between research and teaching. Several studies notably those of Reisman(1956) Gouldner(1957), Hughes(1958), Davis(1961), and Gross(1963) have stressed the incompatibility of teaching and research roles and the consequent tension that is generated within the academic world. These scholars feel that teaching interferes with research

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and vice-versa, not only because they compete for time but also because they have different approaches, require different talents and aptitudes and different facilities. They point out that research takes time and requires best efforts of a teacher. The other trend of thought emphasises the complementaries of both these functions. Parsons and Platt (1973) in their study of American faculty have stressed the essential unity of teaching and research. Their survey of American faculty indicates that most faculties in all colleges and universities prefer a combination of the two. A majority of the academicians they studied believe in principle that the academic role should involve both research and teaching. Parsons and Platt rightly argue that teaching and research flourish in combination and the divorce of one from the other leads to the extinction of both. The conflict between teacher's interest in any of these results in teacher's conformity or withdrawal.

Another area where such incongruencies occur is in the area of decision making. Decision making climate appears to be a major factor in teacher's job satisfaction which is related to freedom on the job. Aiken and Hage found high levels of alienation among professional groups in a highly centralised and formalised setting. In a centralised system conflict occurs if people have need for greater autonomy and the system does not permit it. In a decentralised system, lower ranks have greater control over work than in


centralised authority systems. Control over work and involvement and commitment have been found to be positively correlated\(^1\). So also rank in an organisation and power and control have positive correlation\(^2\).

As long as one stays, the less likely is one to leave and more likely to develop positive feelings towards the organisation and role. With the passage of time and accrual of experience, greater opportunities for informal privileges, power and increased loyalty to organisation comes. Besides this role-routinisation occurs, whereby incumbents' various activities mesh into established and recurring patterns of work and non-work\(^3\). Becker has shown that age, marriage and education are positively related to commitment for organisation\(^4\). The validity of this proposition has been questioned by Ritzer and Trice. They argued that the basic process of commitment is psychological and structural factors play only a secondary role\(^5\).

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There is a disagreement on the relative importance of background and work situation in influencing the involvement of people in work. While Blauner argued that background in the community is an important factor affecting amount of attention\(^1\), Kornhauser viewed work situation as more important; background and personality factors interact with work situation resulting in committed or alienative responses to job\(^2\).

Because of social and technological change, the society is becoming more complex, and that this complexity is creating new and pressing social problems. It is equally clear that the growth of basic knowledge and technology has made it possible to attack not only the new problems arising out of this complexity but also old problems that previously remained untouched and sometimes even unrecognised. The professions have always been the agent by which society dealt with its major problems. It is the professions, therefore, which must continue to change and evolve to deal with new problems and new complexities, using the continually growing knowledge and technological base that is available.

The pressure towards change in the professions can be described from several points of view. As social needs and social institutions have changed, so have the work settings within which professionals operate. No longer does the autonomous professional

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singly provide his service for a fee. Today most professionals are employed in various kinds of organisations and are paid by various combinations of salary and fees. Change in work settings has been accompanied by new concepts of who is the client. Professionals no longer deal exclusively with individual clients; today entire organisations act as purchasers of professional service and professionals "create" client groups who may not see themselves as clients, such as consumers and ghetto dwellers. Professionals must now relate to multiple client systems and deal with projects in which one part of the client system may conflict with another part of it.

Both the work settings and the type of client have been influenced by the availability of more basic knowledge and more sophisticated technology. Such technology has not made it possible to work on complex problems which previously seemed insoluble but has also made it necessary for professionals to organise into units large enough to support the capital investment in the technology e.g. the sophisticated diagnostic equipment of a modern hospital. With the growth of knowledge has come increasing differentiation of the professions into specialities and sub-specialities, creating problems of how to integrate the various approaches of the specialist into a coherent professional service. The increase in specialisation has created problems of obsolescence, jurisdiction among the professiona,s co-ordination and too little synergy. Often the specialists work at cross purposes with each other and fail to take advantage of the different points of view that an interdisciplinary approach makes possible.
Changing social values have created new client systems and have led students and young practitioners to call for a rethinking of professional roles. In particular, a higher value is being placed on working for the poor, the ignorant and the powerless, even if those groups do not see themselves as clients and cannot afford to pay for services. The new values call for the professional to be an advocate, to set about to improve society, not merely to service it, to become more socially conscious, to be more of an initiator than a responder. In these new roles the professional is asked to change some of the norms of his own profession and to fight the bureaucratization and standardization that have occurred in many professions.

