

**PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING - A COMPARATIVE  
STUDY: ENGLAND AND GREECE**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the contemporary aspects of professionalism in teaching in the light of growing central government control over the conditions under which teachers carry out their work in England and Greece.

In both countries, major and recent legislation, have brought about fundamental revision in the context in which educational provision evolves. Such changes have resulted in the increase of government control over teachers and questioned whether teachers can exercise any control over their own work.

The key to the analysis of the issue of teachers' occupational control is the concept of professionalism. It is the main contention of the study that the conceptualisation of professionalism can be best explained by an examination of the context within which it is embedded. Thus, the primary concern of the study involves the development of a multi-dimensional model which may serve to gain additional understanding of the dynamics involved in the functioning of "professionalism".

Subsequently, the model is tested in two different settings: England and Greece, so that common factors may be identified and differences revealed.

Chapter I examines the characteristics of professions and the nature of professionalism.

Chapter II describes the historically dominant elements that shape professionalism.

Chapter III deals with the significance of the evolving nature of the relationship between teachers and the State.

Chapter IV is an analysis of factors which set the context within which professionalism functions. It is primarily concerned with the construction of a model representing the ways in which these factors act and interact.

Chapter V and VI furnish the contextual information as a means of applying the model to England and Greece respectively.

Chapter VII analyses the issues raised in the two case studies and against the rather broader context of the development of education in the European Community, identifies some of their implications.

Chapter VIII concludes with the assessment of the major framework conditions which have been used in the study to conceptualise professionalism.

Professionalism in teaching is not a monolithic concept, but a dynamic one, changing meaning over time. Its conceptualisation within the context of its interrelated contemporary elements is essential to an understanding of control exercised over teachers' conditions of work.

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# INTRODUCTION

## The background

" ...The attack on teaching has its roots in a philosophy resting on the belief that it is central government, its ministers and civil servants, that must determine not only the shape of the school system, but of the curriculum and the methodology of the teaching process. Teachers must therefore be subordinated to a political will based on the notion that only an all powerful state knows what is best for its citizens..."(1)

These words of Roy can probably fit in the political context of English teachers as well as of Greek teachers. The central government in both countries, under a series of initiatives introduced since the mid1970s, has affected teachers' careers by determining how teaching is carried out and consequently the extent to which teachers can influence conditions of their work.

In England\*, a long list of Governmental White Papers, Parliamentary Acts and DES directives, published in the last few years, have brought serious reforms in the education field, critically affecting the position of teachers: National curriculum, new criteria for the content and structure of the curriculum, changes in teachers' conditions of service and salary structures, new forms of funding and resourcing of education, centrally determined criteria and principles for teacher training programmes,

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\*Throughout the present study, the term refers to the legal and administrative unit of England and Wales, as opposed to Scotland and Northern Ireland where the education system with regard to teachers is quite different. For practical reasons "England and Wales" is shortened to "England", bearing in mind that all laws referring to teachers apply equally to both England and Wales, although the actual position of teachers has evolved differently in historical terms in each case.

school accountability, teacher appraisal schemes, new modes of pupils' assessment and examinations, and employment of teachers with lower qualifications, are some examples of the sources of dissatisfaction of English teachers.

In Greece also, there has been a growing unease within the teaching body for the last few years, regarding the professional status of teachers. The dissatisfaction has been expressed that the profession's influence at both national and local levels has been inadequate, and important decisions affecting teachers have been taken only by the Ministry of Education, without consulting the teachers' unions. There has been an increasing concern that the public image of teachers is deteriorating despite the increasing demands made upon teachers and the expansion of teachers' role. The general feeling is that salary increases have failed to reflect the degree of importance of teachers' services in society. In addition, there has been a growing dissatisfaction with the conditions of teacher training and work.

Many of these sources of discontent in both countries, are not new to the profession, but for several reasons they have assumed greater significance during the last years and created a considerable degree of frustration among teachers.

### **The Research Problem**

All these kinds of deterioration in the conditions of teachers' in the market within which they perform their services, may be signs of a new process of attrition of the status of teachers' under the pressures of the central government in the two countries. These have led to questions about the extent to which teachers can and do exert any influence over their conditions of work.

Exploration of the means to control the occupational aspects of teaching

and the impact of this upon the current context of teaching is the focus of the present study.

In other words, what this thesis seeks to analyse is the current context of teaching professionalism in the light of increasing government intervention in conditions of teachers' work. The underlying assumption in this study is that understanding of professionalism can be achieved only through its contextualization. To this end, the investigation of the ideology of professionalism addresses forms of control of the occupational group of teachers, from an historical and sociological perspective. The investigation is limited to two national settings, England and Greece.

### **The Method**

This thesis is concerned to develop a model of professionalism in teaching. What it attempts to do is to account for the characteristics and contours of state education policy in two countries, in terms of professionalism and their subsequent processes of influence over teachers' conditions of work, within their current contexts. The nature of the present enquiry means that the approach employed to the question will be both socio-historical and conceptual-theoretical.

The former is justified on the basis that examination of a set of factors and the relations between them involves complex kinds of social interactions, the result of which is the emergence of a particular form of professionalism. Investigation of the nature of professionalism as a means of occupational control raises the problems concerning the identification of groups involved with the issue of control, the processes through which control is channelled, the extensiveness of control, reactions and implications. To confront these problems, we need to know not only who wins the struggle over the control, but also how this is done. In addition, considerations of the contextualisation of professionalism refer to its changing characteristics, and thus, in order to understand how change

occurs, an historical approach is important.

The task is then to conceptualise and theorise about the relationship between the historically dominant and contemporary elements of professionalism, and to provide an explanation of how social interaction has produced specific forms of professionalism within that context.

However, we are proposing to investigate this issue in a particular way and to develop a particular type of sociological approach to deal with the research question.

In doing so, we go about this task by developing a theoretical framework, its principles borrowed from a systems approach. Since the systems approach in its pure form, by rejecting any action initiated by a part of the system, and simply dealing with the outcome, is incomplete within the present study, an action perspective is introduced, in order to deal also with the ways an actor or a group of actors act (2). The notion that relations between the parts of the system influence the whole, and that teachers are treated both as actors and parts of the system, is essential to generate a conceptualisation of professionalism. In analysing the relationship between the parts, it is assumed that certain elements are more prone to change than others at a given time. In order to understand the current context of professionalism and its causal chain, interactional analysis in conjunction with the structural conditions is important (3). In other words, it is argued that this approach to professionalism incorporates statements about the interaction of its elements and about the influence of independent action exercised by teachers upon its functioning. In examining teachers as a part of the system, this does not imply that the whole is more dominant than the part "according to which social wholes influence individuals so that individual action is determined by a combination of two factors, social wholes and individual purposes"(4) They both equally determine the functioning of the system (5).

In structuring the conceptual framework of the present enquiry, we need first to set the background of the dominant characteristics of teaching, which is the task of part one of the thesis. Teachers' occupational aspirations lead to the issue whether teachers are professionals and this raises the related problem of defining professionalism. The concept of teacher professionalism has been widely used in the field of education in relation to teachers' claims to professional status. There has been a considerable controversy among sociologists, whether or not schoolteaching can be considered a profession, and since controversy implies that not everybody can agree on the identification of certain common defining characteristics about the nature of professionalism, it is essential at the outset of this analysis to establish a procedure of the identification of the use of this term, in order to avoid ambiguities and inconsistencies. In pursuing this investigation, reference to teachers is made as "professionals". Nevertheless, the point here is not to try to establish whether or not teachers are professionals -as this would be a meaningless task-, "a false question for the concept "profession" in our society is not so much a descriptive term as one of value and prestige... is a symbol for a desired conception of one's work and hence of one's self"(6), but rather to identify the meanings and ways in which professionalism is used currently by teachers. The literature of professions and of groups in the process of becoming professionals or seeking to enjoy professional status, is immense. Chapter one examines the schools of thought and theoretical standpoints each contains and points out that professionalism is a dynamic concept, dependent on specific historical contexts in which it is used.

Identification of the dominant characteristics of teaching in the light of the historical dimension is pursued in chapter two, in an attempt to set the background of the evolved relationship between teachers and the central government. The task of the exploration of the nature of this relationship undertaken in chapter three, requires not only investigation of the way

teachers organise themselves in order to protect or advance their professionalism, but also analysis of the structure and function of the State which is the main factor determining the behaviour of both teachers and the central government. The term of the "State" includes a very ambiguous meaning which will be eliminated by analysing it from a pluralist perspective. In a pluralist society the State guarantees the democratic representation of the institutional arrangements and distribution of power on a competitive basis among the different pressure groups (7).

Analysis of the background issues of professionalism shifts the problem to that of creating a framework for the study of its contemporary elements, a model not with exclusive characteristics that appear irrelevant to space, time and purpose -within the present kind of investigation-, but rather an "open" and "responsive" one.

As was pointed out earlier in the introduction, there has been an enormous literature on the professions trying to establish a pattern that can explain the concept of professionalism. The models that have been used in the literature so far do not allow space for political action that can influence teachers' work conditions and occupational positions, as they hold a rather deterministic view about teachers' current and future various forms and power of relations. As a result, we know very little about teachers' power relations in society, how these are influenced and formed and what their affects are upon teachers' work and occupational aspirations. All these issues are very central to a thorough understanding of the current situation of teachers' and available strategies. However, they need elaboration or even reconceptualization, in order to become identifiable, not only in theory but also in practice. Especially with reference to the last point, we can say that in practical terms, underestimation of the significance of the above mentioned relations may be the reasons for the failure to appreciate the diversity of the meanings related to professionalism.

These theoretical and empirical limitations of the literature of the professions highlight the need for evolving a new model for the investigation of the contemporary contextual factors of teaching in the two countries. This takes place in part two and covers the time span from the 1970s onwards.

Chapter four provides the development of a model, which from our perspective can furnish a more insightful approach to the question of the relationship between the teaching body and its external environment, whether political, whether expressed in terms of the conditions of service, or in terms of the degrees of control perceived by teachers and exercised by the central government. It is hoped that this model can illuminate that teachers' position is influenced to a significant degree by a dynamic set of factors operating at different levels, allow political interference when is needed and become more illustrative in terms of the forms of the relations between teachers and the central government.

The limitations of the models existing in the literature for approaching professionalism, examined in chapter four, point out the lack of two important contextual factors: Ideology and the State. They can both provide the background of the meaning of the term professionalism for teachers themselves, as well as for both teachers and the central government. Conceptualization of professionalism as an ideology can help draw out the importance and the implications for teachers' standing. Attempts to demonstrate the ideological use of professionalism is related to the way in which it is shaped in certain historical periods.

"Since ideologies arise in dealing with concrete problems, one would expect them to vary historically, inter-societally and within particular societies at one time inter-institutionally" (8).

The ideological use of professionalism in teaching then, studied within a given context, can indicate the extent to which it is used as a weapon that

restricts or helps teachers to advance control over their work. As such, it has the power to direct teachers' behaviour towards the achievement of certain objectives, while distancing them from others. When aspects of professionalism like autonomy and expertise are actively pursued by teachers and encouraged by the central government, they can strengthen teachers' position against any kind of manipulation of their conditions of work. As a result teachers adopt "professional behaviour", as opposed to "non-professional" behaviour, manifested by the use of strikes. In this case, professionalism and unionism seem to be rather contradictory concepts. Does this mean that militant action makes organised teachers more trade unionists and less professionals, and so distances them from achieving professionalism? This can be answered by examining the extent to which the term of professionalism has been used by teachers in practical terms, as a means to support, enhance, legitimate, or obstruct their professional claims in relation to the conditions of their work.

To this end, the theme of control plays a very important role within the present enquiry and it can link the ideological aspects with the practical aspects of professionalism, by placing the focus on the form of teacher-central government relations. Its nature, as discussed in chapter four, involves the management control exercised by the central government, and the professional control exercised by teachers. Analysis of both the structure of the system of professionalism and of the action initiated by its part, represented by teachers, places the focus both on the central government and forms of strategies employed by organised teachers.

The analytic strategy, then, chosen in part two of the study becomes the primary task of developing a contextual model (chapter four) and of applying it in two case studies (chapters five and six). This model includes variables working multidimensionally: -at the state, formative, institutional and ideological levels.

The state level represents the locus of management control, by clarifying



its structure and function, the means by, and the extent to, which it restricts teachers' ideological aspects of professionalism can be analysed. At the formative level, the impact that dimensions like gender, age and social class background of teachers have upon the forms of relation in which teachers are involved with the central government, can be identified. At the institutional level, the degrees of management control exercised over knowledge and conditions of work, as well as the ways by which organised teachers try to exert their professional control are examined. What are the factors that influence the formation of particular occupational claims, the strategies used by teachers to satisfy them and the degree that the central government is prepared to meet teachers' demands, are the means by which the central government-teacher relationship is analysed at this level. Finally, at the ideological level, we can identify teachers' actual degree of control, and so explore the extent to which professionalism takes place in practice.

The different variables that operate in the above mentioned levels are not arbitrary or independent features, but interwoven in mutually supportive ways. Teachers' positions are by no means free from inconsistency and contradictions, but on the analytical level that will be pursued, it will be sufficiently integrated to a relatively stable phenomenon which can actually become identifiable through the ways in which professionalism is translated into practice. How the system functions in two national settings is discussed in part II, while the extent to which it generates contradictory or reconcilable tensions is discussed in part III.

### **Manifestation of the problem in England and Greece**

The proposition put forward in this study is that the central government is increasingly gaining ground over teachers' occupational control, while

teachers try to defend their organisational rights by appealing to the ideological aspects of professionalism. Professionalism in practice is related to occupational control, and its nature may become contradictory in the way it is used by central government and by teachers. In other words, the notion of professionalism is the terrain which the central government and teachers contest.

Within this framework of argument, the questions to be asked are: In what ways does teachers' professionalism help or obstruct their efforts to protect their interests? Can we attribute certain problems related to teachers' reduced control to a series of major tactical advantages that the central government has achieved as a result of the strategies adopted by organised teachers, in order to satisfy their occupational claims? What are the implications of professionalism functioning on both teachers and the central government?

From what has been said so far, it is implied that professionalism is not an unproblematic and simple concept, even when it is confined within the national settings of England and Greece. These two countries have been chosen as the case studies in this analysis because of their different historical development. The past decade has been a major period of political and professional mobilisation in England: the former to impose particular version of change in terms of the political priorities of the country, and its operational consequences; the latter to modify radical change with the continuity of established corporative practice. In contrast, in Greece it is important to see how professional groups, or groups in process of counting themselves as such, act in a situation when the style of reform continues to be State imposed, even when the content may be less radical. In addition, the educational structures of the two countries have presented distinctive patterns of control: decentralised in England -at least until recently-, centralised in Greece. Thus, the wide range of variation of

their political histories, analysed in terms of the structure and function of the State in education, can give some explanation as to what extent patterns of control and notions of professionalism converge or diverge in the two countries.

The aim of conceptualising professionalism is to provide an explanation of how interaction between sets of variables produces specific forms of professionalism in different countries, rather than why professionalism functions the way it does. The questions dealt with in this study of how professionalism functions in two national settings, and how it affects the teacher-central government relationship, are analysed comparatively in part three of the thesis. This is admittedly a complicated task, because it involves the separation of the factors that impinge upon the functioning of professionalism and a network of relationships in which it is embedded. Differentiation between factors that influence the context of professionalism, implies that some of these factors will be treated as constant, for example in taking into account the economic conditions that affect education policy concerning teachers, the nature of economy is not explained, but treated as given. Bearing this in mind, chapter seven sets out the background issues influencing educational policy not by examining the broad political, economic and social structure of the two countries, but by referring to the extent that these issues inform educational policy in the respective countries.

In trying to identify similarities or differences in the pattern of the functioning of professionalism, some reference is also made to the extent that the identified pattern of control might have an impact upon the broader contextual framework of the European Community. This may help to understand to what extent internationalisation of the teaching culture within the European Community represents a force of convergence or divergence in terms of addressing similar problems and seeking possible solutions.

Another clarification that should be made at this point is that since teachers attempt to control their work collectively, it is with the impact of the organised teaching profession rather than individual teachers that this study is concerned. It acknowledges a deliberate omission of the individual aspects of teachers' professionalism, like classroom and psychological factors, such as self-concept and attitudes that teachers bring with them in the workplace. Similarly, the focus is not on teacher-pupils relationships, pupil development and classroom activities, but rather on the behaviour of teachers as a collective body. This is not because these aspects are considered unimportant, but merely this is not that kind of study. This study suggests ways of looking at and analysing a set of problems associated with teachers' efforts to develop certain strategies in order to gain and defend their occupational control, aspects that can be identified at the macro-level where decisions can be taken by teachers collectively.

In summary, the present thesis is faced with the task of employing a model to analyse the research question, that is: What control do teachers exercise over what aspects of their work, and with what implications for teachers-central government relations? Although most of the study is concerned with describing and analysing the context into which teaching functions (training institutions and market of services), from a socio-historical and comparative point of view, it also seeks to present a case that can be stated as follows:

In the two societies, changes in the political, economic and social priorities of State education have resulted in the strengthening of the central government's control over teachers' at the expense of the latter. This is related to the necessity of conceptualising and defining teachers' notions of professionalism and of locating the forms of its functioning in its historical and contemporary context, so that we can identify the constraints and the wider implications of such functioning.

As such, professionalism is considered a peculiar type of occupational control, rather than a means of identifying certain inherent characteristics, evolutionary processes, or positions of the teaching body within the labour market, as it has been the issue until now. In order to place this peculiar form of occupational control in context, a typology of institutionalised aspects of control is suggested and the various characteristics of each one and the conditions for their emergence is analysed.

In drawing up this typology it has been found useful to present two case studies, England and Greece, concerning the nature and outcome of the set of control relations underlying teachers' position vis-a-vis the central government, within a pluralist perspective, hoping that our findings might also be instructive for teachers in the context of the European Community.

The originality of the study lies in that it seeks to explain the ways in which changes in government policy in education have direct consequences upon the perception of professionalism among central government and among the teaching body, in terms of the dynamics of the phenomenon of professionalism. To that end, a model is developed as a tool to separate and examine the interaction of the main components of the phenomenon of professionalism among the teaching force. It is hoped that this investigation of the concept of professionalism in the light of a model that can contextualise it within the framework of its interrelated contemporary characteristics can provide a new insight into the importance of professionalism, by being relevant to the present conditions of teachers' work in England and Greece.

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PART I

PROFESSIONALISM AND TEACHING

## CHAPTER ONE

### PROFESSIONALISM: THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

#### Introduction

"All intelligent modern persons organise their behaviour, both public and private, according to the "culture of professionalism" (1)

The quest for the characteristics of professions and the very nature of professionalism is a subject in which sociologists are constantly engaged. Despite the vast amount of literature devoted to the subject there has not yet been a definition satisfactorily applied to all professions. However, the present study seeks to develop a new line of enquiry into the complex dimensions of professionalism.

This chapter is concerned with examining ways in which the theoretical dimensions of professionalism can be and have been developed. What is professionalism? What are its indicators? How has it been approached in theory and what are the implications of these approaches in the course of this study? and What is its relevance to society?

By providing answers to these questions, the operational definition of professionalism, as well as some of its essential characteristics, will emerge. These principal questions posed as preliminary to the analysis of the identifying features of professionalism, anticipate also to look towards new modes of enquiry into the issue of professionalism. In order to illuminate the points likely to be operationally useful for the analysis of professionalism, the first task is to review the literature.

For the purposes of this enquiry the chapter is divided into two sections.



Section I deals with the appropriateness of definitions for the study of professionalism, by presenting diverse theoretical standpoints. The relevance of the different debates on professionalism is that they can be used to illuminate some aspects of the nature of professionalism. Section II deals with the broad questions of the value of professionalism and how it affects and is affected by the social context within which it operates. This seeks the tap roots of professionalism in order to ascertain its social importance.

## Section I

### Professionalism: Different Approaches

Several definitions of professionalism have been forwarded, but none has been widely accepted. This is because the concept of profession is an evaluative rather than a descriptive concept (2). "The term profession is a symbol for a desired conception of one's work and hence one's self"(3).

The recent growth of professionalism has been associated with the development of industrial societies: "An industrialising society is a professionalising society" stated Goode (4), referring to the rapid expansion of professions in terms of the range and number of intellectual disciplines related to them as a result of the industrialisation process that Western societies undergo. This also implies that there is an interrelationship between the development of a profession and the social functions and that the complexity or increase of these functions will result in the development of professions or the emergence of new ones.

In fact, high degrees of specialisation can divide a profession into separate sub-professional groups (e.g.the different medical sub-specialities of oral surgery, cardiac surgery, hormonology) and what were occupations few

years ago have become fully recognised professions at present (surgery, for example, has become a paradigm of a profession nowadays, but that was not the case a century ago, when surgeons were not socially esteemed) (5).

It seems that a profession is the ultimate stage which an occupation can reach (6). But in that case, what are the criteria that can distinguish between professional and non-professional groups?

Both the search for an acceptable definition of the term "profession", and also the distinction between professional and non-professional groups are extremely delicate. Carr-Saunders notes that:

"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...It is not merely that any dividing line between professional and non-professional occupations must be arbitrary. It is that the drawing of a line, which though arbitrary is clear, presents great difficulties"(7).

Carr-Saunders also states that the differences may be identified by reference to a "complex of characteristics".

"The acknowledged professions exhibit all or most of these features; they stand at the centre, and all around them on all sides are grouped vocations exhibiting some, but not all of these features"(8)

There has been so much variance of interpretation, that no agreement has been reached so far concerning the appropriateness of a definition. Millerson points out: "Of the dozens of writers on this subject few seem able to agree on the real determinants of professional status"(9). In fact, variation is so wide, that some even dispute the existence of a disagreement on the notion of professionalism. Goode states (from a review of the literature) that there are many commonalities among the various definitions suggested in the literature and he attributes the differences to those of

"omission" (10).

Evidently, it may be asked: Is there a way of approaching the concept of professionalism?

The following pages provide some insight as to the reality of the problem by examining the different approaches in the literature.

There have been two main approaches in the study of professionalism that constitute useful starting points for analysis. These are neither in conflict, nor complimentary, but simply coexisting.

The first, the trait-model, centres around the problem of pinpointing sets of crucial characteristics which can distinguish a professional from a non-professional. The second model emphasises the identification of the development process to professionalization.

### Trait-model

According to the first view, those occupations that clearly exhibit a list of specific elements can legitimately claim professional status.

The trait-method approach that is best represented by Millerson (11), Lieberman (12), Legatt (13) is based on the assumption that professions are different from other occupations, because of specific attributes that the former have. Many lists of these professional traits are available in the vast amount of published literature, although as Lieberman states "none of them can be regarded as authoritative in any way"(14).

Harries-Jenkins lists, from the various definitions in the literature, 6 constituent elements (structural, contextual, activity, ideological, educational and behavioural) and 21 sub-elements that are essential to a profession (15), (Appendix I). These have traditionally been associated with the "old" established professions of medicine, law, theology and university teaching (16). This traditional model gradually came to be considered a starting point in evaluating certain occupations as professions.

It evolved more or less as an ideal-type with the profession model put at the end of a continuum against which occupations are evaluated for their proximity to it (17).

Amongst the early writers of this century on the professions Flexner noted in 1915 that the term profession is a kind of distinctive title. He formulated the following criteria to give an answer to "In this narrower and eulogistic sense what are the earmarks of a profession?":

- intellectual operations,
- science derived knowledge,
- practical and definite end,
- educationally communicable technique,
- self-organization,
- altruistic nature (18).

Carr-Saunders identifies two characteristics as the distinguishing marks of a recognised profession:

- "Intellectual competence", that is performance of services based on skills that guarantee the continuation of the functioning of society, and
- "The urge to form a professional association", that is tendency among individuals with common interests to associate in order to improve their abilities through the exchange of knowledge, experience and techniques. According to him, this explains why most professions have been able to emerge as a single, over all, inclusive general association of practitioners (19).

Lieberman offers another list of eight criteria: A profession:

- performs a unique and essential social service;
- is founded upon intellectual techniques;
- has a long period of specialised training;
- offers a high degree of autonomy both the individual practitioner and the

- occupational group as a whole;
- accepts responsibility for judgments made and acts performed within the scope of professional autonomy;
  - puts an emphasis upon the service it performs, rather than the economic rewards that the practitioner can get;
  - is characterised by self-governing organisation of practitioners, and finally,
  - operates on the basis of a code of ethics (20).

There have been several variations of the trait-method approach, e.g. Scott (21); Simpson and Simpson (22); Moore (23); Elliott (24); Volmer and Mills (25). However, the most important has been one leading to the concept of the semi-profession developed by Etzioni. This concept can be applied to occupations with a female majority of the practitioners employed by bureaucratic organisations. Compared with full professions they have a shorter period of training, less specialised knowledge and lower social status. According to Etzioni, these occupations are nursing, teaching and social work (26).

### Process-approach

The other major approach traces the establishment of a sequence of events through which an occupation goes, before obtaining full professional status. The process model best represented by Barber (27), Caplow (28), and Wilensky (29), takes the view that, in the process of professionalization, an occupation passes through predictable stages of organisational change, the end-stage of which is professionalism.

Barber claims that a definition of the professions should include the elements that are indicators of professional behaviour. He lists the following essential attributes of this behaviour:

- commitment to common good, rather than self-interest
- a code of ethics internalised within forms of specialisation and

- organisation of work, and operated through the associations, and
- a system of rewards that stands as end of work achievement, not of self-interest (30).

For Wilensky, the natural history of professionalism in the Anglo-Saxon world has consisted of five stages:

- 1) the emergence of a full-time occupation,
- 2) the establishment of training school,
- 3) the forming of professional association,
- 4) political activity directed towards the legal protection of the association and,
- 5) adoption of a formal code of ethics.

Wilensky explains how this professionalization process takes place, as follows:

"There is a typical process by which the established professions have arrived: men begin doing the work full-time and stake out a jurisdiction; the early masters of the technique or adherents of the movement become concerned about standards of training and practice and set up a training school, which, if not lodged in unions at the outset, makes academic connection within two or three decades: the teachers and activists then achieve success in promoting more effective organisation, first local, then national-through either the transformation of an existing occupational association or the creation of a new one. Towards the end, legal protection of the monopoly of skills appears; at the end a formal code of ethics is adopted"(31)

Parry and Parry define professionalism as a

"strategy for controlling an occupation in which colleagues who are in a formal sense equal, set up a system of self-government".

The necessary preconditions for the self-government of the occupation are restriction of entry to the occupation through the control over training,

qualification, formal and informal conduct of the practitioners and organisation. It is also important that the occupation obtains the State support that can provide the legal backing for its monopolistic services (32).

According to this approach, professionalism is seen as a process which takes place over a period of time and it can be assessed in terms not of the present status of the members of a profession but of its aspiring future one.

In addition to the two main approaches, there is also the interactionist and the phenomenological one in the literature.

#### Interactionist approach

This approach is not concerned with the definition of the term "professionalism", but rather with the meaning that the term connotes to the public. Bucher and Strauss (33), Friedson (34) and Becker (35) have an interactionist perspective on professionalism. They are concerned with the popular use of professionalism in reference to occupational status and also with the relation that exists between professionals and clients.

#### Phenomenological approach

A more recent approach -the phenomenological- puts the stress on the idea of professional expertise. Phenomenologists of the professions, Berger and Luckmann (36) claim that esoteric knowledge is a necessary, -although not sufficient-, characteristic of professionalism.

All the above approaches have been mentioned not only because they are points of reference for sociologists, but they also show some commonalities in their attempt to conceptualise professionalism. Despite the high degree of consensus that can be identified among the different models, why should it be impossible for sociologists of the professions to agree on a definition?

In fact, the profession is a complex social phenomenon, owing its existence mainly to two factors: to the perception that its members have of their membership and also to a wide recognition that its members are professionals by the community as a whole.

Therefore, when we say that a group of people form a profession, we refer to how they perceive themselves and at the same time are perceived by others. This implies, that there is no general answer that can be given to the question, whether a particular group of people forms a profession, because relevant facts and factors vary greatly from time to time and from place to place.

To arrive at some kind of measurement of trends and criteria in professionalism, it is first important to agree on a basic definition of what constitutes the nature of a profession. Several authors have long been concerned with arriving at a valid and all-embracing definition of a specific model of professionalism. The establishment of an operational definition of professionalism, within the purpose of the present study, is the task of section II.

## **Section II**

### **The Social Context of Professionalism**

While the section I deals with the different theoretical standpoints of professionalism, an obvious issue at this point, is what is the value of professionalism to society, how does it affect the services that members of an occupation perform and how is it affected by what conditions?

In reality, all the earlier mentioned approaches present a single immutable end concept of professionalism, as it is not affected by social, political and economic factors, but it is simply related to the inherent characteristics exhibited and stages experienced by the "ideal" professions. The



phenomenon should be examined not in total isolation from its environment, but in close relation to several issues related to the social context within which professions function which affect their own nature, as well as the nature of the organisations that make them meaningful. By doing that, a fuller understanding of the background factors of the phenomenon of professionalism can be gained.

Such a theme introduces first the altruistic nature of the professions as opposed to the self-interest of other occupations. Professional people are supposed to be motivated by a service-ideal to their clients:

"It is the ideal of service or of a "calling", with the practitioner standing above the sordid considerations of the market place, that separates the professions from occupations" (37).

In a broader meaning of the term of professional responsibility, the professions are charged to educate, to help, to redress wrongs and to heal people. Humanitarian concepts combined with professional ones require that practitioners of any profession serve their fellows within the context of their total individual needs, -mental, physical, social and emotional. The doctor and the lawyer must understand the human being as biological and psychological entity. Similarly, the teacher must be able to understand the individual pupil as well as be familiar with major factors influencing the education of each pupil originating either from the school, the family, or the society as a whole, in addition of being a subject-matter specialist.

The origins of the professional service can be traced in altruistic soil. Professions were established to serve the common good. That notion emerged in the Roman Republic and represented the good of the country that all men were supposed to serve. Later, in the medieval European society, it was incorporated in the tradition of the Church in terms of morality imposed by the Church. Religious morality gave gradually way to

secular morality. An indisputable service entrusted to all professions has been the improvement of human welfare. Thus, a person about to enter a profession is supposed to be motivated by high ideals of service to society. Commitment to this ideal means that the practitioner has always to be critical of his/her profession's practice, rationale and objectives, because he/she is continually seeking to improve the quality of service to his/her fellow people. The relationship that develops is mutually reassuring to the professionals who feel confident and trusted, and to the clients who feel served and secured. Ideally, this relationship should be based only on the service-ideal interest, but in practical terms it would be sufficient, if it developed from a balanced realisation of the service-ideal coupled with self-interest, the latter in the form of the material rewards.

Much controversy has been generated by the existing tension between the service-ideal and personal self-interest in the performance of professional tasks. Durkheim, who was among the early advocates of the positive value of professions in social development, stated that fragmentation of the division of labour which, in industrial societies broke the traditional moral social order, could in fact be eliminated by the moral communities formed on the basis of occupational membership. The professions "should become so many moral milieux" in order to compensate in a society "lacking in stability whose discipline it is easy to escape and whose existence is not always felt."(38)

Carr-Saunders and Wilson characterise professions as the counterbalance to any force threatening the stability of the society of the early 20th century:

"...they (professions) engender modes of life, habits of thought and standards of judgment which render them centres of resistance to crude forces which threaten steady and peaceful evolution...The family, the church and the universities, certain associations of intellectuals, and above all the great professions, stand like rocks against which the waves raised by these forces beat in vain"(39)

Parsons points out that despite the commonalities that can be observed between professionals and businessmen in industrial societies, the main difference is the collective nature of the service of the former in contrast to the individualistic service of the latter. This element guarantees society that science will be used for the common good (40).

Jackson takes the view that the service-ideal is one of the key characteristics of professions. That professionals use their specialised areas of knowledge is not because they are more interested in other people, or more charitable than others, but because their code of ethics expects them to act so (41). A more militant view held by Schumpeter states that professionals apply their knowledge and expertise in order to monopolise essential social needs (42). Illich (43) also vigorously condemns the monopolistic nature of the service, directed towards the clients' exploitation.

Any attempt to control this "service" by agencies outside the profession would be a serious threat to the very nature of professionalism. Marshall states:

"It [individualism] may mean the belief that the individual is the true unit of service, because service depends on individual responsibility which cannot be shifted onto the shoulders of others. That I believe, is the essence of professionalism and it is not concerned with self-interest, but with the welfare of the client"(44)

Altruism as a feature of professionalism is held to have flourished in pre-capitalist societies, where occupations reliant on patronage, were formed into medieval guilds. They saw their main function as to secure their clients' trust and preference in a society organised around the Church in the 18th and 19th century and the market needs in the 20th century. As the Church gradually started to lose power, religious morality imposed by

Church as altruism to serve God became secular as altruism to serve people. Of course, this does not mean that the service-ideal function of professions has lost impetus. All professions are considered to have high potential social value, but the recognition that their members are basically motivated by altruism, rather than for economic rewards does not imply that they are not entitled to fair rates of professional payment. Doctors and lawyers can negotiate their fees with individual clients, while others like teachers, for example, have to bargain with a powerful body -the State- that represents the total sum of clients. But even this characteristic is starting to loose ground as different professions are increasingly incorporated into the system of governmental bureaucratic organisations.

The changes that have taken place in the 20th century as a result of economic conditions have been responsible for shaping professionalism into its "new" form:

"The model of professionalism emerged during "the great transformation" and was originally shaped by the historical matrix of competitive capitalism. Since then the conditions of professional work have changed, so that the predominant pattern is no longer that of the free practitioner in a market of services but that of a salaried specialist in a large organisation"(45)

Does this financial dependence of modern professionals also imply an occupational role and commitment which are dependent upon bureaucracy? Scott (46), Abrahamson (47) and Harries-Jenkins (48), argue that a professional's autonomy and responsibility are restricted within bureaucratic organisations. Allegiance to the organisation on the one hand and commitment to a professional role on the other, may be in conflict as a professional would have to comply with organisational rules, rather than his own decisions, because 'a professional is a person educated to make decisions rather than trained to obey others'(49).

Therefore, a professional and a bureaucratic employee, from this

perspective, seem to be contradictory terms.

Mills argues that professional employees in bureaucracies will eventually perform tasks of a managerial type:

"...most professionals are now salaried employees; much professional work has become divided and standardised and fitted into new hierarchical organisations of educated skill and service; intensive narrow specialisation has replaced self-cultivation and wide knowledge; assistants and sub-professionals perform routine, although often intricate tasks, while successful professional men become more and more the managerial type" (50)

Thus, bureaucratisation of the professionals was interpreted by Mills as their transformation into managers. Parsons also distinguishes between professionals and bureaucrats:

"...professional men are neither "capitalists" nor "workers", nor are they typically government administrators or bureaucrats"(51).

He also criticises Weber who saw both professionalism and bureaucracy as characteristics of the rationalisation process of the Western world (52). In that case, how far do the values of professionalism and bureaucracy coincide and how far do they conflict?

Freidson suggests that the apparent conflict between professionalism and bureaucracy cannot be attributed to rationality, but attributed to authority. It is administrative superiority in the bureaucracy that gives officials the obedience of their subordinates, while in the case of professionals it is competence and expertise that can make them accept orders and advice

"...if it [authority] stems from someone of competence,....not official position as an administrative superior, that is accepted as the source of effective authority over work" (53)

Nevertheless, this move in the second half of the present century from individual "free" practice and self-employment to employment in large

bureaucracies has been paralleled to a move from professionalization to proletarianization:

Proletarianization has become a new approach in the study of professionals that explains the process which professionals undergo as a response to the new conditions of the labour market. Oppenheimer characterises the workplace within bureaucracies as a factory considerably restricting the work task of professionals:

"..the bureaucratized workplace...tends to replace in the professionals' own workplace factory-like conditions, there are fixed jurisdictions, ordered by rules established by others; there is a hierarchical command system; jobs are entered and mobility exists on the basis of performance in uniform tasks, examinations, or achievement of certification or degrees; work tends to become specialised, hence extensive division of labour develops...The gap between what the worker does and an end product increases" (54)

From this point of view, proletarianization seems to be the "natural" evolution of the professionals within a bureaucratic setting.

Other critics, Kuznets and Freidman (55) and Lees (56) take a more radical view, stressing the negative aspects of professionalism functioning in the post war era. They believe that bureaucratisation of the professions advances the monopolistic nature of their services in the form of bureaucratic mechanisms and will eventually result in their use of excess power.

More recent studies examine the importance of professionalism within the broader framework of the State. Johnson characterises the State as able to create divergent interests and orientations within an occupational community, as a result of the operation of varied specialist and hierarchical organisational forms. The State intervenes between practitioner and client to define needs and the way these needs are to be met. Thus, it becomes "mediator" and the effect of this mediation is very important both to the

State and to professionals, because it shifts the self-interest orientation of the professions to that of social service. This role of the State may become an inhibiting factor for State professionals, with regard to the emergence or the maintenance of the "complete community" of professionalism.

Johnson goes further to show the problematic nature of professions.

"(They are) ..Janus headed, they promise both a structural basis for a free and independent citizenry in a world threatened by bureaucratic tyranny and at the same time themselves harbour a threat to freedom" (57)

Larson's analysis of the role of modern professions within the State rates them highly. Their rise is linked to the emergence of the national education systems and as such, there is a close relation between them and State functions. They determine the social structure according to the needs of the capitalist mode of production. Professionalism has become more accessible to today's occupations, by opening the possibility of professional status through educational opportunity to all classes. Modern professionalism is central to the capitalist State and quite compatible with it. State professionals become agents of capitalism by performing the functions of the State. Larson believes that the essential nature of modern professionalism as an agent of corporate capitalism is its dependency upon the capitalist State (58).

Thus, the rise of the modern professions in the 20th century has followed the needs of the economy and has altered the nature of professionalism. Historical and social investigation of this type of professionalism reveals that some of its elements, like autonomy and expertise have remained quite dominant, despite the fact that the conditions under which they were developed have become extinct. For example, professionals are expected to be motivated by the service-ideal, although they are salaried employees. This understanding of the professional, however, retains its vigour since several occupations still aspire to it.

Larson's thesis develops the argument that, in most European countries -especially in the Anglo-Saxon ones- modern professionalism is connected with particular historical circumstances, more specifically with economic and technical conditions.

"The image or model of profession that we commonly hold today emerged from both social practice and from an ideological representation of social practice. The image began to be formed in the liberal phase of capitalism, but it did not become "public"-that is commonly understood and widely accepted-until much later. Not by accident, the model of profession developed its most distinctive and clearcut emphasis on autonomy, in the two paramount examples of laissez-faire capitalist industrialisation: England and the United States. In the Anglo-Saxon societies, the image of profession is one which implicitly accentuates the relation between professional privilege and the market. Profession is presented, for instance, as the antithesis of bureaucracy and the bureaucratic mode of work organisation."(59)

According to the same author, the image of professions has emerged in the Anglo-Saxon world in a free-market economy and as such, it presents variations from the European model, where

"... The development of professions and of their image was in a sense less "spontaneous" in other European societies with long-standing state bureaucracies and strong centralised governments".

In these terms, the traditional models developed in the literature for the professional evaluation of certain occupations are not always relevant to today's occupations, because they are not time, culture and group determined. Specific conditions affect professions differently in different settings.

Therefore, attempts to define professionalism in a way that accounts for observed differences between professions and within a specific profession in different historical and cultural settings need to concentrate not on the characteristics of the professions themselves -as this would be irrelevant to



historical or social variations-, but rather on the mode in which professional activities take place. In trying to identify the cause of confusion among sociologists in dealing with professions, Johnson states that this is because there are two theoretical standpoints: one analyses them as an occupational activity, the other as the institutionalised form of control of such an activity. He favours the latter, on the grounds that:

"...sociologists have tended to accept that a peculiar institutionalised form of control is the essential condition of such occupations rather than being a peculiar historical product which can be said to have existed for a very short period and was a product of the specific historical conditions of the 19th century Anglo-American culture"(60).

Thus, understanding of the concept of professionalism can be developed through an analysis of institutionally variant forms of occupational activities:

"To achieve this understanding, we must make a clear distinction between the characteristics of an occupational activity (which may themselves change over time) and historically variant forms of the institutional control of such activities which are a product of definite social conditions. By introducing the time dimension, we can show that the changing distribution of power in society has had important consequences for the manner in which the producers of goods and services have related to their customers and clients" (61).

Johnson's view is also shared by Larson:

"I see professionalization as the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute and control for their expertise"(62).

Bearing all these in mind, and according to Johnson, it is a more dynamic approach to relate the term professionalism to the ways of controlling an occupation, rather than of describing its characteristics:

"Professionalism then becomes redefined as a peculiar type of occupational control than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations. A profession, then, is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation. Likewise, professionalization is a historically specific process which some occupations have undergone at a particular time, rather than a process which certain occupations may always be expected to undergo because of their "essential" qualities" (63)

## Conclusion

In this study professionalism will refer to the institutional control over a specific occupation's activities -that is teaching.

In the preceding review of literature, professionalism was represented from different conceptual viewpoints. Professionalism is a very complicated term and its definition is a rather problematic task. It is difficult to identify a single set of criteria that can be used as an indicator of professionalism, because an occupational group may satisfy some of them, but not others, or all of them. What we can be ascertained is that professionalism is of certain social value depending on the context within which it is examined. It is not a constant, but it has to be considered in conjunction with other variables.

What it is proposed at this point therefore, is to restrict the search for a definition to one that can be operational within the purpose of this study. If we accept the operational definition of professionalism as a means of occupational control, evolved in a historical process, then the questions to be posed are:

What are the dominant historical aspects of teaching operant since the early part of the 19th century, that account for its specific form of institutional control currently? This will be the task of the following chapter.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF TEACHING

#### Introduction

The analysis in chapter one suggested that the context of professionalism should be located in a time, group and space specific setting. By introducing the time dimension within this concept, it would be possible to identify the dominant characteristics of teaching over one and a half centuries since the 1830s, and to explore the degree to which, teaching was a "profession" in historical terms.

Since the operational definition used in this thesis regards professionalism as an institutionalised form of occupational control, the questions posed in this chapter are: What are the historical conditions that have affected teaching in terms of control over its occupational activities? What are the different historical phases of control, and in what ways was its institutionalised form different or similar in the two countries?

This chapter is an historical exploration of the teaching profession in two cultural settings - namely England and Greece. It starts in the 1830s that represents the beginning of the development of the education systems in the two countries respectively and ends in the 1970s that is the starting point of a new era of central government policy initiatives with regard to teachers in England as well as in Greece. It is divided into three sections: Section I provides a brief investigation into the historical background of the professions in European society. Section II investigates the ways in which teaching was historically a profession in the two countries and Section III places the analysis in English and in Greek society, respectively.

The underlying assumption of this historical investigation is that the



development of a profession is as strongly determined by its past, from which it is hard to escape, as by the conditions under which it operates at present. These conditions are set by the nature of the authority under which institutionalised control is exercised in the two countries. This is a central factor for any comparison between the countries. The form of institutionalised control an occupation possesses depends on the degree of legitimation, that is the extent to which it is recognised by the central government.

The understanding of English and Greek society largely depends upon an appreciation of how control is distributed throughout the social and educational structure and tissue of these societies. The roots of this legitimised type of control form the focus of the next sections.

## **Section I**

### **Evolution of Professions in Historical Context**

Certain occupations in their earliest phases were evolved into what we now call professional groups within, or in close relation to, the Church, in the European world. Physicians and lawyers could advance their occupational aspirations only within the ecclesiastical order:

"To the great mass of the younger students the University was simply the door to the Church; the door to the Church at that time meant the door to professional life" (1)

The men who provided what we now think of as professional services, were either members of the priesthood, or members of the exclusive guilds. In English society of the early 13th century, teachers and students

"after the manner of medieval traders and craftsmen, banded

themselves together into exclusive societies, which may fairly be described as guilds of learning" (2)

Gradually those occupations which had developed within the Church -with the exception of teaching- tried to distance themselves from the Church and to organise their own secular guilds by establishing training centres for their members.