The kinds of changes we have been describing have affected most of the major professions – medicine, psychiatry, social work, law, architecture, engineering and teaching. The resulting strains on the professions show up most clearly in professional schools, where some of the faculty and students call for reform and rethinking of professional roles while other faculty and students call for a tightening of professional boundaries and a return to basic concepts and skills. The growing specialization of professional fields has led to some fragmentation of, for example, schools of architecture and schools of engineering, leading to further differentiation of the fields and some recombinations (e.g. of some areas of medicine and some areas of engineering into biomedical engineering). Some segments of the academic community continue to work single-mindedly on basic
research while other segments and growing numbers of students are calling for a slowdown of basic research and/or a rethinking of emphasis on new technological advances in terms of their potential social consequences. In the meantime, the behavioral sciences have made considerable advances in understanding the psychology and sociology of client systems, the processes by which learning and socialisation take place, the theory and practice planned change, and theory and practice of giving and receiving help, group dynamics and leadership phenomenon. All these areas are of increasing relevance to the professions.

The state of ferment in the profession and in the educational establishment makes this a good time to rethink education for the profession. It is increasingly obvious that the professionals of the future must have a different set of skills, a different self-image and a different set of attitudes from the professional of today.

contd. on next page
Teaching as a profession:

There are strong differences of opinion on the question of whether teaching is really a profession. If we apply the canons of professionalisation strictly, no group of teachers, except possibly university teachers can be said to be professionals. Indeed Libermann denies that school teachers in America are a professional group. He says, "It is unwise to glorify education as a profession but it is equally unwise to glorify medicine or law or any other occupation. All have shortcomings as profession". Altbach is of the opinion that college teachers are not fully professional in that they do not have real autonomy over the working conditions. They do not regard themselves as independent intellectuals with self imposed responsibilities for teaching and academic life but rather as employees of large bureaucratic structures. Suma Chitnis is of the opinion that they function poorly as academics and somewhat indifferently as teachers. On the other hand Tropp in his study of English teachers concluded that in spite of their failure to achieve self-government, they have succeeded in attaining professional status. Musgrave also

concluded" that there is an arguable case for saying that there is a teaching profession". Etzioni\(^1\), however, suggests that teachers along with social workers and nurses are really semi-professionals. Stinnett\(^2\) tried to appraise the status of teaching on the basis of different criteria of a profession. On most of these criteria, it was found that teaching does exhibit the characteristics of a profession, and on some criteria it has some weaknesses and on a few criteria evidence is mixed.

According to some sociologists\(^3\) if service to society be taken as a mark of a profession, then no occupation can be rated as high as teaching, because its social value lies in its contribution to the training of individuals which ultimately leads to the betterment of the society. Moreover, in discussing whether teaching constitutes a profession it has been argued that there are certain conditions which teaching fulfils that support it as a profession. For example:

i) Teaching involves activities that are predominantly intellectual in nature;

ii) teaching requires careful skills and understanding;

iii) teachers are required by law to complete certain requirements for certification and entrance into the profession;

iv) teachers have professional organisations at local, state and national levels; and

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3. e.g. Sunitee Dutt: *Towards a True Profession of Teaching*. In: *Sociology of Teaching Profession*, S P Ruhela(ed), NCERT, Delhi, 1970.
v) teachers have professional journals to help keep them up to date.

They attend seminars, workshops, conventions, summer schools and extension classes. In other words, they engage in a variety of in-service educational activities.

The role of the teacher, as that of a member of any profession, is a dual one. He is a practitioner of his speciality and he is a member of his profession, obligated to further the ideals of the group. The teacher's role as a practitioner is an ancient one, but his role as a member of the profession is a relatively recent one. Thus the job of the teacher is more than teaching. It involves the job of improving the profession and education. This century has given powerful impetus towards the professionalisation of teaching by demanding higher levels of education and competence and by urging teachers to move towards achieving standards comparable to other recognised professional groups.

It is no mere rhetoric to say that the destiny of the country is being made in the classrooms and the teacher has an important and vital role to play in the total programme of national development and social change. The importance of teachers in the educational system is deeply recognised by both western and Indian scholars. For instance, Laski observed that the quality of a university is in direct proportion to the quality of teachers and universities are specially marked by the great teachers they

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possess. Rao argued that the efficiency of educational system depends upon the quality of teachers, their dedication to the profession and their use of right methods in the pursuit. To achieve the fulfilment of professional responsibilities teachers ought to be adequately motivated in the pursuit of acquiring skills and knowledge-base of the profession. Besides they must internalise the social values, behavioural norms and identify with the role that leads him to internalise professional culture. The Committee on the Governance of universities and colleges in Part II of its report on Teachers (Sen Committee, 19) made the following pertinent observation on the professional standards of teachers. "Every profession is expected to maintain certain standards and society has a right to demand those standards from the teaching community."

In the Indian perspective, Khullar pointed out that the teachers have neither intellectual pleasure nor commitment to work. Naik, an authority on Indian education, observed incomm-

petence and uninterestedness among many teachers and felt that it was difficult to bring teacher's involvement in educational process. Altbach pointed out that the college teachers are not "creative individuals" but "consuming intellectuals", transmitters of knowledge from those, who do write and who participate in creative work, to the students. Singh and Altbach felt the neglect of studies on college professors and pointed out the utility of research on problems, prospects and aspirations besides socio-economic background of academics in India.

Indian studies

Sociologists, in India, have taken interest in the study of teaching profession only very recently. A look at the literature reveals that the study of academics as professionals has received relatively greater attention than that of the organisational aspects of the academic profession. The structural origin of academics, their attitudes and values, occupational choice, their role structures, and their status as professionals are some of the dominant themes in the study of academics. On the other hand, the research on the organisational dimensions of the academic profession has focussed on the academic organisation, teacher organisations, and teacher training institutions.

Several studies were carried on the social background of teachers. In a study of Rajasthan university teachers it has been found that university teaching profession is the monopoly of upper castes. The proportion of Scheduled Castes and minority groups is very insignificant. Gaudino is of the opinion that most of the college teachers come from urban Hindu upper castes and educated while collar homes. They come largely from middle and lower middle classes. "Higher education does not draw heavily from the families of the wealthy and well-situated. The fashionable, well-prepared, expectant young people will be moved into other pursuits. The university draws its best from two other sources: the seriously motivated and the ambitious offspring of the less well-off classes."

2 G L Gaudino: The Indian University, Popular Prakashan, 35-C Trade Road, Bombay, p.198, 1965.
An all-India survey sponsored by National Council of Educational Research and Training has shown that college teachers are drawn from urban educated and white-collar homes. Women teachers come from advantaged homes in larger proportions than men teachers do. Moreover, teachers teaching in professional colleges are drawn in larger proportions from advantaged homes than are those teaching in non-professional colleges.

To many who have joined the teaching profession, it was second best choice after failing to secure a high position in the occupational hierarchy. Gaudino says, "an educated man goes on to higher learning because of a failure of other opportunities. He has no dedicated intention, no disinterested motivation". The proportion of those who have chosen teaching as their first choice, is high among women teachers than college men and professional college teachers and among college men than among professional college teachers. Those who have never followed any occupation other than teaching is high among women college teachers than among college men teachers and among college men than among professional college teachers. "This situation can partly be explained by the fact that women, all over the world, have looked upon teaching as one of the few careers comparatively easier to combine with home-making ... The consistently lower percentage of professional college teacher who

2 G L Gaudino: The Indian University, op cit, p.198, 1965.
have never practised any other occupation tends to suggest that where they had an acceptable alternative the men teachers have tried out non-teaching positions\(^1\).

Teachers have either followed another occupation before they come to teaching, or have done it in between two teaching jobs or continue to do so while teaching. The percentage of women who have changed over to teaching from another job is small. Among men teachers of colleges the percentage is larger than among college women teachers, but far less than the percentages among professional teachers. The percentage of those who say that they have followed another occupation between two teaching jobs in both men teachers of colleges and professional colleges is uniformly small. Among women teachers of colleges it is practically nil. The percentage of teachers who say that they follow some other occupation along with teaching is small among men and women teachers of colleges and somewhat larger among professional teachers.\(^1\)

Moreover, teaching profession could not attract bright and motivated people because of its low income, status and power. Gaudino has argued that occupational choice depends upon circumstances and the wishes of others. It is result of various

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influences, such as, "parental pressure, advice of elders, examination marks, location and reputation of college, gossip of contemporaries, family connections and luck etc. The young aspirant does not really make his own choice. He is not given the chance, nor he is capable of it. He grows into circumstances which are set up for him"\(^1\).