Eventually, the ties of the vocations that bound them to the Church were cut off, as the membership and strength of the former grew and the power of the latter weakened, and university students no longer had to associate their occupational life largely, if not wholly, with the ecclesiastical order. If they wanted to enter a professional career, they would not feel obliged to take ecclesiastical orders (3). Financial independence and autonomy were the immediate outcomes of the break with the Church, as the professionals were no longer dependent upon the benefice of the Church.

Until the early 19th century, medicine, law and clergy, were clearly the only three learned professions, while surgeons, apothecaries, architects and teachers were excluded (4). This very short list of professions can be attributed partly to the fact that only those occupations had a theoretical and organised body of knowledge and partly to the fact that they were the only ones exercised by gentlemen. These were considered necessary features that could entitle an occupation to rank in the professional class. As such, professions were not means of social mobility, but means of protection of the gentlemanly status. Surgeons and apothecaries were omitted from the professional class, because these were not the appropriate occupations for a gentleman; architects and other civil servants because they had not established their own secular guilds -later professional associations-; while most of the teachers in schools for the elite fell into the category of clergymen (5).

Given the fact that professions came to be associated with theoretical knowledge and intellectual techniques, it would be a serious omission not to

associate the establishment of professions -particularly the three prime ones- with the rise of University, especially if we accept Parson's statement that professions depend on the notion of the University, as the Institution of the Intellectual (6).

It is in the University where the intellectual traditions of the former apprenticeship methods of training practitioners became institutionalised and able to define standards and qualifications required by aspirants to their membership.

"These three core professions found in the university a means whereby they could perpetuate the characteristics of their professional wisdom as being based on the generalised learning of humane disciplines and in close association with them, rather than simply depending on "craft" factors in the learning of techniques and skills" (7)

The formal institutionalisation of these three prime professions, in terms of theoretical knowledge, provided them with the power to claim legitimisation of their services. The development of mastery skills and techniques through craftsmanship was no longer considered essential, but instead the acquisition of expert knowledge derived from general study.

Gradually the term profession came to include other middle-class occupations seeking also professional status (8). Those occupations, such as, architecture, surveying, chemistry, accountancy and engineering, had to organise the training and qualifying machinery by their own means, in order to secure a privileged position within a market economy operating under a laissez-faire philosophy (9).

While the State in the Anglo-American world played a rather passive role in organising the training and employment of the professionals, the situation was quite different in Continental Europe, where the State was active in those aspects -although according to Konrad and Szelenyi, such a

generalisation should be restricted to the capitalist states (10).

In those countries, occupations aspiring to professional status did not seek prestigious position, by referring to the term "profession"(11), but by attending elitist State institutions, that guaranteed them employment, and entry to professional class. Thus, in the 19th century, professionals were graduates of: secondary school in Russia and Poland (12), university in Germany (13), grades ecoles in France (14), and university in Greece (15).

Consequently, the concept of profession as was developed in England and Greece carried different meanings, as a result of the different role of the State assumed in those countries.

However, in both instances, a major factor contributing to the advancement of certain occupations, was that of industrialisation. Parsons points out, that professions in the Western world came into existence following the Industrial revolution (16). Industrialisation which swept over Europe in successive waves between the late 18th and 19th century played a very significant role in the transformation of societies from an agrarian to urban, which inevitably affected the division of labour. For Spencer, the expansion of industrial processes and the extended involvement of a larger number of individuals in related work, inevitably lead to refined and stratified divisions of labour. These in turn bring close interdependence on, as well as, in keen competition with each other (17). In Durkheim's view, an expanding industrial society as a result of its dependency upon refined and improved processes, affects and creates new social and industrial needs. Under the influence of accumulated social and technological forces, different occupations separate, specialise and consolidate into guilds, associations and syndicates (18). To this extent, science or knowledge-based professions depend on the progress of research and on changes in the social and industrial organisation of society.

According to Durkheim, industrialisation and the division of labour

require special skills and this results in the separation and specialisation and the creation and development of new occupations (19). The Industrial revolution provided the conditions in which occupations could not either operate, nor evolve further. In that case, the old ones faced no future, and new ones emerged as a result of common interests and new skills, and moved towards certain techniques that made them evolve towards professional or semi-professional status. Caplow's work on the division of labour states that the advancement of an occupational group is dependent upon the way it organises itself, as to shape social institutions and employ means for the production of the desired results (20).

Evidently, there is a considerable degree of correlation between the functions that occupations perform and the form of society itself.

All these of course, constitute the general conditions that have theoretically favoured the advancement of an occupation to a professional status. If we need to be more specific, we need to investigate the historical conditions and background that favoured or inhibited teaching from being a "profession", within the English and the Greek context, which is the task of section II.

## **Section II**

### **Historical Development of the Social Role of Teaching in England**

In the examination of the historical context of the development of teaching as an occupational group in England, for almost one-and-a-half centuries from the 1830s, attention will centre on those conditions that shaped its current form.

As has already been suggested in section I, during the medieval times the only recognised professions were theology, medicine and law, all under

the strong domination of the Church, as was inevitable in a period when the learned man could advance only in the ecclesiastical order, and when the running of the country was in part the responsibility of the clergy.

Education also was closely bound up with the functions of the Church. Often the priest and the teacher\* could not be easily distinguished. The upper class of teachers were included in the clergy, and served in the prestigious private schools providing education for the well-to-do children. Another group that was a species of proletariat served as teachers in the schools meant for working class and poor children.

With regard to the latter, Tropp reports that teachers of poor children were required to have only some knowledge of reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Many of them were semi-skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, clerks, or "superior" domestic servants who considered teaching a "respectable second best"(21).

Yet, teachers who had some claim to be professionals were the Latin masters, university graduates who, apart from teaching in post-elementary schools, combined also the duties of a priest. During the 18th century, (as a result of the expansion of scientific inquiry), a new group of teachers came into existence. They were persons teaching mathematics, astronomy, mechanics or navigation. They had a middle class origin and obtained their knowledge by attending private academies, or public lectures, or through apprenticeship and book study. They could raise their social status even further, but were considered inferior to the classical subject teachers (22).

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\* It refers to grammar and public school teacher, that is the teacher in the prestigious secondary school aimed at the provision of education for middle and upper class children.

These groups of teachers were socially highly differentiated from elementary school teachers, who were not graduates and had origins from a low social background.

"The rural teacher was subordinate to the local priest, was subservient to the squire, and was treated by farmers as their equal. The grammar school master inherited the prestige of the medieval Latin master-cleric..." (23)

In the 19th century, as science and the economy of the country grew in complexity, several occupations such as doctors, civil servants, attorneys, and architects recognised the need for achieving full legitimate professional status, in the sense that it was backed by legal sanctions. Medicine, which took important steps in the mid 19th century in order to achieve legitimate professional status, was of special interest to teachers, because it served as a model of professional standing. The Medical Act of 1858 conferred an equal legal status and a common educational background for all practitioners. It had the power to set standards for entrance exams, to register only qualified persons to practice medicine and to expel the individual practitioner for a specific reason. Although unregistered members could practice medicine, they could not claim to be registered practitioners. This model, developed within the medical profession had a strong appeal to teachers, but for reasons that will be examined later, it was not successful (24).

While medicine, and other professions later, like accountancy, pharmacy, engineering and surveying progressed towards a legitimate professional status, teaching encountered great difficulties in freeing itself from outside agencies of any form of domination and in trying to legitimise its occupational control, as this is examined in the following pages.

## Structure of English Education System: 1830s to 1970s

Before the analysis proceeds, it is important to provide some descriptive information about the structure of the English education system. Several aspects of teachers' professional development are closely related to the structure and organisation of the school system. For this reason, a brief explanation of the English school system is included at this point. What was the structure of schooling and function of teachers in the English society for almost one-and-a-half centuries since 1830s, and what were the conditions against which developments and changes in the position of teachers took place, are the questions that can provide the background of the factors acting towards or against teachers' efforts to become professionals.

Elementary education in England developed from charity initiated by religious bodies which provided the funding for the education of the poor and working classes, in the form of some basic instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. This kind of curriculum was considered sufficient to keep working class children in the low social strata (25) and to protect the middle class interests of the providers, as was clearly stated in the 1862 debates on the Revised Code:

"We do not profess to give these children an education that will raise them above their status and business in life: that is not our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that business...we are bound to make up our minds as to how much instruction that class requires, and it is capable of receiving, and we are then bound to have evidence that it has received such instruction" (26)

Nevertheless, this fear for the advancement of working class people's aspirations and status can find an explanation in the notions that the ruling class held about education at that time. Education was seen as a threat to the existing social order:

"...the main source of most of the evils that have been sometimes



found to arise out of the unions and other combinations of work-people" (27),

and so the ruling class was determined to safeguard the established social order, by controlling the kind and degree of education given to the masses.

Major changes in the system of elementary education provision did not occur until the early part of the 19th century. The growth of religious society schools, and the establishment of the first training schools for elementary teachers marked the development of elementary schooling in England. The Education Act of 1870 that created school districts run by the Local School Boards -for the administration of the taxes- resulted in a rise of demand for elementary education. Numbers\* of pupils\*\*, schools and teachers\*\*\* increased tremendously (28).

Until the turn of the century, secondary education was a privilege to the middle and upper classes. Secondary schools were private elitist institutions developed from the endowed grammar schools. In 1900 the number of students in them was only 30,000 (30)

The huge differential gap between elementary and secondary education was also promoted by the kind of training given to their teachers respectively.

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\* No. of schools: From 9,521 in 1871 to 20,100 in 1900

No. of pupils: From 20% of school age children in 1871 to 62% in 1900 and 70% in 1911

No. of teachers: From 13,729 in 1870 to 113,986 in 1900 and 157,061 in 1930.

\*\* school ages 5-14

\*\*\* Two thirds of the teachers served in School Boards were untrained, and only a few were graduates of the training colleges in the beginning of the 20th century (for example in 1902 there were only 2,800 graduates) (29)

### Teacher Training

The clerical influence that was predominant in teacher training, obstructed considerably the development of the teaching body to a profession. Elementary teachers ought to have common knowledge, slightly more than their pupils had and so they were trained to become skilled workers, rather than professionals (31), a practice which helped advance the popular belief that elementary teachers belonged to the working class, rather than to the professional.

The first Institutions for the training of elementary school teachers, through the establishment of the pupil-teacher system, operated from 1846 until 1918. It did not aim at training professionals, but rather apprentices, whose salaries were paid directly by the government from 1846 to 1908. Its functions can be described as follows:

"A young teacher, in the first instance introduced to the notice of the master by his good qualities, as one of the best instructed and most intelligent of the children; whose attainments and skill are full of promise; and who having consented to remain at a low rate of remuneration in the school is further rewarded by being enabled to avail himself of the opportunities afforded him for attaining practical skill in the art of teaching, by daily practice in the school, and by the gratuitous superintendence of his reading and studies by the master, from whom he receives lessons in technical subjects of school instruction every evening" (32).

Teachers' colleges\* were initially established by private initiatives in the beginning of the 19th century, like the Lancaster British and Foreign Society (founded in 1814), and the Bell National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church

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\* By 1845 there were 22 church training colleges

(founded in 1811), and later by the central government. All aimed at the provision of minimum education, but lacked two essential characteristics: prestige and autonomy. The content of the programmes was clearly supervised by middle class legislators who set up the system, while the method was not systematically planned (33).

Apart from the content, certification also was not controlled by teachers. The salary supplement issued to certified teachers was the carrot that gave the government the yardstick of control. Certification procedures were established in 1846 in the form of examinations validated by school managers and Inspectors (34).

The lack of theoretical training along professional lines was to become the main objective of teacher training colleges. The gradual decay of the pupil-teacher system was followed by the growing demand of teachers and the recognition by the central government for more academic training.

A Departmental Committee (1896-1898) confirmed that view:

"We think it extremely desirable that all intending teachers should pass through a secondary school for the completion of their ordinary education. The preparation of young teachers can and ought to approximate more closely to the more liberal methods and studies which would help bring them to the same level as the best scholars of the secondary schools" (35)

The recommendation of the Cross Commission in 1888 -later embodied in the Code of 1890-, established the Day Training College, associated with a University, or a college of university level. These colleges were not dominated by any religious body, their courses led to a certificate and their growth had been rapid (36) (Table 1).

Indirect links of universities with teacher training courses, via control and validation of certification procedures, were established in late 19th century and training colleges gained the freedom to plan their own syllabuses. After the 1902 Education Act, the Local Education Authorities founded their own training colleges and intending teachers had secondary education

followed by one-year training before entering training colleges. By 1938 there were 38 colleges which trained 5,000 teachers per year. In addition, the University Departments of Education were producing about 1,500 graduate secondary teachers from a four-year course combining academic work with teaching practice (37).

With this dichotomy in the general policy of teacher training, there evolved from the beginning of the 20th century significantly different systems for teacher training -concurrent for elementary teachers and consecutive for secondary.

The joint Board Scheme of the 1920s and 1930s brought the universities closer with the two-year teacher training courses through regular examination procedures, while the 1950s witnessed the strengthening and broadening of that linkage, with the establishment of the Institutes of Education based on the proposals of the McNair Report. The 1944 McNair Committee on the recruiting and training of teachers and youth leaders defined three fundamental needs of those Institutes: the organisation and improvement of teacher education programmes, the provision of in-service training and the expansion of research in education.

Developments in teacher training in the post-war era, like the Robbins Committee's (1963) recommendations for the establishment of a college degree for elementary teachers and the incorporation of these colleges into the University, as Schools of Education (Table 2), represented the peak of a process that had been evolving for over half a century. It introduced the first degree course in education, the Bachelor in Education (BEd), offered courses and examined teachers in conjunction with the universities. The objectives of those establishments were:

"A Training College has a two-fold character: it offers a student the opportunity to develop knowledge and skills and artistic gifts which may not have been approached in school, it also provides for a theoretical and practical study of education, which includes a consideration of the whole period of childhood, with the characteristic interests, activities and ways of thinking at different ages...It will be seen that a Training College course is liberally conceived, for it is concerned with the growth of the whole child and with the nature of the society in which he lives and of which he will

one day be a contributing member. The course is concerned too, with more than helping students to gain skill in the art of teaching; it is also concerned with the principles upon which the art is based. It gives scope for full development to students of varying gifts, whether they be practical, academic, musical, or artistic" (38)

In the 1960s initial teacher education was provided by the non-university sector for the certificate in education for elementary school teachers, and by the universities for the post graduate certificate (PGCE) for secondary school teachers. The aftermath of the Robins' Report was the massive expansion of Higher Education, a process which tightened the links between the universities and teacher training colleges in England. Training Colleges were changed to three-year Colleges of Education in the 1960s in an attempt to upgrade their low status that had been associated with elementary schooling, the certificate in Education was phased out, and university departments offered the Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree to primary school teachers. Moreover, in 1979 all new entrants to the profession became university graduates.

#### *Teachers' efforts to professional status*

From all those developments described earlier, it becomes clear that teaching did not manage to retain its authority from the various religious bodies, or universities. According to Baron and Tropp:

"At all times in England, behind the local grammar school stood the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; behind the elementary school the great religious voluntary societies in the 19th century, and from the 1830s a central government department" (39)

Thus, teachers were constantly linked to sources of authority external to their immediate environment. The central government gradually became more involved first in elementary education, because of the dispute between the Anglican and non-conformist Churches identified also along partisan lines, as the former supported Conservatives and the latter Liberals. The first attempt of government involvement in education was made in 1833 when a grant of £20,000 was paid as a means of subsidy for

educational building and maintenance to the two main charitable religious societies, in order to save them from declining. Despite the fact that the Anglican church, that dominated teaching at that time, opposed central government's proposals to take over the financial responsibility of training courses, because of the fear that this might lead to loss of Church's interests, that grant was raised to £30,000 by 1839, to £100,000 by 1849 and to 836,920 by 1859. In 1898, 40.6 per cent of finance came from central government grants, 56.6 per cent from local taxes and only 1.0 per cent by other sort of fees. Nevertheless, this indirect involvement eventually gave the government the opportunity to take a more active role in all educational matters including finance (40).

The establishment of the Inspectorate in 1840 -the first Her Majesty's Inspectors were appointed with the responsibility of checking that the money granted for education was well invested- and of teacher certification in 1846, stated in clear terms the issue of control over elementary teachers. Central government control and secular elementary teaching was founded with the creation of the Education Department in 1856. By 1857 there were 56 Officers and 20 Her Majesty's Inspectors.

The major legislative means by which the government tried to block teachers' aspirations for self-government and the attainment of professional standards, was the Revised Code of 1862 that abolished the existing system of grants and replaced it by an annual payment to each school on the basis of pupils' attendance and examination results. Teachers became subordinates to school managers and Inspectors, and were paid according to pupils' performance (41). In addition, the insufficient resources of the religious societies to provide an adequate scheme of elementary schooling brought forward the need for the creation of the governmental machinery to "fill up gaps". As a result of the Education Act of 1870, State schools controlled by the School Boards were established, and elementary school teachers became employees of the new established local school boards, or the school managers. As such, their position as employees was quite ambiguous. While secondary school teachers were

clearly private employees, elementary school teachers were neither civil servants, nor private employees (42). The Newcastle Commission (1861) referred to teachers' low status by pointing out very clearly that elementary school teachers should not be regarded as public servants (43), while a 1918 Committee inquiring into scales of salaries for elementary school teachers, noted:

"...teachers though "exercising a profession" were public servants; though members of local public services which formed a single national service, they were not centralised like the civil service; and though controlled by local authorities, the legislative itself was directly concerned with their training, salaries and efficiency" (44)

That ambiguous position of elementary teachers within the market in which they performed their services placed the issue of control far from their reach. From 1870, local school boards established scales of salaries for elementary school teachers, which after the 1902 Education Act were set by the central government (45). Clearly, elementary teachers had no control over the market in which they performed their services in the late 18th and early 19th century.

While that was the situation with elementary education, the central government had not been involved in issues of secondary education until the beginning of the 20th century. This process of involvement was facilitated by religious jealousies between the Anglican and the non conformist (Baptist, Methodist) Churches. The debates of the reform of secondary education in early 20th century were extended to the factional interests, as the Anglicans defended grammar schools against single post-primary education. The 1902 Education Act was the means by which the government became involved in educational matters -not only finance- and can seem as parallel to the conflicts between elementary and secondary school teachers. School Boards were abolished and the Local Education Authorities replaced them. It became also evident the ~~importance~~

decision of the government was to keep elementary teachers at their low social place (46). Thus, the strong influence of religious bodies over teaching in the 19th century seen in elementary teaching in terms of opposing central government's proposals for taking over the financial responsibility of the training courses, and in secondary in terms of objecting to a single secondary school system, obstructed considerably teachers' ability to control their work, and the development of a unified profession.

However, problems should not only be located in the environment external to teaching, in terms of religious denominations or government unwillingness, (representing the interests of the ruling class at that time), but also in the internal environment of the divisions within the teaching body itself, that reflected also the inequalities of the whole education system.

Attempts to erode the duality of the education system -elementary for the working classes and secondary for the middle classes- emerged in the beginning of the 20th century with the need for expansion of secondary education. Organised elementary teachers placed their professional interests upon the demand for a single system of education that would provide easy access from elementary to secondary level for both students and teachers. Secondary teachers did not share the same opinion. They favoured a separate system for secondary schools, (supported also by the Bryce Committee members -all graduates of prestigious secondary schools and universities- responsible for setting a report on the conditions of secondary education) (47).

At the same period also, the possibility of creating a General Council for Teachers' Registration started to gain ground, which was the most significant movement of organised teachers to set a self-regulated profession. The Bryce Committee made the proposal in the 1895 report and recommended a single register for both certified and graduate teachers (48). The effort to control entry to teaching, was the most important official step to promote professionalism, similar to that achieved



by the medical profession. In practical terms, that would imply teachers' control over aspects of training and employment. However, in 1902 when the Teachers' Registration Council was set up, there was a dual approach to registration, one for certified teachers and the other for graduates. In other words, it maintained the social gulf that already existed in the teaching body, between elementary and secondary school teachers. As a result, it never gained any significance and was abolished in 1906 (49).

In 1907 a new registration Council was established that by 1929 included the names of 78,000 teachers. Nevertheless, it did not manage to obtain self-government and independence from the School Boards (50) and it was finally abolished after the 1944 Education Act, due to the lack of financial and membership support. In 1957 another effort for a Teachers' Registration Council included proposals for compulsory registration fee and direct membership nomination by the teachers' associations. David Eccles, Minister of Education in 1957, expressed his pessimism on the issue:

"Even if the existing teachers' associations did join together, into a single body such as the British Medical Association, I do not see any possibility of recognising such a body to control entry into the profession and qualifications for entry...I am not aware of the need or of the general desire to set up such a body" (51)

In the following 20 years, central government's reluctance to transfer control over entry to the profession to Teachers' Council blocked any further developments for the creation of self-governing profession (52).

All these conditions of teaching in terms of employment, training and degree of control mainly from religious bodies and the central government, as well as internal conflicts, had a serious impact upon the way teachers could approach notions of professionalism.

These were the factors hindering the growth of teaching in the same direction as the old established professions. In what ways did this historical background influence the social position of teachers vis-a-vis the central government?

### *Social position of teachers*

As was examined in the previous pages, elementary and secondary school teachers were different groups, allocated to different schools, with different tasks, trained in different establishments, and teaching different social class levels of pupils.

In addition to all these, possibilities for moving into higher social strata through university positions were open to secondary school teachers, who were employed by private schools and by Local Authorities after 1902 (53), while the ways for upward mobility for elementary school teachers were blocked. Her Majesty's Inspectors were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge and administrators in education originated mainly from middle class (54). This meant that elementary teachers could never become Inspectors and they had no possibility to think that their working class origins (55) would confer any right to enter the middle class.

"chances of transference from the elementary system to the secondary did not exist and teaching in elementary schools became a blind alley attracting only the sons of farmers or those who have failed in other occupations" (56).

Not only had the elementary school teacher himself humble social origins. He was also obstructed by the central government, lest his ambitions got the better of him. This could be seen by teachers, that they should remain satisfied with their lowly status.

The social status of these two groups of teachers was so different as to exclude any movement, similar to that in the medical profession, where the increasing prosperity of the apothecaries enabled them to rise socially to the same status as the physicians:

"There was no consciousness of any unity among the teaching profession. One group taught the masses and belonged to them, the other taught the ruling class, and more or less belonged to it" (57)

Clarke, attributes these inequalities within teaching and its low social standing to the English educational structure, that reflects the social structure and the several conflicts and divisions of the society:

"The mass of the English people have never yet evolved genuine schools of their own. Schools have always been provided for them from above, in a form and with a content of studies that suited the ruling interests" (58).

This clear demarcation line in the educational as well as in the broad social English setting, grouped educational institutions and their teaching staff, placing on the one side the grammar schools, colleges and universities and, on the other, the non-selective elementary and secondary schools. Taking this further and examining the social origin distribution of teachers in the various types of schools, we would get a clear picture of the social standing of teachers according to the schools in which they taught.

The inferior social origin and status of teachers who taught in non-selective schools and mainly in elementary schools, which provided only a minimum education for the children of the poor, were diametrically opposite compared with those of the teaching staff in grammar and public schools.

In addition to the low social class origins of elementary teachers, the high population of women teachers had been a contributing factor in the inability of teachers to raise their position.

"It appears...that the low social status of elementary teaching combined with the lack of alternative work opportunities for women produced a female-dominated occupation. This disparagement, in turn, contributed to the continued low status of elementary teaching, a contributing factor in the inability of elementary teaching to achieve the status of "profession" (59).

Women were willing to work for less than men (60) and so control could be exercised easier, by exploiting their labour.

A government report of 1925, referring to the deplorable conditions

under which elementary school teachers worked, described elementary school teaching as:

"one of the few professional careers within the ordinary reach of capable children of the less-well-to-do classes, of which <sup>the</sup> main source of recruitment still remains the working class" (61)

Despite that teachers were blocked in their attempts to advance their status, they themselves thought that:

"... becoming a teacher had, in England and Wales, especially been an important avenue of upward social mobility, since the financing and the opportunity of obtaining a higher education remained largely dependent on the willingness to enter this occupation, and the profession itself clearly formed a bridge enabling those of humble social origin to achieve a higher social status" (62)

From this point of view, any possibility for upward mobility offered to those choosing teaching as a career, might also account for the low status of the teaching profession compared with the old established professions whose gates were open only for members coming from the high social strata. The easy socially accessible teaching profession was thus held in less esteem by public opinion in contrast to other professions, judged as the "real professions", because their practitioners were only those with high educational and mainly social credentials. This can explain why the term elementary teaching had a social class connotation including the minimal training for teaching those who could not afford better.

However, all these developments in teaching should not be interpreted from the angle of the central government as the main obstructing factor to teachers' professionalism. The establishment of the processes for the certification of teachers and the remove of uncertified teachers, the report of the Bryce Committee for the establishment of the Registration Council and provisions for teacher training, represented a positive behaviour towards teaching. They were seen as efforts that could promote professional standards, by bringing teachers closer to middle class values.

Nevertheless, they were abandoned when they reached a stage that threatened (single system of secondary education, of register, or of teacher training) the social equilibrium as that was defined by the ruling class.

In summing up section II, it can be said that teaching in England moved to the 20th century without managing to become a self-governing profession, at least in comparison with other professional groups which already achieved such recognition.

### Section III

#### Historical Development of the Social Role of Teaching in Greece

Section III moves the discussion from the English to the Greek setting. The history of the teaching occupation in Greece can be traced as far back as in the age of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, who marked the history not only of the Greek nation but also of the Western world. Education had been a very important issue in the ancient times. Consequently, various communities, in different historical periods, had developed models which were applied for the training of their young citizens. Athenians were to educate the democratic citizen, Spartians the soldier citizen. Classical Greek culture as was emerged in the 5th and 4th B.C. centuries produced many great teachers whose theories served as the guidelines for the operation of a democratic and the development of a man's body-mind balanced entity.

In medieval times and during the years of the Byzantine Empire, "good education" was the great privilege of the children coming from rich families, who could pay the fees for the best qualified teachers. At that time there were only two Schools for the training of teachers -mainly in religious instruction-, located in Athens and Constantinople, while those who could afford to go to Western European countries and spend some

time as students or apprentices next to well known teachers, were the most fortunate.

From 1453 during the next four centuries, the Greek nation lay under the occupation of the Ottoman Empire and Greeks had no freedom in any activity of their social life, including education. As a result, the developments of professions which took place in Western Europe affected only indirectly their Greek counterparts -by influencing the ideas of Greek teachers who visited those countries.

The history of the modern teaching occupation in Greece, traced in the late 19th century is characterised by the slowness of its growth; particularly its principal social characteristics, the social origins, academic quality and the social status of its members, are to a large extent the outcome of the rate at which the changes in the economic and political conditions of the country took place.

#### Structure of the Greek Education System: 1830s to 1970s

Greece's liberation in 1834 marked the starting point in the history of the Greek education:

"From 1821 to 1828 there was no school operating in the whole country and the majority of the Greek population was illiterate. Most of the army leaders who fought for the nation's Independence, did not even know how to write their name. It is not an exaggeration to say that when the Independent Greek state was formed in 1834, it marked the year zero in the history of the Greek Education" (63).

The law of 1836, organising the Greek education system included the establishment of the 6-year elementary school, followed by the 3-year Hellenic school -based on the German Lateinische Schule- and the 6-year Gymnasium. In the same year also, another Law established the first Greek University in Athens.

The new education system was based on a combination of characteristics of

German system in particular, was stronger over the structure and the orientation of Greek general education (64).

From its outset that system was characterised by the one-way option of studies. The only option offered to pupils at different levels led to University studies. This non-diversity of the system was characterised to be of primary importance, because only in that way the objectives, and method of teaching could be achieved (65)

The most important element of that system was the introduction of free compulsory elementary education (66), an element that was introduced later in England\*. In these terms, the Greek system did not exhibit a strong elitist character as the English one.

The general orientation of the school curriculum was toward the Hellenic Classicism, in an attempt to identify a model based on the National Heritage (67). There was a strong tendency for a return to the classical age. The ethnicist character which imbued the educational system at that period, seemed to contribute to a considerable degree to the formation of the newly established identity of the nation.

"After liberation, religious and ethnical education became the most powerful tools in promoting Hellenic homogeneity of the nation"(68).

In addition, the storm of Western European Classicism, apparent throughout Europe, helped not only to establish this identity. It also served as a point connecting Greece with other more advanced countries to be used as examples for the country's imminent development (69).

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\* In England compulsory elementary education -up to the age of 11- was introduced in 1880, while fees were abolished in 1891

The connection between<sup>the</sup> Greek Orthodox Church and Education that started since the period of the Byzantine Empire, became very close during the Ottoman Occupation period, when the Church was the only official body representing the devastated nation, and was actually to endure for many centuries after the liberation. In fact, this relationship was so close, that it was common to find the same person performing the duties of both priest and teacher.

After Greece's liberation, the development of the education system started at a very low pace. Material and human resources were very limited. Nevertheless, the system exhibited from its start clear signs of a centralised one. At the local level, education was administered not by "Local Authorities" as in England, but by administrators directly appointed by the Minister of Education.

As was examined in section I, the University was the determinant of the elitist position of its graduates. The class division between workers, farmers and the middle class, was historically reflected in the separation of theory and practice in the training of teachers. Primary and secondary schools functioned at different levels. As in England, the dual system of curriculum and schooling led naturally to a double system of training for the teaching profession. Secondary school teachers received their general education at university. Primary teachers were recruited at the earliest possible age and given the shortest possible course of basic training in institutions outside the universities. A characteristic of the differentiation of studies offered to primary and to secondary school teachers, which also reflected the social status of each group, can be noticed even by the term by which each group is being identified. The term "teacher" has been identifiable to the primary school teacher, called "daskalos". This is distinguished from the term "kathegetes" that has been given both to secondary school and university teachers -a term that can best be associated with the term "professor".



This linguistic device divided teachers into two categories, consolidated a certain social pattern and strengthened the barriers across the road to professional and academic respectability, especially for the primary teachers.

### Teacher Training

Into this framework and under the initiative of the first prime minister of the Greek nation (Kapodistrias), the education and the training of elementary teachers first and of secondary later, was to be organised. Kapodistrias realised the importance of the teachers' contribution to the newly liberated nation. In one of his letters to mayor Heideck in Munich, Germany, he wrote: "If we had teachers and headmasters like the ones you have in your country, everything could be improved in Greece, in a period no more than five months" (70)

As in England, the differentiation of studies offered to teachers of primary and secondary school was quite apparent in Greece, reflecting also social inequalities. It started in the 19th century with the establishment of the very first school for the training of primary school teachers, whereas the training of secondary teachers was provided by the University.

This school (Didaskaleio) established in 1834, offered studies of 2 years and accepted students without setting prior requirements. Teacher education programmes were aimed at giving teachers a general basic education and at the same time making them familiar with the method of pupil-teacher-written by Kokoni headmaster of Didaskaleio (71). The staff of that School was one director of studies and two teachers, one of whom ought to be a priest. Because of the shortage of educated persons, those teachers were not qualified in the academic meaning of the term, but people with some basic knowledge in the 3Rs (72).

Since its formation and for the next 30 years, Didaskaleio was the only educational establishment in the country to offer training for primary school teachers, which may indicate the indifference of the authorities to catch up with the need for more education of the increasing Greek

population. In 1864 it was abolished, because it "did more harm than good" and because of lack of professional preparation of teachers. For the next 14 years a one-year school was operating for the training of teachers who were gymnasium graduates and had a certificate of their moral character, issued by the ecclesiastical authorities of their places of origin (73).

The training of teachers improved after the issue of the Law XΘ of 1878 which was an answer to the critical attacks and public disapproval originated from the unsuccessful operation of Didaskaleio (74)

The reorganised Didaskaleio was established and into one of their three classes, young people aged 16-25 years could be registered after entrance examinations in Religious instruction, Greek language, Maths, Greek history (ancient) and Geography. The marks ranged from excellent to fair and according to them the examinee was registered in one of the three offered classes (75). Like in the first teacher training establishments in England, the predominance of the pupil-teacher method was obvious, a fact that delayed the establishment of any other progressive method until 1880 when that method was abolished by law designated ωNΘ (76). The importance of the law establishing the new Schools, lay in its revealing very clearly the intention of the central government to have total control of education in its own hands:

"These schools are to be under the immediate supervision of the minister of religion and Public Education. Teachers in these schools are experienced high school teachers, while the director should be professor of the Department of Philosophy of the University"(77).

The entrance and certification requirements were certainly a very crucial point marking the beginning of the professional movement of teachers in Greece. Nevertheless, the strict control of government over them confirmed teachers' lack of expertise.

In parallel with these efforts of the central government, went others initiated by several private efforts and aimed at raising the standards of

Greek teachers and education. The most important one was originated by the "Association for the Development of Greek Studies", that expressed the ideas of the liberal parties at that time. It decided to send three talented young teachers for further studies in education to Western Europe, in order to pursue professional training.

The first three decades of the 20th century witnessed many changes in the organization of those teachers' training schools, attributable to the unstable political conditions of the country. Law 5802 of 1933 abolished those schools (Didaskaleio) and introduced further stability in the training of teachers, by establishing the Teachers' Training Colleges (Pedagogic Academies), which were to operate for nearly half a century. They were two-year colleges opened to graduates of the 6-year high school (Gymnasium) after they had passed certain entrance exams, at the national level. Into those schools could enter:

"People from any class In the new colleges, but preferably from those with better and higher intellectual standards. Poor, orphans and abandoned children who never felt family warmth and eventually would never be able to offer affection to their fellows will not be accepted"(78).

The Minister of Education at that time (Tourkovassiles), justified the establishment of those Schools on their contribution to the political stability of the country. He considered the ideas of historical materialism that had started to gain ground among primary school teachers as "a virus of a nation harming disease". He approved secondary teachers' reaction, stating that what prevented the secondary teachers from getting infected was the classical education, which primary teachers lacked. Therefore, the law that would give primary school teachers the education they actually needed, (i.e. classical education in two-year establishments, the Pedagogical Academies), was seen of absolute importance (79). The theoretical knowledge offered to secondary school teachers was the means by which the central government thought it could make primary teachers conform to its interests and beliefs, but only at the degree elementary

teachers needed to get, according to its own standards. The main differences between the two groups of teachers were to be retained. Different educational establishment for their training, different curriculum, staff, entry and certification requirements, with only some minor similarities in terms of didactics.

Evidently, the government wanted to secure its position, so that students would be subject to the highest degree of governmental influence, both over their programmes of study, and also over their ideological position. The latter was ensured by requirements of certification of "political beliefs", so that the authorities knew that no communist was included in the course. It was rather "normal" during the civil war years that the central government tried to increase control over teachers. Therefore, and according to Paleologos, it was not accidental that the pattern of that type of School was borrowed from Germany, as that was evolved during its nationalistic years (80).

The economic development of the country in the early 1960s and its theories, as well as the ideologies carried by the educationists trained in American and British universities, facilitated the movement towards the reorganisation of Pedagogical Academies:

"Pedagogical Academies should serve two kinds of objectives: one of constant values that are indispensable to our national and social life, and the other of changing values that are strong enough to orientate our activities to the attainment of specific objectives" (81)

The new social demands for more democratic forms of education were the reasons for the reform of 1964 (82). Law 4379/1964 increased the years of studies from two to three and also granted some degrees of organisational autonomy to the Pedagogical Academies. This did not last long, as the military regime of 1967 reduced the years of studies to two (83), for political and ideological purposes. That regime was interested in the Pedagogical Academies, not to upgrade them but to transfer them to a

propaganda field. It needed teachers to be well versed in its ideology, who could gradually change the political beliefs of people, especially in the rural areas, where people did not have the same opportunities to get informed as in urban.(84)

For the next 15 years the two-year colleges continued to operate without any major change.

While the training of primary teachers had been offered at post-secondary level, secondary teachers always received their education within the university sector -also under the strong control of the government.

#### *Teachers' efforts to professional status*

Since the university has been associated with the establishment of the professional class in Greece, it is implied that the provision of education for primary teachers outside the University and for secondary teachers inside the University, worked towards distancing the former from entering the professional class, while at the same time, fragmenting teaching. Increasing demands for more qualified teachers created the need for more studies, in terms of content and length. Despite teachers' demands for the inclusion of the Teacher Training Colleges into the University Departments, in the same way as the secondary school teachers were prepared for their jobs, that was not to be satisfied until 1982. Law 1268 of 1982 made possible the development of teaching to a graduate profession (85).

For all these years, professional status was not attainable for primary school teachers, because of the central character of the education system.

Thus, the best means by which primary teachers could achieve professional status, that was university level education, was blocked by the government's strong intention to control them. Primary teachers taught children coming from a low social background. As such, they needed skills and knowledge that could only be used practically for vocational training of those children. Secondary teachers' education included a clear

theoretical orientation and professional training (86). In the first years after the liberation of the Greek nation, strong control exercised by the central government aimed at the weakening of the feudalism, -an evident element of the occupation period(87). Since the late 19th century, education was clearly seen by the government as the means to control people by the ideological and political orientations of the conservative parties in power. The role of teachers' in such a policy was their contribution to very strictly defined political objectives (88).

According to Law of 1834 and of 1836 on the organisation of primary and secondary school respectively, primary school teachers were paid by the local authorities (towns and villages), and secondary school teachers by the government. Given the poor economic situation of the country at that time -especially of rural areas-, the big salary differentials between primary and secondary teachers were very obvious (89).

At all times in Greece, behind the schools, and the provision for teachers' training stood the power of the Church in the early 19th century and a powerful Ministry of Education, from the late 19th century onwards. The government has provided the best channels for mobility, since it is the best source of employment, other than land (90). This control of the government over <sup>the</sup> division of labour in the Greek society has been manipulated by the political parties in power, in a way that education in Greece becomes a partisan, rather than a national concern. As such, it has always been a matter of debates between conservatives and liberals, over several aspects, like nature of knowledge and content of university training programmes, form of teacher education, organisation of the education system. This has been concentrated on the centre of the official political forum, rather than being diffused in the whole country as it is the case in England.

For teacher training establishments, the strict supervision of the central government via teachers' position as civil servants, served the transformation of the various political and ideological orientations, that

each political party in power wanted the masses to follow.

The Greek teacher is the civil servant who represents to the community in which he/she works "nationally" accepted values. But it is not the fact that he/she is a civil servant which explains much. What is important in the Greek setting is the cultural and educational role of the State and the political theory that gives it the necessary force and popular backing to contain the pressures of teachers towards achieving their professional standing.

### *Social Position of Teachers*

Unlike the situation in England, where the central government had a rather minimal role in education in the late 19th century, left mainly in the hands of the various religious bodies, the central government in Greece had intervened in education, at quite an early stage. Within this framework, the position of teachers in Greek society is rather similar to that in the English, in the sense that they never managed to free their occupation from outside domination. The social divisions within teaching were also similar. Primary school teachers had working class background, received their training at post-primary establishments in mid 19th century and in post-secondary after the late 19th century, and taught children coming mainly from working class. Secondary school teachers on the other hand, were trained in the university and taught children from middle class (91).

Thus, as in England there were two different groups of teachers, with different background, training, tasks and occupational position.

Primary school teaching represented the second or even last choice of an occupation. It also served as an important avenue of social mobility, in the late 19th century and the present century, by being a very strong magnet among the children coming mainly from working class families (92). Tsakalos suggests that assimilation into the middle class was a widely held objective among teachers at that period (93). For women teachers there was a possibility of upward mobility through marriage enhanced by

education. For men, there was a chance that they or their children could obtain a more solid middle class employment after teacher training.

Teachers were always respected by the public, at least to the same degree as the priests in Greek villages and towns. In the large cities, primary school teachers could not be favourably compared with doctors, lawyers, engineers and university and secondary teachers who were considered to form the real professional class, since the university had as its role to reproduce the elitist character of the Greek intelligentsia.

In the 19th century education was dominated by the classical ideal -deeply rooted in the ancient Greek culture (94), while in the 20th century by the Hellenic and Christian ideals expressed in education by successive governments -mainly conservatives. As such, the role of the teacher was formed accordingly, as that of the conserver of traditional knowledge and moral character. These characteristics account for identifying teachers not only as simply civil servants, but as the main implementers of the State's ideals (95).

The complexity of the social and economic conditions of the country and the unchanging low standards of teacher training programmes throughout a period for over a century, have obstructed the professional development of teaching considerably, and moved it into the mid 20th century lacking control over expertise and market of services.

All these considerations condition the investigation undertaken in chapter three, which explains how Greek teachers have tried to secure their position as professionals vis-a-vis the central government.

### Conclusion

This historical investigation of teaching in England and Greece suggests that the forms in, and the means by, which control was institutionalised in them was quite different, indicating the uniqueness of a national context.

The fact that control over entrance, training and employment conditions



were out of the teachers' reach in both countries indicates the similarities between the two groups, in the sense that teachers became unable to influence the market into which they render their services. Teaching has acquired a unique set of characteristics that account for the form of the relationship between it and the central government. The different phases of control in the one and a half century period since 1830s can provide the background against which its current form can be discussed.

In sum, in historical terms teaching has been shaped in close relation to the central government. The means of its occupational control, mainly over training and practice, is rooted in the degree of legitimation that the central government in both countries has established through legislative acts, in order to preserve society from evils -that is to perpetuate itself and to ensure a given social order.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### ORGANISED TEACHERS AND THE STATE

#### Introduction

Chapters I and II analysed various models and concepts related to the professions and professionalism and the historical development of the teaching body. They also suggested that teaching did not develop independently, like the old-established professions, but always had close links with either the Churches, or when later Churches lost power and influence, the central government.

Further investigation to assess the degree of teachers' influence over their conditions of work should focus on the way teachers organise themselves in order to promote and protect their interests.

The basic proposition underlying this chapter is that an important factor in shaping teacher organisations' external behaviour is the internal problem of organising and maintaining their membership.

The question now to be dealt with is: What are the characteristics of teachers' membership and the internal organisation of the professional associations? Focusing on principles and procedures of teachers' organisations dominant in the past, or recently emergent, may provide a firmer grasp on the nature of the present profile of the relationship between organised teachers and the central government.

This chapter intends to provide an outline of the mode of the relations between organised teachers and the central government in England and Greece, in the post-war era and until the 1970s. The underlying assumption of the chapter is that teachers' form of organisation initiates certain occupational behaviour towards the central government. This in turn, affects the nature of their relationship. Clarifying the relationship between teachers and the central government, may illuminate the extent, to which



this particular form of relationship has inhibited or advanced teachers' professionalism. Before this is analysed, it is important to examine the ways in which teachers organise themselves in order to represent their own interests. Exploration of this requires the further analysis of two points: (a):whether teachers' organisations in England and Greece have moved closer towards trade unionism or towards professional associations, and (b): whether such organisational orientation has affected the particular form of relationship with the central government.

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section I deals with the characteristics of organised teachers. The focus centres on the following questions: Why do teachers need to organise themselves? Do the occupational behaviours of organised teachers resemble those of professional associations, or trade unions? What are the functions and structures of teachers' organisations?

Section II argues that, because of the specific nature of the State in each of the two countries, the relationship between teachers and the central government has assumed a specific form: What is to be understood by the "State" in education in the each of two countries? To what extent do teachers' forms of organisation affect the nature of relationship between the two? and to what degree does this relationship affect teachers professionalism?