After joining teaching, the professional performance of Indian academics has been assessed to be far below expectations. Some have pointed out the failure of Indian academic to transmit and innovate knowledge and socialise students for various positions in society\(^2\). In an attempt to explain the poor performance, various explanations have been given. Each and every factor in teacher and institutional setting in which they perform their work has been held responsible by one or the other. Some pointed out that "it is the result of lack of proper motivation leading to a feeling of dislocation within. Something is out of balance and disharmonious inside .... It is a difficulty of spirit, a failure of elan, an absence of will\(^3\). Others argued that the social structure of college and education system within which the teacher's role is performed as the major factor affecting involvement and performance of teachers\(^4\). The role requirement, role perceptions and expectations by various role partners are not in harmony with each other. The authority system sometimes limits

\(^{1}\) G L Gaudino: op cit, p.198, 1965.
teacher's academic freedom and autonomy\textsuperscript{1}. Lack of physical and academic infrastructure are also cited as important factors affecting the performance of college teachers in the profession\textsuperscript{2}. Lack of opportunities and difficulties in inter-college movement compel teachers to continue in the same college\textsuperscript{3}. Some continue in teaching because it is too late to change. Gaudino, on the other hand, argued that even person who have drifted into teaching find it acceptable, adjust and grow attached and it eventually becomes an essential part of one's self. "It is like an arranged marriage: one is put into it makes the adjustment, grows attached and eventually it becomes an essential part of oneself"\textsuperscript{4}.

Some significant work has been carried on the academic role structure of college teachers. Most of the available works offer a critical commentary on the role performance of college teacher, describing him as a poor scholar\textsuperscript{5}, poor conserver and communicator of knowledge\textsuperscript{6}, and poor contributor of knowledge\textsuperscript{7}. Moreover, Altbach\textsuperscript{8} observes that college teaching role is marked by a sense

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of "ambivalence" - a conflict between the broader ideology of the academic, which does stress research and writing and his or her own reality, which does not.

The university teachers, however, fare a shade better in their occupational roles. Yogendra Singh\(^1\) reports evidence of academic achievements and research pursuits of his respondents. Similarly, Khanna\(^2\) notes importance of dedication to the profession, academic excellence, integrity and character as the special qualities and university teachers value in their role perceptions. Casual attempts have also been made to analyse the social role of teachers. Damle\(^3\), Barnabas\(^4\) and Varma\(^5\), all have written on the role of the teacher as an agent of social change, stressing the need and importance of such a role.

In discussing whether teachers are professionals, Nayar\(^6\)

\(1\) Y Singh: Academic Role Structure and Modernisation: In: *The Indian Academic Professor: Crisis and Change in the teaching Community*, S Chitnis and P G Altbach(ed)\(^8\) Macmillan, Delhi, 1979.


has reported low professionalisation among women teachers in South Asia. About college teachers Suma Chitnis makes the following observation: "On the whole college teachers do not seem to measure up as professionals. From among the seven indicators in terms of which their occupational standing has been examined, they seem to qualify satisfactionly on only one, namely, their idealism and their commitment to the work. On the other six indicators, namely, foundation upon advanced learning, the exclusiveness of occupation, the importance of the function the occupation fulfils in society, the organisation and solidarity, autonomy and the status accorded to their occupation - they fail to fit concept of professionals". Sun Chitnis identifies several constraints to professionalisation of teachers. She identifies three sources of constraints, namely, the structure of higher education, the institutional environment and the ineffective organisation of teachers.

A critical analysis of the studies of teachers as professionals reveals that which there is no dearth of studies on the social background and values of teachers, studies of teachers as professionals are scarce. Secondly a few available studies of teachers as professionals make little attempt to show the bearing of the teachers' social background on their professional orientation and commitment. Thirdly, the constraining effects of the organisational milieu on the degree of professionalisation have been more frequently assumed than investigated. Whatever it is,

1 S Chitnis: College teachers: Constraints to Professionalisation. In: The Indian Academic Profession, S Chitnis and P G Altbach (eds), Macmillan, Delhi, 1979.
one thing that stands out clearly is that academic professionals are neither true academics nor true professionals.