## **Section I**

### **Organised Teachers**

In chapter I, attention was focused on the origin of those traits on which the professions have been constituted. Many people may, however, perform certain practices and still find they may not constitute professions. There is much support in historical evidence for the contention that the fundamental

function of any profession is to offer the specific services that society has entrusted to it, at the highest possible levels of competence -a responsibility best performed only if the members of a profession join together in an association. The origins of the tendency for this solidarity may reside originally in the guild system of the Middle Ages, which assumed responsibility for the training and welfare of its members.

Carr-Saunders\* states that the common issues the practitioners of an occupation are faced with, make them form an association the functions of which are threefold: (i) to guarantee professional competence, (ii) professional conduct of its members and (iii) to raise the status of the profession.

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\*"...What then are the motives common to the members of every profession which lead to the formation of professional associations?... Of these the first is that,as a profession emerges,the better equipped among the practitioners realise that they possess a certain craft...But the public does not accord them an exclusive right to that description. Not only may the poorly equipped call themselves by these titles and obtain public recognition, but also may those without any equipment whatever.The better equipped desire that they should somehow be distinguishable and to that end they form associations, membership of which is confined to those possessing certain minimum qualifications...With a few unimportant exemptions, professional associations can now be said to be exclusive only in the sense, that they exclude the unqualified.....A second motive of the responsible members is that the profession in fact, desires to see a proper standard of professional conduct set up and maintained. Just as the qualified are not readily distinguished from the unqualified, so the scrupulous are not readily distinguished from the unscrupulous. Thus, professional associations define and enforce rules of professional conduct. The members, in other words, mutually guarantee not only their competence, but also their honour..There is a third motive...to raise the status of the profession" (1)

Carr-Saunders also sees the rise of professions and their associations to be of great value to society:

"Professionalism has its problems of organisation, it has its weaknesses and its dangers. But taking all in all the growth of professionalism is one of the hopeful features of the time. The approach to problems of social conduct and social policy, under the guidance of a professional tradition, raises the ethical standards and widens the social outlook. There is thus reason to welcome a development of which the result will be to increase the influence of professional associations upon character, outlook and conduct" (2)

Among the most important features of the professions, Goode lists the social value of the professional association:

"Through its control over the selection of professional trainees and its training processes it sends these recruits through an adult socialisation process" (3)

Jackson characterises these functions of the professional associations as the

"mystification element...the protective measures to define the boundaries between the sacred company of those within the walled garden and those outside" (4)

Undoubtedly, the existence of a professional association is of importance both to practitioners and society. In the case of its structure and function in teaching on what grounds can its existence be justified? This point is quite complicated and it involves reference to the debates of the issues of professional association/trade union dichotomy.

### Professional Associations and Trade Unions

There has been a sustained debate about whether organised teachers should have a professional or trade union status. Locke refers to teachers organisations as "...teachers unions", that

"present the opinions of classroom teachers on developments, have

built up formidable and highly influential organisations, and are essential part of the process of consultation" (5)

Kogan does not take any extreme position, but presents the duality of the existence of teachers' organisations, as follows:

"first, plainly, they have a clear trade union role, advancing and negotiating salaries and conditions of work for their members.)....Secondly, the associations are a strong force in creating opinion about the style, organisation and content of education" (6)

The dominant thesis in the literature is that teachers, in their struggles to promote their status, have acted as professionals, rather than as trade union members, and so,

"the possibility that professional behaviour may simply represent an orientation of union action, rather than an alternative to such action"(7)

It will not be fruitful to embark on an extensive discussion of this debate at this point, because professionalism and unionism have been analysed as compatible as well as incompatible concepts, ranging from:

"...those who argue that professionalism and unionism are incompatible (to) those who argue that salaried "professionals" are workers who can only become truly "professional" with the protection of a union" (8)

According to Ginsburg et al, despite the rhetorical differences, the terms are not that dissimilar, as both are involved with the practice of

"gaining and retaining control in the provision of labour, increased remuneration and enhanced control over the work situation"(9).

The similarity of both terms is also justified on the grounds that:

"...there are elements of professionalism that do not, in themselves run contrary to unionism; indeed there are shared characteristics: for example, the concern of the craft unions and professionals alike to

control entry and training and the idea of a high standard of service to the client and of devotion to the task above and beyond financial reward"(10).

Kleingartner argues that there are not incompatible characteristics inherent in the values of professionalism and trade unionism and explains the dichotomy on the ideological nature of the terms:

"... ideologies that have emerged to rationalise non-professionalism have been accepted to varying degrees by substantial segments of most salaried persons"(11)

However, the professional association/trade union dichotomy can be justified on more grounds than that, as it is also related to each one's political role. The political behaviour of members of professional associations exhibit an elitist character. Ben-David believes that professional associations are an extension of the middle class culture (12), as opposed to trade union members, whose practices arise from the working class and function in order to establish allegiance to the trade union movement (13). Thus, it is not surprising, that trade unions are strongly influenced by leftist ideologies and political parties.

At a very descriptive level, and as opposed to professional associations, trade unions: are related to manual labour, do not function for the service-ideal, but only for the improvement of the working conditions of their members. They are also involved in collective action, as they are more likely than the professionals "to substantially lose their autonomy to the union"(14)

Whether certain organisations exhibit features of professional associations, or trade unions, is difficult to ascertain -especially in the case of teaching. Obviously, the first two characteristics do not apply to teaching, but in terms of the use of industrial action, teachers face some distinct disadvantages in their attempts to attain their occupational objectives, especially when they are compared with members of the old established

professions. While doctors and lawyers can negotiate their fees with individual clients, teachers can not do so. Instead, they must bargain with a corporate body representing multiple clients -that is the State . In addition, when teachers employ industrial action, society exerts intense moral pressure on them, by questioning their professionalism by referring to issues such as the teachers' traditionally high commitment to work as well as their concern for their pupils.

However, teachers' resort to industrial action procedures is because they tend to associate closely between strong militancy and successful organisation. Coates comments on that:

"Rather, teachers strike to bring political pressure on their democratically elected employers. The disruption of education of the child is the major asset of the teachers' strike, with the publicity it generates and the commitment and unrest that it demonstrates within the profession as second and important resources. The effectiveness of militancy therefore, depends on the potency of other political factors limiting or strengthening the Government's will to resist; on the electoral strength of the Government, on the state of the economy, on the significance of the issues involved for Government education policy, and on the degree of public support that the teachers can attract and organise. There is no one-to-one relationship between militancy and effectiveness" (15)

Therefore, it is difficult to suggest whether teachers need to organise themselves as professionals or trade unionists, unless the context in which they function is analysed.

However, whether teachers' organisations resemble professional associations or trade unions has a different affect upon organised teachers' external behaviour towards the central government and eventually upon the relationship between the two. This means that the focus of the argument should be on the nature of occupational claims and objectives put forward by organised teachers and the kind of strategies used to attain them. Against this background, -theoretical and empirical-, we can now proceed to the analysis of teachers' organisations in England and Greece.

## Organised Teachers in England

In this sub-section the aim is to explore the ways in which English teachers have organised themselves, and their degree of approximation to either professional association, or trade union.

The idea of a professional association in England gained ground among teachers before the Medical Registration Act of 1858, which formed a successful model for them to aspire to. The founding of the College of Preceptors in 1846 was the first attempt towards the development of an association that sought to establish professional standards for teachers in private schools.

The establishment of the National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET) in 1870 underlines the practical utility that teachers felt in organising the representation of their interests. They needed an association to engage in collective bargaining, on their own behalf. In fact, the creation of the Union was necessitated by both the Revised Code of 1861 which mobilised teachers' political consciousness, and the 1870 Act which gave the central government the power to negotiate in educational matters. In 1885 there were 11,000 members and by 1902 NUT membership had doubled (16).

The NUET was founded with the main purpose of setting up a unified body capable of bargaining with the School Boards, formed as a result of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Its main objectives at that time were:

"a standard contract of service, specifying the causes for which a teacher could be dismissed; freedom from compulsory extraneous duties, such as training a church choir, or playing the church organ; freedom from "obnoxious interference" by managers in internal school affairs; and adequate salaries".

In the following list of NUT's objectives, the first four lines were couched in the terms of claims of a profession. The remainder was set out as demands of a trade union:

"i. more stringent requirements for entry into the teaching

- profession;
- ii. the official registration of teachers in order to maintain teaching standards and to protect children from unqualified practitioners;
- iii. the right of teachers to promotion to the Inspectorate;
- iv. the right of appeal against an Inspector's recommendation to cancel a teacher's certificate;
- v. the restoration of an adequate superannuation or pension plan and
- vi. the abolition of the system of payment by results" (17)

Apart from the last points which referred to specific conditions under which teachers operated at that time, the whole list may be interpreted as a high concern of organised teachers, about professional standards, its main focus centred on the creation of a unified profession. That was the reason for discarding the word "elementary" from the union's title in 1889, that was considered "degrading". Since then the Union's name has been National Union of Teachers (NUT) (18).

Nearly a century later, the list of NUT objectives was:

1. to upgrade the standing of teachers in the society by creating an all-university graduate teaching profession;
2. to improve salaries and conditions of service that will offer teachers a professional standard of life;
3. to provide teachers with a pension scheme similar to that in the civil service;
4. to unite the teaching profession and
5. to establish a self-governing teaching profession (19).

Looking at both lists, not much difference can be seen. The professional objectives of unity and status have been the constant ones. Added to this is teachers' demands for better conditions of service. There is an obvious continuity in objectives throughout the years, but does this indicate the NUT's failure to satisfy them?

Dissatisfaction with NUT's strategies to achieve its objectives originated by the sectional interests of teachers and expressed by the creation of several



other organisations, has damaged any possibility for unity: The Association of Headmistresses in 1874, the Incorporated Association of Headmasters in 1890, the Association of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools in 1884 and the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools in 1891, were all created for serving mainly the interests of grammar school teachers, and organised into different groups according to sex of their members. With the emergence of comprehensive school in the 1960s, the former two became SHA (Secondary Headteachers Association), accepting both male and female headteachers, and the latter AMMA (Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association), accepting teachers from all types of schools. In the 20th century, further fragmentation has taken place: Women teachers broke away from the NUT as a result of the latter's refusal to fight for women's equal pay and formed the NUWT, later UWT.

When equal pay\* was achieved, the latter joined the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS), - originally formed to serve the interests of male teachers- and since then they have both (NASWUT) represented the second largest teachers' union in England, advocating mainly the interests of teachers who do not interrupt their career for any reason, like looking after a family.

Another teachers' union the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT), was formed in 1973 in order to advance the professional interests of teachers, in the sense that its members

"are not only opposed to the strike weapon as such, but consider it unprofessional behaviour to take militant action of any sort, under any circumstances" (20)

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\* equal pay was added to the objectives of NUT in 1919

As its name indicates, the National Association of Teachers in Higher and Further Education (NATHFE) consists of the teaching force in further education, technical colleges and polytechnics.

A more detailed list of Teachers' Associations is given in tables 3 and 4 (Annex).

As it can be seen from this brief account of the different teachers' unions, the sectoral interests represented by type and level of school, sex and education of teachers, have been the reasons for preventing the unification of teachers' associations in England.

The NUT is the only association that has moved closer to the ideal of one all-embracing teaching body, including in its ranks teachers from all types and levels of schools. Despite the fragmentation that took place since its early years, it is still the dominant teachers' association.

The NUT is not affiliated with any political organisation and it supports the elections of teachers to Parliament, regardless of any political affiliation, so that the voice of the profession may be heard in the House of Commons. Its rule requiring strikes, is that teachers in each school ballot. If a majority of two-thirds is registered, then a strike can take place. In addition, this has to be approved by the Action Committee of the NUT (21).

In Roy's view certain NUT's policies, like the abolition of the 11+ examination and the introduction of comprehensive schools, the extension of nursery education, the concern for handicapped children, and the efforts for reform of the educational system are all parts:

"of widening the horizons and improving the quality of state education, by creating more educational opportunities for the ordinary child in the ordinary school" (22).

In these terms, NUT's objectives seem to be consistent with a professional association.

The most important means that the NUT has considered to strengthen the

bargaining position of teachers is professional self-government and organisational unity. A single voice for organised teachers is imperative for the improvement of the image of the profession and the influence that can have upon policy making. Ronald Gould, NUT's leader in 1963 stated:

"If the administrative power in education, which was once diffused, is now being concentrated in the Minister, then the power of the teachers, which is at present diffused should be concentrated too. We should create our national power centre to parallel that of the Minister...Unity then is no longer a luxury, it is becoming a necessity, for unity means political power and disunity political futility" (23).

From that statement it is implied that the time was right for the political consciousness of teachers to arise. The question, in what terms that was to be shaped into organisational unity and self-government, is now to be examined.

### Drive to Organisational Unity

There have been some attempts at organisational unity but they all failed. In 1924 the NUT, Joint four (Association of Masters' Assistants (AMA), Association of Assistant Mistresses (AAM), Association of Headmistresses and Headmasters' Assistants (HMA) and the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI)), tried to form a confederation that would protect the authority of each, but in fact, it proved ineffective and split up in 1932.

After the Second World War the NUT and ATTI opened discussions on unity but again the irreconcilability of proposals led to no further action. In the 1960s the NUT abandoned its efforts at the creation of an all-embracing teachers' body and concentrated on cooperation on specific issues.

Thus, in 1967 NUT and NAS cooperated in a campaign to end compulsory staff supervision of school meals and in 1969 the NUT, NAS and one year later the AMA, organised a joint campaign as well as strike action (24).

Ironically, despite the several attempts at unity, the associations find themselves more divided than ever. Nevertheless, teachers' leaders have not ruled out, until very recently, the possibility of advances in professional unity in the immediate future. The NUT General Secretary McAvoy stated in October 1990 that NUT fosters closeness with other unions, hoping that this closeness will eventually lead to the creation of a single teacher union. deGruchy, General Secretary of NASUWT also expressed the view that NASUWT would be prepared to merge with other teacher associations when a strong unity of purpose, policy and philosophy were established (25).

### Professional self-government

Attempts to achieve professional self-government have not been any more successful. As was examined in chapter two, these can be traced as far back as the proposal of the Teachers' Registration Council in 1899 which did not live long.

The idea of a Teachers' Council with the main objective the establishment of a register of qualified practitioners, that could improve teachers' qualifications and performance, lived on until 1970, when the final report on the responsibilities of the Council was to be ratified by the government. It stated that

"The Council would assume responsibility for determining standards of admission and training and administer professional discipline; though the secretary of the State would retain "reserve powers" to overrule its recommendations and to introduce his own regulations by the use of the affirmative resolution procedure"[sic](26).

However, the working party recommended that it should accept the Council's recommendations on qualifications for entry to the profession and on the training "unless there were overwhelming reasons to the contrary" (27).

In 1970 the Labour party lost the General Election and the Conservative Party

did not take further steps. Edward Short, former teacher and secretary of State in 1968 stated at the NUT's conference on the self-government issue:

"I do not see how a divided profession can shoulder these...convincingly. If you want me to use the next few years to make significant progress, the prerequisite is that the teaching profession in Britain must put its own house in order" (28)

Despite several attempts to blame teachers for the failure, it became clear that the interests of the central government were the obstructing factors to teachers' efforts for self-government:

"..the stark fact is that the State has become the most powerful force in education, has a vested interest in opposing the ideal of the teachers' registration movement, in blocking the establishment of a self-governing profession. It is difficult to conceive of any way in which the basic situation is likely to change, and it remains the underlying reason why the occupational movements of teachers have been organized on the model of unionism"(29)

Organisational unity and professional self-government may be related issues but they are dissimilar concepts.

"For the functions of a Teachers' General Council and of a single teachers' union differ: the first, to control entry and qualifications for the profession and discipline within it; the second, to negotiate salaries and conditions of service with employers, and even to protect the rights of the individual teacher against any self-governing teachers' body" (30).

The impact that teachers' organisations -especially NUT\*-, have upon government policy depends on the relationship between them, which raises the question what are the means that NUT has in order to influence education policy.

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\* the present study will deal only with NUT within the English context, because it represents the largest teachers' union and because it brings together teachers from different levels in school system and different types of establishment.

As has already been mentioned, the organisation of teachers into an all-embracing body is sufficient to guarantee successful existence of the teaching body.

Equally important is the context within which they shape their objectives and employ means to achieve them. Teachers' organisations function within the context of the State. This will be analysed in the next section

### Legitimation and Recognition

It was not until 1911 that the Education Department established the first formal contacts with NUT representatives:

"The National Union ...was not "recognised" until then and " the Department pretended to ignore its very existence. The officials were forbidden to correspond with the Secretary of the Union and if he brought forward any complaint on behalf of a teacher,he was actually told to refer it through the managers of his school and no further notice was taken of his letter" (31)

The formal channels of pressure were to open much later, through several committees, the major of which are the LEA committees, the Burnham Committee and the Schools Council.

All LEA education committees have teacher representatives who are elected by their local unions.

The Burnham Committee was established in 1919 and until recently negotiated teachers' pay conditions. It consisted of two panels of representatives -the management panel with LEA representatives and the teachers' panel with teachers' organisations representatives- according to their membership strength and with just two seats for DES representatives (Table 5). Its machinery was heavily criticised, on the grounds that:

"No genuine negotiations took place, partly because each side knew that, whatever the outcome,the final decision would be made by the government and partly because the procedures in the Committee did not lend themselves to talking round a table. Nor does the wrangling which goes on between the teachers' organisations do credit to the profession (32).

The Schools Council represented the other important forum, where major educational issues related to curriculum development, examinations, teaching methods and in-service training were discussed and decided. It contained representatives of all professional associations of teachers, DES representatives and universities, parents, industry and commerce. It was consisted of two Committees, the Finance and Priorities Committee -controlled by the LEA- and the Professional Committee -the majority of representatives being teachers. Established in 1964 and suspended in 1988, it represented the main charter which enabled organised teachers to participate and made their influence felt in the educational matters.

In sum, the NUT's objectives and the network of the charters by which it can influence educational matters, indicate that the way NUT functions approximates a professional association. This form of organisation had an impact upon teachers' professional claims since its establishment and until the 1970s, in the sense that it provided the context within which teachers adopted certain strategies. The established network of negotiations, the willingness of the central government to respond to some of teachers' professional demands, and most importantly, the legitimation of the right to participate and influence educational matters, were the means by which organised teachers convinced themselves, that their particular form of organisation was fundamentally rewarding. Since mid 1970s, there have been clear signs of a shift in the teachers' relationship with the central government to a rather unstable position that has given a sense of a growing crisis in education, as is examined in chapter five. However, teachers function within the context of the State, and so, the extent to which this realisation has actually affected teachers' position vis-a-vis the central government, can not be fully understood unless the meaning of the "State" is also examined.

## Organised Teachers in Greece

In Greece there are two major teachers' organisations: one representing primary school teachers and the other secondary school teachers.

The former Διδασκαλική Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας (DOE) was established in 1928, with the following objectives:

- The improvement of Primary Education offered to Greek children, the advancement of social and economic standing of primary teachers and the protection and promotion of the occupational interests of teachers, through the united attempts of the local associations.
- The advancement of cooperation and solidarity among Greek civil servants and generally among all Greek workers.
- The protection of national values, such as Democracy, Freedom and Peace and of the rights of Greek people to unionise.
- The free expression of opinion regarding matters of general interest
- The establishment of teachers' right for active involvement in education policy making.

For the realisation of these objectives DOE uses the following means:

- Brings together the opinion and decisions of its members through the meetings of the local associations and the General Assembly
- Protests publicly through pamphlets and strikes in order to safeguard the professional rights of its members
- Informs the public and the administrators about the national, cultural and social mission of its members and about several educational matters, with public lectures, articles in newspapers and journals
- Establishes relations with educational and other scientific organisations abroad, in order to inform its members on the latest developments in the field of Education, Work and Peace
- Cooperates with other interest groups for the advancement of Education
- Cooperates with other civil servants' organisations of the country for the attainment of common occupational objectives (33).



The secondary school teachers' organisation, Ομοσπονδία Λειτουργών Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης (OLME) has more or less, the same objectives as those of DOE:

- The improvement of Secondary Education offered to Greek children, through the united attempts of its members as well as the scientific and economic development of the profession and the safeguarding of the occupational rights of the teachers
- The protection and safeguarding of the right of unionism, democracy and national independence
- The free expression of opinion and active involvement in matters of general interest
- The safeguarding of the free movement of ideas and of the civil rights of Greek people
- The contribution towards the establishment of Peace and the education of young people on that issue

To promote and achieve these objectives OLME has employed means similar to those of DOE (34).

In both lists of objectives there is a strong emphasis on what Kogan calls "sectional" interests -that is interests related to the occupational group improvement-, and this makes them relate more to trade unions. This can be attributed partly to teachers' dissatisfaction of their status, as well as to a genuine concern about the work which teachers undertake. There is also considerable interest in general issues like Democracy, Freedom and Peace that might be attributed to a conscious attempt by the government to direct attention of teachers to very broad issues, as well as to the high degree of political awareness for national matters that is deeply rooted in Greek civic culture.

Ironically, this overwhelming concern of teachers' unions for active involvement in educational matters, has not only made them powerless in governmental committees. It has also rendered them incapable of reaching

any decision on their own without the strong influence of the political party in power. It is not very encouraging for the public image of teachers, that their acts are usually shaped into a certain framework that the central government imposes on them.

As was examined in chapter II, from the establishment of the Greek education system -especially in the first half of the 19th century- the elementary teacher had been offered a form of education, which had provided an avenue of upward social mobility for such individuals into the middle class (35).

Nevertheless, it was not the intention of any government that elementary teachers should become upwardly mobile through State provision. Every effort was made to ensure that as a body elementary teachers should remain in what was regarded as their place in society. As their English counterparts, Greek primary school teachers were recruited from, and served, the working class. This was achieved through low payment, sub-standard training and their isolation from policy making in the field of education.

Only in the 1920s did the idea of teachers' unionism crystallise. The primary school teachers' union (DOE) enhanced teachers' aspirations for collective social mobility through successful bargaining with the central government. But the actual weakness of the teachers' position made such an objective only one among other more pressing considerations. That the central government controlled training and employment conditions and was able to "manipulate" them, meant that the elementary teachers were in a market where the government was close to being a monopolist.

Their position was sharply contrasted with secondary teachers who were university graduates. Thus the status of the primary school teachers' State-awarded two-year college certificate reinforced the barrier to their assimilation into the professional class.

As organizational unity became impossible, because of the social and "technical" barriers between the two groups of teachers, self-government also reached an unapproachable level. Strict control exercised by the central government over the market where teachers rendered their services, left no room for any initiative. Their professional demands -especially of elementary teachers- centred on the improvement of their training, had no response.

Greece's economic development in the 1960s put forward the need for reorganisation of education, -including teacher education-, in order to meet the new social demands (36). As a result of the 1964 reform, DOE's demands for more training were to be temporarily satisfied. Law 4379/1964 (art.16) increased the years of studies in teacher training establishment from two to three, reorganised their programmes, and administration system. From 1967 to 1974, during the dictatorship years, teacher training became again a two-year course and organised teachers had no right for any occupational movement.

Another inhibiting factor in teachers' efforts to achieve their occupational demands, was that they found it difficult to organise themselves in many areas where they were isolated from each other or worked in small schools. Very small and geographically isolated villages inhibited the active organisation of teachers into their associations. Urban teachers were better organised (37). Their direct employer, the Ministry of Education was also under great pressure from the huge increase of the urban population and the consequent demand for more and better services. Similarly, teachers' unions were asked for <sup>an</sup> active role, after the fall of dictatorship, in 1974. The period since then seems a watershed for teachers in their growing class-consciousness and their relationship to the central government.

The increasing difficulty of collective bargaining for their group interests, eventually made teachers recognise that it was not a painless process. It caused a crisis in the relations between central government and teachers' unions. It involved increased teachers' resistance to their employers'

actions and ideas. On the other hand, the central government is consistent in its need to safeguard itself and the ruling class.

The actions of teachers' unions to protect teachers' working conditions and standards of life, against the central government's proposals and decisions, suggest that absolute "harmony" cannot be created by good-will alone. Incompatible interests define this relationship. The tension between the Greek teacher and the central government has been expressed in many ways and in different strategies and tactics, depending on the situation, like negotiating procedures, public complaints and protests of various intensity. Teachers' unions requirements for a strike is a slightly over 50% majority in the ballots held by the local assemblies. This smaller percentage of majority than NUT's may be an indicator of the stronger trade union character of DOE and OLME. In fact, the failure of teachers to advance their conditions of service has been the primary source of friction between teachers and their employers and also the major sources of career dissatisfaction and frustration. Furthermore, administrative control appears to spur teachers to over-react in their efforts to preserve the limited autonomy they have concerning their classroom activities. (A detailed analysis of teachers' autonomy will be presented in chapter five).

While the willingness to use various kinds of protest and strike is strong -especially among primary teachers- teachers' unions have also discovered that these are two-edged weapons. When they are used they are likely to work against public support, generally damaging the image that teachers hold in society. This problem, -as was stated at the beginning of the chapter- can be identified mainly to teachers' unions, as their members try to establish professional standards, while at the same time, act like industrial trade unionists.

That the central government exerts complete control over every aspect of teachers' work and conditions of employment, like certification, employment, conditions of service, classroom practice, textbooks and curricula, can be explained by the nature of the Greek State as well as by

the position of both primary and secondary school teachers vis-a-vis their employer. While the former is examined in the next section, the latter refers to the civil service status of Greek teachers which means that any decisions of theirs leading to industrial action is regulated by legislation.

The Greek constitution of 1977\* provides trade union rights through Article 23. Any negotiation process and procedures involving industrial action were established in Law 643 of 1977:

"safeguarding the freedom of civil servants and employees of other categories to unionise and of their right to strike. According to this, teachers could use industrial action, but only when their General Assembly decides so, which consists of the presidents of the local associations that belong to the main Federation and also of the members of the Administration Council"(39).

In Greece, teachers' unions may serve on many governmental committees, at the local, regional and national level, but they have found themselves held at arm's length by a tendency of successive governments to present them with ready-made programmes and decisions which they are expected to approve (40).

The unions and especially DOE have reacted by broader political action in alliance with the labour movement. Much of the energy of both Greek teachers' unions is, therefore, consumed in campaigns and industrial action that give attention to broader aspects of education policy and general politics, rather than problems of curriculum and school reform (41).

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\*"The right to strike shall be subject to the specific limitation of the law regulating this right in the case of public servants and employees of local government agencies...this limitation may not be carried to the point of abolishing the right to strike or hindering the legal exercise of this right"(38)

The character of teacher unionism and its activities influence the membership's attachment to it. There are nearly 45,000 members in DOE and 35,000 in OLME consisting of different groups within each one of them, depending on the political affiliation of the members (Table 6).

The latter also accounts for the unlikelihood of welding the entire teaching force in Greece into a single and cohesive group in the near future, even though teachers' associations leaders recognise the necessity for such a development. Yet, there has never been any attempt at unification of the teaching body in Greece initiated by either one of the two existing teachers' unions. Both claim there are special interests within each one of them, and such an attempt would significantly reduce the possibilities of responding to such interests.

Clearly, union membership and political orientation overlap. Leftist membership stated objectives, and the means to achieve them indicate that teachers' unions in Greece had a trade union character in the period under examination. This picture of consistency in their organisational objectives has really left teachers with little influence over educational issues. Their role-though inactive- accounts for a certain form that the teachers-central government relationship has taken. This will be explained in the following section.

In concluding section I of this chapter it can be said that teachers' organisations are very important bodies in both countries. They represent channels of influence in teachers' negotiations with the central government over their occupational demands.

Professional organisations have several functions the most important of which is to control entry to and establish a system of self-government of the profession. Teachers in both countries have not managed to achieve these, but this does not mean that they do not need to organise themselves. Teacher organisations can provide teachers with the means to meet their

occupational demands collectively. These have been put forward by a more professional association in England - NUT-, and a rather trade union in Greece - DOE and OLME-.

Their organised efforts have not been without challenge coming from inside and outside factors. Fragmentation of the teaching body in both countries is the major factor obstructing the establishment of a self-regulated and united profession. This lack of unity has led teaching into many unco-ordinated efforts, and in conjunction with their failure to achieve self-government has resulted in loss of control over issues vital to the profession.

Teachers' unions are under increasing pressure to strive for greater control over their members' occupational, intellectual and material welfare. Unions try to mobilise their collective forces, to exert pressures on educational authorities to allow them for greater influence on determining educational policies, curricula, administrative and pedagogical procedures and especially in regulating salaries and conditions of work (42).

The particular form of organisation adopted by English and Greek teachers' organisations has affected both their structure and function in their dealings with the central government respectively. The extent to which this has an impact upon teachers' position within the context of the State has still to be examined.

## **Section II**

### **The State and Education**

Section I suggested that whether teachers are organised as professionals or trade unionists, the meaning of their actions has to be examined against the background of the State. What is the State and how does it relate to organised teachers?

One of the most difficult problems in examining the nature of the relationship between organised teachers and State in education, lies in defining what is meant by the "State". At one level, one may well partly understand its meaning, yet its nature is hard to grasp, despite the vast amount of literature devoted to that subject.

An initial point for clarification is the distinction between State and Government, as they are not synonymous. The latter forms part of the State -probably the most important- because it is the most active and visible (43).

The State consists of various institutions, agencies, organisations, and public offices each one having different functions and purposes responsible for the day to day routine maintenance of society, like schools, prisons, hospitals, public offices, that goes on irrespective of the changes in the government (44). State education, which is the main concern here, is composed of the Ministry of Education, representing the national level of education policy, and the educational constituency, that is a set of various agencies, offices, organisations and departments with the legitimate right to influence education policy. The educational constituency acts at the local and regional level, but at the national level its power is limited by the central government, given the nature of teachers' position as State employees in both countries under examination.

These are all structural aspects of the State and they should be related to its functional. What is the role of the State? How does it function?



"The State is not a unified entity. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, the nature of which varies across time and space". From this multidimensionality of the State, a variety of interest groups is generated that can obstruct the development of a "monolithic and unresponsive state" (45)

This characteristic of the State has constituted the basis of the pluralist theories. In the classical version of pluralism developed by Dahl, Laswell and Truman (46) in the 1950s and 1960s, attention is centred on the competition of different groups representing various interests in the national political arena. The government's role is to ensure responsiveness to those groups, which can be best achieved through certain institutional arrangements that distribute power competitively among groups representing different interests. Hence, the rules of the democratic representation are ensured by the open contest context within which government functions (47).

Nevertheless, there have been some critiques of this view.

"Pluralist theory tends to explain the existence, strength and particular articulation of interest organisation by reference to properties of the constituent elements of the organisation: their values, their willingness to sacrifice resources for the pursuit of their interest, their members, and so on. That this type of explanation leads at best to a very limited understanding of the dynamics of interest representation becomes evident as soon as we realise that an identical number of interested individuals with identical degrees of determination to defend and promote their interest may produce vastly different organizational manifestations and practices, depending on the strategic location of the groups' members within the social structure and depending on the political and institutional status their organisation does or does not enjoy (48).

New conditions which emerge as a result of the political, economic and social dimensions of the State's activities can give rise to a new list of policy options. According to Lindblom, as a result of such new priorities, the reallocation of resources and sometimes the redefinition of access to

power becomes inevitable (49). Eventually, the degree of influence of interest groups fluctuates in a way that can limit their ability to command their political mobilisation, and undermine their interests.

These social inequalities and institutional constraints in terms of access to power, made neo-pluralists develop a modified notion of the State (50). The government does not always respond to group interests in a way that utilises the democratic process of their representation. Offe explains this as follows:

"...The concrete shape and content of organised interest representation is always a result of interest plus opportunity plus institutional status. To employ structuralist language we can also say that interest representation is determined by ideological, economic and political parameters" (51)

The position of pressure groups, therefore, is not "inevitable, natural, or normal", as pluralism views them, but rather dependent upon a shifting set of circumstances, some internal to the group, others determined by the environment in which it operates (52).

Within this broad framework of State function, teachers' organisations can be analysed as interest groups acting within the context of the pluralistic State. Justifications for their acting as interest groups lie on their degree of legitimation provided by the State:

"Interest groups are legitimised if they have a statutory or conventional right to be consulted by government on matters affecting their members, or on the development of the education service as a whole....while the right to be consulted often has a legal base it is never specific and the decision is in gift, formally of the secretary of state...But although authority to legitimise rests with the central government, it takes a major dislodgement of the power system for an identifiable interest group to be disregarded on any decision affecting its membership" (53)

How teachers' unions become interest groups in the process of State policy formulation depends on the variation in the distribution of power between

central government and educational constituency. This depends mainly on the administrative form of the education system. Centralised systems locate the focus of control in the central administration. Decentralised systems transfer various functions -finance, recruitment, or inspection- to either the regional or local level. This does not mean that the educational constituency's functions and responsibilities should be defined strictly in administrative terms, otherwise its limits would have been identical to all systems with similar educational policy machinery.

However, government control is a decisive factor in determining educational constituency responsibilities, but is only one among several, -others being historical and cultural factors. Thus, the nature of the State education can not be fully comprehended unless it is analysed in relation to its constituents -that is central government and educational constituency.

To what extent this pluralist model of the State is relevant to the way teachers and the central government act and interact in England and Greece has to be tested within the whole context of State education, in chapters five and six.

To recapitulate, the State in education includes the central government in education at the national, regional and local level and different legitimated interest groups which may participate in decision making. Its field of operation depends upon a conjunction of factors. Groups like teachers, parents, students, industry, or political parties influence differently education policy, depending on political action priorities defined by the central government, which are time and space specific.

While the constituents of State education are rather clear, on what grounds do the justifications for its use lie?

If we see teachers as an interest group, clearly State education becomes an indispensable concept in analysing teachers' control over their work practices. The justifications for using the concept of State education are twofold. First, by focusing on the macro-level of education policy one

may account for certain patterns in educational processes which in turn identify reasons for change and continuity. Second, it provides the framework for understanding certain modes of policy function in different political systems as well as their implications for education. It can be instrumental for analysing processes of educational control, both within and between educational systems.

"..focusing on the source and nature of control over education and schools entails focusing on the immediate provider of education, the State, and it is in the analysis of the State that we may begin to understand the assumptions, intentions and outcomes of various strategies of educational change" (54).

Such considerations may be said to form the necessary background for identifying the general aspects of central government-teachers relationships in England and Greece.

#### The State and Education in England in the post-war era

The structure and basis of the relationship between teachers and the central government in England is set out in the 1944 Act. It produced a kind of three-part agreement between central government, local government (LEAs) and the teachers' organisations. This relationship, however, has not been static. The form of State education changes over time, depending on political, economic and social factors which affect it directly or indirectly.

The 1944 Act created a balance between the three partners and provided :

"a framework within which political equilibrium, economic activity and social improvement would be balanced" (55).

In the immediate post-war years, publicly provided education was seen as the best means of reducing social differences, advancing harmony, and promoting the economic reconstruction of the nation. Education was defined as national service locally administered. Partnership was to be

achieved in terms of consultation, policy discussion and negotiation and advice in educational matters. That was the outcome of the democratic consensus that legitimised teachers' professionalism with respect to curriculum selection and pedagogic methods in English education. Teachers' professional autonomy and expertise could be exercised free from the influence of the central government and parents. These targets could be achieved only with the cooperation of teachers who were considered prime contributors in the regeneration of the nation. Teachers became the executive directors, the LEAs the managing directors (Table 7, Annex), while the DES played the role of drawing the boundaries of their activities, rather than prescribing them.

The balance of this partnership operated for almost three decades, because of the existing trust among the partners and because the limits of their activities were not clear-cut.

"..the DES was not given formal powers to secure the implementation of its policies because it was assumed that both central government and local education authorities were managed by men of good will whose main concern was to improve the service and whose reflective judgments remained untainted by the intrusion of party ideology" (56).

In the early 1960s, the economic functions of education were given top priority in the country, due to the notions spread by theories of human capital. Education was seen as investment promising economic returns in the advancement of the country. Schools of Education and teaching posts were created in order to meet the increasing social demands for education. Ideas of equality of educational opportunity boosted the social demand so that political will tried to meet it by providing comprehensive schooling.

By the early 1970s the first signs of imbalance emerged. The economic recession, the low rate of growth and a high percentage of youth unemployment, together with a decline in profitability were all attributed to the failure of Education, or more specifically to teachers' inability to

meet national expectations. The principle of partnership was seriously threatened during the period of teacher militancy (1968-1974), which challenged the extent of its applicability. Teachers could defend themselves only with difficulty against the various attacks from different interest groups. They were not as well equipped as their partners in terms of defensive mechanisms. Certain interests changed. Grace has explained this in terms of:

"The events of the mid 1970s in Britain were to show that teachers were in fact a relatively powerless category of professional ideologists. In what was a crucial struggle for popular and political consciousness about state education, the role of teachers and relations with the economy and the community, the teachers were outmanoeuvred by media ideologists and by the ideologists of the New Right. The effects of this defeat were to be profound both at political and bureaucratic level in education policy" (57).

From late 1970s to late 1980s there has been a remarkable shift in the balance of interest-group power allocation. The prime minister Callaghan's speech in 1976 at Ruskin College opened a new era in State education. The strengthening of central government has grown considerably to the determining of its other parts at the regional and local level, as well as of the groups of the educational constituency. Abolition of the ILEA in 1988 is perhaps symbolic of the diminishing importance of the regional level, while the imposition of the National Curriculum, standards of assessments and restrictions of financial responsibilities of LEAs are related to major reductions in LEA power.

Yet, other groups than teachers have started to occupy a central place in the educational arena. Parents, who have always been a part of the education system but have rarely been involved actively in education decision-making, have acquired considerable rights. The 1980 and 1986 Education Act gave them representation on governing bodies of schools, the right to opt out from a school and to be regularly informed about the examination results of their children. All these have brought additional dimensions to the performance of teachers and limit substantially their

degree of classroom autonomy. Teachers' strategies that happened to converge with those of the central government's three decades ago have been parted. Central government has now become the guardian of the rights of consumers', in order to achieve greater centralisation of control over education. Central government has redistributed roles to the actors within the new scenario of education. Such change has sometimes been interpreted as moving "from state intervention to politicization" (58).

The new political, economic and social conditions which brought about these changes underlying the philosophy in State education have reshaped the relationship between teachers and the central government since mid 1970s. This realignment in the ideology of State education has redistributed the degree of control between the central government and the educational constituency and significantly affected the central government's relationship with teachers.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the post-war era and until the mid 1970s, a clearly pluralist State education could be identified in England, both structurally and functionally. Power was distributed on an equal principle among the educational constituency. Government gave teachers' unions a fair chance of responding to their demands. The latter by adopting a professional association policy were rewarded by the central government, by being satisfied in their professional claims. The State education and its ideology in England has not remained static. It evolves and in doing so it affects differently the distribution of administrative influence between the central administration and the educational constituency in relation to the different political, economic and social justifications prevailing educational policy. As a consequence, the formal relationship between organised teachers and the central government also undergoes change and revision. Its current form has to be examined within the context of changes taking place among the different parts of State education -a task that will be undertaken in chapter five.

## The State and Education in Greece in the post-war era

In Greece, the form and nature of State education in its relation with organised teachers has not changed during the 30 year period under examination, as dramatically as in England. Central government and the educational constituency have always assumed rather similar roles because there has been little distinction between the political party in power and the function of the educational constituency, as the government uses State resources to reward its followers.

Unlike England, where the existence of Local Education Authorities has given education -at least until recently- a decentralised character, in Greece the centralism of education is very strong. The Ministry of Education has always been the centre of decision-making, while the educational constituency represented by the different interest groups has been unable to influence education policy.

The relationship between central government and teachers has been one of the patron-client type. Given the various debates and disagreements, it is beyond the scope of this study to analyse in detail a theory of what patronage and clientelism is and its role in the political system.

Rather, what will be forwarded here are some ways of looking at this relation and explaining variations in its form in Greece in the period under examination.

The Greek State contains certain elements of pluralist political systems, in terms of the varying nature of interest group representation, yet it functions in a unique way in the Greek context. To certain American political observers the situation was explained as follows:

"Since the State was new, the central bureaucracy never assumed the independent role it possessed in most Western European states. Parliamentary institutions, because of the undifferentiated society into which they were placed, were used to settle the conflicts of persons rather than of interests. And since the representative



institutions dominated the bureaucracy, there was no core of the state apparatus immune to clientelist demands. Other sectors whether economic, educational or social, were subordinate to the political and in fact, political men often combined roles in all sectors. Political conflict instead of involving the divergent interests of different sectors, consisted of the similar demands of competing clientage networks...Patronage roles, however, are power roles. The status of the patron is associated with the number and range of his dependents. The client is clearly subordinate, although the dependency is hidden by the surface reciprocity involved in the exchange. The general obligations remain with the client, the freedom to initiate and respond lies with the patron" (59).

Authority relationships in all sectors of public life operated in the clientelist mode are replicated in the relationship between teachers and the central government. In Greece contradictions flourish. The government guarantees teachers' loyalty by being their only employer, but at the same time certain conditions, like persistent underpayment, undermines their loyalty turning

"...the tireless preachers of national ideals into habitual-albeit, cautiously silent-critics of the state" (60).

Because of this situation, teachers remain subordinated to the political parties which in turn exert considerable influence on their actions. Teachers' organisations operate in a clientelistic manner, in order to profit from patron's power to their greater benefit. Legg has explained this behaviour in the following way:

"In a clientelist polity, perceptions of benefit are likely to be the strongest incentives for compliance with the wishes of authority...obedience is largely conditional on performance or the expectation of performance by those occupying patron roles, whether formally official or not" (61).

Thus, political clientelism is characterised by

"personalised, affective and reciprocal relationships between actors or sets of actors commanding unequal resources and involving mutual beneficial transactions that have political ramifications

beyond the immediate sphere of dyadic relationships" (62)

Certainly, economic and social conditions have been responsible for maintaining and strengthening clientage ties, and these will be analysed in chapter six. Still, the existence of these ties can only be attributed to the political domain.

From 1950s onwards, changes in the ruling parties\* have dictated the political conditions and variously affected educational policy. Despite different political doctrines of each party in power, deep-rooted and dominant characteristics have survived, despite political intention and plans for reform. The country's education system has been static and inflexible, rather unable to incorporate any radical social or economic reform (63).

Irrespective of changes that took place in political, economic and social life, political influence over education in its partisan form remained strong. Changes in the political life occurred only in the surface not in essence. Legg, an American political scientist, explains this constancy of influence, in terms of individual client linkages on the political process.

"The individual Greek was tied to the occupants of the top roles in the political system through a series of personal ties of mutual obligation. Despite the implication that individual demands triggered the relationship the impetus was as often the state administration itself. The patron for his part was secure in the modern political role through the periodic activation of clientage networks for electoral support" (64)

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\* 1950-1964: Conservatives

1964-1967: Liberals

1967-1974: Dictatorship

1974-1981: Conservatives

1981-1989: Socialists

1989- : Conservatives

The patron-client nexus beneath the particular nature of the Greek educational constancy does not exist as a separate entity. It has been shaped across history and by inter-alia economic dependence. It is, in short, a dynamic variable if constant in its presence, transcending its immediate field of operation.

Lemarchand and Legg, identify three general criteria that characterise political clientelism:

- "1. the variable pattern of asymmetry discernible in the patron-client relationship;
  2. the locus, extensiveness and durability of the relationship; and
  3. the character of the transactions attendant upon such relationships" (65).
- Can these characteristics be identified in the Greek setting?

#### Operationalizing Clientelism

1. The Ministry of Education is the most important organ in decision making at national level. The Minister of Education forms the centre of policy formulation.

At the regional (Nomarcheia) and local (Diefthense) levels various offices have responsibility for the running of schools. At the lowest local level -the school level- teachers have certain obligations to implement educational measures, but no control over resources and policy-making, despite the fact that their representatives participate in both regional and national level.

There is then, an unequal distribution of responsibilities, statutory rights, status and power which underpins a network of clientage. This asymmetry dictates certain roles in a way that a patron becomes client in his/her dealings with his/her superior.