Some work has been carried on the organisational milieu of teaching, particularly on the question of bureaucracy versus profession in academic organisation. Analysing the internal organisational environment of college academics in Bombay, Heredia\(^1\) has advanced significant evidence of centralisation of authority and of heavy reliance on bureaucratic criteria for decision-making. This means that there is little scope for professional autonomy. In like manner, Altbach\(^2\) maintains that the basic structure of the college in India is autocratic with little pretence of the collegial decision-making and for this as well as several other reasons college teaching, according to him, has failed to develop fully into a profession.

Equally important is the study of teacher organisations in order to scrutinise the professional character of teaching. In a study of Bangalore University Teachers' Association, Jayaram and Sivarama Krishnan\(^3\) found that teachers' unions evoke neither feelings of solidarity nor of professional pride. Moreover, the


authors point out that teachers' organisations function more as economically oriented unions than as learned societies, with teachers' interest in them being one of economism rather than professionalism. In a study of the Bombay university Teachers' Union, Altbach\(^1\), too, notes a similar predominance of economic concern, to the neglect of professional matters. Making a distinction between unionization and professionalisation, Heredia\(^2\) has drawn attention to such consequences of the former as the increased magnitude of bureaucratization and politicization which, in turn, undermine the professionalising potential of teachers' organisation. In a similar vein, Amrik Singh\(^3\) argued that distortions into which trade unionism among teachers has fallen of late are aggravating the academic crisis in the country.

Lastly, teacher-training institutions comprise another relevant object of professional study. Several scholars such

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as J K Shukla¹, S P Ruhela², N N Shukla³, have analysed different facets of teacher training institutions and highlighted their pitfalls and shortcomings. Based on an empirical study E E Sullivan has shown that such institutions make little impact on the value orientations and professional aspirations of trainees.

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Section IV

In India there has been very little investigation of career choices, career patterns, teachers' academic and professional orientation and commitment to a profession particularly of women. A few studies suggest that there is a wide range of disagreement among social scientists in their understanding of the problem of professional commitment; while some are of the view that lack of professional commitment is entirely due to professional and institutional setting; some others hold that it is due to unmotivated and incompetent people who entered the teaching profession; still some others have pointed out both these aspects as important in influencing professional commitment. The following dimensions of professional commitment have been collated on the basis of survey of literature:

i) A perception of the ideals implied in the profession;
ii) dedication to the profession;
iii) possession of a body of knowledge;
iv) placing primary emphasis on the function to serve society;
v) continuous search for knowledge;
vii) updating information and knowledge;
vii) long period of specialisation and commitment; and
viii) organisational climate fostering professional autonomy.

In the field of teaching, teacher training colleges play an important role in the professional preparation of teachers. Foremost among the factors to which any profession must give interest
and sustained attention is that of a programme for the preparation of its members. Every profession requires education in the specialised professional procedures in addition to broad general education and education in the context of professional field. In fact, the distinguishing characteristic of a professional person is that he is qualified to practice. He is not merely a learned person but one whose learning has been directed toward the acquisition of certain skills, the practice of which calls for the application of appropriate knowledge.

In the teacher training colleges, the quality of teacher educator is very important for bringing about functional improvement in teacher education institutions. Adisheshaih (1978) has rightly remarked that "Those that are entrusted with the responsibility of teaching the teachers have naturally to be men and women of high calibre whose influence would prove to be the greatest asset for the prospective teachers". Teacher education in the country has to face the challenge of producing right type of teachers for a new emerging society and in order to meet the challenge successfully, it is necessary to improve the quality of teacher educators who are manning the teacher education institutions.

The teacher educator, like a teacher, must possess the knowledge, skills and attitudes which will enable him to work with full confidence. Among his other attributes are the mastery of the subjects of specialisation, the power to appraise innovation
critically and engender vision and foresight among his students and a deep awareness of the responsibility with which he is entrusted. It is, however, not only the knowledge of subjects and mastery of methods of teaching which are necessary for a teacher educator to be effective; there are other factors like his attitude towards his profession of teaching, his commitment to the job, adjustment in the work and his interest in the profession.