2. The hierarchical system clientage is also related to the second criterion. The bureaucratic nature of the Greek administrative education system extends this network to a degree that goes beyond formal, rational, impersonal and legal patron-client relations. It also extends to

non-rational, personal, or even extra-legal, within and outside the clientage system. For instance, while the legal requirements for a teacher to be appointed as a School Advisor are specific academic qualifications, in practice this has not been the case. What transpires depends upon the teacher's personal connections with those in power.

Locus, extensiveness and durability are all interrelated. The greater the differences between the roles of patron and client, the higher the degree of extensiveness of their relationship and consequently the more probabilities that the structural linkages at the various levels of education policy will remain strong. All three are indicators of the strength of the partisan character of the relationship between central government and educational constituency and account for the continuity of the pattern of counter interests between patron and clients.

3. Finally, the kind of transaction is dependent upon the degree of satisfaction derived by both participants in the relationship. Since the most clear-cut benefits for both of them are often of an economic nature, control over resources becomes the kind of transaction of primary importance. The more control the patron has over resources, the more his influence over and the stronger the relationship with the client is. This is the situation in which Greek teachers find themselves and, as a result of their frustration, certain actions of collective unrest and discontent have been going on for years. Their bargaining actions (especially strikes) are quite threatening to the central government, because they aim at the dissolution of patron-client ties and therefore at their replacement by an equal type of relationship.

The last two decades have seen great pressure to modernise and -especially after 1974- to democratise the country. Such pressure was focused upon the role of the State in education, not an easy task, given: a).the clientelistic nature of the central government and its conflicting interests with the educational constituency and b).the traditional inertia of

the education system itself.

Under this pressure the central government cannot ignore the importance of the part teachers' played in this general process. Yet since it acts as patron it cannot not afford to let teachers take initiatives that might threaten to unbalance the asymmetrical nature of that relationship.

Summing up the analysis of section II, is important at this point to note, that the characteristics of the clientelistic State if theoretically set out can, in reality, only assume meaning within a specific setting. Thus, the very nature of the economic and social conditions, and most of all, of the political dimensions that operate in Greece, account for the specific version of the Greek clientelistic State.

### Conclusion

The way teachers have organised themselves in order to advance and satisfy their corporate demands and the form of State education in both countries are important factors. They affect the degree of occupational influence that teachers can exert.

The nature of the State has assumed different characteristics in the two countries. Taking pluralist theory as a starting point, analysis of the State can reveal some of its structural and functional characteristics. The way teachers organise themselves and the set of these characteristics are responsible for the specific form of the relationship between central government and teachers. Teachers' organisations function closer to that of professional association in England and to that of trade union in Greece. This can serve as an indicator of the form of participation of teachers in central government's educational policy-making, and therefore, of the degree of teachers' occupational control. The structure of teachers unions as was explained in the previous pages, presents a continuity in terms of

objectives and policy, in both countries, since their establishment up to early 1970s. Nevertheless, not so much the structure as the function of the State in relation to them shifts considerably in England, while it remains rather constant in Greece. By adopting a professional association behaviour, teachers in England became a legitimate interest group, in the sense that they had the recognised right to influence and participate in education policy-making. As such, they became State professionals. On the other hand, teachers in Greece, by adopting a trade union behaviour, functioned as<sup>o</sup> legitimate interest group, in the sense, that they had the recognised right to participate, but not to influence education policy.

To what extent the disturbance of this relationship in the last two decades has affected teachers' ability to control their occupational activities is the focus of part II of the study.

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**PART II**  
**TWO CASE STUDIES**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### A CONTEXTUAL MODEL OF PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

#### Introduction

The original purpose of the thesis is to contextualize professionalism so that conditions that obstruct teachers' efforts to gain occupational control, can be identified. Some of the definitions of professionalism were presented in chapter one, whilst the historical survey of teaching in England and Greece in chapter two and the analysis of organised teachers' position within the framework of State education in chapter three, revealed that control over teachers increasingly has been exercised by the central government.

From that investigation, the following two points will be isolated and become the focus for further analysis of the study:

- a). The State is an important factor affecting teachers' political behaviour.
- b). The definition of professionalism as a means of occupational control is a simplified one and we cannot grasp its total meaning unless we analyse also its ideological function.

Thus, the outcome of part I could be summarised as follows: Any attempt at the studying of professionalism in teaching should consider teachers' position within the State education as well as their ideological position. Thus, the need for a model that would put the ideology of professionalism in the context of the State education and the political behaviour of teachers becomes evident at this point.

There have been different models in the literature that approach professionalism from different standpoints. Professionalism is seen as an ideal stage, as functioning in terms of the economic conditions of the labour market or as simply related to occupational functions. The weaknesses of those models pinpoint their inability to incorporate political, social and economic conditions of a country, to consider State the main

contextual factor, and to have an international validity.

The development of a model with these features, and its application in two national settings, England and Greece, is the aim of the second Part of the thesis.

The construction of the model is the task of this chapter, which for this purpose is divided in the following sections:

Section I looks critically at the available models of professionalism in the literature by examining their inadequacies. On what grounds is their use rejected?

Section II discusses the nature of the State by referring briefly to chapter three, and also analyses the ideological concept of professionalism. State and Ideology are considered the main contextual factors in the present analysis. Why are they important, and how will they be used in the model? Finally, Section III explains the structure and function of the new model.

## **Section I**

### **Models for the Study of Professionalism**

There have been different models for the study of professionalism in the literature. The traditional models, examined in chapter one, exhibit certain limitations that disqualify their application in the present study.

They place teaching on a continuum from the professional to non-professional end. The different models contain also certain descriptors of the word teacher, like professional, semi-professional, para-professional, or non-professional, depending on their position on the continuum, i.e. their closeness to each end. Teachers could achieve approximation to the desired end of the professional teacher, by acquiring a list of characteristics that are taken to be ideal, because they are exhibited by the practitioners of the old established professions which are considered ideal ones, as medicine and law.

More specifically, models focusing on the professionalisation thesis are

limited because:

- They examine teaching and professionalism as if they existed in a vacuum, without explaining how and why it is that certain other occupational groups have secured more dominant position in the division of labour. The focus is on the nature of the work rather than factors that influence it.
- There is lack of a dynamic model of the group's occupational standing. The privileges of professional status are seen as granted by society, rather than gained by the profession. There is no mention of the political process in which the group is involved.
- There is no account of the particular cultural identity of an occupational group, in a given society.
- There is little attention paid to how and why the State's interest in exercising control over certain groups develops and functions.

Another recent dominant analytical perspective examines teaching in terms of the process of proletarianization.

Proletarianization is used in sociology for analysing the work situation of contemporary "professionals". It presumes certain tendencies in the conditions of work and in the processes of capitalist economies. According to this pattern of change, "professionals" experience increased fragmentation of labour, separation of conception from execution of the job, increased control, intensification of work and lowering of the skill level. This then, tends to emphasise the role of the economy which is more direct in industry, rather than in education. Economic forces considerably influence teachers' workplace contexts. Proletarianization also eliminates considerably teachers' ability to make choices and decisions on the job, as the conditions of work become increasingly subject to management control (1).

One interpretation of the proletarianization thesis is to place it in antithesis as to professionalization, arguing that teachers have recently lost control and autonomy at work after a previous "golden age" of teacher

professionalism. It is debatable however, whether teachers have ever experienced that "golden age"(2).

Other perspectives view teachers as artists, craftsmen, labourers or pastors (3), and place the focus on the nature of teachers' work itself, omitting factors that might influence teachers' control over their conditions of work.

These models tend either to overlook the external linkages and settings of teaching, or restrict them only to the economic domain alone. Their limitations serve to validate the objective of the present study. It follows that, to analyse teachers' current working situation by isolating teaching from the immediate environment, or by referring only to economic factors, is a partial effort.

However, the most important omission of these models is the inertia of the State.

The State is often regarded as a neutral centre of affairs that has its focus of interest on the educational outcomes. That the State is not directly involved in the process of attaining desired educational outcomes but it can only interfere, has been criticised by neo-marxists\*.

The traditional model of professionalism examines teaching within this framework, as it was developed in the "pre-capitalist era" in the Anglo-American world, where the State had a passive role within the context of *lessez-faire* market economy (5).

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\* Dale (a neo-marxist political theorist), criticises the neutrality of the State as follows: "The State is then, put in the position that teachers were put in much early curriculum reform work-it is assumed to be unable to contribute anything of its own (and it is undesirable that it should do so) to the achievement of desired outcomes, but it may unwittingly interfere with it; the best that can be hoped for the State (or of the teacher) is that it will remain as neutral a conduit as possible for the achievement of outcomes decided elsewhere"(4)



In European countries, the State has a strong role in education and, as such, has a decisive influence over teachers' work. Recent changes in the political, economic and social sectors of public life have transformed the role of the State making it active and bringing also crucial shifts in the educational field. This has been described by the German sociologist, Offe as shifting: "from policy output and economic demand management, to the shaping of political input and economic supply, from state intervention to politicization" (6).

In many Western European countries there have been dramatic changes in the role of the State in the post war era. The central government has assumed more responsibility, raising the education level amongst the population, pushed for greater public participation and professional accountability, increased production with fewer inputs, enhanced efficiency and the quality of reproduction, all of which is represented in terms of an active role.

## **Section II**

### **The Political and Ideological Context of Professionalism**

Before we proceed to the development of the model, it is important to consider two concepts: the "State" and "Ideology". This will clarify the position of teachers as employees, as well as their ideological position. Both concepts are difficult and subject to debate. It is essential then, that their meaning and importance is examined.

The meaning of the State and justifications for its use in the present study were analysed in chapter three. Therefore, the discussion at this point, should be limited to a brief reference. Teachers have always performed their services in a market controlled by the central government.

In the neo-pluralistic interpretation of the State, the term becomes meaningful within the context of competing interest groups. The degrees to which they can satisfy their interests depends upon their accessibility to

means of control, which in turn depends on the conditions that define control and the role of each interest group. Since control has been situated on the side of central government rather than teachers, analysis of the former will help illuminate the extent of teachers' accessibility to control.

A consideration of the importance of ideology to the analysis of professionalism is not a new suggestion. The ideological nature of professionalism has been discussed thoroughly in literature (Finn et al; Freidson; Johnson; Larson; Roth; Vollmer and Mills)(7). An analysis of the concept of professionalism as ideology can illuminate the understanding of the way teachers take up this concept in their work practices. In other words, it can help identify in practical terms the ideological aspects of teaching.

The ambiguity of professionalism as a term and its use by teachers as a basis for political action, can justify its description as an ideological concept:

"Ideologies are likely to arise in areas of uncertainty or conflict about political issues and by creating consensus within a delimited group they have a role in generating concerted action(or the lack thereof) towards some goal"(8)

Yet, there is a wide variety of interpretations of ideology in the literature, most of which can be classified into two usages: Ideology conceptualised in terms of the knowledge science/ideology or the sectional interest/ideology dichotomy. The former notion of ideology can be defined as opposed to the epistemological meaning and status of the ideas and beliefs to which it refers. This non-scientifically derived reference puts the ideology at a very high level of abstraction. It tends to concentrate upon ideology as discourse, obstructs rational modes of thought and as such, it makes very difficult the distinction between valid knowledge and ideology (9).

This view is used by individuals or groups as a basis to act upon, and it refers to a system of beliefs and values held by social groups in order to

further their interests. Bell, a critic of the Marxist sectional interest/ideology opposition, puts the connotation of the term ideology in the following words:

"Ideology is a set of beliefs, infused with passion which seeks to transform the whole of a way of life -a secular religion"(10)

In this normative/prescriptive definition of ideology, professionalism may be interpreted as an image of consistent movement towards the ideal professional stage that supports the natural evolution process of the occupation. The acceptance of the idea that teachers are in favour of the professionalization process is linked to several other aspects that have already been presented, for example occupational strategies and aims, a professional code of ethics based on a client-centered service and public prestige and recognition.

Nevertheless, the most important linkage has been that of "middle-classness". Professionalism is used as an indicator of class belongingness:

"There are strong links between the concept of professionalism and "middle-classness" in the sociology of occupations; indeed professional status is often used as the defining factor which results in middle class status for the occupation under scrutiny"(11)

The second form of polarity focuses upon sectional interests. Marxist interpretations assert that ideologies express or justify the interests of the dominant classes and indicate some of the major ways in which ideology effectively operates in the social context (12). According to this theory, sets of ideas are ideological in that they emerge in particular historical circumstances and subsequently "disguise" the real interests they serve, for example by using rhetorical language regarding privileges. This view uses the concept of "ideology" to identify the real economic and political justifications of social groups' values and beliefs (13).

"Ideologies are sets of categories of thought ,values and assumptions

which though not necessarily a conspiracy, may distort, mask or incompletely grasp the primary workings of institutions"(14)

In its descriptive use, the ideology of professionalism in teaching has been explored by Marxist and neo-Marxist theorists in terms of its class location. For them\*, teachers constitute a group of workers who do not own or control the means of production yet also live on surplus value from labour. Very close to neo-marxist viewpoint is also the approach given by Ginsburg, Meyenn and Miller (16) that teachers are paid by the surplus value produced by the exploited labour of other workers, which also makes them exploiters. As a result, teachers location becomes arbitrary exhibiting characteristics of both workers and capitalists.

This condition appears to make them members of a new class, because the teacher does not own by legal or economic means the functions of production. Thus, he is very ambiguously situated as he: "...is both the exploiter(or oppressor) and exploited (or oppressed) (17)

Teachers as members of the new middle class are involved in a certain type of relations with the State, which being an agent of capitalism, obstructs the working class from gaining power. Education contributes to this role of the State by reproducing its labour force for the continuation of its capitalist order (18).

Poulantzas also placed teachers in the same class location and characterised them as State employees, who, in the given context of the dominant ideology of the State, do not challenge the economic nor the political division of society (19).

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\* According to Marx, teachers do not differ from line production workers: "If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive labourer when, in addition to belabouring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of a sausage factory, does not alter the relation" (15)

Clearly, within this framework, the strong emphasis on the economic relation of teaching as a means to reproduce the labour force, guarantees continuation of the capitalist mode of production. However, in stressing the role of teachers as employees of the State forced to accept the dominant ideology of the State, the analysis of teachers' professionalism obtains a rather limited perspective. Teachers have not used professionalism at all times in a way conforming with these "laws" of "reproduction and indoctrination" (20). They have developed strategies at specific historical moments to advance their interests.

Therefore, to locate the ideology of professionalism in terms of the polarity of normative/descriptive use, is to admit that the usefulness of the concept lies at one end. But this has already been discarded on grounds that the first relies on ideal situations and the second on limiting the conditions of teachers' work solely to the economic ones.

Rather, the concept of ideology will be used as it has been suggested by Giddens, with reference to ideological aspects of social systems and not as a type of symbol-system:

"there can be no particular objection to continuing to speak of "ideology", or even of "an ideology" so long as it is understood that this somewhat elliptical to treat a symbol-system as an ideology is to study it as ideological" (21)

To examine professionalism as an ideology means examining the ideological aspects of it as they are embodied in the institutionalised process through which occupational control takes place. To examine ideology institutionally is to show how certain processes sustain a dominant character within a given context. Therefore,

"to study ideology from this perspective, is to seek to identify the most basic structural elements which connect signification and legitimation in such a way as to favour dominant interests" (22)

Within the present framework, analysis of the ideological aspects of professionalism requires the identification of its structural elements that can bring together legitimation and signification of the concept of professionalism through processes operating at the institutionalisation level where they can become functional in terms of teachers' as well as State's interests.

At this stage, we need to formulate a scheme for this kind of analysis that would include the four stages, that is:

- **The State level:** that is the locus of control
- **The Institutional level:** that is the area over which control is exercised
- **The Formative level:** includes the characteristics of teaching that account for its nature, and
- **The Ideological level:** contains the ideological aspects of professionalism.

The ideology of professionalism may be understood if its ideological aspects -that is aspects related to the occupational control over teachers' workplace- are analysed. We should look at central government's interference mechanisms and teachers occupational strategies in a way that is systematically coherent. Both the central government and organised teachers need to be understood not merely in terms of the structures and processes that constitute the surface of this relation. However, it is also necessary to dig beneath the surface and attempt to trace these "subterranean" movements at the level of ideas and values that shape their actions and interactions. This level of analysis can be described as ideological in the sense that it is concerned with the belief system that underlies the forms of expression that teachers and the state characteristically adopt.

## Section III

### An Alternative Model

#### An Organisational and Systems approach

In organisational theory, a basic assumption is that different kinds of organisations have some common essential characteristics. Organisations consist of people interacting for the achievement of some common purposes. To achieve that the organisation requires a specific technical structure and a need to define, regulate and restrict the activities taking place. Hence, the control function becomes an important factor.

Control processes aim at the attainment of individual and organisational goals within the changing environment of the organisation. Since the changing nature of the environment is taken into account, the goals need also to be modified and consequently, the control aspect necessary for coping with change (23). In these terms, change becomes a very important element, incorporated within the functioning of the organisation. To understand the nature and structure of the organisation and change requires an analytical framework, a model that can provide a rational basis for the function and illustrate the relationships between the different dimensions in the organisational structure.

In a systems model, the basic idea is that a system exists only in relation to its larger environment. Amongst key variables which are important in the design of all systems are:

"differentiation: the state of segmentation of the organisational system into subsystems", -effectively the breakdown of the organisation into parts- and "integration: the process of achieving unity of effort among the various subsystems in the accomplishment of the organisation task", which binds together the different parts of the organisation (24).

A system consists of a hierarchy of interrelated parts. By studying the interrelations between them, we can gain insight to the nature of the whole.

Internal consistency of the system is also related to its external environment. In fact, no system can be entirely closed. It must interact with its larger environment in order to survive. Hence, there are open systems that take *inputs* from, and pass *outputs* to the environment. This output can act as *feedback*, if it can become input in the system (25).

In short, the systems model is concerned with the study of the structures in an interdependent arrangement of subsystems. Subsystems can consist of people or groups of people and as such, they may have goals different or even contradictory to the stated objectives of the overall system.

"...members of the organisation may put job security at the very centre of the organisational goal structure and commitment to any other goal may be regarded as a price to be paid. Alternatively, it may be the case that an organisational goal is treated by the various social groupings in the organisation as purely instrumental in obtaining their own purposes" (26)

This should not be considered a shortcoming of the systems model as it can really be used to its advantage. Firstly, it introduces the notion of change in the system and draws a distinction from the mechanical models. Secondly, since individuals' goals are generated on the basis of limited perception of the real situation around them, their decisions are to be influenced by this "bounded rationality"(27). The systems approach can really help to expand the perceived picture of the subsystem, by incorporating the part into the whole. Thus, it would be difficult to define a unified organisational goal, as this generally emerges as a compromise from the interaction of conflicting interests and so the goal attainment becomes the balancing and managing of complex internal tensions.

In other words, goal attainment of the system becomes only one of the needs that the system must satisfy in order to survive. In viewing the system with needs, rather than with goals, it

" avoids the difficulty of viewing organisation from the position of one particular group, usually an elite" (28)



### Problems of classification and selection

The basic problem in any attempt of studying systems is the task of classifying it. On what basis can the criteria for the selection of the system be established?

Unfortunately, there is no ultimate test in the form of the appropriateness of criteria of selection. It is, thus, difficult to clarify in advance the set of elements that can assume the best possible choice. It is rather the increased valuable understanding of the kind of question to which answers are being sought coming from the combination of insight, background investigation and past research that can work against any indiscriminate selection of variables

"We delimit the system under observation or select a particular set of political elements from among all possible combinations that might easily form a system, because on various theoretical grounds some variables seem to have greater significance in helping us understand the political areas of human behaviour" (sic)(29)

Therefore, in the light of the objective of this enquiry, the sense of significance and relevance of certain criteria can be gained by examining their degree of coherence:

"Without them it [the system] does not appear likely on a priori grounds, that an adequate explanation of the major aspects of political phenomena could be obtained"(30)

In considering mechanisms through which the ideology of professionalism takes place, the following points should be highlighted:

- The nature of the interrelation of the subsystems, -that is the relationships between the assortment of the parts- that have been chosen to comprise the system which can be determined by identifying the role and nature of the parts themselves.
- The contribution of this network of interrelations to the survival or effectiveness of the whole: How satisfactory a given pattern of relations

is in terms of the needs of the system as a whole?

- Forces that make the system change and which influence the direction that change takes place (31).

The adoption of the "system" idea imposes some constraints on the kind of analysis that is logically and consistently possible. Nevertheless, the orientation of the present research towards this analytical perspective can be illuminative in providing understanding in the ways in which professionalism functions.

It is hoped that this mode of conceptualisation will enable us to explain the nature of relations that such a system has with its environment as well as the determinants of the dynamic processes.

### Setting up a model

The possible question at this point is: how is it possible to transform this image into a diagrammatic representation?

Throwing light of the investigation on professionalism and having in mind the earlier discussion, our starting point will be that professionalism does not function in a vacuum in the two societies under examination. It can be found within a specific kind of setting that can help it maintain its identity with sufficient distinctiveness.

From this standpoint the building of the model can commence. In the first place, there is a need to identify the elements that will provide the explanatory framework for the functioning of professionalism. For purposes of this study, not all criteria that might be considered relevant can be included so that the phenomenon of professionalism is simplified and reduced in an approachable way.

It might be quite reasonable at this point to ask, whether it is helpful and appropriate enough to apply the systems approach to the study of professionalism.

A system as a concept can not only be applied to empirical phenomena and

objects for the study of their behaviour, but also to sets of ideas (32). The latter poses a great degree of difficulty regarding the evidence that supports the use of the systems approach. Can we justify the use of the concept of professionalism as a system on real evidence or only on assumptions?

In fact, neither the first, as they are not empirically available, nor the latter, as no set of elements put together for a specific reason can form a system. It is the relation between the different elements that makes them act in a way, that become parts of the system (33).

Therefore, the problem of the employed approach can be simplified if the focus of attention is on the relevance and interdependence of the parts that constitute the system. This means that change in one leads to change in another (34). It will be rather impossible to judge in advance the degree of relevance and significance of each one. Application of the system in two case studies can test the strength of these systemic ties.

Since professionalism consists of a collection of subsystems of varying complexity, the functioning of each as well as of the whole depends upon the interrelations between them, which becomes, in terms of the present model *input, throughput and output*.

Professionalism as a system has to be related to teachers' occupational control. Control in the system is a question of maintaining under powerful counter pressures rationalised means of dealing with specific goals, for example, the performance of teachers in an efficient way. If we accept that the system of professionalism functions towards the satisfaction of this end, we run the danger of implying that certain problems of organisation and role expectation of teachers can only be defined by the formal structure, of what an efficient teacher should do.

On the other hand, by focusing solely upon the needs of organised teachers we might exaggerate the extent to which teachers are concerned with aspects that they think are preconditions for efficiency, i.e. advancing their

status and increasing their control, and thus, fail to take into account the interdependence of these aspects on other contextual factors.

Thus, the obvious *output* which is the product of the system, (i.e. what it does, its function) can be determined by both the *inputs* from the environment and how these affect the conditions within the system (*throughput*).

To identify simply input factors and the related output as the way that the system functions is not adequate, since this stimulus-response pattern is too mechanical, leaving out any action perspective, from the members' point of view (35). Referring back to the previous example, and accepting that professionalism is the functioning of the system towards the achievement of the efficient teacher, it does not leave any initiative to teachers, who, in that case, have simply to conform with the official control processes towards this end.

Modern system theorists try to overcome this by focusing their interest on the importance of the "flow of information":

"The perception of information relies on the meaning the receiver attaches to the information; its meaningfulness depends on him. The study of how people or groups in the system interpret inputs and how the inputs create systems of meaning can lead to explanations of output behaviour" (36)

Therefore, teachers not simply implement central government control processes, but they can also incorporate their views on them.

In conceptualising the way in which the system of professionalism works, there will be four levels where the different elements will be placed: The State, the Institutional, the Ideological and the Formative. All include the structural elements of the ideological aspects of professionalism as they function -especially the first three- representing the legitimisation, institutionalisation and signification levels.

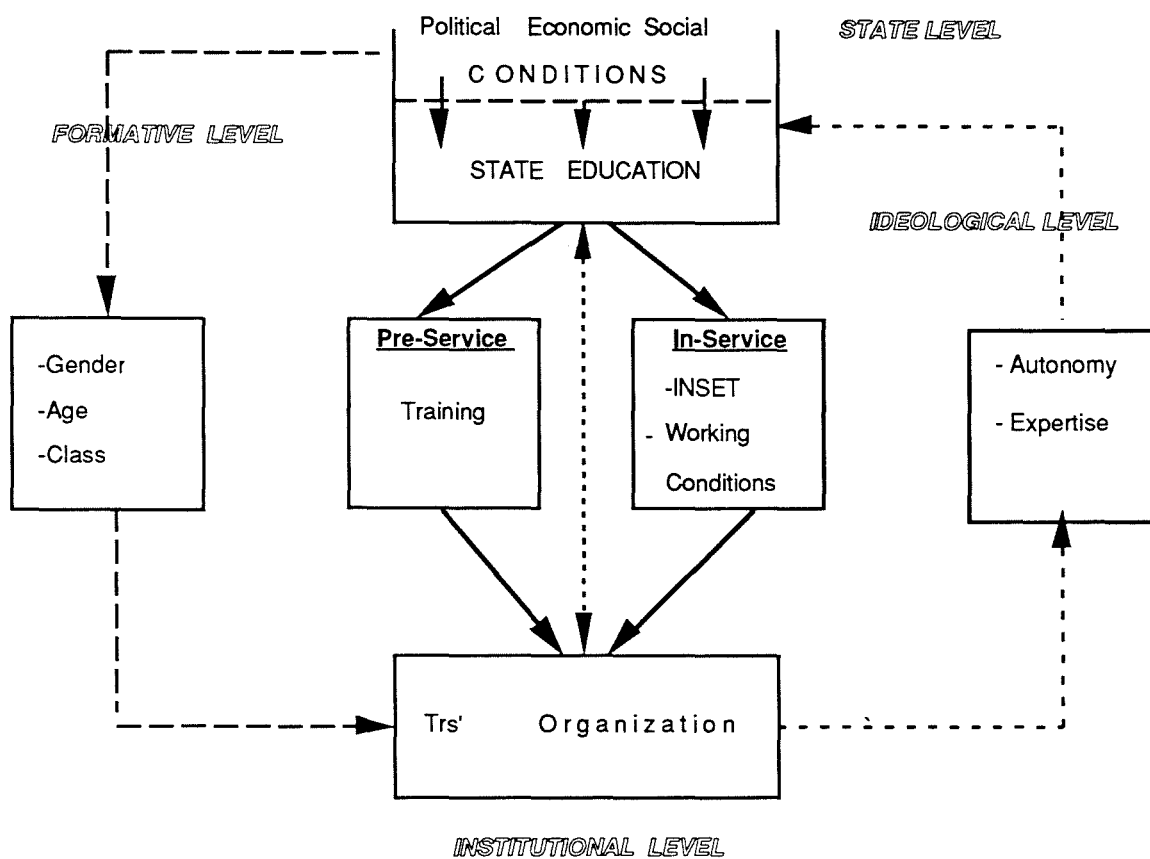
It would be also important, in the sense that it could simplify the complex phenomenon of professionalism, to determine the elements that have to be analysed and to indicate the nature of the relationship between the system and its environment. The assumption in constructing this framework of analysis is that the system of professionalism is not a closed one, as in that case it would mean "that the system would have to move toward what could be called maximal social entropy" (37). The system is open to its environment in the sense that it is influenced by external variables.

### State Level

By examining the State within this conceptual framework, a fair understanding about the possible conflicts resulting from teachers' attempts to retain control over their work practices and an articulation of the dynamics of teachers' work structure can be gained. The idea that professionalism is affected by the political, economic and social conditions that take place in the broader society plays a critical role in the conceptualisation of its nature. Nevertheless, the boundary of the system with its environment at the state level can not be easily delineated, since the interactions that take place at this level can not be clearly defined. In the model presented in the following page, the broken lines at the state level indicate that there is a continuous flow of influence from the external environment to the state level.

As can be seen in the diagram, the first part top-down, the state level is very important to the system's survival and efficiency, because it is dependent upon the flow of inputs from the broad environment -in the present case, the political, economic and social conditions. This provides the state level with the necessary information for the development of the system goals (functioning of professionalism), and given the resources to obtain the goal (teaching force and capital), it will become a direct input in

## PHASE I



## FUNCTIONING OF PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

the system (control processes).

In practical terms, at this level, the different political, economic and social conditions mould State education policy. The concept of the State can help focus upon the locus of control. The elected government and the Minister of Education constitute the national level of the central government in education, while the different agencies, departments, and offices, responsible for the management of education, constitute the regional and local levels. The rest of State education consists of the educational constituency -that is the different legitimate interest groups, in the sense that they have a statutory right to influence policy.

Thus, the term "state education policy" will be used to refer to legal forms of educational management exercised by the central government at the national level.

### *Formative Level*

The examination of the formative level is based on the assumption that the ideological aspects of professionalism can not be solely understood without examining the dynamic imparted by gender, age and class factors.

This level is where the individual characteristics of teachers -Gender, Age and Social Class background- can be identified. Factors like a high degree of feminisation, a high average age and low social class origins of the teaching population permeate into teaching and affect the extent and the nature of teacher involvement in their work.

### *Gender*

How far do rules governing the sexual division of labour in the two countries develop or inhibit the ideology of professionalism as an instrument of teachers' occupational control? Professionalism may be explained in terms of the struggle that a largely female occupation in England and Greece has gone through historically, with male dominance in order to obtain equal pay, treatment and control over their work.

Traditional beliefs about the woman's role in society have given rise to a patriarchal type of society that is also formed within teaching. Characteristic of patriarchal societies, according to Ginsburg is:

"...the contradiction that although education is predominantly a "feminine" pursuit...the vast majority of those who control the means and manage the process of educational production ...are predominantly men" (38).

Related to this contradiction are the ideological notions of domesticity. Thus, male teachers are suited for authority positions, because of their emotional detachment, while female teachers are suited for nurturant/caretaking positions because of their emotional engagement. This stereotypical type of dichotomy between emotional detachment/engagement is also related to beliefs that women can perform better teaching -a role very close to motherhood- because they are better equipped by nature with nurture and patience (39). Such ideas give rise to sex-biased statements in the division of labour, e.g. that women would willingly work for less money than men (40).

Whether it is the conditions in the division of labour that have favoured feminisation of teaching, or the very nature of teaching itself, is not clear. In historical terms, teaching was expanded as women's work at a time when there was a great demand for labour, and a large number of women seeking work (41). On the other hand, qualities of teaching like service and nurturing reinforces sex-typing. The outcome is that women's work is considered less prestigious, simply because women perform it (42). High proportion of women is associated with low rates of turnover, part-time positions and maternity leaves, all resulting in a loosely organised occupational group. Lieberman and Caplow assert that predominance of women leads to "the unorganisability of the profession" (43). And a loose structured profession is less likely to have control over it. For all these reasons, some of the explanations of the current position of teachers might be rooted in the gender factor.



Given the deterioration of the working conditions in teaching plus the social ideas that inform sexual division of labour, what is implied is, that it is easier for women to be further exploited of their labour. In the views of the American sociologist M.Apple:

"In every occupational category, women are more apt to be proletarianized than men. This could be because of the sexist practices of recruitment and promotion, the general tendency to care less about the conditions under which women labour, the way capital has historically colonised patriarchal relations and so on. Whatever the reason, it is clear that a given position may be more or less proleterianized, depending on its relationship to the sexual division of labour" (44)

Consequently, it seems that status and remuneration decline as female membership rises. It is a common tendency that occupations like teaching with a high proportion of female members have lower wages. However, this should be attributed to the discrimination against women, not simply to their presence (45).

Women have also been seen as serving better the hierarchical values of a bureaucratic system:

"Historically, the sexual division of labour enabled state and administrators to maintain bureaucratic control of their employees and the curriculum and teaching practices" (46).

Simpson and Simpson argue that women's position is strengthened within bureaucratic organisational structures (47). Gender has an impact on the nature and degree of teachers' involvement in their work. Within the context of gender relations in teaching, the ideology of professionalism encloses certain contradictions that may reinforce the subordination or domination of women in a given political system. These dimensions too can be detected through the organised actions of teachers to control their workplace.

## Age

The justification for considering age as a factor in examining professionalism is that the school as social system is affected by several processes occurring within it, and particularly by the aging of members.

An investigation of the ways in which teachers' experiences of aging influence their occupational behaviour, may contribute to our understanding of aspects of teachers occupational behaviour that might be both cultural and universal. The effect that age and experience may have upon motivation and commitment and thus, teachers' job satisfaction and effectiveness, can be an important indicator. Although between country differences have not been emphasised in the different studies on teachers' age stages, they would appear to have little influence upon either teachers' career perceptions and less on their experiences of aging (48).

Are there age-related contradictions that have implications upon the professional development of teachers? One may answer this question by looking at the age stages of teachers. An analytic perspective that focuses on specific age stages and career concerns of teachers, is represented by life/age cycle theorists such as Gould; Levinson et al; and Sheehy (49). It describes tensions in various life cycles and the tasks related to them. It considers maturity as the upper stage of the adaptation process to the expectations society places upon individuals during their life.

According to Levinson, in the 28-33 age stage teachers often experience frustration with their work in trying to make up their minds about occupational choice. In the age group 33-40 -the settling down period- they look for promotional opportunities and they often get frustrated, while in the 35-45 age group in the mid-life transition period, they come to terms with their job and show high commitment and morale (50).

The age related three phases in teachers' career, have also been described by Oja in rather similar way :

"From 20-40 is the time period in which teachers try to find their place in the profession, which may involve considerable shifts in

their commitment to teaching. From 40-55 they have a steady occupational commitment and high personal morale. Finally, during the third phase, teachers lose energy and enthusiasm and experience a pulling away from teaching and their students (51)

That teachers in certain ages hold specific ideas about their work practices, allow us to explain their views and attitudes. The age factor can also serve as an indicator of the nature of teachers' views and attitudes as residuals of the training they received.

### Social Class

The social class background of teachers is associated with the status of teaching in the sense that

"The higher the social strata from which recruits generally come, the higher the status of the profession. And of course, the higher the status of a profession the more it will attract recruits from the higher social strata" (52)

Class stands as the other dynamic closely related to gender. Both interrelate and determine the arena in which each individual functions. Teaching is better understood when both of them are analysed to reveal the grounds on which justifications for teachers' rationalisation of work rest. Along with gender, changes in the different political, social and economic sectors of a country impact upon the teachers' location in the class structure.

Two schools of thought emerge from the literature which try to understand professionalism from the perspective of social class. One considers it a gradual evolutionary process, a means of moving beyond one's original working class background and approaching the middle class. Increases in remuneration, upgrading of training and qualifications and degree of influence on education policy making, are seen as the practical outcomes of teachers' professionalism which drive teachers away from their working class origins towards a recognised middle-class position (53).

Finn et al also express similar views:

"...teaching has been ideologically constructed to emphasise differences from the working class" (54)

From the Marxist point of view, teachers' class location in the middle class is ambiguous and contradictory. Marxist interpretations see teachers as exhibiting characteristics of both the capitalist and the working class. They are bourgeoisie and proletariat at the same time. Like the bourgeoisie they live off the surplus created by the workers and similar to the proletariat they neither own, nor control the means of production and work for wages or salaries.

The approach employed in the present study in relation to the class aspect is related to the first theoretical standpoint for the following two reasons: Firstly, since professionalism takes different meanings, depending on which groups and which historical periods are involved, it should not be considered a static condition as Marxists argue (55), but a process evolving over historical time.

Secondly, rather than trying to locate the class position of teachers as an occupational group, it is, arguably, appropriate to identify the nature of the relations teachers are involved in, as a result of their class of origins. Clearly, such a view interprets teachers' attempts to approach professionalism as their willingness to raise their original class position from working to middle class (56). Moving away from the working class, means away from unionism and other ideas of the left, as teachers come closer to middle class values:

"On the one hand, working class traditions of trade unionism and Labour politics may be brought into teaching. On the other hand, teachers from working class backgrounds may see themselves as upwardly mobile and thus, may wish to remove their working class origins to trade unionist associations that may have gone with them."  
(57)

Thus, the questions embedded in this aspect of the model are: Does their social background affect and in what way their practices and views? In short, how teachers act and characterise their own actions in terms of professionalism may be more clearly revealed, when their social origin is taken also into account in explaining their behaviour as an organised body.

Teachers participate in the social class nexus most obviously through their relationship with their employer. As their employer in both countries is the State -the central government at the national level in Greece and at the local level in England-, the nature of teachers' behaviour can be better examined in terms of their negotiations with it.

Salaries and promotions which are amongst the central government's policy instruments, may also become indicators of the degree of tension in the relationship between teachers and the central government. Employment conditions define in concrete terms the space within which teachers can exercise their professionalism. Thus, it follows that teachers have to develop and employ various strategies to protect or even expand this area. That there is a strong need to unionise as well as a great deal of difficulty in achieving it, -given both the practical problems and the ideological resistance- possible conflicts over the issue of professionalism should come as no surprise.

Identification of class dynamic elements within the nature of certain teacher strategies have to be limited to the contextual variables generating them. Disconnection of its meaning from its current context may reproduce class relations unwittingly, while its relation to teachers' expertise may sustain or advance teachers' class relations in their own terms.

What the formative level dimensions tell us about professionalism is that they can affect in indirect ways both state and institutional level. The former by providing the background conditions on which central government can expand its control over teachers, while the latter by shaping teachers' tactics vis-a-vis the central government.

### *Institutional Level*

At the same time as the inputs take place, the subsystem at the institutional level, must react by making efficient use of the resources given to it (*throughput*) and by adapting to the problems created by the nature of the inputs.

The degree to which the system selects, recruits and rewards teachers affects its control needs in terms of the amount of resources and the effort it must invest to maintain the level of control necessary to achieve its goals. Control mechanisms aim at producing orientations to goals and standards of performance consistent with those of the system. Different facets of conditions of the system direct attention to three areas of the study: nature of recruitment, employment conditions and teachers' organisations. These conditions are important means for controlling teachers' performance.

Thus, by examining the pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers we can understand both the control processes and the meaning teachers attach to it, that is the ways in which both the central government uses to develop, maintain and reward the teaching force -for the attainment of its goals- and also the teachers to reject or adapt to those inputs -for the satisfaction of their occupational claims. Teachers' possible conflicts with central government control processes (management control) are also likely to generate problems which as they must be solved they are likely, in turn, to produce a changed environment.

Institutional level represents the level where the actual processes, through which teachers go in order to meet partially their professional goals, are located. These include pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers, that is: pre-service training, working conditions, inservice training and teachers' organisations.

### *Ideological Level*

At the ideological level teachers get a strong sense of their professional identity, through the concepts of autonomy and expertise. These are the necessary preconditions to carry out their work effectively, the major objectives of teachers' occupational claims and the practical content of the ideological aspects of their professionalism.

Teachers' autonomy is not an issue that can be defined easily. It is a relative concept depending on the context within which it operates and refers to the ability to determine one's own work, the way it is carried out and to set standards, as to what is to be judged. Thus, it determines the content and methodology of teaching. Teachers' claims for control over the curriculum and teaching methods is justified on the grounds of their expertise. According to Sockett:

"A teacher would be considered autonomous to the extent to which his professional actions could be influenced by his own properly informed judgments"(58)

As has already been examined previously, teaching has been practised in close relation to the central government. Thus, the degree of autonomy that teachers enjoy in the two countries depends upon the degree of the central government's involvement in teachers' workpractices.

"The more his actions are dictated by others the less autonomous he is. The more he tries to fill a role characterised and judged by others, the less autonomous he is" (59)

Ozga and Lawn interpret this employer-employee relationship as the means by which the State uses autonomy to conceal its real nature:

"The state may disguise its essential relationship with the teachers by manipulating those aspects of the professional ideology which stress teacher autonomy, while teachers may resist state intervention by making use of a defensive argument based on possession of

professional expertise"(60)

Despite the apparently conflicting nature of this relationship, it seems that autonomy and expertise are also meaningful issues to the State. Education is a concept for which in Greece the State's interest is clearly stated in the country's constitution and in England in the 1944 Act and more recently in the 1988 Education Reform Act. In addition, the different pressure groups have placed specific interests in it, so that the concept becomes too important to be left at one group's ways of use.

Teachers cannot teach what they like. Students cannot do or behave the way they may wish. Parents cannot intervene as they please and industry cannot take over school planning. There are so many and different sectoral interests that the function of education in a way that pleases everybody is almost impossible. Teachers, for example, stress the ideological and broad educational issues, parents the vocational aspects of school functioning (61). This gap widens and the misunderstandings increase when the educational reforms, objectives and practices are not well-planned and sometimes even when they are. Consequently, this measure of ambiguity has to be limited within a structural framework that seems to be operational. Since the central government represents the active agent of the State to be negotiated with, teachers' degree of autonomy depends upon the extent to which they are determined to negotiate, compromise, or resist the central government's view of things.

This kind of determination is justified on the notion that the very nature of teaching involves the transmission of knowledge, skills, attitudes and concepts from those who have them to those who do not. This notion is reinforced by certain public ideas that tend to associate teaching with the "content" element of it, rather than with the pedagogical ability. According to these notions, the higher the content level, the more difficult it is to teach. This, in turn, explains why lecturers at university departments are regarded higher in status than secondary school teachers, who in turn are accorded higher social prestige than primary school



teachers.

Actually, the lower the level of education, (particularly literacy in the communities), the higher the level of esteem accorded to teachers on the basis of their possession of expertise.

"Prestige is distributed throughout the profession of learning according to the twin qualities of esoteric value of what is taught and the consequent difficulties involved in attaining it and the audience to whom it is communicated. Lowest status is thus reserved for teachers in the primary schools to which everyone goes to learn what everyone knows" (62)

Teachers possess qualities not available to ordinary citizens, hence their ability to communicate these qualities.

In contrast, the higher the educational attainment of the community, the lower the mystique of teaching is. A more literate and better informed public means that the knowledge-gap between the public and teachers becomes narrower. Therefore, the expert knowledge possessed by teachers does not solely lie in their mastery over "content", but it is combined with special pedagogic abilities to communicate and transfer the learning "content". Yet, though most teachers recognise the value of this argument, they do not appear clearly to demonstrate it. Since teachers' work is confined to the classroom, they do not have the opportunity as other professional practitioners to show their abilities to the general public. Such observations apply as much in England as in Greece.

Professional expertise is closely associated with the level of work performance. Freidson argues that "the nature of objective knowledge....is best evaluated by examining professional work", and that, "...by virtue of its organised autonomy the consulting profession is able to believe to be expert in any case" (63).

Yet, autonomy derives only from an awareness of possible alternatives and reasoned choice among teachers, rather than from the practice of limited set of skills defined by administrators as the only available approach. This

does not mean that teachers' claims to autonomy imply anarchy, arrogance, or the refusal to consider the interests of other groups. Rather, such claims are based on rational principles, scientific knowledge and moral obligation, not on simple dependence on hierarchically derived rules and regulations (64).

Teachers ought, if professional status were acknowledged, to be able to make decisions about content and methodology of teaching, to make judgments about the quality of students' work and to determine the type of their classroom involvement (65).

Such areas of activity stand as the two parts of teachers' professional autonomy: their right to participate in the formation of educational policy as a collective body, and the degrees of independent professional responsibility within the classroom.

This study focuses on the group-oriented aspect of autonomy, not because classroom autonomy is less important, but because the former represents teachers' collective efforts to control their working conditions. Such a perspective is closely related to teachers' organisational power, -in effect the connecting point between the institutional and ideological levels in the model. The better teachers are organised, the more they can advance their ideological aspects of professionalism.