Feminisation of teaching profession is a sociological phenomenon that is easily observed in India. The trend is indicated by the increasing number of women being admitted to training programmes and securing status of trained teachers. In India, teaching has a relatively high status among the occupations usually followed by women, and a low status among those followed by men. This gives a higher social standing to women teachers as compared to men teachers. With the increase of education among women, especially at the higher level and with more and more women excelling in academic achievement, it is natural for them to seek professional training for employment and security of jobs. Teacher Training is perhaps the most desirable choice for them. There may be social, economic or psychological reasons for this trend but no one particular reason can be located or identified. Is it merely to gain employment and seek economic security that more and more women are entering the profession or is it to gain some kind of social status in a society? Or is it to seek equalisation with men within the democratic set up of the country in which equality between the sexes is constitutionally advocated or is it to prove to the community that an educated girl can support her family and
be economically self-reliant in no less a degree than the son, who is traditionally recognised as the breadwinner for the family? Or is it become their aptitude and interest for teaching compel them to opt for it? The multiplicity of causes and the range of motivations in a social context are always complex and vary from case to case.

Although Indian women have played their varying roles, from warrior to that of teaching professionals, down the ages, family has always been their main charge and their main role is that of mother and daughter. But now the emergence of the career woman is affecting their traditional role and also the status which the society has ascribed to them since ages. They are entering a world of work in which status is achieved through merit and competence. This trend has, on the one hand, led to the equality of sexes in the world of work but has on the other hand, given rise to fear that stability and integration of the traditional family life will be disturbed. Again, lack of harmonious and effective adjustment and professional intercourse between men and women teachers may hinder the much desired professional cohesionness in teachers. Teacher educators cannot remain unconcerned with these problems. In fact, their positive contribution in strengthening the new perception of the role of women in the society, of the emerging trend of man-woman relationship and of striking a balance between home and social responsibilities can be considerable.
The Study

Initially we had proposed to study "professionalisation" among teachers. However, later it was decided to focus on professional commitment. The title has not been changed since it would have involved unnecessary administrative delay. The present research aims to study the extent of professional commitment among women teachers in the teacher training colleges of Calcutta University. We would compare them with men teachers. Such a comparison with men teachers is important because we think that women should not be studied in isolation. And also that generalisation about women teachers will not be possible unless we compare them with men teachers. For assessing the extent of their professional commitment, the present study is to be based on the different dimensions of professional commitment which are already discussed.

In the course of our study we would like to relate professional commitment to the occupational choice. The basic elements in occupational choice are three: it is a developmental process. It is not a single decision but series of decisions made over a period of years. The process is largely irreversible and the compromise is an essential aspect of every choice. Occupational choice means the motivation of the people to join a particular occupation rather than following some other career. Usually there is a strong correlation between occupational choice and professional commitment. In cases where the choice is made voluntarily,

1 Anne Roe: The psychology of occupation, Wiley, New York, p. 251, 1956.
there would be positive adherence to the job and institutional role performance and in cases where the choice is made involuntarily, then there would be a near negative association with the profession and the expected institutional role.

Occupational values which influence one's occupational choices are largely transmitted through the institutions of family and school. It is noted that parents having negative attitude towards their own work do not want their children to follow their own profession and those attitudes are passed on to the children. Apart from family, schooling in the early stages of career is important in preparing for an occupation and getting people committed to careers. Many have shown positive correlation between social class and occupation preferences. Entry into different professions is not equally easy for all men and women. Ease of entry varies according to the social origin of entrants as does the way in which they move through career patterns.

Moreover studies have pointed out the differences in the social and academic background of men and women teachers. The latter have a higher social and better educational background. Men, on the other hand, are socialised into perceiving themselves as the breadwinners of the family and therefore their occupational choice is influenced by this perception. Teaching, because of its low prestige and salary, is the last choice for them. We are interested in these dimensions because the occupational choices of men and women are determined to a large extent, by their socialisation pattern. Does it affect their professional commitment?
We have already pointed out that for women teaching has been and continues to be the most preferred profession. Of all the women in the service sector, the women teachers are of substantial proportion. Women go in for teaching because it gives a flexible time table and also does not involve too much contact with men, especially if they are teaching in women's colleges. Teaching for women has enjoyed prestige ever since its introduction. Women are socialised into perceiving themselves in the roles of wives and mothers and the teaching schedule and contact with youngsters reinforce that image. It is assumed, therefore, that women have a lower self image and are more involved in family responsibilities and as such less involved in the profession. Does it affect their professional commitment?

Moreover, a career indicates a succession and series of work roles, ranks and offices that a person occupies during his life. It also reflects the person's picture of work life, felt identity and image of self, including the values and aspirations that interplay in every phase and change in work history\(^1\). According to Becker\(^2\) the term "career" refers to patterned series of adjustments made by people to the network of institutions, formal organisations and informal relationships in which the work of an organisation is performed. It is often pointed out that a break

\[\text{\footnotesize \begin{enumerate}
\item H S Becker: The career of the Chicago Public School Teacher. \textit{American Journal of Sociology,78, 470-477, 1972.}
\end{enumerate}}\]
in the career path of women is more likely to occur than that of men, because of their greater involvement in family responsibilities. We are interested in this dimension also because an analysis of career will reflect the nature of commitment people have towards the profession.

Lastly, studies on professionalisation focussed on the behaviour of independent professionals. Today professions are facing the advancing tide of bureaucratisation. The new salaried professional is a different kind of man than the independent professional. He is a different kind of man because he works under different circumstances. There may be considerable degree of role conflict when professional individuals become salaried employees of some organisation or conversely, when certain categories of employees in bureaucratised organisations become more professionalised. The professional believes that academic freedom is necessary for institutional role performance and he should be free to exercise his power of judgement and decision making. One of the main causes of dissatisfaction of some teachers in the relative lack of academic freedom which has been defined by Russell Kirk as "a scarcity against hazards to the pursuit of truth by those persons whose lives are dedicated to conserving the intellectual heritage of the ages and to extending the realm of knowledge"¹. Has it got any impact on the professional commitment of teachers?

We shall explore all these aspects in our study which is essentially a comparative one, our main intention being to focus on women teachers. We would like to compare women and men teacher educators in the teacher training colleges under Calcutta University. Although the role of teacher educators is crucial as trainers of teachers, in this study we are treating them as teachers which is what they primarily are.

**Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses are formulated for empirical verification:

1. There may be a difference in the professional commitment of men and women teachers.
2. There will be no difference in the professional commitment of women teachers teaching in co-education colleges or women's colleges.
3. Higher the age of a teaching, higher will be the professional commitment.
4. Marital status being the same, professional commitment of men and women teachers may vary.
5. Higher the social background higher may be the professional commitment.
6. Higher will be the professional commitment when the choice of the job is voluntary.
7. Change of jobs may affect the professional commitment of men and women teachers differently.
8 Greater the academic freedom higher may be the professional commitment of teachers.

Sample

University of Calcutta is situated in the heart of the city. It is one of the three oldest universities of India, established in the year 1857. To test the hypotheses, all the teacher training colleges affiliated to Calcutta University have been included in our study. The colleges are not homogeneous in all respects. Though salary scales and working conditions are similar and teaching responsibilities are generally common, stratification exists among the colleges on various aspects. They differ in terms of their location, management, status of the institution, single sex/co-education, size, courses offered and physical and academic facilities.

In all, there were twenty such colleges under Calcutta University at the time of data collection. Among them ten are situated in the city and ten outside. From the point of view of management, there are as follows:

i) Three teacher training colleges run by the Government of West Bengal;

ii) one B.Ed department under Calcutta University;

iii) five missionary colleges; and

iv) the remaining eleven are non-government training colleges.
As regards the status, they are of three types:

1) Exclusive teacher training college;

2) teacher training departments attached to general colleges; and

3) teacher training department of the University.

These colleges can be classified into two types, namely,

1) Single sex college (that is, men's college/women's college); and

2) co-education colleges.

As the faculty members of the co-education colleges comprise men and women, our study will also try to analyse the professional commitment of women teachers in women's colleges and in co-educational colleges as well as of men teachers in men's colleges and co-educational colleges. In our study we would like to focus on teachers in different surroundings in terms of colleges of different management, status and type.