The group-oriented aspect is diametrically opposed to the organisational principle of management control and hierarchical coordination by superiors. For people who perform what is considered to be professional service, this issue is translated into their ability to exercise control over their occupational setting, its outcome, and to decide about the methods of control they can use: Ultimately, this is justified on grounds that teachers should feel at liberty to achieve efficiency within the system, because they possess the necessary knowledge. Yet, management control is justified because it should be in line with the organization's rules and regulations -that is everything approved directly or by implication from above. The

contradictory nature of these two is described by Freidson as:

"Control over work performance is of course the basic prize over which occupations and administration contend in particular work settings" (66)

Following this last point, teachers' ability or inability to win this "prize" is dependent upon the "strength" of the administrative structure within the central government.

The fact that teachers in both England and Greece are State employees gives the form of professionalism a rather restrictive meaning. Successful exercise of control can be achieved only if it is legitimated. Legitimation within the system of professionalism brings up the linkage between two types of control.

The first, -the management control- is influenced by environmental conditions such as social, political and economic, is shaped at the state level, and through specific mechanisms of central government education policy that regulate pre-and in-service conditions of teachers work, finally acts at the institutional level. This is then decoded to certain sets of meaning at the ideological level, through actions of the organised teaching body.

The second, -the professional control- has a dual aspect: the amount and the nature of knowledge teachers possess -that is their expertise- which entitles them to certain degrees of control over knowledge, and their freedom and latitude to perform their duties -that is their autonomy- which entitles them to degrees of control over the market of their services. These two modes of control are interrelated and create tensions that mould the form of relationship between teachers and the central government. Furthermore, the higher the level of the hierarchy, the greater the recognised right of control (67).

Conflicts between management and professional control can be minimised

at the expense of one or the other. Such a pattern of contested control implies that it is crucially important to understand both the subjective purposes of each one, as well as its significance for meeting organisational needs. Krupp noted this phenomenon in other organisational settings:

"Participant acceptance of organisational goals...may reflect organisation efficiency, but in broader strokes on a larger canvas, it may be a part of a structure of authority, it may belong to a system of subordination...effectiveness in securing goals may appear organisational efficiency, but to the participants it may mean subordination" (68)

In combination, the two modes of control might produce conflicts that have pervasive effects upon the whole system's activities. Teachers use strategies in their efforts to compromise, resolve or resist central government's control (The dotted lines in the diagram represent negotiated outcomes, and the straight lines specific policy measures, p.140). These strategies seem to be mediated considerably by the formative level which represents factors formed by teachers' gender, age and social class origins.

#### The four level functioning of the model

An organisation is not a natural system but one shaped by its own and its members' needs. By identifying the internal dynamic, change in the system may be explained.

In order to identify elements of environmental and organisational change, the three analytically separate segments will be examined (political, economic and social). This will enable a more precise analysis to be made of a generally "turbulent" environment and inter-organizational change. It might be well argued that this relation is mechanically deterministic. Yet, the perception of management -as to what seems to be the most suitable form of organisation- is an important mediating factor. In these terms, it can be said that the system has to be managed. It is not self-adapting, or self-equilibrating, because of conflicting goals and strategies in the

different subsystems (69).

Management control may be in conflict with professional control and management strategy may run counter to the easy adjustment of teachers to the new environment following the changes and thus, in both cases, open conflict or resistance to change may be the consequence.

The present model can be applied to this phenomenon by drawing systems boundaries round the occupational group of teachers and analysing their reaction to the inputs from the surrounding environment, both inside and outside the system.

In terms of educational policy, while a direct linkage exists between the state, institutional and ideological level, the formative level represents factors that can influence the system only indirectly. Gender, age and social class are not connected to the other parts of the system in a way that can be identified by certain control measures, or negotiated outcomes, but rather by indirect influences.

To resume, the functioning of the model can be explained as follows:

One may see the functioning of the whole system in Phase I (p.140). In this phase, State education policy regulates the pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers through control processes (straight lines in the diagram) (*input*). The interpretation of these inputs into certain systems of meaning depends upon the meaning that organised teachers attach to such information (*throughput*). Satisfactory levels of autonomy and expertise may lead to the smooth running of the system, as the State recognises teachers' professional control (*output*). It gives them the right to act back on the system (*feedback*). The ideological level reflects teachers' ability to influence education policy, but because characteristics like autonomy and expertise are not easily measurable, their valorisation becomes a matter of negotiation (dotted lines). In a stabilised situation, one may expect that the relation between the State in education and organised teachers is laid down through the negotiations of the two interested parties (dotted lines),

meaning that the legitimation of State education policy is determined by both the central government itself and also by teachers' organisations.

At the same time, certain personal characteristics of teachers', -gender, age and social class- may play also a crucial role to the importance of inputs affecting the meaning accorded to them by organised teachers.

Clearly, this model includes a multiplicity of factors which impinge on the way professionalism functions and for this reason does not concentrate solely upon subsystem's or system's goals as these are defined by teachers and the central government respectively.

### Criticisms of the systems models

Before applying the model in the two countries, some attention should be paid to the validity of the systems models.

Since systems models have been derived from the natural sciences, they rely on an analogy of society to biological organisms. Within this frame of reference, may society really be seen as an organism? Spencer in his work "Principles of Sociology" criticised the use of systems models as:

"The social organism, discrete instead of concrete, asymmetrical instead of symmetrical, sensitive in all its units instead of having a single sensitive centre, is not comparable to any particular type of individual organism, animal, or vegetable"(70)

According to these criticisms, the systems approach disregards differences and over-reduces complexities to very basic patterns. It runs the danger of reaching non valid generalizable models and laws. The whole system functions according to such norms, like "boundary maintainance", "purposive behaviour", "goal attainment process" in order to achieve a self-equilibrating stage. As such, input factors and output behaviour, may be identified in a mechanistic and deterministic way, explaining the functioning of the system in a stimulus-response manner (71).

To avoid this, the defenders of this approach do not ignore the existence

To avoid this, the defenders of this approach do not ignore the existence and importance of differences between natural and social systems. On the contrary, they believe that systems models can become a tool for the analysis and identification of the nature of these differences. In addition, modern followers of this approach do not advocate the idea of natural equilibrium in social systems, because they do recognise the ability of individuals or groups constituting the subsystems, -given the power required to make important decisions- to make the whole system function or adapt to change. They regard social equilibrium as a managed rather than a natural thing. Thus, they do not accept the simple analogy between organisms and organisations. The former can adjust consciously as a result of certain environmental factors. The latter cannot respond at the same pace. Their artificial quality, high concern with the output and complex nature require formal control processes in order to review constantly the structure and functioning of the system and help it adjust to changes (72).

Another criticism of the systems models is that they are descriptions of how the system functions not why the structure and especially its power aspects is the way it is. They do not explain for example, why there arise fundamental conflicts between subgroups that form parts of the system. In our model, this means that we can explain how professionalism functions the way it does, but not why.

#### Advantages of the systems models

In summary, the systems approach analyses the structure and functioning of organisations, by examining the nature and operation of factors determining the behaviour of the system. In the present study we hope that factors that act and interact at the four identified levels, may explain teachers-central government relationship. By assuming that the formal rules and procedures of control is the most important aspect of this relationship and represent the way the system operates, a consistent

The systems approach emphasises the attainment of certain goals which implies that the system structure and the final outcome will function towards that end. An alternative to that approach, Action Theory, takes the other extreme, that individual members consisting a subsystem are concerned with advancing their power and status and so fail to consider their goals in relation to those of the whole system (73).

Analysis of the functioning of the system from the perspective of the whole system in relation to members' action and interaction as a reflection of the meaning attached to inputs of the system by them, would be more fruitful.

This incorporation of the analysis of conflicts is considered to be the major advantage of the model the present study uses. As such, it does not need to identify teachers with the formal goals of the system of professionalism. This means that professional and management control are not identical concepts. They can become complimentary or contradictory to each other. The key to the application of this model is that the input information -the ways through which the central government exercises control over teachers- depends on the meaning that teachers assign to it -degrees of autonomy and expertise.

Finally, and almost in parenthesis, the model may represent a theoretical picture of the structure and functioning of the system, by focusing on key factors and interrelations and by so doing it may also reveal the nature and sources of the factors determining the behaviour of the system.



## Conclusion

The complicated nature of professionalism is possible to be analysed by unpacking its constituents. These are the factors that influence its functioning within the context of teaching practice. A taxonomy of these factors is constructed by borrowing the basic ideas from the systems approach. Professionalism as a system depends upon the interrelationship of its constituents that are the characteristic four-level dimensions of professionalism, as well as upon the outcome of the system functioning, that is the extent to which teachers can influence the state level.

The systems perspective can best describe the structure and functioning of professionalism and may also reveal the nature of the several factors determining the behaviour of the whole system of professionalism.

The way all the different dimensions that consist the whole system of professionalism act and interact will be examined in the specific context provided by the two national settings in England and Greece, in the following chapters.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### APPLICATION OF THE MODEL IN ENGLAND

#### Introduction

The basic assumption in this study is that conceptualisation of professionalism can be achieved through its contextualization. The main analytical tool to operationalise this is the model developed in the previous chapter.

What is the current context of teacher professionalism in England? How is control over teachers' conditions of work actually exercised? How far does the model help to identify conditions affecting teachers' occupational control? These are the questions that can provide the basis for our understanding of professionalism in teaching within the English context, and on which the present chapter centres.

To apply the model to the English context requires an analysis of the factors, such as teachers' occupational characteristics, pre-service and in-service training, employment conditions, and form of organisation, previously identified as operating at four different levels. Investigation of the ways in which they are linked and interdependent and the ways they mould the whole system of professionalism, is the task we have before us.



## State Level

At the state level, one has first to identify the current form of State education, before one may deal with links to the external and internal elements of the system's environment. Chapter four noted that State education is not a constant entity, but dependent upon a set of factors that may account for its present condition. What is the structure and function of State education in England and in what ways -at state level- affects the institutional level of the model functioning ?

State education may be said to consist of the central government (with the different branches -executive, legislative, and judicial) and the educational constituency. A part of the central government is the DES at the national level, and the Local Education Authorities at the local level, and the different offices responsible for education policy management, all representing the executive branch of it. The educational constituency consists of the different groups with legitimate interests in education.

In the present analysis, the term central government refers to the DES and its offices, while the educational constituency refers to the interest groups with statutory right in education.

The degree of control central government at the national level holds may be appreciated, if its current relationship with the other groups involved in State education can be defined. Amongst these groups involved directly in the machinery for the provision and effectiveness of the English education system, and for this reason influencing conditions of teachers' work, are the LEAs and the legislative branch of the State -that is the parliament, at the central government level, and parents and industry, at the educational constituency level.

By taking into account each one's responsibilities, interests, concerns and rights, an insight into the nature of State education can be ensured.

At the local level, the most important part of the central government in education, that has determined the decentralised nature of the English

education system -(at least until recently)-, has been the Local Education Authorities. The LEAs have been involved in education, as the source of educational policy making, as teachers' employers, and as bodies responsible for the provision and funding of education within their area. Since 1944, the number of LEAs has been reduced from 315 to almost half that number. About half LEA current expenditure is covered by central government grant. The other half is raised directly by the LEAs. Since the mid 1970s the government has moved progressively towards determining the current and capital expenditure of total level of the Local Authorities, a development reinforced by divergences amongst the LEAs. Thus, in Simpson's (1986) view:

"discussions along the traditional axis between the Secretary of State for Education and the local authorities' education leaders, deprived of its financial aspects, was correspondingly weakened"(1)

Nevertheless, their responsibilities have been limited lately, as the central government has increasingly set limitations on their powers and reduced their expenditure.

Thus, finance is one of the ways by which the government could extend its control down to local authority level.

"From an economic point of view, the Government's major concern is with the total level of local authority expenditure...The importance the Government attach to priority ranges from areas where the decisions of local authorities need to be related to a clear framework of policies announced by Central Government, to those where Central Government have little or no policy interest" (2)

The Green Paper issued in July 1977 showed the government's clear concern about the curriculum and the management of the teaching body, and its determination to enter this area which was previously the exclusive concern of the LEAs (3) .

The centre of gravity of the central-local relationship was to be shifted as a result of the changes in central government's objectives from expansion

to contraction\*. Contraction of the education service, a product of the financial cuts, also brought forward the issue of management of the teaching force in 1983. According to the Secretary of the State there was a clear need for managing the teaching force across LEAs.

"...to manage it [contraction] in ways which improve the nature between teacher expertise and subjects taught; minimise longer term damage from the low, inflow of newly qualified teachers whose high calibre, standards of qualification and up-to-date subject knowledge are important to the quality of schools in the coming decades; and raise professional standards by retaining and encouraging the best and most committed teachers"(5)

Nevertheless, the LEAs have retained some degree of autonomy within the framework of priorities assigned by government spending. The Green Paper in January 1986 (6) considered a number of options for new kinds of taxation within the responsibility of the LEAs, whilst the recently introduced community charge by offering them the opportunity to raise 25% of their total revenue at their own discretion, can give them considerable latitude in determining spending needs (7) .

Clearly, all these developments demonstrate the government's intention to limit LEAs responsibilities as well as to separate the service responsibility from the financial one.

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\*"During the period of expansion many objectives were expressed in logistic terms and the desired direction of advance was not in dispute; only on the assumption that the LEA would provide the impetus to build or to recruit, responding to visible local needs, and that the department's role was to moderate the paces required by overall financial limits or fair shares. In contraction, the main objective may no longer be held in common. those concerned only to forward the education service's interests may see falling demand as an opportunity for further qualitative improvement, which the government with their wider financial responsibilities will feel obliged not just to moderate, but to deny. The former, will see no visible local need to provide an impetus downwards; and the latter can initiate no reduction on their own" (4)

According to Dale, this manipulation of LEAs functions and responsibilities, by the central government has considerably reduced the role of the LEAs in the 1980s to that of "eunuchs" (8) (table 7,Annex) .

The other part of the central government that has affected teaching is its legislative branch -the Parliament. Until 1987, teachers' payment and conditions of employment were the outcome of negotiations between teachers' unions and the LEAs, under the auspices of the Burnham Committee. The 1987 Act connected the Parliament with teachers in the issue over teachers' pay and conditions of employment, justified on the basis of:

"The quality of education is substantially dependent on teachers and what they do, so Parliament also has a concern with teachers' duties and other conditions of employment. The provision for laying down Orders before parliament in the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987 also recognised this aspect"(9)

Parliament approves the plans for public expenditure as defined in the Public Expenditure White Papers. Teachers' salaries represent a substantial percentage of public spending, hence parliament ratifies\* any public expenditure plan of the government for teachers.

Evidently, the changes have brought significant shifts, not only in the role of LEAs, but in the role of each interest group in its position in the educational field and especially in relation to teachers. A clear picture of this is illustrated on table 7.

Industry's interest is based on the fact that availability of well-trained recruits is essential to the economic development of the country.

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\* "Orders for teachers' pay and conditions to be laid before Parliament and to be subject to votes of both Houses"(10)

Possibilities for making employers' involvement in educational matters a statutory right grew after the mid 1970s, when economic decline and high youth unemployment raised the issue of the direction the education system ought to move in. The needs of industry had to be incorporated into the design of educational objectives, so that young people could adapt successfully to the demands of the market. Industry was brought into the educational arena as consultants (11), (table 7).

Several new initiatives were introduced into schools under the aegis of Manpower Service Commission (MSC), Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI), and TVEI Related In-service Training (TRIST).

The main objective of MSC and TVEI\* was to combat unemployment-(the latter directed at the very limited age-range 14-18), and amongst other things to associate the school with the needs of employers. The MSC is concerned to retaining teachers through its financing of several INSET programmes, while the TVEI and TRIST have offered new prospects for teacher career advancement, as co-ordinators or directors of the scheme, as peripatetic staff, or school co-ordinators (13).

The connection of these initiatives with teachers was justified on that "teachers had to be changed rather than be the agents and basis of change" (14)

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\* TVEI was described as " a pilot scheme; within the education system; for many people of both sexes; across the ability range; voluntary. Each project must provide a full-time programme; offer a progressive four year course combining general with technical and vocational education; commence at 14 years; be broadly based; include planned work experience; lead to nationally recognised qualifications. Each project and initiative as a whole must be care fully monitored and evaluated. The purpose of the scheme is to explore and test ways of organising and managing readily replicable programmes of technical and vocational education for young people across the ability range" (12)

All these initiatives, introduced as the central government's concern about issues of unemployment, opened new channels for the expansion of its control. The transfer of MSC, for example, in 1988 from a semi-autonomous training agency to a governmental one, was interpreted by Sikes as a means of centralising control,

"By taking on this role and challenge the MSC would become an agency for centralising control of education, thus furthering a development that teachers and LEA had long resisted" (15)

Another important interest group that has been given considerable statutory rights lately, has been the parents, who concerned primarily on their childrens' behalf, have a legitimate interest that the teaching force is well motivated and effective (16).

The official idea of parent participation in education since the 1960s, lies in the 1967 Plowden report "Children and their Primary Schools":

"For the first time here is an official report which gives great prominence to parents. This is a remarkable change. When the first issue of *Where* was published in the summer of 1960 the idea that parents should be recognised as partners of teachers was a little bizarre, and it has taken time to make the bizarre one degree less so. The mood has now altered."(17 )

For the 1960s the development of notions of parent participation was gradual, mainly on account of its non-political nature. Parent participation was seen not as a political demand to control schools or teachers, but to be better informed by the LEAs:

"Schools were still seen as "non-political"; parents supported them in that role and could do so more effectively if they were better informed" (18)

This could be explained in terms of the group's position in society at that time:

"... which valued the preservation of a certain distance between

political parties and pressure groups" (19)

Parental choice was given new impetus with the establishment of the comprehensive school model. Common schooling, and Circular 10/65 (20) which required parents to be consulted by the LEAs, had an impact upon parents' groups. They became politically conscious by realising their right to be involved in educational policy. Kogan describes this process as:

"Parents were showing that they could organise themselves both politically and forensically...Parent power was now available to move from talking,pamphleteering about the general issues of standards and participation, as such bodies as the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education had done for some years, towards taking expensive, technically sophisticated and politically tough actions against elected councils and the DES" (21)

Only after 1980 did the continuous efforts of the parent movement at the local level produce results at the national level. The 1980 and the subsequent 1986 Education Acts, recognised parents' rights at the national level, included their membership in the governing bodies, and embodied the principle of accountability through its provisions for parental choice: parents to be allowed to send their children to schools of their choice and to be informed about their children's progress (22).

It might seem that legitimisation of parental participation implies a high degree of parental choice. This generalisation is rather risky, as in practice considerable limitations have been placed upon it. Parents, dissatisfied with the performance of their children's school, may appeal to the Secretary of the State, to choose another school, but many parents avoid this process:

"Whilst Ministers' rhetoric continues unabated -describing the provision of the 1980 Act as "genuine partipatory democracy"-the Government may not have calculated for the practical consequences of their token measure" (23)

National guidelines for parental participation, as they were embodied in 1980 Act, were not immediately mandatory for all schools, as they

required high degrees of interpretation -especially at local level. Significant variation existed in the early 1980s, not only among the different LEAs, but also among schools within the same LEA -a fact, that according to Beattie, brought considerable confusion to parents seeking clarification of their rights (24).

Although central government provided parent activity with a high degree of legitimacy, this does not mean in practice a genuine parents' role. Legitimation at the national level may imply recognition of involvement, but not necessarily of control.

Justifications of legitimation may be searched in the philosophy underlying the Acts, that saw education as under obligation to society, operating under market forces and principles, and parents as consumers within that market (25).

Thus, the central government has the power to alter interest group positioning in the educational arena. Under the new conditions, it has assumed more responsibility implied by the notion that it acts on behalf of the broad but silent majority. As an official DES document stated:

"...greater recognition could also be given to the function of groups external to the schools in the process of evaluation. Parents, governors, employers and the wider community have expectations of schools and of individual pupils. These need to be clearly articulated and schools might do more to seek and consider these views"(26).

This populist\* notion of educational provision has been confirmed by the Education Acts of 1980 and 1986. They presented the government as the guardian of groups with interests that should be satisfied in a way defined in the government's own terms. Offe (1981), implying in a slightly different setting, explained this as follows:

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\* The term will be used here as referring to central government's intention to respond to popular needs.



"Under such conditions ....that come closest to the liberal-pluralist model of the political process-articulations of interest and demand have to be accepted as given from the point of view of the policy maker. His or her objective and his or her standard of political rationality-would be to serve as many of the specific demands as possible, given the, limitations of fiscal and other resources, so as to satisfy a maximum of special interests" (27)

Within this framework of introduced changes, the State no longer plays the role of protecting the victims of the excess power of the market economy -as that was the case in the post-war era, but of defending the market itself. Dale holds the view that:

"The new settlement is not then premised in the replacement of the State by the market, but on the essential symbiosis of a small strong State establishing and defending the market that funds it" (28)

As was examined in the earlier pages, within the context of State education, central government at the national level, has become the most powerful, by increasingly asserting its control. This has taken place by its progressive movements of restraining the power of the different bodies involved in the machinery of education policy at the regional and local levels. The central government at the national level has strengthened its position, by eliminating more the management and less the financial responsibilities of the local level, opening new channels of influence through meeting the demands of industry, and boosting the position of parents. Thus, expansion of its control can be seen as the outcome of the transfer of power between organs of the central government and the shifting of focus on interest groups in the educational arena. The latter takes place through processes of legitimation. While legitimation of interests is an important precondition for the exercise of any kind of control over educational matters, it is not the most important, as this does not necessarily imply actual representation of interest groups in educational policy making. The strength of the central government at the national level

can restrict considerably -by its legal means- the functioning of the educational constituency and affect the way that professionalism operates at the institutional level.

Therefore, the centre of gravity of control in the relationship between central government and educational constituency clearly lies on the side of the former. The central government has considerably limited the different parts of the educational constituency in a way that it has extended its control over conditions of teachers' work -the different aspects of which will be analysed at the institutional level of the system functioning. The extent to which processes of control take place at the institutional level, has to be examined in relation to each subsystem.

We can now get a clear picture of the different dimensions of professionalism functioning in England, by starting from the formative level, where the background characteristics of teachers, like gender, age and social class can be analysed.

### Formative Level

The formative level examines the occupational characteristics of teaching which affect the nature and degree of professionalism of teachers. These characteristics are not related to the state and organised teachers' subsystem by direct means of state control processes, since in the model they appear to be indirect influences. They are affected by the state level to the extent that the political, economic and social conditions present in education at a particular time facilitate the domination of teaching by factors, like high female population, low social background and high average age. These in turn may shape how teachers interpret state control processes and what collective action they employ vis-a-vis the central government. The functioning of the formative level is based on the proposition that the way any condition in education -whether constant or not- is perceived by teachers depends upon the present structural context of teaching. The

formative factors create the internal structural environment of teaching which affects the internal as well as the external behaviour of teachers.

### Gender

To what extent can gender divisions be identified within teaching and how do they influence organised teachers' behaviour? Answers to these questions will establish the links between the formative and institutional level in systemic terms.

Teaching has historically been related to notions of "women's work". Since the start of compulsory education in 1890, teaching has been a very attractive occupation especially among women (29). Table 8 (Annex) illustrates the distribution of women teachers from 1890 to 1930. Schooling is an occupation with a high female population by comparison with other professions as this is shown in tables 9 and 10.

More recent data assert also that teaching has high female membership. In 1979, 59% of the 443,028 full-time employed teachers in maintained schools in England and Wales were women (30). The 1981 female population of teaching as illustrated in table I was higher in nursery/primary than secondary education.

**Table I**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: DES(1983): "Teaching Quality" London, HMSO, March,p3

The above mentioned point can be explained by the fact that the percentage of female representation decreases as the educational level gets higher. In 1979, 77% of primary school teachers, 44% of secondary, 20% of further education and 13% of university academics were women. A very high percentage also, 94 % of part-time teachers were women. The percentages for the year 1986-87 are given in the table below:

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: OECD: Education in OECD countries, 1986-87: A Compendium of Statistical Information, Paris,1989

For Acker, women are underrepresented in higher scale posts in 1979. While 74% of teachers in junior-infant schools were women only 26% were heads. Women Secondary school teachers held 60% of scale 1 but only 32% of deputy headships and 16% of headships. Differential promotion posts is also related to different salaries. In the same year also, the average annual salary for women teachers was £4762 and for men £5479. 30% of men earned £6,000 or more, but only 10% of women (31).

In 1985, of 47% of primary school headteachers only 7% were women, but of the 42% of teachers in scale 1 only 7% were men. The unequal distribution of salary posts by sex as it was in 1985 is shown in table 11.

A high degree of feminisation is also seen in NUT membership. Although NUT has always advocated an equal opportunity policy and has 60% female membership, only 8 out of the 42 members of the Executive Committee were women in 1985. Two thirds of women teachers in primary schools were NUT members. Less than half the male primary school teachers. 50% also of secondary school women teachers were NUT members, but less

than 30% of men teachers in secondary schools were members (32). Higher percentage of women primary school teachers in NUT might account partly for NUT's organisational strategies to state's control processes.

All the above-mentioned numbers and tables suggest that there has been a considerable degree of discrimination against women teachers, which has been, in fact, sharper in primary schools. Nevertheless, at both levels, women are underrepresented at senior posts and overrepresented at the bottom of the scale. Women primary school teachers are almost half the total number of primary school teachers, while men secondary school teachers outnumber women by about 17,000. Men headteachers outnumber women in both primary and secondary levels (Table 11).

Deem and Evett in their investigations explained the relation between career discrimination against women teachers and low job commitment, in terms of the experience women teachers go through in their efforts to advance up the occupational ladder (33). Several factors in their environment either prejudiced attitudes, or family reasons, may considerably undermine any future career plans (34).

In addition, certain changes introduced by the central government, like the establishment of mixed sex schools which ought to have favoured women's status, have not helped them at all. Posts of guidance teachers, previously female territory, opened more opportunities for job advancement to male teachers (35). Thus, several factors stemming from the state level in terms of social influence, or specific governmental measures tend to perpetuate gender differences in teaching.

Evidently, the position of a teacher on the pay scale in promotional prospects and payment is affected by gender. And, as it was explained in chapter four, it is more likely that in these conditions, -senior posts for male teachers, male union representation, female underrepresentation in the

higher sectors of education, indicators of the patriarchal relations within it-pay is often lowered, job is regarded as low skilled, and so control is "needed" from the outside (36).

This could explain sectional divisions within the teaching body. Correlation between subordination of female teachers and the status of teaching vis-a-vis the central government may be examined in conjunction with teachers' actions as an organised group. In this way, one may understand the extent to which internal inequalities also foreshadow external ones. This indicates the linkages between the formative and institutional level.

Not only does teaching represent relations of employer-employee type, but also involves gender relations. The connection of the latter with ideas of patriarchy and domesticity indicates some of the reasons why a largely female teaching force in England has not succeeded in securing its position over the years over male dominance

### Age

In the previous chapter, attention was paid to the issue of teachers' life cycle. Specific age-stages account for certain occupational attitudes. How far does the research bear out this concept in the English setting?

In studying the general trend in the age profile, Lomax, and Smithers and Carlisle (37) reported that between the age 22-28 teachers do not hold a very strong commitment to teaching as a lifelong career. In the transition stage, around 30 years of age, according to Sikes, women teachers face the dilemma of choosing between teaching and a family, whilst men seek promotion, an experience that may lead to high levels of disappointment and stress later in the 30-40 period (38). Teachers over 40 either come to terms with their job and try to derive satisfaction from it, by developing a high degree of commitment (39), or detach themselves and perform their work in a very routinized manner with the minimum possible effort (40).

Data in England can help to classify the majority of age group of teachers.

In the period 1975-85, 38.1% of all teachers in service were under the age of 30. 35% of them were primary school teachers and 40.8% secondary school teachers in 1975. In 1985 those percentages dropped to 13% for primary teachers and 20% for secondary. During the same period the age range 35-40 increased from 11-18% for primary and from 12-19% for secondary school teachers (41).

In 1979/80 51% of primary and 63.7% of secondary teachers were under 40. DES projections for year 1994/95 shows that only 31.7% of primary and 35.6% of secondary teachers will be in this age range (42).

The reduction of the number of the under -30s teachers can be explained by the number of teachers who decide to undertake postgraduate courses, and by the declining number of persons who decide to enter teaching. The importance of this age group lies in that it brings into teaching new knowledge, techniques and skills and it is also related to changes that they may be introduced to teaching.

The increase of the over -40 age group can give some insight into the reasons why teachers behave collectively in the way they do, as they are likely to develop a high commitment towards their job at this age, as well as to the idea that teaching is becoming an aging profession. The significance of the increased age of teachers as a whole lies in the fact, that most of the English teachers had their training in the 1960s, and thus,

"...past patterns of recruitment act as a considerable restraint upon recruitment in the present. Furthermore, policies of recruitment in the past also bear down upon these in the future as the age groups which were the subject of massive intakes work their way through the school system"(43).

Thus, ideas about teaching passed on to them during their training, may have an impact upon their concepts of professionalism at present. High commitment to teaching in relation to the time of their initial training may serve as an indicator of the degree of professional control teachers wish to obtain.

### Social Class

What are the class origins of English teachers? To what extent does teachers' social background affect teaching?

Since the last century and even today, teaching has been considered an avenue for upward mobility, especially among girls from working and lower-middle-class origins (44). Low class origin combined with high female membership accounted for the low status of the profession (45).

Amongst the most revealing data in England and Wales are still that gathered in 1955 by Floud and Scott (46). It showed 52 percent of men and 47.5 percent of women to be of lower social class. The percentage was lower for secondary school teachers particularly in prestigious schools. Table II sets this, while table 12 (in Annex) shows details in terms of teachers' social class distribution, -sex and type of the school held constant.

**Table II**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Floud and Scott, quoted in Partington, 1976,p.97

The numbers in brackets indicate the percentage of women, which outnumbers men in the first two classes. Class in relation to gender can explain why teaching has a higher prestige among women.

In more recent studies, (Legatt; and Lortie;) it was found that teaching



recruits predominantly its force, especially male teachers, from the working class (47). This may have implications upon teachers' orientations as an occupational group, since as was explained in chapter four, professionalism is rather a middle class value, while trade unionism a working class one. To what extent teachers are willing to reject, or retain their social background origins has to be examined in terms of their organisational behaviour.

Therefore, the importance of teachers' social origins in England rests on the extent to which it may influence their stance in organised defence of their interests as an occupational group. Grace explains this in relation to the actions of the NUT:

"NUT members have always constituted a most significant sector of the formal teachers of the working class, whether that class has been schooled in elementary, primary, all age, secondary modern or inner city comprehensive settings. In that sense the teachers of the NUT have been a key sector of the organised "teachers of the people". But they have also been teachers of the working class derived very much from the working class, albeit historically from its more religious, respectable and aspirant sectors"(48)

The social origin of organised teachers may well affect their future occupational behaviour in the following way:

"whether this large and strategically placed occupational group having what might be called intrinsic connections with the working class, might in the course of time develop extrinsic connections, i.e. some form of explicit social, cultural and political alliance" (49)

To bear this dimension in mind is central in our understanding of the nature of stances taken by teachers' towards the initiatives coming from the central government.

In conclusion of the formative level analysis, it can be said that the teaching force in England has become feminised and populated more by mid-life people with low social class origins.

Class, age and gender pertain to teaching and professionalism, not only as

occupational characteristics of teachers, but also as background factors affecting the degrees of their involvement in occupational practices. Teachers are complicatedly involved in relations with their employers (in the context of the State education) and this questions how they act and how they characterise their actions (for example in terms of their professionalism). Explanations of these occupational characteristics of teaching can be identified in the political, economic and, especially, the social conditions of the country, linking in this way the state with the formative level. To what extent, the formative level has an impact upon the institutional level of the model has to be examined against the background of teachers' organisational practices.

Thus, by examining the affect of the characteristics of gender, age and class upon teachers' occupational practice, a better understanding of the peculiar nature and culture of teaching can be gained, that can lead to a fuller account of professionalism functioning. It can also give an insight into the way teachers react to central government control initiatives and the kind of strategies employed by them as a response to those initiatives.

### **Institutional Level**

At the institutional level, state control is exercised over pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers that include, the initial training, the in-service training, conditions of work, and teachers' organisations. The latter represents the end point of control processes, mediated by pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers. It shows how control processes emerge in their final operational forms, what impact they have upon organised teachers, and in what way they affect the ideological level.

## Pre-service Conditions

### *Pre-Service Training*

How is control over initial training of teachers exercised? Do recent changes indicate growth of central government control? Current developments in teacher education in England have to be set against a background of important reforms that took place from the 1970s onwards. Expansion of Higher Education in the 1960s affected teacher education, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The number of students in initial teacher education courses rose from 32,500 in 1960 to 114,000 in 1970 (50). The late 1970s witnessed a major victory of the teaching profession, as teacher training colleges became 3 or 4 year courses of higher and professional training. Thus,

"...the division of teacher preparation into secondary through PGCE as opposed to the primary via the BEd ends by legislation the consecutive vs.the concurrent theory and its relevance to the teacher preparation curriculum"(51)

This was a very remarkable development in teachers' professionalism, the zenith of a process that was going on for over a century, and it raised the quality of preparation of teachers. The long standing demand of teachers for upgrading of their training courses, and eventually their status, became reality. The central government, by providing the means of legitimation of their demands, satisfied their professional claims, but at the same time it opened new channels of exerting control. How this has been taking place is the focus of the next pages.

The legal basis of governmental control over the teacher training system lies in the 1944 Education Act:

"In execution of the duties imposed on him by this Act, the Minister, shall in particular, make such arrangements as he considers expedient for securing that there shall be available sufficient facilities for the training of teachers for service in schools, colleges and other establishments maintained by local education authorities, and for that purpose the Minister may give to any LEA such directions as he

thinks necessary requiring them to establish, maintain, or assist any training college, or other institution, or to provide, or assist the provision of any other facility specified in the direction"(Education Act 1944, Section 62)

The first move -in the early 1960s- to control quantitative aspects of teacher training was undertaken by the HMI in the annual "Balance Training" letters. Letter 14/60 required 85% of students to be trained as primary teachers and the rest as secondary teachers in shortage subjects (52). Since the late 1970s the number of places in teacher education was restricted reaching the number of only 35,000 available places in the early 1980s. Many colleges closed or merged with other institutions. The central government had the power to recommend or reduce teacher education places in the institutions. In 1970, the then Secretary of State in an attempt to extend control over qualitative dimensions of teacher training asked the Area Training Organisations (ATOs) -established in 1947 with the purpose of the improvement of teacher training- to review teacher education courses, and to focus on course structure, the role of practical training, and the relation between theory and practice.

After the abolition of ATOs in 1975, the Secretary of State received recommendations from institutions and bodies awarding qualifying degrees, or certificates. The latter established committees with members, teachers and their employers, responsible to advise on professional aspects of courses

"including their duration, standard and academic supervision and adequacy of the arrangements of the institutions providing them for recommending suitability for the teaching profession" (53)

The clear interest of central government taking control over qualitative aspects, like content, accreditation and certification of initial training of teacher courses, was firstly justified in the following terms in a DES publication in 1983:

"Aspects of Secondary education in England found a large amount of teaching undertaken by teachers who, in the secondary schools, were

not well qualified in the content of what they were teaching. Primary education in England equally found that, in primary schools teachers were not adequately prepared for the range of primary curriculum which they were required to teach. This of course implies that schools need to be skillful in their management of the teachers they have, in relation to their training and skill, but it also has implications for the initial training system. It is unacceptable that initial training should contribute to hidden shortage by sending out new teachers who are inadequately prepared "(54)

In the same year, the central government's concern turned to ways of improving teacher education programmes. An ACSET publication following the Inspectors' report in 1983 on the inadequacies of the teacher preparation courses, showed <sup>the</sup> government's intention to improve the quality of teacher education, by putting emphasis on how much of particular subjects and skills were taught in schools, rather than on pastoral and cultural aspects, as it was the case until then. (55).

In addition to these developments, the ineffectiveness of the local committees which made recommendations on teachers' standards, led the central government to the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984. Its members are nominated by the Secretary of State and represent schools, industry, commerce and only a small minority teacher education establishments(56), and their responsibility is to "advise the Secretaries of State ....on the approval of initial teacher training courses in England and Wales" (57) CATE's criteria of the improvement of links between training institutions and schools, the professional updating of the staff employed in teacher training establishments, and the organisation of teaching practice for students, sought explicitly to link the quality of teacher education with the country's economic performance.

Government interest moved onto teacher certification and the attendant issue -the autonomy of the validating bodies. The Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) had been the main validating agency for the

non-university sector, while universities enjoyed autonomy in this regard. For the government to exercise closer oversight required lessening the power of the validating bodies. DES Circular No 21/84\* tried to establish this function by distinguishing between the processes of validation and accreditation.

Clearly, the government's intention was to judge the suitability of teachers for professional training by a set of criteria other than those of the normal validating bodies. It became clear from all these developments in the 1980s, that the whole machinery of accreditation should be under closer central government control. The role of the Inspectorate also took a more central place in this accreditation process, since CATE could not consider accreditation, unless it had a full report on the training institution from the Inspectorate: "HMI knowledge of teacher training institutions will be available to the Council through its HMI assessors"(59)

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\*"As the White Paper explained, the approval by the Secretaries of State of initial teacher education courses has held to be distinct from the validation of courses for academic purposes. It is the validating body to judge the academic merit of a course and to determine whether a student be awarded a first degree or other qualification: It is the Secretary of State for Education and Science, in accordance with the Education (Teachers) Regulations and in consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales as appropriate, to say whether the course is suitable for the professional preparation of teachers and hence the conferment of qualified teacher status.

The two functions are clearly interrelated and cannot be carried out in isolation from each other. Nevertheless, they exist for different purposes and in the Government's view the sources of advice to the Secretaries of State on professional approval should be separated from the validation function" (58).

The new changes introduced also central government's control over selection and entrance. While until the early 1980s, selection procedures were left to the individual institution, the new requirements\* referred to specific qualities\*\* that applicants should have and that practising teachers should be involved in the selection of students, although not necessarily participate in interviewing applicants.

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\*"Institutions should be able to assess candidates' oral and written communication skills through their selection procedures.

The requirement under criterion 7.4ii is not that candidates have to hold an examination pass at grade C or above in the GCSE grade C in English and Mathematics is available from the universities Council for the Education of Teachers. Institutions should be prepared to assist candidates who do not hold a GCSE pass at the requisite level or its equivalent but are otherwise acceptable, to attain the required standard before starting the course and to undertake the assessment of candidates' ability themselves" (60)

\*\* "...An assessment of personal qualities is particularly important in selecting intending teachers, since their ability to teach and to manage classes depends on the relationships they form with children and with their teacher colleagues. The personal qualities which selection procedures are designed to explore should include: a sense of responsibility; a robust but balanced outlook; the potential ability to relate well to children; sensitivity; enthusiasm and a facility for communicating. Some evidence of these qualities may be obtained from application forms, references and any other records of candidates' relevant experience. Institutions may also wish to look for other qualities in candidates" (61)

All these changes in teacher education can be explained in relation to its underlying philosophy and theory informing the programmes. In the 1960s and 1970s the view was that if teachers were trained in general educational theory, by identifying their job with academic values, they would be able to transmit the knowledge of their specialised academic subjects. That was part of the English concept of university education aimed at narrow academic specialisation:

"It is widely, if not universally believed that the primary function of a university is to produce educated men and women, and not to train its alumni in the technical skills needed in professional life" (62)

The perception of the 1960s and 1970s was that more general education for all teachers would make them more skilled in dealing with problems that education had to face.

The increase of the number of teacher graduates and the upgrading of their training did not necessarily imply increasing competency of teachers. The real result was the identification of teachers with academic values and the transmission of knowledge of the academic subjects in which they specialised, a fact that made teachers -according to the Inspectorate report in 1983- not know enough about their subject, and thus, the training they received was characterised inadequate.

As such, DES involvement was considered necessary for meeting the demands for teacher education in the 80s, and obtaining better value for expenditure of public money ( 63).

The theory to emerge in the present decade has involved a school-based, or experience-based educational approach.



This approach has been seen by DES\* as helping future teachers to take account of children's personal and social development, by reasserting links between teacher education and schools, while at the same time loosening those with Higher Education sector.

School-based training of teachers is held to be an important element of initial teacher education training, although it is not the only one. It can ease the induction of teachers by enabling them to understand that Higher education qualifications are not the only determinants of their ability and skills to teach.

One interpretation may see these developments as limiting the professionalism of teaching. The image of teaching that is presented to the public is that of a craft, with the unstated belief that everybody can become a teacher without a lengthy period of studies (65).

"...there is no question of anyone ever "mastering" teaching, discovering a "secret" which will rule out the possibility of his ever failing to teach a child successfully. There is no such thing as having nothing further to learn about teaching, or of the teacher reaching a point at which he has rules for dealing with every situation which can possibly arise. So it is no objection to a course of training that at the end of it a potential teacher has not completely mastered the art of teaching, any more than it is an objection to a tennis-coaching course that at the end of it the pupils have not mastered tennis"(66)

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\* According to the DES: "School experience should include a substantial amount of class teaching which should include opportunities for whole class teaching early in the course. There should be a period of sustained teaching practice of not less than 20 days towards the end of the course, in which the student should be given the opportunity to teach a whole class without the responsible tutor, or supervising teacher present. Possible patterns for this sustained teaching practice include full time blocks or a specified number of days each week. If part-time pattern is chosen, the time spent should be a minimum of two days a week, but preferably more students should have the opportunity to build up a relationship with classes over time in the same way as serving teachers"(64)

This notion is further reinforced by the introduction of the licensed teacher, seen as an avenue to Qualifying Teacher Status. Into this context, the Conservative Government issued the Green Paper in May 1988, suggesting that a two-year course and 2A levels are adequate to certify a teacher after a probational period. There is no doubt that this apprenticeship approach is too far from the goal to equip teachers on the wider social contexts of the increasingly complex function of teaching at present (67).

The current philosophy of teacher education has been criticised, as it lacks a clear orientation. There is not much reference to the range of relationships with parents and other interest groups in education, which teachers are expected to develop gradually within the context of a diverse society .

"It is as though the formation of teachers can be viewed as simply a mechanical process divorced from reference to an overall conception of the meaning and purpose of the life-long process in which they will be involved and which should act as the touchstone of their professional life"(68)

The positive features associated with this approach is a sense of awareness that initial qualifications in institutions of higher education do not determine teachers' skills and knowledge for teaching, but it is the first stage of the socialisation into a continuing process for their retraining to meet new demands in a diverse society (69).

The central theme behind these changes in teacher education programmes derives from a change in attitude by central government towards initial training of teachers. Teachers should be made able to instruct pupils in a way that their performance, skills, and ability meet demands of the market. Therefore, what matters is not the inculcation of general academic knowledge, but rather the instruction of guides for working life.

All these initiatives introduced in teacher education in the 1980s, demonstrate the central government's clear concern about it. It provided

the means in the late 1970s for the professional improvement of teaching, by making teaching a graduate profession. That was the peak of teacher education development, since it materialised the most important and long demanded condition of teaching. Since the early 1980s, the central government's adopted policy has increasingly discouraged any claims of teachers for control over the aspects of their training. Accreditation, certification, selection and entrance procedures, and the content and length of teacher courses have all become the responsibility of the central government. Through a series of legislative acts, the state level has gained the legitimation of its influence upon the institutional level on the aspect of initial training. Whether all these represent the decline of the climax, or a part of a new process of reconceptualising teacher education, is debatable and has to be examined against the background of all the contextual factors.

To this, the functioning of the model can provide an insight, by connecting the initial training to the state level and teachers' organisations. Its ties to the former are clearly established through the means of control examined earlier, while to the latter are dependent on the ways teachers' organisations react.

### In- Service Conditions

In-service conditions of teaching include the in-service training, working conditions and teachers' organisations. The links between them as well as with the state level is examined in the next pages.

### *In Service Training*

To what extent have the changes introduced to in-service education since the early 1970s affected control over it?

The importance of in-service training was given high priority in the James Report 1972 on the following grounds:

"The arguments in favour of such an expansion are strong. It is

self-evident that pre-service education and training, together with the probationary year can be no more than a foundation. In that initial period it is impossible to foresee, let alone to provide for, all the demands that may fall on the teaching profession in future, or on individual members of it during their careers...It is here that both the quality of our education and the standards of the profession can be most speedily, powerfully and economically improved"(70)

In 1977, the Green Paper "Education in Schools: A Consultative Document" stated:

"A coherent approach is needed in which policies for the initial education and training of teachers, induction, in-service training and other aspects of the employment and career development of the teachers will combine to provide staffs for the schools better equipped to deal with their present and emergent tastes"(71)

In a 1981 Discussion Paper, the HMI stressed the importance of in-service education as follows:

"certainly the influence of newly trained teachers is highly important, but they will form only a small minority of the teaching force until well on into the eighties. The quality of work in the secondary schools throughout that period will depend largely upon those who are already teaching" (72)

Despite that emphasis on in-service education and teachers' efforts to respond positively to new challenges, expansion of in-service training did not bring the envisaged by the government results. In 1970, a DES survey indicated that over a 3-year period about one third of teachers had not attended any courses with average length of less than 4 days a year. There was also considerable regional variation. The James report in 1972 put forward a set of recommendations, including a proposal that 5 per cent of all teachers should at any time be on study leave, but by 1980s the figure was only slightly more than one per cent.

"In-service education and training giving precedence to specific national priorities and encouraging all LEAs and schools to develop INSET programmes, but there is still no national plan or coherent national programme"(73).

Since 1987, there has been a change in funding arrangements for INSET . In Circular 6/86 the Secretary of State, addressing the LEAs in England and Wales outlined a new approach to the functioning and practice of INSET. In its opening paragraph the document claimed that this new scheme

"is intended to help Local Authorities to organise in-service training more systematically, so as to meet both national, and local training needs and priorities"(74)

The new system -officially called the LEA Training Grant Scheme (LEATGS)- is often popularly named GRIST (Grant Related InSet). It has four general principles:

- To promote the professional development of teachers
- To promote more systematic planning of inservice training
- To encourage more effective management of the teaching force
- To encourage training in selected areas, which are to be accorded national priority (75)

GRIST in Bride's estimation, is above all a centralising mechanism. It

"places teaching profession in a cage, the bars formed by the National Curriculum and Categorical Funding. Lined up outside the cage are all of those with the results of performance indicators, potentially able to give teachers a sharp prod...A live question discussed frequently by teachers is whether teaching profession can take place in the "space" left by the new conditions... It is my view that in this scenario, INSET will become instructional, compulsory and irrelevant to teachers, schools and children, except where teachers are able to work in the spaces left to them, some of those spaces appear to have been left by the obligation placed upon LEAs by the GRIST circulars, to collaborate with teachers" (76)

There has been a radical change in the rationale of in-service programmes and control of DES over them has become more direct. Previously, teachers were given a sabbatical leave of one year for study, after 7 years of service within the same LEA. Teachers could determine the kind of studies they did during that time. Their in-service education was not

directly related to the needs of the educational service. The number of teachers involved in INSET programmes between 1978-1982 is presented in tables 15a and 15b. They show a clear increase in the number of participants, although this does not indicate the numbers undertaking long and short courses (77)

Since 1988, GRIST's objective has been to align the content of inservice education upon the needs of schools. The individual school decides what speciality teachers it requires and sets out the retraining budget in that particular speciality. The new philosophy shifts responsibility to the schools and more extensively to LEAs.

Most of the funding of INSET programmes used to come from LEA sources; either from the Rate Support Grant (RSG), or from council-levied rates. Nevertheless, financial powers of central government have increased in the 1980s, by establishing national priorities and by funding directly certain in-service programmes, like MSC and TVEI Related in-service training controlled by the MSC. Simpson describes this process:

"LEAs are required to submit information on the methods used to ensure that the training offered to and taken up by, teachers matches their identified needs; what information is available on the in-service training needs of individual teachers; and plans to ensure that training is part of a coherent programme of staff development for individual teachers. A clear line of responsibility and accountability from teacher and school to central government is being established"(78)

Thus, control over in-service training has been justified on the basis of matching the needs between teachers and schools, as they are defined by national priorities. The expansion of central government control over pre-service and in-service training of teachers indicate teachers' restriction to monopoly of knowledge. Qualitative aspects of initial training were gradually added to quantitative ones, and initial training was brought under DES control. By providing funds directly to some in-service training programmes and also defining their objectives, central

government control over the means on which teachers base their claims of expertise has become strong.

### **Working Conditions**

How have recent changes restricted teachers control over their conditions of employment?

Professionalism in teaching is related to conditions of service and especially to factors that determine teachers' pay. Teachers pay has both material and symbolic significance. It indicates in practical terms how society rewards and values their job.

The teaching body is a substantial working force and teachers' salaries represent a major percentage of the spending on education. In 1983/84 this was over 16 billion, but in terms of current spending there has been a fall since 1978/79, as a result of cuts in public expenditure. This is illustrated on table III (79)

#### **Table III**

Education and Science Current Spending in England as a percentage of UK Public spending from 1978/79 to 1983/84

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: The Government's Expenditure Plans, 1984/85 to 1986/87, Cmmd 9143, February 1984, tables 1.2 and 2.18

Central government is involved in defining salary structures which affect employment conditions of teachers.

Under the 1987 Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act a new pay structure was established for teachers salaries. Its introduced changes are the abolition of the old differentiated 1-4 scales and of the senior teacher grade (Table 11) and the establishment of the main scale and of the incentive

allowances (table 14a,b) The old system was rather unpopular among teachers, because it was seen as a measure of teaching appraisal:

"We do not fully understand the need for five separate scales; for the very large numbers of points on scales 1 to 3; or for the extensive overlapping. Nor are we entirely satisfied that the system can be accepted as fair and effective without specified criteria for promotion from one scale to the next and a system of appraisal. In addition, we have formed the impression from our own visits to schools that some of the current discontent among teachers may be due to the complexity and sometimes apparently arbitrary operation of the scales..."(80)

According to the Secretary of State the new pay structure provides more opportunities for promotion of teachers and a combination "of promotion opportunities with differentials to recruit, retain and motivate teachers of the right quality across the whole range of school responsibilities" (81).

Teachers are paid not according to promoted posts as the Burnham arrangements suggested, but they get one of the 5 A-E allowances according to the size of their school. These are the promotion mechanisms taking place on the basis of the following criteria: responsibilities beyond those common to the majority of teachers; outstanding ability as a classroom teacher; subjects in which there is a shortage of teachers; post which is difficult to fill (82) (table 14b). The extent to which teachers are eligible for being granted an allowance is beyond their means of occupational control. On what basis, for example, is an outstanding teacher to be judged? If promotion is to provide motive for better performance, why are its means ambiguously defined. Does this ambiguity leaves more room for control to those interpreting it?

In addition to this confusing situation, the extent to which these promotion mechanisms are functional, in the sense that they can motivate effectively the teaching force, is really questionable. The top of the scale can be reached after 6 years of teaching, so it is not surprising that the majority of teachers have already reached the maximum point. In 1988 the Interim



Advisory Committee (IAC) estimated that from September 1991 onwards almost two thirds of teachers would be at that point (83). The IAC First Report commented on that: "We are disturbed to find how very few A allowances are available now" (84)

The availability of the promotional points is determined by both central and local government. LEA pays between the minimum and maximum number of A allowances and has also discretion of payment over the other allowances (Appendix II). The central government provides the funds under the Rate Scheme Grant (RSG) at the mid-point between minimum and maximum (85).

Such changes in pay and promotion structure may well encourage further fragmentation of the teaching profession. Allowances given according to the age of the pupils taught encourage divisions between primary and secondary teachers. And major salary differentials between teachers and heads is another factor that may tend to create fragmentation. As the new structure encourages pay allowances for senior teachers and differentiation among the sectors of teaching, it is rather unlikely that it will become more popular among teachers than the old one.

In addition, contractual duties of teachers were defined by the Secretary of State of 195 days per year and 1265 hours per year. In 1981, NUT suggested 190 working days per year and 32 1/2 hours per week (86). These numbers show an improvement in hours of work, though not in absolute terms, because teachers spend more time in schools doing extra-curricular work. This negotiating right between LEAs and teachers has been transferred to the national level. The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act gives control over teachers' pay and conditions of work to the DES. Seifert points out:

"The Act gives unprecedented powers to the Secretary of State to impose pay and conditions on a group of public employees with passing reference only to their employers and unions. It coincides with general policy over the abolition of national pay bargaining and the development of regional and merit payment systems aimed at achieving labour market flexibility, while dividing employees against each other. This process has already begun in mining, the civil

service and the national union organisations prepare for private systems and to force down wages through the competition of worker against worker in regional labour markets" (87)

These new contractual arrangements have seriously affected teachers' conditions of work, in the sense that they are no longer part of the negotiating machinery, but only part of the implementation machinery. Dissatisfaction with the conditions of work is the main reason for the different problems, like resignations rates and shortage numbers, that teaching is currently facing (Tables 13a,b).

Between 1975/76 and 1982/83, the number of persons entering teaching, declined from 34,739 to 11,583 respectively while recorded unemployment amongst the same group during the same period increased from 9,236 to 23,091. In 1972/73 the turnover rates were 19.8 per cent in primary and 17.7 per cent in secondary school teachers. In the ILEA the rates were 32.8 for primary teachers and 24.5 for secondary, while in 1979/80 the overall teacher turnover was 12.6. Declining rates of turnover is related to low mobility and career advance opportunities (88). Mobility that was high and very important factor to teachers' promotion prospects in the 1960s and 1970s has declined considerably in the 1980s (89).

During the two year period from April 1980 to 1982, 10,525 teachers retired prematurely. Redeployment also started to become "popular" notion among teachers. In 1979/80, 0.87 per cent of the teaching force in 85 LEAs was redeployed while this percentage rose to 1.13 in 1980/81 (90). Certainly, the image of the teaching profession is not an appealing one, as this is implied by the resignation and vacancies rates.

It is clear, that central government's expansion of control to include all aspects of in-service conditions of teachers' work, salary structures, promotional opportunities, and teachers' contractual duties has affected crucially the image of teaching. High numbers of resignation, and shortages in teaching indicate the loss of its attractiveness. The decline in the conditions of service has had direct implications on job perception. According to Pietrasik, since the election of the Conservative government

in 1979, the word "professional" is often heard in an ironic context indicating teachers' feelings that they are expected to still give the commitment but without the reward (91).

Whether to ascertain that teachers have really lost control over their market of services or not, this has to be examined in relation to their reaction as an organised body to the central government control mechanisms. In fact, the worsening of conditions of employment has been the main reason for the discontent and unrest among organised teachers. For this reason, the focus of the next pages will be on the means that NUT teachers have adopted to express them.

### *Teachers' Organisations*

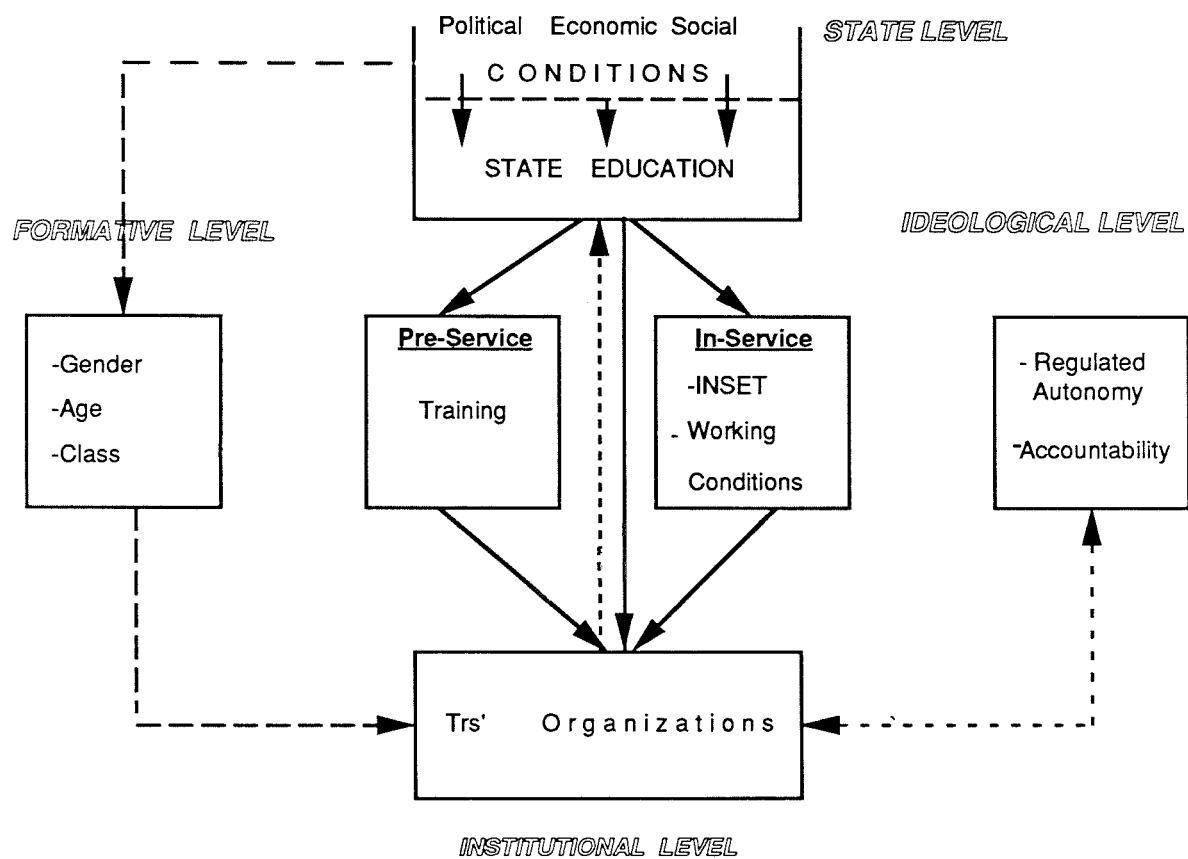
What is the reaction of organised teachers to the expansion of central government's control over training and employment conditions?

The various measures undertaken in respect of pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers show clearly the way the central government exercises direct control over the several aspects. This is illustrated schematically in Phase II of the model (p.202).

Teacher organisations represent a major aspect of the way professionalism functions. While this relationship was a negotiated one between teachers and the central government (Phase I), this is no longer the case, as teachers as an organised body have come increasingly under the control of central government (Phase II).

The extension of government control over bodies where teachers acted via professional capacity can be seen in the abolition of the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations which used to set criteria for GCSE exams and subject syllabuses, and had direct teacher representation. Its functions were transferred to the DES operating through its members nominated directly by the Secretary of State and not by teachers' organisations. It was replaced by the School Curriculum Development Council in the early 1980s, that can enforce standards through the use of public exams and testing. The Advisory Council on the Supply and

## PHASE II



## FUNCTIONING OF PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

Education of Teachers (ACSET) also was abolished (92).

The most sustained attack -from the teachers' point of view- was the abolition of the Burnham Committee, the major body for negotiating teachers' pay, as too the abrogation of teacher salary negotiating rights. Its abolition destroyed the two way negotiating process represented by the linkage between the state and organised teachers in the phase I of the model, and replaced it by direct state control, that has necessitated the phase II of the model.

The official stance of teachers' organisations and their views on these developments was summed up in a NUT document, published in 1985:

"Whilst the dangers to the education service presented by the Government cuts in educational expenditure, rate-capping measures and the financial penalties, were stark and obvious, 1984 also brought the clearest evidence to date of a more insidious threat to the education service -that presented by the extent to which the present Government seeks to exert influence and control over the education service from Whitehall, and thereby to destroy the partnership between central government, local education authorities and the teaching profession, on which the service traditionally has been based...The menacing developments have been accompanied by a distinct and disquieting tendency on the part of the DES to set extremely tight deadlines for the receipt of responses from those being consulted...(93)

In fact, the conditions of teachers' pay have created a great dispute between the NUT and DES, and the most recent began in March 1984. For the following three years, the negotiations that in terms of the model linked state and institutional level over the aspect of organised teachers, ended up with unfavourable terms for the teachers' side. The final agreement between the management and teachers' panel was signed by both of them (except the NASUWT) in July 1986. It offered teachers a new salary structure, ranging from £14,500 to £9,600, two allowances of £2,000 and £750 for teachers with extra responsibilities -like Principal teachers- and a lump sum of £750 being in effect in January 1987 (94).

However, the real consequences of this agreement had more serious

implications than the slight salary increases. NUT's fear that "...there would be .... a trading-off of conditions of service for salary gains"(95), became reality. Organised teachers lost the fight of control over conditions of work. The two way influence of the two levels (Phase I of the model), in terms of negotiations, ended with the abolition of the Burnham Committee and the central government established and legitimised its control through the following means:

In November 1987, the Secretary of State introduced a Bill in parliament about the teachers' pay and conditions, the abolition of the Burnham Committee and the establishment of the Interim Advisory Committee that would advise him on teachers' financial settlements. The Bill enacted on 2 March 1987 together with a draft Order was published and defined in very clear terms teachers' duties and hours of work and other aspects of their employment (96).

A second draft was published on 26 June 1987 that completed the former, entitled: "School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document 1987" and officially replaced the Burnham Committee from 1 October 1987. In addition, the Interim Advisory Committee was included in the School Teachers Pay and Conditions on July 1987 (97), to secure further government's position.

The long fight of NUT over pay settlement did not produce the results that NUT leaders envisaged. NUT's fear that any negotiations between salary structure and conditions of service should not be linked was proved to be unavoidable. Central government set a foot on both areas, leaving organised teachers under a very close definition of their job and tighter management of their workforce. The negotiations of terms and conditions of service was until 1987 quite separate from pay negotiations. The former was conducted by the LEAs and teachers, through a committee known as CLEA/ST (Council of Local Education Authorities Standing Committee on Teachers), that produced the "Burgundy Book" in which agreements on matters such as terms of appointment, dismissal, grievance

procedures and other matters concerning conditions of service were listed (98).

The positive aspect during the dispute years was NUT's satisfaction to see a very strong militant force of its members:

"The fact is that the ballots and the demonstrations and the meetings have shown an overwhelming upsurge of support by teachers for continued action. Those of us who had said that the teachers' leaders were out of touch with their members have been proved wrong" (99)

The high level of support and militancy that the NUT leaders assessed at, the end of the day, as very encouraging outcomes of their tactics hindered them from assessing critically the losses. Apart from the fragmentation of the union and its numerical losses -NUT lost the 5 per cent of its members because of dissatisfaction with its procedures-, which is an inevitable outcome of the polarisation militancy-effectiveness, the actual losses were greater.

NUT tactics as they took place at the national level had an unfavourable reflection upon NUT's professional image. They showed that union leadership was not able to handle co-operation over very important issues, and allowed room for the central government to enter. It also showed that teachers could not sustain a professional definition in face of a government determined to alter that definition. Strikes then, cannot be interpreted as a sign of effectiveness. In the English context, it became a sign of weakness and, to many, a demonstration of the inability of teachers to sustain their concepts of professionalism.

The significance of teachers' actions in the assessment of professionalism is that they rather facilitated a sequence of policy initiatives which reduced the idea of autonomous professional teacher, weakened the rhetoric of professionalism and restricted it, while at the same time introduced the "contract" service of teachers.

## **Ideological Level**

How have changes at the state and institutional level affected the ideological level of professionalism? What is the symbolic meaning that organised teachers attribute to measures directed at those different dimensions contourized in the institutional level?

The ideological level stands as the most important dimension of the way professionalism functions. It is here that professionalism as a means of control derives its significance from practical operational activities.

For our purposes, the meaning of professional control refers to autonomy to determine work, such work in turn requiring theoretical knowledge. Political, economic and social factors combined have given rise to circumstances in which management control over teachers through central government policy initiatives has been reinforced and left little room for teachers to claim their professionalism on the grounds of their being either expert or autonomous.

Autonomy is not an absolute term. Still, it may claim to have its maximum expression in the post-war years, when the span of central government control over the individual teacher was at its least assertive. Education expansion contributed to the notion of autonomy. Expansion brought promotion and relative kind of teachers' moves between or within the same LEA. Teachers had control over both what and how they taught. The content of curriculum was to be safeguarded by the establishment of the Schools Council in 1964. Some attempts of the central government to get control through the establishment of the Curriculum Study Group met teachers' strong determination to defend it. As Salter and Tapper put it:

"..each school should have the fullest possible measure of responsibility for its own work, with its own curriculum and teaching methods based on the needs of its own pupils and evolved by its own staff" (100)

Thus, in that period, claims to professionalism rested on the very real



measure of autonomy teachers had to determine the content of curriculum and teaching methods. In the 1980s those conditions changed drastically. Falling rolls in the school population reduced places in teacher education courses and led to the closure of teacher training establishments. As a result, teaching is no more a young force with high prospects of mobility and promotion. Shifts in political rationality also have placed focus upon new priorities in education. Parents have been given power to exercise scrutiny over schools' performance -a fact that has considerably limited teachers autonomy- which is defined by the central government as it perceives the interests of each group.

The most important means by which the central government has limited teachers' autonomy has been the issue of national curriculum. The national curriculum has had the most profound and important implication on what and how teachers teach. Not only has it restrained teachers' classroom autonomy, but equally well their occupational autonomy. Teachers lost their collective power to define, as well as to protect their ideological aspects of professionalism. What is left, therefore, is autonomy by regulation, rather than autonomy by claims.

The justification for this, since it is no longer based on the individual teacher's belief in classroom independence, is the increasing pressure for accountability.

"Being accountable may mean...no more than having to answer questions about what has happened or is happening within one's jurisdiction...But most usages require an additional implication:the answer when given, or the account when rendered is to be evaluated by the superior or superior body measured against some standard or some expectations and the differences noted and the praise or blame are to be meted out and sometimes applied. It is the coupling of information with its evaluation and application of sanctions that gives "accountability", or "answerability", or "responsibility" their full sense in ordinary usage" (101)

Giddens also tried to define accountability:

"...the idea of accountability in everyday English gives cogent expression to the intersection of interpretive schemes and norms. To be accountable for one's activities is both to explicate the reasons for them and to supply the normative grounds whereby they may be justified" (102)

Teachers are held accountable for pupils' achievements, because:

"Much has been achieved: but there is legitimate ground for criticism and concern. Education, like any other public service, is answerable to the society which it serves and which pays for it, so these criticisms must be given a fair hearing" (103)

Teachers are accountable to taxpayers to whom central government is becoming guardian of rights and concerns and so

"growing recognition of the need for schools to demonstrate their accountability to the society which they serve requires a coherent and soundly based means of assessment for the educational system as a whole, for schools and for individual pupils"(104)

The 1988 Education Act with its implications upon the occupational aspects of teaching has strengthened government's desire for teachers' professional appraisal. Nevertheless, this has been strongly opposed by teachers and has not yet been implemented.

Control over teacher training, publishing of pupils' examination results, national curriculum, national priorities for in-service training programmes, abolition of teachers' bargaining right, all have been part and parcel of the new approach of the central government to establish a clear line of accountability from teachers to the government.

Teachers' resistance to all these measures seen by efforts to avoid the links between pay and performance have failed and the government has gained control over teachers' workplaces. Payment and promotion structures according to teachers' assessment inevitably involve tighter specification of teachers' work duties. Centralised control of curriculum and systematic information of school standards place new limits to teachers' autonomy. In

addition, schemes of teachers' assessment mean tighter specification and monitoring of duties. This may be related to deskilling, rationalisation and fragmentation of work duties, as the proletarianization thesis advocates, but it would not be right to discard the word autonomy, since the nature of teaching is quite unique and it can not be compared easily with any other occupation.

This kind of autonomy still left to teachers was stated by the HMI paper:

"..A successful teacher may rise above some organisational barriers, may bring coherence to a training programme where a school or department provides little and help to compensate for social deprivation or handicap among the pupils. But the contribution of even the best teachers can be limited by outside factors, and appropriate weighting need to be employed in assessing the effectiveness of teachers operating in highly favourable conditions, and those working against a backcloth of severe disadvantage, shortages of necessary resources, or inadequate management"(105)

## Conclusion

As was explained in earlier chapters, organisation of work and particularly of teaching can and does take different forms in different societies. In English society, the organisation of teaching is not inevitable or natural. It is the result of a set of dimensions that require explanation in the way they act and interact. This was done in this chapter in terms of the model. The implications of the current legislation for teachers' work, were judged against the backcloth presented in the model.

All these changes introduced in the 1980s have brought important shifts in the role of State education, and more specifically, in the degree of connection of the interest groups to the central government at the national level. The growth of control of the central government over pre-service and in-service training of teachers and all aspects of employment, as well as

over teachers' organisations, has eliminated teachers' rights and aspirations to professionalism. These shifts brought about by legal means, have had winners and losers. Parents clearly belong in the former, while teachers in the latter group. The different levels and aspects of professionalism analysed in the previous pages, set out the case, that teachers' work is increasingly controlled by the central government: by legislative and administrative means. How has this affected teachers' conceptions of professionalism?

In terms of the model's functioning, it would be inadequate to understand it unless the meaning attached to those inputs is also analysed from the teachers' point of view. Evidently, the functioning of the model in the English context suggests that ideological aspects of professionalism have been shifted to new terms, because of the growth of control of the central government.

The forms of control over the pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers' work, and the latitude of teachers' organisations actions are no longer decoded to degrees of their autonomy and expertise. In terms of the model functioning, there has emerged a need for the readjustment of the model into the new context. The concept of professionalism held by teachers, has been considerably curtailed by governmental measures. The shift of the ideological level functioning to regulated autonomy and accountability has given rise to phase II of the model. This point is also related to the dimensions of the formative level. Class, age and gender relations of teaching, all intrude -not in clear way though-, to prevent the formation of common interests and common political line of action of all teachers. Unequal opportunities offered to teachers in terms of their gender, social class and age structure influence their conceptions about autonomy and expertise -embodied in their training at a period when the professional and teacher were almost synonymous and still held to be so by time of mature years- and all these elements promote divisions in teaching body and affect detrimentally professionalism. They also place teaching at a disadvantage when compared to other professional groups.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### APPLICATION OF THE MODEL IN GREECE

#### Introduction

This chapter focuses on analysing the factors located at the four different levels of the model in the light of teachers' occupational control within the Greek context.

How does professionalism in teaching operate in Greece? In what ways can the model illuminate this?

Investigation of the operationalisation of professionalism in Greece, requires the examination of a set of factors identified as parts of the system -that is the state, formative, institutional and ideological level. Analysis of each subsystem as well as of the linkages between them is the means by which a full understanding of the concept of professionalism, as it is expressed in teachers-central government relationship can be gained.

The functioning of the model in Greece is likely to diverge from England, in terms of teachers' position within the context of the Greek State and of the government's role in the political life of the country which is characterised by strong centralism. The government organises the legal framework of the structure of the educational system, finances the schools, sets national curricula and examinations, employs teachers at every level and exerts control over schools through centrally appointed persons. In contrast to the English case, the central government's relationship with teachers and teachers' occupational role can be identified in terms of their civil servant status, a status that-(as it is explained in this chapter)- is the outcome of a set of factors operating at the formative, institutional and ideological level.

Since the late 1970s a series of central government initiatives have had important implications for teachers affecting the form of their relationship with it. After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, the most important reforms in education were initiated in 1977, 1982 and 1985. The last two were considered to be radical ones in their conception, since they were introduced by a socialist government, after a long history of conservative governments. Some Greek writers like Bouzakis, went that far as to characterise them as the most complete educational reforms since the nation's liberation (1).

### **State Level**

How does the state level operate in Greece? How have recent changes affected the ways in which the central government exercises control over the institutional level?

In centralised educational systems, such as Greece, participation of the State is an indispensable element of the functioning of the system, backed by the Constitution.\* The source of this justification lies in the ideas of social organisation and citizens' rights of access to educational services:

"Education is a social good and something to which every citizen has a right. The State has an obligation to ensure this provision for every young person as an urgent priority" (3)

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\*"Education shall be a fundamental concern of the State. Its purpose shall be to develop national and religious awareness and to provide for the moral, intellectual, physical and vocational education of the Greeks and to engender their upbringing as free and responsible citizens"(2)

There is a connection between these two ideas -participation of the State and citizens' rights- which imply a co-operation between the "provider" -the State-, and the "client"-the citizen-, both of which work towards a qualitative organisational utilisation of educational inputs and outputs.

It is at this juncture that the legitimisation of control in education is granted. However, it is in its theoretical expression divorced from the practicalities of control over decision-making in the teachers' workplace by relevant organisations, agencies or groups of interest individuals.

As discussed in chapter three, the political context of the country has important consequences for the extent to which policy can be implemented, because this is a decisive factor in the development of the teaching body. The characteristics of clientelism in the Greek State account for the nature of policy processes through which control is exercised at the national, regional and local levels.

Ideally, in a pluralist society, members of public interest groups in education, like political parties, parent organisations, teacher unions, industry and students, are consulted in educational debates. In order to satisfy its demands each group acts directly or indirectly in educational debates and uses different channels of influence depending upon its degree of legal authority. Educational debates are channelled through national political parties to the parliament, and this level includes processes towards the acceptance or rejection of certain plans. The adoption of educational legislation depends on the party's power to support legislation through its parliamentary majority. The extent to which specific educational measures are put into practice depends upon the degree of control that the central government exercises in comparison with the other educational agencies and interest groups.

The State education in Greece consists of the central government and the educational constituency. The former is represented by the Ministry of

Education at the national level and by a wide range of administrative personnel, bureaucrats, professionals and experts in educational issues at the regional and local level. The educational constituency consists of a hierarchy of councils at the national, regional and local levels, where the interest groups are represented under the auspices of the central government.

The central government is organised into the following branches (4):

KISPE/KISDE: Central Service Councils of Primary / Secondary Education, are located in the Ministry of Education. Their members consist of 3 Directors of Primary or Secondary education respectively and 2 elected representatives of DOE and OLME with the following responsibilities:

- To hear appeals against decisions taken by the Chiefs of the Offices of Primary/Secondary Education
- To decide on the transfer, replacement and dismissal of headteachers in all regions of the country
- To nominate teachers in different posts
- To decide about the leave of absence -paid or unpaid- of teachers
- To select well qualified teachers and place them accordingly

At the regional level the PISPE/PISDE: Regional Service Councils of Primary/Secondary Education are located at every capital of the 52 regions of the country and consist of five persons: The regional director of primary/secondary education, two heads of the Office of Primary/Secondary education and two elected representatives from the teacher unions DOE/OLME. These councils are responsible for:

- Making lists of candidates for headmasters and deputy headmasters in the schools of their regions
- Allocating newly appointed teachers and headmasters to schools
- Making lists of promoted teachers, and of candidates for the leadership

of Offices

-Transferring teachers in other schools in the same region, or other regions, choosing teachers for in-service training, evaluating teachers and deciding on disciplinary matters among teachers and on any disputes among heads of the Offices.

At the regional level also, the Diefthense of Primary and Secondary education is located. The regional Director -a person with at least 6 years employment as senior teacher- is responsible for the management of the schools within a region.

At the same level of administration, one finds the School Advisor. Before the 1981 elections, the work of teachers was under the control of Inspectors, responsible for administrative problems and for teacher assessment in their regional schools. Among the reforms the socialist party introduced in education in the early 1980s was the transformation of the role of Inspectors. They were given the name of School Advisors with the following responsibilities:

- The running of schools in their regions
- The consultation of teachers in educational matters
- The provision of information on the latest developments of several educational issues.

Within this context, the role of School Advisors, as teachers' assessors no longer fits, as there is little control over teachers' performance in schools. The School Advisor can receive complaints from parents, from other teachers, for the non-accountability of a teacher and take action on these matters (5).

At the local level, administration is located at the Office of Primary/Secondary education which consists of at least 80 primary or secondary schools. The Head of the Office can be any teacher with at least 5 years of previous employment. He is nominated for 4 years.

The regional and local councils are important in terms of the power they exercise in educational matters. They have controlled teachers, acting on behalf of the Minister of Education. They do not serve to decentralise educational administration, but are in fact, the rungs in the ladder of central government control sending down from above the policy in line with the political ideology of the government.

The 40% membership that organised teachers occupy in these councils at both national and regional levels is significant representation. However, teachers do not consider it to their advantage. With three administrators appointed by the Ministry in both PISPE/PISDE and KISPE/KISDE and two teacher representatives, teachers think they have little scope to make their voices heard, since discussion or dispute always ends in favour of the Ministry. Hence, teachers' unions press for increases in their number of representatives.

#### Educational constituency

In terms of the educational constituency, the highly centralised Greek education system leaves little room for alternative kinds of influence. Initiatives that the recent reforms of 1981 and 1985 introduced-aimed also at decentralisation, like more interest group participation, via greater student, parent and teacher involvement in educational policy, have resulted only in theoretically taken arrangements without any significant practical meaning. Thus, it does not express pessimism stating that any educational reform in Greece is likely to fail (6), especially because of this centralism of the education system (7).

The educational constituency with the statutory right to influence education policy is quite unique in Greek State education. The peculiar nature of the State, as was described in chapter three, accounts for this uniqueness. Interest groups have a conditional latitude in participating in decision-making. This takes place at the national, regional and local levels,



under the auspices of the Minister of Education, as this can be seen in the following description:

At the national level, the National Council of Education (Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Παιδείας) makes proposals to Minister of Education about issues of the educational policy at all stages, and particularly the following areas:

- Construction of the basis on which educational policy operates
- Adjustment of the content of education according to the social and economic needs of the country
- Structure and organisation of the education system
- Development of preschool, special, continuing and adult education
- Administration and supervision of regional educational councils

The Minister of Education presides over the council. Its members are representatives of the Ministry of Coordination and Economics, Culture, Health and Social Services, Employment, Industry, Youth and Sports, representatives of municipal and local authorities, the Church, of professional and social organisations, of production groups, primary and secondary school teachers, students' unions, of higher and highest\* educational institutions and parents (8).

At the regional level, η Νομαρχιακή και Επαρχιακή Επιτροπή Παιδείας serves as a regional council of education. It grants financial and material aid to the regional public schools. It can make proposals on educational issues of general interest and content to the National Council of Education. The function, organisation and responsibility of the council is defined by the Ministry of Education.

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\* In Greece, the term *highest* refers to universities and polytechnics, while the term *higher* to post-secondary establishments.

It is composed of a regional director, one school advisor of primary and one of secondary education, two Heads of the Offices of primary and secondary education respectively, and representatives of the Organisation of Workers of the region, of the Agricultural Association, Parents and Students Associations, DOE, OLME and teachers in private schools (9)

At the local level, the local council, Δημοτική Επιτροπή Παιδείας, submits proposals on the organisation of public primary and secondary schools, on issues of finance, buildings and the role of school committees.

It is associated with the regional council of education and consists of the Head of the local authority, one Headmaster, four primary school teachers, one secondary school teacher, representatives of parents' associations from selected schools and representatives of the wide community. The central government defines their functions and responsibilities (10)

At the school level, the School Council, Σχολικό Συμβούλιο, is responsible for the successful running of the school within the community. Its members are drawn from teachers' unions, the council of parents' association and representatives of local authority (11).

Article 53 of the same law also made provisions for parental participation. It recognises their right of forming organisations at the local, regional and national level. However, it deals only with the structure of their organisation, rather than their function in terms of influencing education policy (12).

It becomes clear from this description, that the central government at the national level is the major determinant of education policy at all levels of policy dissemination. The educational constituency, which in terms of interest group representation per se is not the same as in England, has been left with some degrees of control concerning only financial matters. As in

England, the stronger part of the central government is located at the national level. Unlike in England, this strength is not the outcome of progressive expansion in parallel with legal movements. Legitimation of the central government's right to exert control not only over its other parts at the regional and local level, but also over the educational constituency is rooted in its political and ideological nature. A historical perspective of these features of State education in Greece, during the present century, -which chapter three highlighted- shows that the education system, despite long term reforms, tends to perpetuate itself by keeping most of its traditional features (13). Despite long term reforms, there have been not many changes. This inertia can be explained by the nature of the relationship between central government and educational constituency. It is deeply rooted in ideological and political factors that shape education in Greece and account for the contradictions embodied within it.

### **Formative Level**

The formative level which includes the gender, age, and social class factors is related both to the state and institutional levels. Influences coming from the state level as a result of the social, political and economic conditions of the country affect the occupational characteristics of teaching, which in turn affect the way teachers react to state control processes as an organised group. These systemic ties between the levels are examined in the following pages.

#### **Gender**

The predominance of women teachers, as was examined in earlier pages, has been considered by many authors as the main obstacle of the teaching body to achieve its full professional status -often related to high levels drop-out, low levels of career commitment, and maternity leaves.

To what extent, is the majority of the teaching force in Greece female?

In Greece there has been a tendency reinforced by tradition to deny professional equality to women. Phrases like "home is the woman's place", or identification of sex-biased schooling policy -either in terms of teachers' behaviour, or in terms of textbooks-, is rather common. Girls in schools have been discouraged from developing certain job orientations. In Gregoriadou's view: "The working wife fills the house with worry and anxiety.." (14), and thus, what can be acceptable is that the most ambitious women can choose "feminine" jobs, like teaching. Nevertheless, these "traditional beliefs" should be associated with the idea of women's occupational inequality in society, rather than to gender bias related to inferior abilities of women in comparison with men. According to Eliou, in these traditions is where the explanations about forms of inequality in Greek society are rooted (15).

In Greece, the number of female entrants to teaching is higher than male until the age of 25, because men are obliged to join the army for two years after their studies. Above that age, there is a balance between the numbers of male and female teachers, the main explanation being that the government defines the number of entrants in terms of sex (Table IVa,b). Certainly the percentage of women teachers presented in the following tables has been influenced by the central government's desire to control the number of male and female teachers .

### Table IVa

Percentage of women students in primary teacher training colleges in selected years

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

### Table IVb

Percentage of women teachers in 1981

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source:Ministry of Education,1988

In table IVb women teachers are overrepresented in high schools which is the lower level of secondary schooling -an indicator of the sex discrimination in the teaching body. As was explained in chapter four, this can be explained by the interrelation between level and content of schooling on the one hand and prestige on the other: The higher the educational level, the more prestigious the teaching post is, because of the content of teaching.

In 1985-86 there were 37,994 primary school teachers of whom 48.7% were women and 49,920 secondary school teachers in high schools and lyceums of whom 52.4% were women (16)

These numbers indicate a rather balanced teaching force in primary schools, as a result of central government intervention. The role of the

central government in balancing the gender factor at primary level can be explained in terms of its efforts to avoid a female majority. Given the fact that primary school teaching is considered predominantly a female occupation, we can get an insight into the implications of this intervention for primary teaching.

Thus, the gender factor can not be used in the same way as in England. It should be limited to secondary school teachers in Greece, since female majority in primary teaching is not that profound.

### Age

What is the age structure of the teaching force in Greece? In what ways does the age factor affect the occupational behaviour of Greek teachers? What are its implications upon organised teachers? These are the questions that can help establish the systemic ties between age and the institutional level.

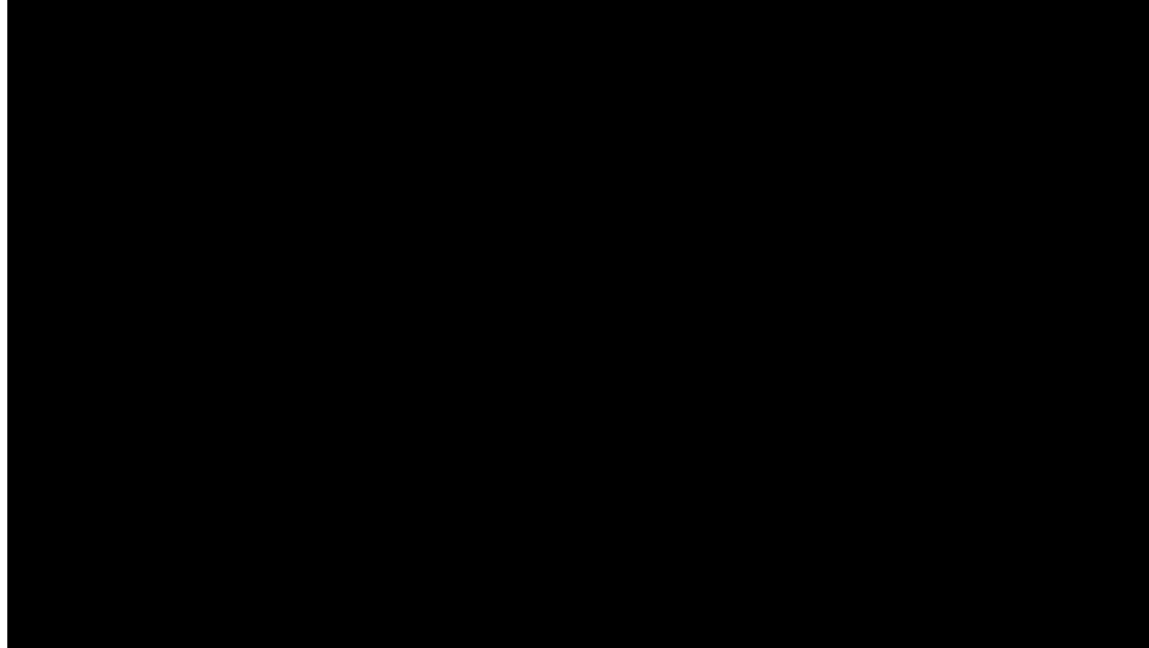
In a study carried out by Xochellis in 1984 (17), the findings were rather similar to those of Levinson's mentioned in chapter five. Teachers at the mid life stage come to terms with their jobs, become more satisfied with their job (especially the didactic aspect of it), which is justified on the basis of accumulation of their experiences. They acquire a sense of compromise and a positive attitude in dealing with certain problems they face during their careers, due to the improvement of their economic situation and to the more rights they enjoy as public employees. In accordance to teachers' age their conservatism also gets stronger, an indicator of their attitude towards reforms.

To locate the majority of the age group of Greek teachers, the following data are presented:

**Table Va**

**Primary School Teachers' Age Groups**

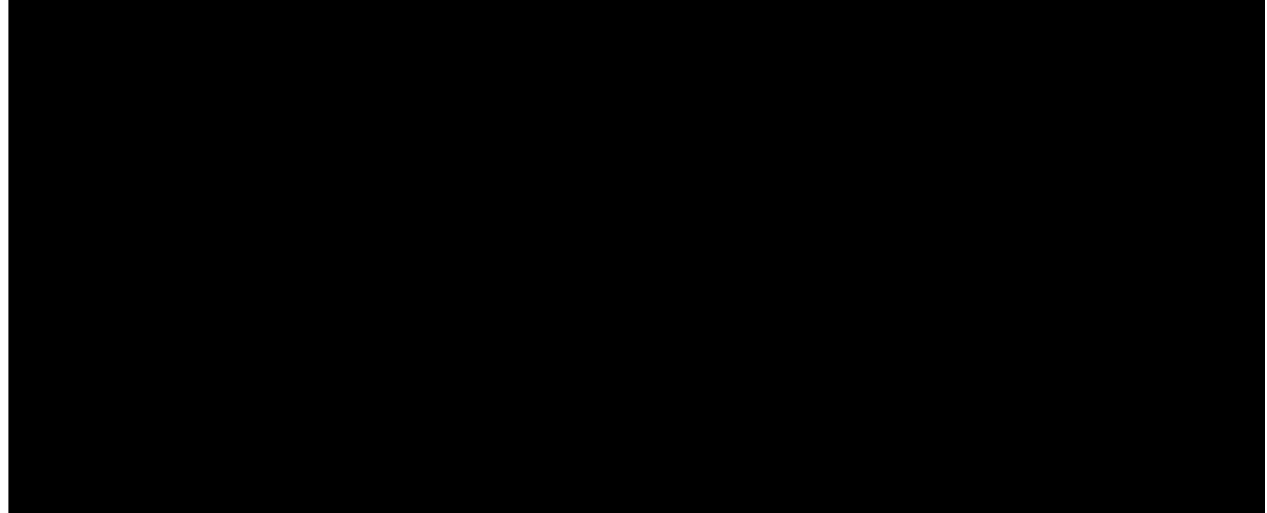
TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



**Table Vb**

**Secondary (High) School Teachers' Age Groups**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Total	20 922	99.96	13 022	62.20
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**Table Vc**

Secondary (Lyceum) school teachers' Age Groups

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Στατιστική της Εκπαίδευσης, 1981–82

From these tables it is evident that the youngest group provided the majority of school teachers at all levels in 1981. Nine years later, this age group is in the mid-life transition, a stage characterised internally by job-commitment and high morale (18). These characteristics might serve as a source of explanation of the various forms of strategies that organised teachers adopt.