There are 150 full-time teachers working in the 20 colleges which constitute the universe as well as the sample of the present study. Among them 81 are men and 69 are women teachers. We have included only full-time teachers in our study. Part-time teachers are excluded because of their commitment to some other institutions where they are employed as whole time teachers. Also, principals and vice-principals are excluded because of the administrative nature of their work since professional commitment of academicians are centered on their professional work only.
The following table shows the different settings of the colleges of our study:

**1.1 Teachers' Training Colleges under University of Calcutta.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name of the College</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>David Hare Training College</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Exclusively</td>
<td>Men's College Train College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Institute of Education for Women.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Women's College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Calcutta Girl's B T College.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Non-Government</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>All Bengal Teacher Training College</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Co-Education College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Loreto College (B.Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Missionary College</td>
<td>B.Ed. dept. of general college.</td>
<td>Women's College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>St. X'aviers College (B.Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Co-Education College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sri Sikshayatan College (B.Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Non-Government</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Women's College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Scottish Church College of B.Ed. Dept.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Missionary College</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do- College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Calcutta University Teacher Training Dept.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Calcutta University</td>
<td>B.Ed. Dept. of Calcutta University</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Howrah Girl's College (B.Ed. Dept.).</td>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Non-Calcutta Government</td>
<td>B.Ed. Dept. of General College</td>
<td>Women's College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Uluberia College (B.Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Co-Education College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl.No.</td>
<td>Name of the College</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Madral B.Ed. College, Naihati.</td>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Non-Missionary</td>
<td>Exclusively</td>
<td>Co-Education College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>teacher training college</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gopal Chandra Memorial College of Education</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(New Barrackpore)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gandhi Centenary B.Ed. College (Habra)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gobardanga Hindu College (B. Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>B. Ed. Dept. General College</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fakir Chand Memorial College (B.Ed. Dept.)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>B.Ed. Dept. General College</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Belur B.Ed. College</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Missionary College</td>
<td>Exclusively Teacher Training College</td>
<td>Men's College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Union Christian Training College (Berhampore)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Co-Education College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murshidabad.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Agartala B.Ed. College (Tripura)</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Men's College</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Methodology

The major instruments of data collection are an interview schedule a scaling instrument and an interview guide. An interview schedule is designed to gather information from the teachers, while the interview guide helped in collecting data from the administration etc. The interview schedule is a proforma containing a set of questions. The researcher interviewed the respondents and recorded their responses. This method of data collection proved very useful for collection of reliable data.

As the researcher went to all the colleges under study and met the respondents, a certain advantages followed from the process.

1. Non-response was generally very low as these are filled by the researcher.

2. The information is collected well in time and there was no delay which often happens in case of questionnaire when many respondents do not return the questionnaire in time despite several reminders.

3. Direct personal contact is established.

4. The information collected is generally complete and accurate as the researcher could remove the difficulties, if any, faced by the respondents in correctly understanding the questions.

5. Along with interview schedule participant observation method was also used. Such a thing could not have been possible if data were collected through questionnaire (vide Appendix - I).
Participant observation is one of the primary techniques used by anthropologists and sociologists to gain access to data. If the observer observes by making himself/herself, more or less, a member of the group he/she is observing so that the observer can experience what the members of the group experience, the observation is called as the participant observation\(^1\). In this method, the information is sought by way of researcher's own direct observation without asking from the respondent. Secondly, the information obtained under this method relates to what is currently happening. It is not complicated by either the past behaviour or future intentions or attitudes. Thirdly, this method is independent of respondent's willingness to respond and as such is relatively less demanding of active co-operation on the part of the respondents as happens to be the case in the interview or questionnaire method. Several merits are noted by such observation:

1. The researcher is enabled to record the natural behaviour of the group.
2. The researcher can gather information which could not easily be obtained if he/she observes in a disinterested fashion.
3. Participant observation also enables the researcher to verify what the subjects are doing or the researcher thinks they are doing and also what they reported in the interview schedule.

In such observation, most important will be the collection of information through stories and anecdotes etc. such as are found in the daily round of gossip in the teachers' lounge. These data indicate what is important and unimportant, how teachers view each other and how they evaluate their participation in groups and programmes. Thus combining participant observation with interview schedule have facilitated the collection of more reliable data. A four point scale has been devised to measure the degree of professional commitment of teachers with categories, such as, strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

The interviews were started in May, 1986. The interviews were held on the working days, within the premises of the colleges and each interview lasted for about forty-five minutes to one and half hours. Before the interviews were held the researcher spent two to three days in each college, getting acquainted with the respondents, taking appointment for interviews and letting them used to her presence so that they would not feel embarrassed when she started interviewing them.

In our study analysis was quantitative as well as qualitative. Data collected from institutions in various aspects were analysed for percentage of responses in each category and comparison was made between men and women teachers in various aspects of the problem.