Teaching, as in England, is an aging profession in Greece and this means that the majority of Greek teachers carry with them the residuals of the training they received in the 1960s, as well as that they may become less adaptive to introduced changes.

Obviously, age can become an influential variable to the differentiation and development of teachers' values by affecting significantly their job performance and their stance as an organised body towards central government's initiatives.



## Social Class

Teaching is held to be a means of social mobility, yet the predominance of recruits coming from the working class appears to be a determinant of the low status of teaching.

What is the social background of Greek teachers and to what extent teaching serves as a socialisation process, moving teachers away from the working class origins?

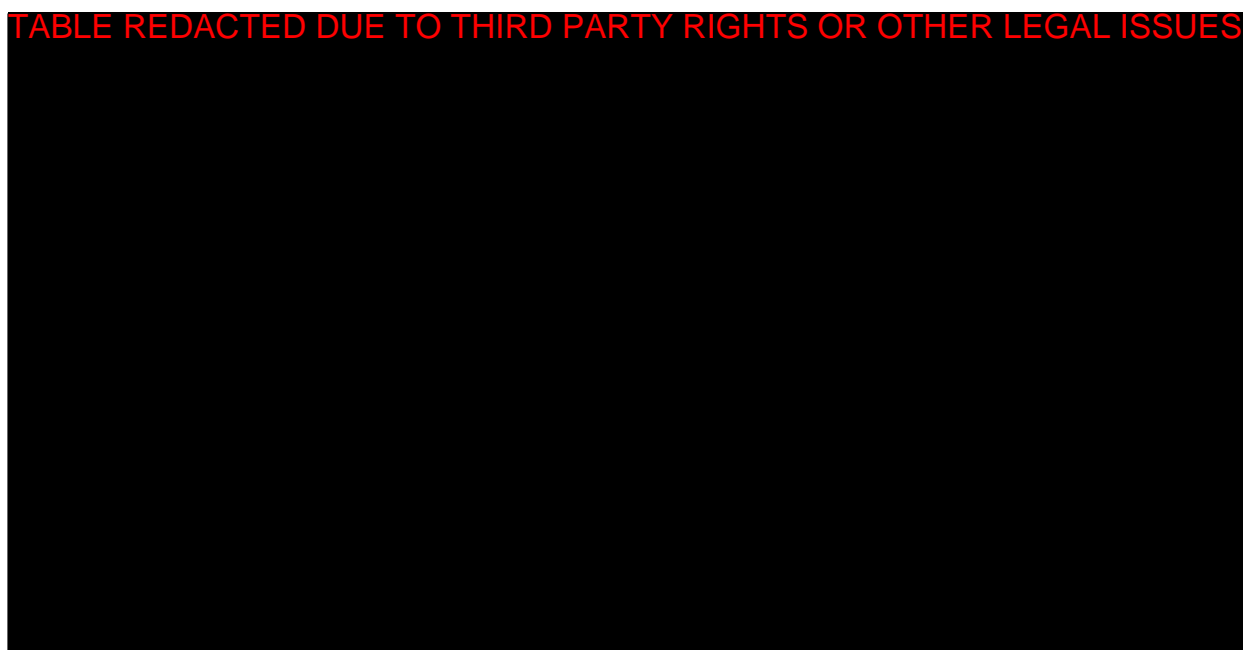
In Greece, teachers generally come from low social background and this may be a major variable which influences their professional status.

Statistical evidence (19) shows a steady increase in the number of students in Higher Education establishments originated from the working class. That number was 24.4 per cent of the total student population in 1956, 33.2 per cent in 1963, 43.3 per cent in 1972, and it reached the percentage of 40.5 in 1981/82. A significant percentage of this number (as is shown in the following tables) corresponds to students at Teachers' Training Colleges. The following tables VIa,b and VII show the distribution of primary and secondary school teachers according to father's occupation.

### Table VIa

Distribution of students in Teacher Training Colleges according to father's occupation

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



\* It includes: Self-employed/Technical occupations, Administrators/Managers, Clerks, Traders/Salespersons

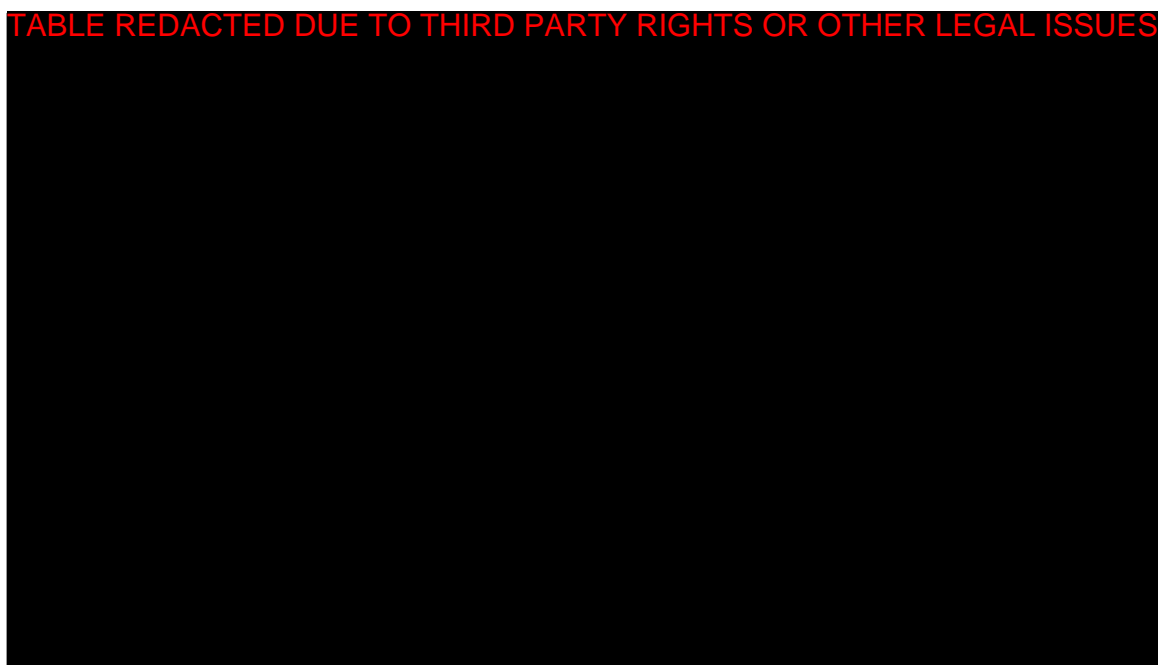
\*\* It includes: Farmers/Fishermen, skilled and unskilled workers

\*\*\* It includes: Army personnel, Retired military officials, Retired persons

## Table VII

Distribution of primary and different specialty secondary school teachers according to father's occupation in 1988

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



\* Reference was made in the previous page

Source: Statistical Department, Ministry of Education, 1989

Tables VIa and VIb show that the majority of primary school teachers -over half the student population in teacher education courses- come from working class families, while table VII shows that primary school teachers from working class background outnumber secondary school teachers in different subjects.

In a study carried out by Vamvoukas it was found that a percentage of 63.4 teachers originated from the low socio-economic background, and only 34.9 per cent from the upper social classes (20).

These numbers can well link the class factor to organised teachers'

practices orientations. Since the majority of teachers originates from the low social class, it is likely that they will develop attitudes closer to their roots.

Explanations of teachers' low socio-economic class origins can be searched in the class distribution of the Greek population, as it reflects the composition of the country's population (21). Thus, there are social factors that account for the class composition of teaching, stemming from the state level, and so connecting the state and formative level. It is more likely, that this high percentage of teachers with low social class origins will direct their actions as an organised group towards the trade union type.

### **Institutional Level**

The institutional level includes the pre-service and in- service conditions of teachers, that is initial training, working conditions, in-service training and teachers' organisations. They are all related with the state level in terms of processes of control initiated by the central government, as well as with the ideological level in terms of the extent that the interpretations given to these processes by organised teachers converge to their ideological aspects of professionalism. The connections between the levels are described below.

#### **Pre-service Conditions**

##### **Pre-service Training**

How is control over initial training of teachers exercised and how can we identify the links between the state and institutional level at this aspect?

The two-year pedagogical academies were the only establishments in the country for the initial training of teachers and operated for almost half a century on an anachronistic basis, as Porpodas asserts:

"Thus, for<sup>o</sup> 50 year period during which the PAs functioned the minor changes which took place from time to time changed neither the construction, nor the basic content of lessons" (22)

The Primary school teachers' union (DOE), through its statement considered university education for primary school teachers as a way by which teaching could be placed on the same level of recognition as the other established professions. Frangos observed in 1980:

"The organised teachers and the students of Pedagogical academies demand equal opportunities for University education with the members of other professions..."(23)

Law 1268/1982 upgraded teacher education by bringing teacher training colleges into the University sector. The same law stated the particular aims of the new departments as follows:

- The development of pedagogical sciences
- The provision of the means to graduate teachers to pursue scientific and professional careers
- The satisfaction of growing demands on teacher education and the provision of the same level academic training for all teachers (24).

Greek teachers were well aware of the short cycle of the two-year courses offered by the teacher training colleges (Pedagogical Academies) which could be characterised only as vocational institutions at a sub-university level, after competitive exams at the national level. They made their long term demands and complaints clear to the government:

"Primary school teachers are fighting for many years for their education in the universities of our country...There are professionals with 5 or 6 years of University education specialising in plants, animals, the concrete, or the archives of an office. Is University education less important to primary school teachers who deal with the education of the children"(25)

Primary school teacher education was criticised for its inadequacy in equipping teachers with the elements suitable for claiming their expertise. More specifically, lack of scientific preparation, in depth subject-matter and critical enquiry in educational issues were the focus of criticisms (26). The introduction of pedagogical departments into the university was seen as the best available solution for the upgrading of teacher studies and effectiveness of teachers (27).

Thus, the new departments' mission as defined by law has been their responsibility for the provision of scientific knowledge to teachers -a very important characteristic for the identity of a profession .

The 4-year or 8-semester course for intending teachers has been a satisfactory response to teachers' demands carrying a clear implication for teachers' expertise. The extension of the course of study for primary school teachers brought teacher training in line with the training courses of other professions, at least those relevant to teaching. Not only did the length of studies become the same as in other university courses, but the teaching staff of the new pedagogical departments were required to have the same qualifications as their counterparts in other university departments.

As was examined in the historical exploration of teaching in chapter two, Greek teachers were always concerned with the kind of training offered to them and saw this as the major handicap to their professionalism. Given the structure of the Greek State, their demand could be satisfied only by central government initiative. Thus, control processes initiated by the state level served as means of legitimation of the conditions of the institutional level, necessary for the improvement of teachers' position.

In terms of control over teacher education, this remained in the hands of the Ministry of Education, covering all aspects -admission, length of courses, content, curricula, examination and certification.

The length of courses and number of candidates are determined by the

political, social and economic criteria the number of entrants in the 158 university departments (28). Admission policy is determined by academic achievement which constitutes the basis for the selection of teachers through a national examination system. Academic achievement is related to high competence in the national entrance examinations by a predetermined scale of performance.

The content of courses and examination procedures fall into the sphere of university authority, while the Ministry of Education exercises control over them as well as on certification requirements. This applies to all professional groups in Greece during their initial training.

Since the 1982 reform, the duration of studies has doubled with 8 semesters, 30 subjects -10 of which depend on students' individual choice and the rest are compulsory. The first 6 semesters are devoted to theoretical training of teachers and only the last two to practical exercises. Students form several groups -(each group consisting of 4 persons)- assigned with some hours of teaching in public primary schools.

Despite the changes, the proportion of academic and practical components has not been significantly affected, when one compares the programme of the new pedagogical departments with the programme of studies of the Pedagogical Academies. The proportion of total time allocated to three basic areas of studies in the pedagogical academies until the introduction of the reform had been (29):

Pedagogics/Psychology	26%
Academic fields and special subjects	66%
Practical exercises	8%

In numerical terms, the percentage of total time allocated to practical exercises in the new pedagogical departments theoretically has increased to 25%, but practically it has been reduced dramatically to 6.5% (30).

Despite the anticipated outcome of the reform being its relevance to school life, the emphasis on the academic knowledge is still very strong in the content of teacher education programmes. This accounts for the characterisation of conservatism, and inflexibility of their curriculum (31). Nevertheless, the importance of teachers' practical training has been widely recognised by the new pedagogical departments. In the Guide of School Practice, handed out to all staff in teacher training departments, the general and specific aims have been set out as shown in Appendix III (32). The other aspect of initial teacher education is the examination and certification procedures. The examinations are regulated by the university and this applies to all departments in the university. The central government does not exercise strict control over teacher preparation requirements for teachers, since law of 1982 accepted university examination results as a certificate to teach. The same law provided teacher education with the academic freedom enjoyed by all university departments:

"All university level institutions must be legal entities in public law and totally self-governing. These institutions are financed and supervised by the State and are organised in line with specific laws which deal with their organisation"(33).

In these terms, it can be said that control over certification procedures became a very important gain for teachers, because it provided them with the means to regulate employment, though not entrance to the teaching profession. The latter is associated with validation procedure exercised by the Ministry of Education.

Teachers are required to hold a university degree (Ptychio) or Diploma of Pedagogical Academy, or equal qualification of a foreign institution in order to get employment in the civil service force (34). The final academic award may be seen as an indication of the intellectual standards



academic award may be seen as an indication of the intellectual standards which members of a profession are supposed to possess. The Certificate of Education, awarded by Pedagogical Academies was usually considered as a recognition of classroom competence, not as an acquisition of knowledge equal to that of the basic academic disciplines.

Before the reform of 1982 the content of teacher education programmes was characterised by lack of scientific structure. Teachers were seen as simple transmitters of knowledge. The underlying philosophy was that

"... a teacher is a good teacher, if he knows the "what" of teaching (i.e. the subject-matter), if added to this there is some knowledge of the "how" of teaching (i.e. the method) then it is taken for granted that the teacher will be able to "transfer" knowledge and the pupil to memorise and reproduce it...Thus even today...we are continuing to train teachers almost "to transmit knowledge", to "apply methods" and to "adapt their pupils to fit their own yardsticks" (35)

As a matter of fact, practical knowledge was totally divorced from theory. The new law provisions anticipated that the reorganisation of the programmes would result in the creation of a different type of teacher, than that of the pedagogical academies, as this could fit in the model of the new educated person identified as the person

"who combines with him, in cohesion, theoretical knowledge with an internal sense of moral duty and its concrete practice it requires...the deep political man...This man could not live in a society which remains static and tends to preshape its citizens"  
( 36)

In the previous statements, preparing the individual to meet and anticipate future problems, requires political activism. The philosophy underlying university education was against the "contradiction between State and society and the consequent ideology of political neutrality" (37). This philosophy was also embedded in the 1982 reform.

policy change, are understandable only when the identification of new introduced values, ideas and the ideological orientations can be limited to the purposes of the Socialist Party that introduced the reform. This indicates the extent to which the central government can satisfy teachers' demands by operationalising the theoretical principles of the reform.

The rapid introduction of the reform in teacher education is proof, in itself, that not much time and thought was given for preparatory work, to base the reform on objective criteria, in terms of information and systematic research. That it was introduced only 8 months after the socialists came to power, reflects its hasty planning. Doubling of duration of studies, the integration of teacher education into the system of Highest Education without the intervention of any stage of gradual preparation was risky. Issues like structure of courses, content of programmes, organisation of teaching methods and administrative staff are still unclear. As such, it took little account of both qualitative and quantitative aspects of Greek society, like teacher supply, material and financial requirements for the planning of teaching courses and personnel.

Implicitly, teacher education reform was based not on scientific objective basis, but on the political ideology of the socialists, in conflict with the ideology expressed by the conservatives who were in power until 1981. That, political activism envisaged in the new political ideology and expressed in its strict partisan form, managed not to erase contradictions between State and society as they existed, for example in terms of the heavy academic component of education, but actually perpetuated the same problems, it should not be surprising. Politicisation of the reform has been the norm in introducing any educational reform in Greece.

The elections of 1981 provided the means by which the central government at the national level could incorporate its socialist ideology. In

terms of its relation with teachers, its different initiatives aimed at the initial training of teachers, resulted in the establishment of its control over monopoly of knowledge.

### In-Service Conditions

In-service conditions include the in-service training, employment conditions and professional organisations of teachers.

### *In-Service Training*

The extent to which teachers can regulate conditions of in-service training indicates their degree of control over their expertise.

How does central government control in-service training of teachers? To what extent have the changes introduced in in-service training after 1970s affected its quality?

Until 1984, the only centre offering in-service training for secondary and primary school teachers was the Didaskalio Messes Ekpedefses (Διδασκαλειο Μεσης Εκπαιδευσης). This offered a two year course to 50 students who had served in public schools at least 5 years. The first year was devoted to equipping teachers with educational knowledge in psychology, philosophy, sociology and modern language, while the second one to practical training. The trainers were teachers with post-graduate qualifications, or members of different educational councils like KEME, inspectors and university lecturers (38).

Similar to that structure in terms of staff and studies was the organisation of in-service training for primary school teachers (39).

Since 1972 the Maraslio Didaskalio (Μαρασλειο Διδασκαλειο), established in Athens, offered an annual course to around 100 primary teachers who were admitted after a competitive examination. The inefficiency of both

institutions in terms of their traditional and theoretical aspects of the content of programmes, their inability to meet teachers' demands and also their inconvenient location in Athens increased the pressures on government for new initiatives.

The 1977 education reform established the professional in-service training establishments for secondary teachers (SELME) and for primary teachers (SELDE), with at least 5 years previous teaching experience.

They are both controlled by the Ministry of Education which appoints the directors and is also responsible for the running of these centres. 850 secondary, 2% of the total secondary school teaching population, and 650 primary teachers, 1.5% of the primary teaching population chosen by a national ballot system, attend each year the in-service training courses offered in 8 Greek cities (40). In 1987 of 36,000 primary school teachers in service less than 10% had some kind of further training (41).

A decade after the establishment of those institutions almost 10,000 teachers had been trained in them. Given the increasing number of applicants, it is estimated that all teachers in the service will be trained by the year 2030, when most of them will reach the retirement age (42). This implies that there is a big gap between the demand of teachers for in-service training and the availability of places, and so despite the fact that the creation of those institutions aimed at meeting the demand, the problem has not been solved.

In addition, the ballot system on which the acceptance of the applicants operates, does not guarantee the same chances as "some applicants may be lucky first time in the lottery, while others may apply unsuccessfully for several years" (43). Only a very small number of teachers is selected because of the limitation of places. Teachers at both levels consider this scheme quite inadequate to their professional education and standards and the only positive thing that they consider as such, is the time off they get from their teaching duties. In a survey among teachers attending SELME

courses it was found that 18.04% saw their attendance as the best opportunity to get release from teaching (44).

Problems have confronted not only the trainees but also the organisation of the institutions. The content of the taught subjects is thought to be too theoretical and distant from the practical training; the inability to create a pool of permanent staff, because of the low salaries; the shortages of equipment in terms of libraries, classrooms, books; all have made the operation of these establishments far from satisfactory.

In addition, the fact that the trainees get their regular salary plus a kind of tuition fee for one year, while their teaching position is being replaced by another teacher during that time, places the cost of their training at a high level. It is estimated that the expenditure on every trainee approximates the amount of \$10,000 (45)

In an attempt to reform the in-service programme, law 1566/85 introduced the abolition of the early training centres -Didaskalio ME, and Maraslio Didaskalio-, and the establishment of new ones called Περιφερειακά Εκπαιδευτικά Κέντρα (PEK), that is Regional Training Centres. It aims at the gradual replacement of the SELME and SELDE by the new regional self-governed centres, that could offer training more related to practice, undifferentiated programmes for both primary and secondary school teachers, and cooperation between PEK, university and the schools (46)

Emphasis has been placed upon the importance of the links between local communities and schools, in order to contribute significantly to the performance of teachers. As in England, the school-based approach of in-service training is gaining ground. According to a report presented to the Ministry of Education in 1988, the above mentioned targets could be achieved by the means of a variety of length of courses aimed at the

updating of the knowledge of in-service teachers, on both theoretical and practical issues.

The new measures are quite ambitious and very promising in the sense that can significantly alter the structure of in-service training of teachers in Greece, and make it more relevant to school life (47), an aspect that, as in initial teacher education, has not got much attention.

Theoretical knowledge emphasised in both pre-service and in-service training courses was seen by the central government as the best means to provide teachers and the future top personnel among them with what they needed to serve the educational objectives in a way defined, structured and imposed exclusively by the Ministry. In this way in-service training helped the establishment of the administrative control over teachers' expertise, while teachers' efforts to promote professional control over it, were unsuccessful. Teachers unions have asked for years for radical changes in terms of the number of teachers admitted to the courses, the quality of the content and the school based aspect of it, but their claims were never satisfied by the Ministry.

Thus, the conflict between administrative and professional control seems inevitable over the issue of expertise, in terms of both the pre-service and in-service education of teachers.

### **Working Conditions**

What is the degree of teachers' autonomy in terms of defining their conditions of work, and how has the central government affected it?

The economic status of teachers reflects the level of education of teachers and also their powers of negotiations. The former is due to the fact that salary scales are defined according to years of studies, while the latter is related to the degree that teachers' economic demands can be translated to earnings.

Unfortunately in Greece, the economic standing of primary school teachers was very low compared with graduates of other Higher Education

departments before the reform of 1982. In fact, it was lower even than other employees with the same qualifications and position in the salary scale (Table 17, Annex)

Salary differentials could also be observed within teaching. In 1982-83 the starting salary of a secondary teacher was \$350, while that of the primary teacher was \$250.

The non-competitiveness of teachers' salaries in comparison with those in other sectors of the economy, especially in the private sector, induces many graduates

"to view teaching as a "last resort" occupation: they seek employment in the educational sector only after they have failed to secure a position in some other sector of the economy. (48)

The incorporation of teacher education into universities had direct effects on teachers' salary structures -because salary scales are determined by years of studies- and eventually on their professional status. Comparisons of teachers conditions in numerical terms with other professionals had always an unfavourable effect on the image they themselves and the others hold about teaching.

As a consequence of the law, teachers are paid on the same basis as the other civil servants with the same qualifications and this provides a full legitimization of their civil service status.

Law 1505/1984 which was later completed by the law 1810/1988 refers to the payroll of teachers in primary and secondary schools. According to that, all teachers belong to AT(4) category that includes civil servants with 4 years university training and their salary scales are evolved from grade 16-1. In order to transfer from a certain salary grade to the next higher one, it is required 2 years of service. Newly appointed teachers in public primary and secondary schools belong to grade 16 which corresponds to the basic salary of 37,000 drs. In addition to this basic salary scale, teachers get an allowance of 16,000 drs plus 500 per grade ( εξομάλυνση

διαφορών μισθολογίου)(49). Table 18 (Annex) shows the specific grades and the salaries that correspond to each one of them. In addition to this there are also some family allowances related to the marital status, postgraduate studies and degree of seniority (Appendix IV). Thus, promotional opportunities for teachers are also beyond their means of definition.

The central government defines all conditions of teachers' work. Teachers work 25-30 hours per week. Headmasters of schools with more than 150 pupils teach 20 hours, while headmasters of schools with 90-150 pupils teach 24 hours. The ratio of teacher/pupil is 1:30. Every teacher must remain at school further than his/her teaching hours, if he/she is assigned with a specific task, but no more than 6 hours per day, or 30 hours per week. Mothers of children younger than two years of age are excluded from this obligation (50).

While all these conditions represent the way by which the central government contracted the teaching body in Greece, the most important of these is the legal restrictions imposed on teachers as civil servants. Teachers are not allowed to give private lessons as this can result to 3 years in prison or definite dismissal (51). Into these terms, control over State professionals is stronger in Greece than any other European country, and this indicates a rather total view of control by the Greek central government.

Law 1505/1984 which introduced the unified type of salary scale for all civil service employees on the basis of the level and years of studies, is a very important step forward to a more prestigious status of teachers, and less fragmented profession. Primary and Secondary school teachers are unified in economic terms, although there are still some differences because of some additional benefits that the latter get on the assumption of



hours of teaching.

It might seem that conditions in teaching have been improved, nevertheless, teaching is faced with serious problems.

Since July 1988, the criteria for entering the teaching profession are the same for primary and secondary school teachers. Instead of the criterion of the grade that was used as the main one to classify primary school teachers' applications for employment, the only factor that is taken into account now is the date of application, a factor that can also be seen as a positive move by the central government against discriminating between primary and secondary teachers. However, this system is under reform as the Minister of Education announced in December 1990 that the time of teachers' first appointment should not depend on year of graduation, but on the results of nationally held competitive examinations among all graduates -irrespective of the year of graduation. From the teachers' point of view, this can be seen as the central government's attempt to impose its own stricter standards upon teachers' conditions of work. From the central government's point of view, however, this is a radical proposal -a response to the existing problem of teacher unemployment-, justified on the basis of its desire to offer more opportunities to the academically best qualified.

At present, there is a big discrepancy between the number of applicants and the number of teachers who get employment. Tables 16a and 16b show the number of primary and secondary school teachers appointed by the Ministry of Education, which after a rise in early 1980s it has dropped. The following numbers can give some insight into the constraints imposed upon teaching as a result of the employment conditions.

In the period 1974-79, the turnover rate among secondary school teachers was 16.7%, while in the period 1980-85 that percentage dropped to 10% (52). The decline of this number is an evidence of the increasing restrictions of job options that people seeking employment are faced with. Added to that, the currently 20,000 applications for primary school

teaching, with employment possibilities not earlier than the year 2,000, makes the problem of unemployed teachers acute.

The situation is not more promising in the case of secondary school teachers as the graduate teachers in 1990 will not be appointed in less than ten years.

In the last decade the number of teacher resignations remained at the level of 3% of employed teachers, a very low percentage which according to both teachers' unions and the Ministry of education's view can be explained in terms of the security that the civil servant status offers to teachers (53).

All these conditions described above have created a situation rather problematic for the teaching profession. A unique salary scale for teachers -but still salary differentials between primary and secondary- high levels of unemployment, and strict definitions of teachers' contractual duties, are discouraging factors for attracting persons to teaching.

Nevertheless, conditions like these cannot totally alter the teachers' view on teaching. Xohellis's study on the factors affecting teachers' occupational choice found that none of the interviewed teachers considered his/her salary satisfactory. However, teachers are still attracted to teaching because: "...the occupational values they adopt, are more idealistic than materialistic" (54)

Conditions of teachers' employment imposed by the central government have affected their degrees of autonomy, in both positive and negative terms. The legitimization of the economic status of teachers as civil servants, provided the means by which salary differentials between teaching and other professions as well as within it, were minimised. At the same time, control of the central government over all aspects of employment has made teachers unable to exert their professional control in an autonomous way.

### *Teachers' Organisations*

How have teachers reacted in central government's initiatives to control their degrees of autonomy and expertise?

How is the state level connected to teachers' organisation subsystem, and how does this connection affect the functioning of the system?

The way teachers both organise themselves as a collective body and influence policy on educational matters is an indicator of their legitimate power as a pressure group. This role of the organisation has been justified by Coombs as:

"To operate effectively as an interest group within a competitive party system, it is prudent to maintain some distance from each of the political parties.."(55)

In Greece, this has always worked inversely, as it is the closeness to the political parties that is the operational kind of principle for teachers' organisations. The more teachers are related to politics the more they think they can gain access to management control, that is the dominant one. For this reason, in most instances however, teacher organisations have tied their fortunes rather closely to the fortunes of certain political parties, and thus, consequences like the following form the routine:

"The effect of such an association between interest group and political party is to cast the interest group in the role of critic and sometimes blocker of government initiative when the opposition party is in power, while savouring the prospect of ministry positions and the control that there will provide when and if the party with which they are allied comes in to power"(56)

This politicization, seen by most of Greek teachers as a way of getting closer to power, works as a boomerang against teachers' expected form of organisational action. It leads to a kind of dependency on ideological principles set by political parties, and not by teachers and eventually filters

out their objective criticisms about educational policy procedures.

That the majority of primary school teachers have been socialists, as DOE's elections showed in the last decade, facilitated negotiations between government and teachers in the early 1980s, when the socialist party came to power. Trust based on their identical political principles was established between central government and organised teachers, expressed by the former:

"The Ministry of Education, the Government of Change, believes...that responsibility for education should belong first and foremost to teachers"(57)

and by the latter:

"This government...came into power through the struggle and support of liberal and democratic persons. All members of the Union should support the effort for the Change" (58)

Thus, Law 1268/1982 was the written contract signed by the central government which recognised teachers' rights of negotiation by legitimising teachers' claims for professional training.

The unique nature of the Greek State that was presented in terms of the kind of the relationship between the central government and the educational constituency, is also reflected in the kind of linkages between the former and organised teachers. Thus, after Law 1566/1985, there has been a series of attacks by the government on all aspects of teachers' conditions of work, undermining teachers' trust in negotiations.

In 1989, primary school teachers' organisation (DOE) made a list of targets for the coming year, which can serve as an indicator of the extent to which teachers wish to control their practices. Objectives like the equivalence of degrees between Pedagogical Academies and the new Pedagogical departments, upgrading of the in-service training at the university level and provision of in-service training for at least 5,000 teachers as a starting point, and establishment of DOE Councils for the

approval of books, timetables and teaching methods, can offer them the means to control pre-service and in-service training, and thus, monopoly of knowledge.

There is also another set of objectives that includes: salary increases, establishment of life and health insurance national scheme, reduction of working hours to 21 per week, and further reduction of this for headmasters and deputy headmasters, as in operation in the secondary level.

Additional employment for 5,000 teachers appointing them in large school units.

Change in the selection system for Headmasters and School Advisors, according to non-political criteria.

15% of the national Budget for educational purposes, similar procedures for dealing with problems of education at the primary and secondary level and unified 9year basic schooling. Equal treatment of problems of primary and secondary school teachers by the government.

Modification of the Law 1566/1985 in a more democratic and effective way towards the better organisation and administration of the education system and the upgrading of the scientific, pedagogical and professional role of the teacher (59).

By providing teachers with the means to regulate their employment conditions, this list can grant them degrees of autonomy. In this list, primary teachers' awareness of their differences from the secondary school teachers is obvious. They have been treated differently by the central government and this has perpetuated the sectional divisions of teaching in Greece. Despite, for example, the unified salary structure, there are still salary differentials. Contradictory processes, like those of equal and unequal treatment, account for the peculiar nature of the relationship between the central government and teachers and exemplify why long term demanded reforms are not successful.

There is also a strong emphasis on the sectional interests of teachers,

indicating their trade union character, an occupational attitude that can be partially explained by their low social origins.

DOE's leader in 1989, referring to the above mentioned objectives, stated that their attainment will upgrade the position of Greek teachers whose status at present is low. This would imply the shifting of national priorities to educational matters, starting from a generous percentage of the National Budget to Education, instead of the currently extremely low percentage of 7.3%, which obstructs any future developments of both the education system and of the whole country. However, he identified as the major obstacle within teaching, the lack of union unity, which is undermined by the political divisions. Teachers can overcome this obstacle

"By using dialogue not in a way of rejecting the decisions of leadership, on the basis of political affiliations -as this proved to be the bitter experience of the past- the union would be able to act in a more effective way, in terms of influencing educational policy" (60)

The determination of DOE's to influence educational policy represents the very heart of teachers' professionalism and the way that the ideological level can influence the state level. Teachers have been unsuccessful so far because of the politicization of education. Therefore, a broader view of education is needed:

"Education is a national issue, not just a matter of concern of the political party in power. It is something that all political parties and Greek people should have a say. If Greece wants to catch up with the rest of the European Community it has to change educational policy" (61)

Whether teachers can achieve the long list of claims is a very optimistic or even unrealistic task in the Greek context. DOE seems to be aware of the problems of the Greek reality. DOE's president stated in 1989 that he would be happy, if DOE could achieve just one third of those stated

targets: "We know Greek reality. If we ask for two things when we need two we will actually get nothing. So we ask for ten, hoping that we might get four"(62). Nevertheless, awareness is not the only precondition, unless it is combined with the right kind of occupational strategies.

The kind of strategies adopted by DOE leaders does not necessarily imply that all primary school teachers in the country agree with this line of policy. Recent criticisms of the ways DOE leadership handles these problems have pointed out that its leaders totally ignore the decisions of the local associations.: "We should not blame governmental policy for the strict exercise of control, but rather DOE's leadership"(63). This is another aspect of the extent that the issue of politicization affects teachers actions and reactions. Politicization of membership means politicization of leadership. Teachers' leaders are elected as representatives of certain political parties, and this means that any kind of strategy is influenced by the party's position in the political arena, and not by the majority of teachers.

OLME also expressed similar demands during the Annual Meeting of Secondary Teachers in 1987. More specifically, in terms of the role and the status of the Greek teacher, OLME's leader stated:

"New social conditions demand a new role for the teacher more complicated, but very important to society. The teacher cannot be any longer the simple transmitter of knowledge, but the major facilitator in the educational process, whose status, scientific and pedagogical expertise and total training will contribute decisively to the education of the young generation. OLME in cooperation with the other educational constituents fights for the development and strengthening of the status and abilities of teachers, for the satisfaction of occupational and economic demands"(64).

OLME's efforts of control over monopoly of knowledge have been centred on issues of: scientific and pedagogical upgrading and updating of pre- and in-service training courses for secondary teachers. This are

important issues, because they are closely related to the quality of education given to pupils of public schools.

OLME's efforts to control conditions of the market of their services are concentrated on the following issues:

- Improvement of the selection system for Headmasters and teachers' evaluation techniques
- Modification of the Law 1566/85
- Active participation of teachers into the process of decision-making, and
- Salary increases, can be listed in their attempts to control conditions of service.
- Improvement of public education and abolition of private education that perpetuates the inequalities of the educational opportunities given to young people. The last point is a strong indicator of the bargaining power of the state sector teachers as opposed to the private sector teachers (65).

From all the above mentioned, it can be said that both organisations of Greek teachers have similar demands and face similar problems. Their objectives represent the degree to which they conceptualise their professionalism in terms of control over knowledge and the conditions of the market of their services. At the same time, their demand to influence educational policy represents the ways that professionalism can function in Greece. Nevertheless, teachers have never tried to unite their powers and members, because of the political differences of their leadership. Primary school teachers use as point of reference of their demands conditions that already exist in the work of secondary school teachers, while the latter demand more. The common focus of their objectives, especially since 1985, has been the issue of control over knowledge in the form of non-interference from the Ministry of Education in the internal affairs of education, like exams, textbooks, and hours of work.

Law 1566 of 1985 was characterised by teachers as non-democratic, since it did not get a wide parliamentary majority. However, the vote of the



political party in power, showed the unwillingness of the central government to satisfy teachers' demands. This has created unrest among teachers during the last 5 years with a series of short and long strikes.

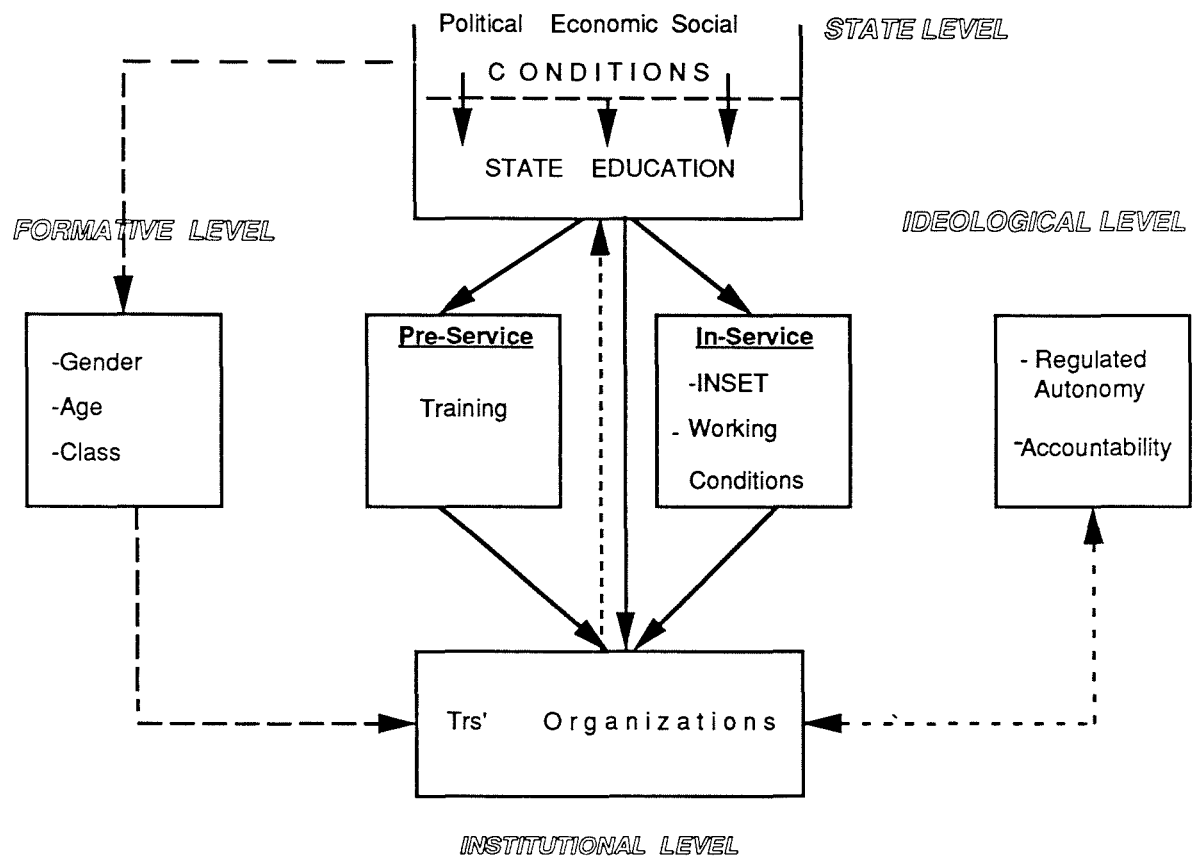
It looks to be a kind of routine in teachers' collective strategies every year. There is a high degree of militancy manifested by high participation in the strikes starting every September, which gets gradually weak by the end of the year. Every year, teachers loose something, which is added to the list of their demands in the following year, and thus eventually, they loose also sight of the importance of their claims. According to Mann, explanations for this are rooted within the nature of their claims:

"as trade unions are organised towards the attainment of economic bargaining gains, they tend in practice to lose sight of control issues, whether these concern the immediate work situation, or wide ranging questions of industrial structure" (66)

This has created a very confusing situation in the educational sphere with teachers talking only about the length of their strikes, the central government insisting on its line of policy, parents complaining about their children's educational consequences and students trying to build up their trust in tommorow's society. All these conditions represent the disturbance of the system, and the need to modify it -as it is presented in the second phase of the model (p.256).

Although central government's control over teachers has always been strong within the context of a centrally administered education system, it has recently been expanded. The government has decided to abandon any kind of obligation to respect teachers' negotiating rights and establish the means by which it will channel its overall control, in terms of teachers' autonomy and expertise. To support this, it used in September 1990 its right to regard a strike as illegal, or abusive by the Court of Appeals that can order it to be stopped (67). By these means, there have been certain

## PHASE II



## FUNCTIONING OF PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

court decisions in the last few months that have characterised teachers' strikes as illegal, a fact that has considerably restricted what teachers consider the principle of their organisational rights (68).

Teachers in Greece like in England, have resorted to strikes as the best way to protect and advance the means by which they can exert their occupational control. Unlike teachers in England who have to face a central government that increases its power by external means, the Greek central government does that by internal means. Legitimation of control processes is based on its own nature. The way these processes have affected the ideological level is the area where the focus of the next pages will be on.

### **Ideological Level**

What is the actual degree of autonomy and expertise that teachers currently enjoy? How is this level related to the institutional and state levels?

This chapter has examined the ways in which the state level of the model affects the institutional level, the degree of professional control that organised teachers think they should have, and the means they employ to achieve it. In the following pages the focus is on the actual professional control, that is the degree of autonomy and expertise -as these two represent the elements of their professionalism- that teachers enjoy in practice.

Autonomy, as was stated in the earlier chapters, is a multiple value concept, depending on the context in which it is used. In the case of teaching in Greece, its modes of operation are complex as these are determined by the role of State in education. The ways that Greek teachers use autonomy really depends on the willingness of the central government to accede the importance of its meaning to the professional development of teachers. Teachers have always aspired to a considerable degree of

professional autonomy in conditions of the market of their services. The nature of their relationship with the central government characterises them as civil servants and has accorded teachers certain degrees of autonomy more limited than that of English teachers, by measures of management control.

This might imply that the central government has been the only determinant of the degree of teachers' autonomy, but given the complex nature of the Greek State, it would be rather risky to assert that. While it is possible to detect a significant degree of control over teachers, at the same time, central government itself has legitimised elements of teachers' professionalism, like the upgrading of teachers' pre-service training. This is proof in itself, that the central government could not ignore the importance of teachers, generated mainly from its own political and ideological interests. The pre-service and in-service training of teachers have emphasised the transmission of theoretical knowledge and considered teachers' participation in training courses on a basis of a very passive procedure, -a fact that can be explained in terms of:

"teacher education has been envisaged as powerful instruments of socialisation and control, utilised for the promotion of state interests which have been regarded by the ruling elites as being coextensive with national interests" (69)

Greek teachers' autonomy is not confined within their freedom to define curriculum and textbooks as in England, but rather in the nature of the knowledge they transmit to the pupils. As such, the teacher becomes the authority in his/her classroom charged with the responsibility to educate Greek citizens by developing their cognitive abilities. The teaching method in Greece is the "storage or feeding" and has given the central government the means to control teachers, and in turn teachers to control their classroom:

"The teacher is the sovereign power in the class. His/her autocratic

role is reinforced by the prevailing beliefs about his/her role in a broader social context. It is natural that under such circumstances that is the sovereignty of the teacher on the one hand and the general respect on the other, no doubts about the validity of the acquired knowledge and also the efficiency of the teaching aids could be generated. Hence, professional security and stability are taken for granted by the teacher" (70)

While the traditional knowledge that is also a means of restricting teachers' expertise, advances teachers' classroom autonomy, it does not work in the same way in terms of professional autonomy. Greek primary and secondary teachers do not think they have the kind and degree of autonomy they should have. They think they do not have any autonomy at all, since textbooks, curricula, and all educational issues are administered by the central government (71).

The notion that "others decide everything for him/her" has brought a sense of disquiet among teachers at primary and secondary level, during the last two years, which has resulted in a series of strikes with the main demand being teachers' active participation in educational policy making and in the resignation of the Minister of Education in January 1990.

The central government has been the sole decision-making body in education and this position has been further strengthened by the law 1566/1985. According to this, the central government has the right and responsibility to intervene in educational matters -if not all of them- that were considered previously to be the vested rights of teachers organisations. Thus, the form of relationship between teachers and pupils and parents, the organisation of the school life, classroom functioning and timetable, the task-assignment to the teaching staff and the evaluation of teachers' work have been the ways of direct management control over all aspects of teaching (72).

In addition to that, the autonomy of teachers' has been further regulated by restricting considerably their organisational rights. In terms of the

ideological shift from expertise to accountability, it is not so clear cut in the Greek context. The term scientific expertise in Greece has always been seen in relation to the academic disciplines in the University. On that basis, it cannot be said that Greek primary school teachers had ever had this expertise, at least until the introduction of teacher training departments into the universities. In the case of secondary school teachers, knowledge has always been related to the subject-matter and the pedagogical-professional component of their training in theoretical studies, while practical skills "...either flow naturally from theoretical knowledge, or are required incidentally and experientially" (73).

Thus, expertise in teaching is knowledge that teachers should master. Then the problem is, what kind of knowledge is appropriate for the professional development of teachers.

"What ought to be taught is perhaps more important than "how", but this problem concerns the scientist who knows the situation, rather than the scholar of pedagogy"(74)

In fact, there has been a heated controversy over "what" (subject-matter) and "how" (methodology) in the educational field, in the preparation courses of teachers. This emphasis on these two elements constitutes the philosophy behind teacher training programmes. Thus, a "good" teacher, is the person who possesses the knowledge and commands the methodology and is able to transmit knowledge to the pupils in a satisfactory way. In fact, the overemphasis on these issues has only been in some educational debates or papers. In reality, this has not produced many positive results, such as helping teachers' search for professional identity.

Greek teachers are attracted to the term "psycho-pedagogos" in an attempt to locate their expertise in the sciences of education and psychology. That was actually the essence of their efforts to acquire university education.

"The struggle of teachers' organised unions aimed not just for the 4year training, but for the university education which automatically

offers scientific identity to the graduate" (75)

In actual terms, expertise in the form of theoretical knowledge divorced from the practical component has not equipped teachers with the degree of professional control they need to act upon the central government education policy. The incorporation of teacher education in the university sector was a satisfactory response to the long demanded upgrading of their training, but not a legitimation of their right to influence knowledge. The central government's policy is seen as the reflection of its clients' -that is the electorate majority- will (76). Under this principle, any interest group's demand to influence educational policy is simply undesirable.

Within this framework, Greek teachers have never experienced professional control over knowledge. Accountability of Greek teachers is seen in terms of their loyalty to civil service. They are accountable to the central government, which is the provider of their employment by performing their contractual duties in a way strictly defined by it. In that sense, their accountability holds a total different meaning from their English counterparts. In England, accountability is associated with maintaining teachers' standards in order to protect consumers' rights, rather than central government's own interests as it is the case in Greece. Teaching is regarded as "*leitourgema*" in Greece, a term that also refers to medicine and clergy. As such, it carries the meaning of high value of service to both the State and the public. In that sense, it incorporates notions that tend to perpetuate domination to the management control, while at the same time legitimises the status of teachers, a process that reveals the contradictory nature of professionalism.

## Conclusion

Greek State education acts in a unique way. Its clientelistic character explains the relationship developed between the central government and the educational constituency. The changes introduced since mid 1970s have strengthened the position of the central government. In contrast with the English situation, where the central government became stronger by taking power away from its other components at the regional and local level and by shifting the focus on the role of the educational constituency, the Greek central government at the national level has expanded its control by its own means. The central character of the education system provides the basis for a strong central government at the national level, and for limited active representation of interest groups. Statutory rights are not given to the educational constituency in order to act on its own, -as in England-, but to participate in educational matters under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Under this kind of dominant relationship developed between these two, the Ministry has controlled all aspects of pre-service and in-service training, employment conditions and teachers' organisations. Nevertheless, this control should not be seen in absolute terms, since in those terms, teachers would have lost the ideological aspects of their professionalism. Teachers' big victories of the incorporation of teacher training establishments into the university sector, the subsequent relative autonomy to certification procedures, the reorganisation of their salary scales, and the equivalence of requirements for job-application for both primary and secondary teachers, certainly indicate that their service is valued by the central government.

However, control processes introduced in the late 1980s, have provided the links between the state and institutional level and have produced reactions from organised teachers in the form of rather union-type



activities. The latter can be partly explained in terms of the age structure, as well as of the social class teaching force. Age reinforces the kind of views teachers hold in relation to the ideological aspects of professionalism while social class reinforces the kind of strategies employed by teachers for the establishment of their views. DOE and OLME have both tried to protect their members from the growth of central government's control by emphasising their sectional interests.

The outcome of all these interactions between the different components of the system have created a new situation presented in phase II of the model. The central government has the power to exercise total control over teachers and this has become apparent in the last decade. Nevertheless, totality of control is restricted by both teachers and the government itself. Teachers' strategies put considerable strain on the reconsideration of the policies of control, while at the same time, the central government has shown signs of supporting teachers' aspirations to professionalism.

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## PART III

## IMPLICATIONS

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE APPLICATION OF THE MODEL IN TWO COUNTRIES

#### Introduction

In the previous chapters in Part II the current situation of the teaching in England and Greece was analysed in the light of the four-dimensional model. The reason for suggesting and elaborating that model, as was explained in Chapter four, has been the desire to investigate the ideology of professionalism as a means through which the relationship between teachers and the State is established and to explore ways which the central government uses in order to gain control over teachers' conditions of service.

Application of the model in the two countries has revealed the ways in which professionalism functions. It has also necessitated the elaboration of phase II of the model as a means of representing in practical terms the degrees of the ideological aspects of professionalism. Is this new phase of the model identical or different in both countries, and in what sense?

The focus of the present chapter is on the implications of the use of the model in the two countries. To what extent can we identify commonalities or reveal differences?

Before we embark on this task, we should examine the background issues that inform the shaping of the central government control processes. In structuring the model, that was described as an open system, in the sense that the broad environment of the system influences its inputs. It was also mentioned that the system cannot explain the reasons why it functions the way it does. Thus, we will not seek explanations in the political, economic and social structures of each country. What we can do, however, is to try to reveal how political, economic and social considerations mould State



educational objectives. Within this framework, contextualisation of professionalism is not complete, unless these broad contextual factors are also taken into account. How have political, economic and social considerations informed central government education policy in terms of teachers' conditions of work?

It is hoped that these questions can illuminate contradictory tendencies, embodied in the broader context of functioning of the ideology of professionalism, as this was examined in two different national settings, which in turn can help us reach valid conclusions about the nature of professionalism of both national and international importance.

For this reason, the present chapter is divided into three sections. Section I analyses the background issues raised by the broad contextual factors influencing the application of the model in the two countries. Section II identifies the common tendencies in the two countries, in terms of the second phase of the model which emerged from the case studies. Section III takes up the implications in the broader context of the European Community education policy.

## **Section I**

### **The Background Issues**

How have economic, political and social reasons shaped the central government's policy towards teachers, in the two countries and to what extent are there identifiable differences or similarities?

It will be argued in the following pages that economic considerations relate to the allocation of resources, while political and social considerations to the degree of political intervention into school matters and the views and general level of esteem for teachers held within the public at large. They all have profound effects on the ways teachers experience conditions in their workplace, and create certain tensions that influence the way

professionalism functions as a system. These tensions will be the concern of this chapter.

### Economic Considerations

To what extent are the economic objectives of the country taken into account in State educational policy concerning teachers?

The availability of financial resources in England in the 1960s had positive affect upon government's attitude towards decisions about heavy recruitment of teachers, the extension of their courses, the improvement of their salary structures, the expansion of teacher training institutes and the upgrading of their status.

According to our model, this brought a great inflow from the state to the institutional level through the economic channels. As a result of this promising environment, the status of teachers could no longer be associated with students' social background -a strong determinant of the educational structure and division until that time. Teachers had to search for an adequate platform to base their new claims for status and spacious enough to meet the new economic needs of the country that considered education a means of investment in human capital, promising economic returns (1).

By making resources available to teachers and presenting them with a full-range of options for career advancement, it was considered to be of great significance to both the central government that regarded teachers as the facilitators for the national economic advancement, and also to teachers who interpreted these policies as the central government's good will to help them implement their emerging new professional model. The central government provided the conditions that teachers needed to cultivate what they started to conceptualise as aspects of professionalism.

By late 1970s and in the 1980s the balance started tipping because:

"Conciliatory explanations for economic decline were sought and an educational system that had reduced its emphasis on skills in favour

of personal development became a prime target" (2).

Prime Minister Callaghan's speech in 1976 at Ruskin College was the beginning of the "Great Debate" and of a new era of educational orientation:

"The goals of our education from nursery school through to adult education are clear enough. They are to equip children to be best of their ability for a lively constructive place in society and also fit them to do a job of work. Not one or the other but both. For many years the accent was simply on fitting a so-called inferior group of children with just enough learning to earn their living in the factory...The balance was wrong in the past. We have the responsibility now to see that we do not get it wrong in the other direction. There is no virtue in producing socially well adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the skills..."(3)

It was evident at that time, that the importance of education was to be placed on training and skills and on the service of declining industry. In other words, education was given a new economic orientation.

Although we might detect a similarity in educational policy orientations between the early 1960s and 15 years later, this did not represent a cyclical return. It was rather a qualitative evolution of the ideological rationale that informed the educational provision in those two periods, which, in fact, became very complicated in the last decade. In the former, the period of economic prosperity, the focus was on the development of sufficient skilled manpower that could contribute very effectively to the further growth of the country. Since the late 1970s, education has been confronted with the difficulty of responding to the market's needs.

Thus, the educational policy of the last years can be understood better if it is also seen as a matter of adjustment to the needs of the economy, rather than as a response to fundamental changes that have taken place in the economic structure of the country (4).

The 1980 and the subsequent 1986 and 1988 Education Reform Acts in

England, are the formal statements of the government to use market principles within the education domain. Under these principles, central government has seen itself as the guardian of educational services, and parents as consumers. Consumerism was to be implemented in education by offering an increasing range of choice of state schools and alternatives of state provision to parents and by strengthening their rights (5).

Control over teachers, therefore, becomes an inevitable process through which the central government can guarantee satisfaction of consumers' demands. As a result of these new priorities, teachers act as simple implementers of predefined educational outcomes.

The situation in Greece in the 1960s was rather similar to that in England, in terms of the economic value of education (6). The country's economic development in the 1960s regarded education as a facilitator in this growth. The 1964 educational reform was ideologically structured within the framework developed by the educational changes introduced in liberal parliamentary democracies of the Western Europe at that time, like England, France, West Germany, Sweden and U.S.A.(7), where school was seen as an accelerator to national economic development. With education occupying such a central place in national agenda, teachers became the focus of a policy aimed at a high speed progression of the nation. Nevertheless, they were not given anything that could advance their status, apart from small salary increases. As was examined in chapter two, some attempts in the early 1960s to extend teacher training colleges from two to three years were abandoned later in the coup d'etat years.

The next educational reform introduced in 1977 had more or less similar ideological values as the 1964 reform: modernisation as a means to respond to international pressures for effectiveness of the education system, and democratisation, in terms of the provision of equal opportunities for all. In the national context, problems like the poor performance of students and teachers, educational inequalities, anachronistic basis of the educational

programmes called for reform. Major economic changes taken place at the international scene at that time, like the economic recession of Western European countries, due to the increase of oil prices, the emerging problem of unemployment -especially of young people- and the doubtful contribution of the human capital theory to a nation's advancement, placed the need for a new orientation of the educational policy in these countries. However, they did not have the same impact upon Greece's educational policy, in terms of providing the radical reform that the country's education system needed. Reasons for this lack of response could be searched in the fact that the liberal parties' proposals that could introduce such a reform, were very ambiguous and contradictory (9). In late 1970s, the contribution of education to national economic progress was still considered important:

"The starting point and mainstay of the Greek nation is education. It is on education that our economic progress and the raising of the country's spiritual and cultural standards depends" (8).

Thus, the changes that the 1977 reform introduced were not corrective in the sense that they could eradicate the problems, since they all remained, or even appeared in a more acute form afterwards (10). After the 1981 election, the socialist government set the new economic rationale in education as follows:

"The State has an obligation to ensure... the same reliable and full provision of information about opportunities and conditions of study, about the specific needs of the economy and the opportunities of employment" (11)

The 1982 reform introduced by the Socialist government seemed more ambitious in offering radical solutions. Changes, like the Unified Lyceum -an idea influenced by the comprehensive school in England, *enhetskola* in Sweden and *Gesamtschule* in W.Germany (12), were seen as the best means to abolish the double educational pyramid that perpetuated the elitist and selective character of the Greek educational system.

In the Greek education system, the shifting of priorities resulting from the economic objectives is not as clear as in England, because reforms have not been as radical. The central government's policy has always been the determinant of teachers' conditions of work. Several initiatives in the education field, presented in the last part of the 1980s targeted to alleviate the central character of the education system did not produce the desired results. Economic problems that the country has been facing since the mid 1980s have made central government follow a rather tough line of action, concerning economic aspects of teachers' work, which in turn has produced very strong tensions -in the form of teachers' long strikes- in the relationship between teachers and central government. The latter's determination to ignore teachers' demands -especially the financial ones- and proceed to its own policy by all legal means when is needed, is an obvious example of the extent and strength of its control. In more general terms, the centralism of the education system represents nothing more, but the means by which the central government assess all aspects of education according to its own set of criteria.

This situation can demonstrate that changes in the economic sector ask for an adjustment of the educational policy as this is dictated by the priorities put by the central government. Economic considerations refer to allocation of resources, both human and capital. Because it is the central government that dominates this kind of adjustment at the institutional level, its interests focus on both areas of capital and teaching force allocation, that is income and employment opportunities.

#### *Income-Employment Opportunities*

Salary levels of teaching represent a very important element in the way that both society and teachers estimate its value. They stand as quantitative indicators that influence the individual teacher's sense of value of his/her job and at the same time they can affect society's ideas about teaching. Changes - examined in chapters five and six-, have occurred in salary structures in both countries. This suggests that if we compared salary scales

of Greek teachers with those of English teachers, we might get some insight to arithmetical justifications of the worthiness of teaching in each society. However, such a comparison runs the danger of being invalid, as it would involve groups allocated with totally different tasks (13). The situation in which Greek teachers find themselves cannot be explained by listing the salary differentials from their English counterparts, as their tasks vary in several aspects. The help that such an intra-salary structure comparison could offer us would be only some indications in the way teachers are treated financially by different governments, or by reference to other occupational groups with the same academic qualifications within each country. Thus, it would be very difficult to reach any conclusion whether English or Greek teachers are better paid.

Nevertheless, the common thing in the financial matters of teachers in both countries has been the fact that they consider themselves underpaid for the nature and range of tasks they perform and this has, of course, serious implications upon their morale. Not only is this dissatisfaction of teachers rooted externally, in the disparity between teachers' financial demands and government's willingness to meet these demands, but also internally, within the teaching profession itself. The infrastructure of the teaching body is characterised by such diversity and variety among its different segments, justified on the basis of gender, level and subjects of teaching, that can be exemplified by the existence of the two teachers' unions in Greece and several in England.

Irrespective of the fact that all teachers' organisations have matters of common interest to all teachers -especially when it comes to financial issues-, this actually represents the "apple of discord", the focus of every debate. Each organisation wants to set its own terms in any negotiation with the government, in order to serve its own particularistic interests.

Nevertheless, all teachers in both countries agree that they should be unified if they are to get what they demand, but at the same time, their several professional organisations drive them away from their targets. The

divisions among teachers themselves -in terms of gender, subject and level in England, and level and political affiliation in Greece-, have actually enabled the central government respectively, to apply the principle of "divide and rule", as this facilitates the expansion of management control.

This principle is also manifested by the differential interests and power within the teaching profession; that is despite the vertical differentiation according to level and subject, there is also a horizontal one. This refers to various segments of the teaching body into teacher-practitioners, teacher-administrators, all located in different positions within the education system, with dissimilar interests, duties and perspectives and consequently different kind and amount of control they are entitled to (14). Teachers in administrative posts, like teachers serving in the national, regional and local councils of the central government control dissemination process in Greece, are in a more privileged position because they have control to allocate certain resources (although these are limited), define the problems and needs that teachers within their area are supposed to serve and also control in a way, work performed by teachers.

Thus, despite the new economic considerations of teachers' employers in both countries, the tensions identified among the employees have remained the same. Vertical fragmentation of teaching -more obvious in England, and horizontal -more obvious in Greece, have provided the conditions where the central government could apply its control easily.

The other area where problems related to economic priorities in education in both countries can be identified is employment opportunities offered to teachers.

Changes in the economic value of education have affected not only the ability to create new jobs, but also to accommodate the already qualified manpower. Teachers in both countries are faced with the problems of employment, as this is justified by an increasing percentage of teacher unemployment in both countries and of teacher shortage in specific specialities, related to science and technology -to a greater extent in



England than in Greece.

The reason for this is that the private sector competes with the public sector at the same time, and because of the more appealing conditions of employment of the former -especially in terms of financial rewards-, fewer decide to choose teaching as their career. It is the private sector that offers an expanding range of alternative employment opportunities outside the education field that creates this contradiction (15).

The seriousness of the employment problem -as was examined in chapters five and six- has recently intensified in both countries. In an attempt to fill the spaces in teaching jobs the English government has stated its willingness to employ teachers who do not even meet the minimum teaching standards. In Greece, the central government attempted to reduce teacher shortages in the early 1980s by qualifying students from other fields after a minimum training of six months offered in teacher training colleges. The security of the civil service job associated with teaching was the major attraction to many students coming from schools of law, economics, engineering and social studies. That measure was seen by the government as a temporary solution to fill spaces in teacher vacancies and also to reduce the unemployment rate among other university graduates. However, that short term solution has started to have its effects during the last two years; as the unemployment rate of teachers has reached an alarming level. Graduate teachers of the four-year courses will not be able to get employment earlier than the year 2000.

Furthermore, the inclusion in the teaching of people who are not qualified with the minimum standards can only further lower the public image of teachers, reduce the importance of teachers' expertise and erase the means by which teachers can claim control over knowledge. In addition, recent governmental proposals on a system of examinations that would guarantee employment for teachers do not seem likely to offer any satisfactory solution to the problem and are opposed strongly by teachers.

In both cases, it seems that the problem of teachers' supply has not been approached properly, as the problem (presented in chapters 5 and 6) is still

persistent, either in a sharper form, -increasing percentage of teacher shortage- in England, or in a different form, -high percentage of teacher surplus-, in Greece.

Thus, limited range of job opportunities available to teachers resulted from new economic priorities in allocation of resources in education, and short-term provisions of solutions by the central government, have further restricted teachers' opportunities for employment.

Nevertheless, for comparative purposes it should be noted that employment has a different meaning between the two groups of teachers, depending on the nature of their relationship with the central government. In general terms, employment implies the loss of capacity of the employee to control conditions of work which are set by the employer. Not only is this related to the loss of control over the economic terms of work, but it also involves loss of control over what, how and why is to be done. Employment obstructs the ability of the professionals to exercise their own discretion and makes them just parts of the machinery of production (16).

Whether it is possible to say that the specific type of employer- employee relationship is more restrictive in England or Greece, is rather invalid, as this involves definitions of different teachers' and central government's roles.

What we can ascertain however, at this point, is that the economic aspect of the relationship between teachers and the central government respectively, is influenced considerably by the degree of articulation of the link between the needs of the market and educational provision.

### Socio-political Considerations

To what extent does the central government form its educational policy as a result of several socio-political considerations? Taking the earlier mentioned point further, about the economic dimensions of the relationship

between teachers and the central government, this should also be extended to social and political dimensions.

In very general terms, it can be said that the rapid expansion of knowledge brought about by the technological revolution of the last decade, changes in the nature of knowledge itself, shifts in social values, the changing pattern of family structure, and demographic changes have seriously affected teachers' definitions and conditions of work in a radical way, in both countries.

As a response to these social changes, the school is increasingly required to expand its functions and responsibilities to what may be called "informal" education of children covering areas other than just the cognitive development of children. This expansion of the informal responsibilities of schooling can complicate further teachers' tasks -especially when these are not legally defined in specific terms- to such a degree that teachers can no longer draw a line between what they actually do and what they should do, in terms of their clients' needs or of the legislative requirements:

"The external demands which are made on schools...often conflict with each other...This taken with the different views about the nature and content of education, which already exists within the teaching profession, has led in many schools to a situation in which it is not very clear what the goals of the schools are" (17)

In England -until recently- teachers' functions were rather ambiguously delineated because of the "extra curricular" provisions of the formal educational policy, including for example pastoral duties. Conflict, then is generated between what is considered to be teachers' *de jure* and *de facto* tasks. Because clients' -that is parents'- demands call for an expansion of teachers' responsibilities, this may require certain ways of teaching that might partly satisfy parents, but be at variance with what is considered to be teachers' legislative duties (18).

In Greece, teachers' functions are restricted to the cognitive development of children as stated by the country's constitution. Thus, any social

demands for more inclusiveness of teachers' functions will be very difficult to get response. In fact, the more specifically the tasks of teachers are defined, the harder for them is to accommodate to social demands.

All these tensions generated by the discrepancy between the actual and expected teachers' tasks are sources of teacher burnout, particularly of the newly employed who are most likely to hold unrealistic expectations about what their work should be like (19)

Teachers have specific ideas about their work, how it should be performed, what it should consist of, -notions that are formed partly by their formative experiences and partly by their initial training. Consequently, they tend to believe that their work is of specific value and feel disappointed and burnout in their dealings with the central government that allocates resources on the basis of its own criteria. This creates contradictions between teachers who emphasise quality of educational services and the central government that has the capability to influence educational services through the control of quantity (20).

Social considerations affect not only teachers' relationships with the central government, but also with their clients. This is an area where most of the conflicts are rooted. First of all, it is very hard to distinguish positively the group that is teachers' clients, is it the students, parents or society at large? In England, the legislative Acts in the 1980s, have defined parents as teachers' clients, but since there is no formal definition as such in Greece, we presume that students gather most of the characteristics to be considered teachers' clients, on the basis that they are direct recipients of their services. Nevertheless, in both cases, what parents or students actually want as teachers' clients may be in conflict with what teachers do or they are formally required to do.

To this, it should be added that parents and students are more inclined to question teachers' expertise today than they were in the past. In an attempt to explain this, reference should be made to the unprecedented expansion of

knowledge, and the consequent rising educational level of the public that significantly narrows the gap between teachers' and clients' knowledge level and tends to erode teachers' control over knowledge.

Furthermore, parents, as interest groups, have become more demanding in Greece, in participating in educational matters, while parents in England have achieved more, as this is justified by the legitimization of their rights at the national level. These developments in the educational constituency, in conjunction with the narrowing "knowledge gap" restrict further teachers' expertise, by placing on them requirements of accountability.

As it has already been examined by the application of the model in the two countries, teachers' control over knowledge has been restricted by the central government's control over teacher education institutions. The situation becomes more complicated in both countries, since there has been no agreement on the nature of the knowledge that teachers should get during their training.

"Teacher education is a disputed territory of conflicting tendencies: on one hand there is the tendency to maintain and reproduce the patterns of traditional ways of valuing, thinking and organising; on the other is a tendency to promote innovation and reform...The aims of teacher education are problematic insofar as the society and the role in which they are focused reflect contradictory tendencies" (21)

In England, the debate has been shifted to the value of school-based experience, transferring the focus of teacher training from universities to schools, in order to make teachers more effective in relation to what society needs.

In Greece, attempts to solve the problem and bring a balance to these debates have not led anywhere so far, as still the traditional academic models of knowledge dominate both pre-service and in-service teacher training courses.

However, neither of these attempts has tried to bring a satisfactory balance and thus, approximate teachers' tasks to the current needs of society, as they both represent extremes of any possible solution.

Control over knowledge has also been accompanied by control over employment conditions, so that the central government has also affected teachers' degrees of autonomy.

The key issue for the changes in control over teachers in England, was introduced by the 1980, 1986 and mainly 1988 Education Reform Acts. They expressed the government's decision to establish market force principles to education, by extending the choice of consumers, and to use its legal means to operationalise this. The new political rationale of State education has shifted its focus on the interest groups in the educational arena. By placing the focus upon the rights of consumers, and making provisions for the protection of their rights, the central government has marginalized teachers,

"Schools exist to serve the interests of society as interpreted by those who hold political power and the purse strings and the teachers need to be made to toe the line"(22).

Under this populist notion of educational policy, schools have been subject to increased central government control and opened up to parental scrutiny. Eventually, teachers' aspects of control had to be restricted.

In Greece, the political rationale that informs the functioning of a clientelistic State education has remained dominant, despite the changes of the political parties in power. The electorate majority of the political party in power is the means by which it can implement its policy by trying to satisfy first its followers. Thus, the political rationale identified as the ideological doctrines of the political party in power, shifts when the election bring another party in government. Nevertheless, the Greek paradox is that, despite the changes in the political priorities, the interest groups remain in the same position. The socialist government that ruled the country for 8 years since 1981 introduced many radical educational reforms, informed mainly by its own ideological principles -as these were explained in chapter six-, like reorganisation of the regional and local level

of educational administration, participation of the interest groups in education, incorporation of the teacher colleges into the university sector, and establishment of one main salary scale for all civil servants with the same academic qualifications. All these measures have had serious implications upon organised teachers' position vis-a-vis the central government, affecting their degrees of expertise and autonomy. However, despite the claims of the government for more interest group participation in education policy making, all interest groups -including teachers- remained in marginal positions.

Therefore, the political rationale underlying central government educational policy has a decisive effect upon the degrees of teachers' control over the market of their services. While the economic rationale can place priorities in terms of the allocation of resources, this cannot take place, unless the political consensus is granted.

Thus, the central government's control over allocation of resources, both human and capital depending on its political priorities, has been the determinant of teachers' professionalism, to such a degree that teachers can have no control over the machinery that employs them. Teachers have been pushed to the margins of the educational arena in both countries.

This seems to be a rather deterministic statement that leaves teachers with no room to protect their professionalism. In that case, should we limit our search for teachers' defensive mechanisms not to what teachers can do but what they are actually allowed to do?

Ironically, it seems from the application of the model in the two countries that in an increasingly intervening central government, teachers' resistance policies almost coincide with their compliance policies to central government's initiatives. To what extent we can ascertain that teachers' protective strategies of their professionalism and compliance to central government's control processes are identical, is the task to be dealt with in the following pages.

## **Section II**

### **Common Tendencies in Professionalism Functioning**

As was examined in chapter four, the present model can try to illuminate the nature of the broad contextual factors determining its functioning. Political, economic and social factors are all intertwined in a way that determine the allocation of resources, while the political priorities play the most important role in defining the objectives and legitimising the ways to achieve them.

The discussion mentioned in the earlier section suggests also, that despite the different context and nature of the economic and socio-political considerations affecting the form of the central government education policy, a rather common pattern can be observed. Economic considerations are responsible for placing resource priorities, whilst the political considerations informed also by social needs, account for the definition of resource allocation and operationalisation of the educational means to achieve its defining objectives.

Application of the model in the two countries also supports the view, that no matter that professionalism is something that teachers have long time aspired to and no matter how and what teachers do, they have been unsuccessful in their efforts. Their continuing obsession with that ideology may in fact be the reason for their failure to achieve it.

How can this be explained in terms of the evolved second phase of the model?

Since the mid 1970s in England and almost a decade later in Greece, a series of initiatives from the central government in education resulted from its political and ideological strength, the economic recession and the loss of public trust in education, all have involved a growing visible control over teachers' working conditions and an erosion of their autonomy and expertise. The impact of the shifting of political priorities upon teaching is



described by Jones as follows:

".. Governments no longer think that the teaching force can be relied upon to adjust itself to official perceptions of educational need...The teaching force must not only contract. Just as important it must be subject to increased control both of its educational work and its conditions of service" (23)

The actual impact of all these changes on teachers' professionalism can be appreciated by analysing the second phase of the model.

Despite the considerable differences observed in the mode through which the control function is expressed in the two countries there are still some similarities in the patterns of control actually taking place. These patterns express the government's determination for new routes of policy-making to be constructed that bypass channels of influence of teachers' organization. Thus, control over pre-service and in-service training of teachers has included quantitative as well as qualitative aspects in both countries, restricting the means by which teachers can claim control over knowledge. The whole conception of career in teaching has been radically altered by changes that have been taken place in conditions of service and pay. Process of appointment and salary structures have become more centrally defined in England, moving closer to the Greek pattern, as the central government seeks to ensure that the teaching staff is kept at a cost-effective minimum.

Against these changes, teachers' efforts to protect the ideological aspects of their professionalism has not produced the anticipated results, in terms of degrees of autonomy and expertise claimed by their organisations. The ideological level, constructed on the assumption that it reflects teachers' ability to influence educational policy, is not operational within the current context.

With regard to the system functioning, as was also explained in chapter four, the inability of the system to meet the existing or anticipated demands

of its members, is related to stressful disturbances, that is the appearance of certain situations threatening to prevent the system from functioning. Whether or not this situation is extended to the degree of destroying the system will depend on the ability of its members to deal with the conditions creating the stress (24). Since teachers' capacity has dropped below the critical point in the sense that is no longer minimally effective to maintain the linkage between the ideological and state level, the entire system is disturbed.

What are teachers' reactions to this unstable situation? And since the system is disturbed, can it become equilibrated? If not, does this mean that professionalism can no longer be operational?

Examining teachers' reactions as an organised body to central government's initiatives -chapter five and six- it was found that they do not receive this passively and thus, stability cannot be established mechanically. This means, that teachers need not only to alleviate existing stress, but also to intervene constructively in several directions so as to develop strategies that will enable them cope with the stress. This implies that they have options and within the range of these options they will be able to manipulate the conditions. Since the selection of alternatives from the repertoire of responses is not given, but rather taken for granted within the framework of their organisational rights, their defence strategies vary according to specific circumstances in the two countries. This is a very important aspect of their professional autonomy, a precondition of any means of resistance:

"The dynamic for the managerial search for control strategies is held to be the possibility of worker resistance" (25).

Actually, the possibility of resistance to imposed control initiatives provided by teachers' organisations makes the latter very decisive factor in maintaining or disturbing the stability of the whole system. Certain aspects of collective action and attitudes, like strikes, are manifestations of teachers' resistance and a signal to bring attention of the central

government to the fact that teachers' conditions of work are not acceptable and therefore, they have to be negotiated again.

This demonstration of further destabilisation is a way of building new channels through which teachers can act upon the system, since the regular ones through their ideological level are blocked. However, such strategy means internal unity of the teaching force, which is non existent, because of its fragmentation, both ideological and structural.

If we add to this the occupational characteristics of teaching, identified at the formative level, that is gender, age and social class, the fragmentation takes further dimensions. The fact that the current teaching force in both countries is dominated by middle-age, women, and low-social class origin teachers -factors that have been historically prevailing in teaching, especially the last two-, may not account directly for collective strategies of teachers, but it has definitely affected in historical terms organised teachers' position vis-a-vis the central government.

Gender is an issue that has been exploited by the central government and consequently weakened teachers' position. In historical terms in England, antagonism between male and female teachers generated by the unequal terms of pay and promotion opportunities gradually led to fragmentation in the organisation of the teaching body that has weakened teachers' negotiating and bargaining power. It has also permitted the central government policy to support male teachers' aspirations for better positions in the occupational scale and encourage the feminisation of certain aspects of teaching. In Greece, the gender factor has not affected teaching in the same way as in England -at least in primary schooling-, because of governmental intervention.

In terms of the age dynamic, the mid-life transition that the majority of Greek and English teachers go through, manifested in their commitment to their work, may be an indicator of the degree of professional control organised teachers expect to acquire. In addition, the aging of teaching in

both countries, may explain the discrepancy in teachers' past shaped and currently experienced notions of professionalism.

Social class also refers to the divisions of status within teaching. Variations in grammar, modern and comprehensive school teachers in England and primary and secondary school teachers in Greece have persisted throughout the years, despite the different reforms aimed at either the amalgamation of them -comprehensive system in England-, or the equivalence of academic qualifications -incorporation of primary school teacher training establishments at the university level-, in Greece.

Formative level factors have influenced teachers' own definitions of professionalism. What was considered to be based on subject-expertise and degrees of occupational autonomy in both countries until recently has been shifted to a very restricted meaning of professionalism. Regulated autonomy and accountability, (although these refer to different contextual settings) represent the actual degrees of teachers' control.

Some contradictory elements rooted in the position of teaching have a further diminishing effect on the concept. These can be identified in terms of the State-employee and civil servant position of the English and Greek teacher respectively, which has provided the background in which State education can shape its control. Loyalty to the service has made teachers' professionalism more vulnerable to exploitation. In addition, teachers' demands for expertise and autonomy as a means of status recognition has undermined the trust in them of both parents and students, and further weakened organised teachers' positions.

By rebalancing its focus of interest among the educational constituents in England, and strengthening of its own position in Greece, the central government appears to have marginalised teachers. Such marginalisation may lead to further disturbances and eventually destabilise the model. In practical terms, this may have unprecedented implications not only upon teachers, but upon the whole society (26).

At the same time, the way in which teachers have sought to protect and advance the ideological aspects of their professionalism, especially during the last two decades, by relying on them as a source of legitimation for their collective actions, has obstructed their understanding about the nature of their changing work situation and the underlying structural conflicts that they eventually, have to face.

Therefore, if professionalism is to survive, this extreme behaviour of both participants in the relationship manifested in phase II of the model, has to be modified. This calls for a mutual understanding and respect of each other's obligations and rights.

### **Section III**

#### **Implications for the European Integration**

To what extent have the common tendencies, presented earlier in the two European countries, not only a national, but an international character as well? How are general questions about stability and change in European education systems linked with specific questions about new challenges for teachers and their work?

These two questions will be the starting point for a brief exploration into the current context of teachers' work conditions within the European Community. The twelve member States of the European Community have made different choices in the organisation of their education systems, exemplified at the institutional level with a variety of structures in the provision of pre-service and in-service conditions of teachers. This is a very important issue at the supranational level, since each Member State has emphasised different aspects in education, reflecting its cultural identity.

"The affirmation that different cultures exist in one place at the same time, implies an acknowledgement that these cultures have elements

that are clearly differentiable from one another and that they do not differ merely in nuances. To determine that a culture differs from another in a certain sense it is first necessary to discover the existence of characteristic cultural elements of major importance. These are usually ethnic qualities, language, religion and history".(27).

Despite all these differences identified on the basis of the national identity, it is also clear that,

"almost all European countries show to some extent real cultural pluralism"(28)

Recent political, economic and social pressures present in all Member States have placed their concern about education on the issue of quality (29), in an attempt to solve this problem in a way influenced by each other's experience. This commonly recognised educational priority has been the outcome of a manifest public discontent with the performance of teachers, who often seem insufficiently motivated to meet the increasingly demanding tasks required by their profession. In this context, and despite the variations in the scope and nature of the initiatives taken at the institutional level, there has been growing a common awareness of the importance of the teaching force, an awareness that is becoming a recognised need in all Member States.

Furthermore, political changes in the labour market (new methods of technology, economic recession), in society (new family structure, demographic decline), and in political domain (shifts in the political rationale), have an impact on the education system and on teachers at the supranational level. This was stated by the representative of the World Confederation of the Teaching Profession as follows:

"...It is indeed regrettable that the current offensive of certain governments, and of certain self-serving pressure groups, against the status of teachers, and the distrust which that offensive so rightly inspires, are creating in some of our countries an insuperable obstacle against the kind of inquiry that is urgently needed into the

role of the teacher, the nature of the job of teaching, and the competences and qualifications around which the structure of the profession should be created. When one cannot trust, one cannot join in consultation" (30)

As a result of the new challenges on education and inevitably on teachers, various perspectives about the roles and functions of teachers are given new impetus.

In the OECD Rome Conference in 1986, the concern about the quality of education in the different Member States, placed the focus upon the conditions of teachers' work and education:

"In the current debate in member countries about quality of education and necessity for raising standards, there is a constant refrain, namely, that effective learning very largely depends upon effective teaching. In some countries it is feared that the very professional competence of newcomers to the profession may have declined over the past twenty years or so. In other countries, there is no evidence that the value of teachers' initial qualifications has fallen, but there is concern that the current state of knowledge, attitudes and of pedagogical methods used by many practising teachers are out of tune with the actual learning needs of children and young people" (31)

Criticisms of education, even if they are incorrectly founded, can lead to very acute demands on education at a time when there are few or no available resources to satisfy them. Thus, by emphasising the role that education can play to resolve the tenuous situation through the best possible use of the available human resources, it is hoped that European Community's objectives\*, can be preserved, consolidated and advanced.

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\*The European Community objectives were stated by the Resolution of 9th February 1976: equality of opportunity, access to all forms of education throughout the Community, better understanding of different European education systems, improvement of foreign language teaching, collection of basic documentary information and statistics and the provision of education and training for children of migrant workers.

This becomes imperative today, as the current situation does not relate to the requirements of the strengthening of nationhood, but rather of European citizenship. In an integrated Europe with a free labour market from 1992 onwards, transferability and compatibility of skills pose new requirements on the educational systems of the Member States. Within the Community, similarities rather than differences are sought, so that the concept of nationalism will be expanded to Europeanism. Diversity and separate national identity can be overcome and exchanged for educational systems that are mutually supportive and strengthening.

Nevertheless, to what extent this common educational awareness in terms of the importance of the teaching force in Member States can shift the political rationale in similar directions is questionable at this point. However, we can try to illuminate the following two points:

How do these current features of the idea of the Unified Market of 1992 relate to the identified pattern of State control and teachers' response in two of the Member States? Is this a sign of possible convergence or divergence to a European education policy?

The creation of a common market in Europe in 1992 will remove the trade barriers across the national frontiers. As a consequence, mobility and compatibility of migrant workers -including teachers- will raise at a pan-European level:

"Teachers will also become migrant workers, so that some national education systems will have large numbers of foreign teachers. Indeed, this movement may begin before 1992 since a directive of the Council of the European Community of 1988 requires that professional qualifications, including teaching, are mutually recognised and that civil servant status is no longer used to exclude teaching from the terms of the Treaty of Rome"(32)

Thus, a "new type of teacher" is emerging, who

"...hitherto relatively rare within the context of nation-state



education systems, will with little doubt become more numerous. His or her career prospects will be bounded not by regions or countries so much as by different countries"(33)

Nevertheless, to what extent all these developments imply harmonisation of European Community education policy is a debatable issue. The 1974 Resolution of the Council of Ministers established the basis of European Community education policy on the fundamental principle of cooperation:

"Cooperation must make allowances for the traditions of each country and the diversity of their respective educational policies and systems"(34)

Sixteen years later, this national diversity is still a very important factor influencing any developments of European Community education policy that may take place under the form either of a United Europe at the supra-national level or of the confederation of Europe at the federal level. There are two complementary kind of elements in the notion of Integrated Europe. What is important is that any attempts aimed at the strengthening of the European identity of the people of Europe at the supra-national level, should take into consideration at the same time, each Member State's concern about the preservation of its cultural characteristics at the national level.

It can be said that the application of the model in the context provided by two Member States has revealed certain aspects that are important elements at both the supranational and the national level. Firstly, the strengthening of central government control in education and the shifting of power from local to central level -the tendency observed in the English context, has moved England closer to a European countries:

"Britain is moving closer to a form of centralised control over the curriculum which would bring it into line with some of its European neighbours" (35).

As a result, this can also help bring Member States to a better position to

set standards across European Community (36). The central government control functioning upon teachers' institutional level is an important step forward towards the equivalence of qualifications and free movement of teachers across national borders.

Secondly, to what extent can we say that centralisation of decision-making and incorporation of teachers in the public service force -the tendency observed in the Greek context-, will be the prevailing norm of a unified education system in Europe? This is really questionable, because of the problems identified at the national level -mainly related to the special nature of the State education. Any attempt at harmonisation of the teaching body at the supranational level has to be faced with the meaning of the national identity of the teaching force, as it is embodied in each political, economic and social context of each Member State, like the civil service status, salary scales and definitions of teachers' tasks.

It may be that the two extreme examples in Europe used in this study, in terms of geographical location, educational structure and policy and political rationale, can help us foresee the emergence of a new model of teachers' occupational standing in Europe, where a central government within the framework of freedom of choice for education provision will be the guardian of consumers' rights and services' standards (English setting), while teachers in order to serve the needs of the market, demands of consumers and priorities of the government will need to function in an employer-employee relation under a public service contract (Greek setting).

### Conclusion

Concluding this section, it can be said that the systematic study of the changing nature of the external forces that influence the functioning of professionalism in the aspects of the occupational services of teaching is the

broad framework into which teachers should interpret the ideological aspects of their professionalism. The common pattern of expansion of central government control has considerably limited teachers' options for protecting and advancing their ideological aspects of professionalism. The shift of their ideological level to regulated autonomy and accountability has resulted in the disturbance of the system represented by the militant behaviour of the teachers. The discrepancy between the expected and the actual degrees of teachers' professional control indicate that professionalism should not be a concept with exclusive elements that obstruct teachers from adopting a broader view of the context within which they perform their services. Teachers form an important group in the educational arena, but not the centre of it.

Within a pluralist State functioning in a changing economic and socio-political environment, it is normal that other interest groups are equally or even more important, as this is defined by the central government priorities.

Insights into the macro-level, of the European Community and micro-level, of the Member States should be complemented so that, in view of the wide range of these environmental influences the progress towards a new ideology of teacher professionalism must be interpreted within the context of present pluralistic societies.

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSIONS

The problem of conceptualisation of professionalism that this thesis addresses becomes further complicated by the nature of professionalism itself. Professionalism is a very complicated concept and carries special meaning depending on the context within which it is practised:

"It is something which classroom teachers aspire to, but feel they have not fully secured; it is something which conflates the interests of clients and those of members; it is something that can be exploited by those who exercise authority over classroom teachers" (1).

The review of the literature of professionalism in sociology has provided the basis for a synthesis which can be referred to as the socio-historical conceptual framework of professionalism. There has been considerable agreement in aspects and elements of professionalism, despite the variations of definitions, and when these are all combined they can give some insight into its nature.

It should be noted that the designation of the conception of professionalism in the literature, derived mainly from the several typologies referring to ideal types, is constructed from the general and traditionally held views of characteristics of the professions.

The special nature of teaching requires a more dynamic view of the term professionalism, which does not describe the process or elements per se, but it is rather a theoretical representation of the actual situation of the practice of teaching in the two countries, derived by a critique of the literature and observation of its current practical aspects. Within this framework reference to teachers has been made as professionals, suggesting that teaching as a profession has a peculiar nature, subject to various forms of control that has essentially reflected the power structures within which it is practised.

Viewed in this light, the ambiguous nature of professionalism can be clarified by revealing its potential as a form of teachers' occupational control. The operational definition of professionalism as a means of occupational control has been the tool for carrying out the analysis of the current features of professionalism in teaching that influence its functioning.

However, it can be argued that professionalism as a form of control is very much influenced by the historical dimension -especially within the English context- where its origins are rooted, and as such, some of its traditional features are residual and represent significant aspects of its present state, i.e. autonomy and expertise. On the other hand, and by the same token, professionalism in Greece has no past and, as a result, it exhibits very different forms of organisation and practice.

Historically, professionalism in England in its traditional form was related to the status that each occupation could achieve by its own means, by securing membership -firstly into the guilds and later into the associations-, training and employment of its members.

The concept did not carry the same meaning in Greece, where the central government had the responsibility for providing the institutional forms for occupational practice. Training and employment were the means by which the central government offered security to and gained loyalty from the professionals. Status was given on the basis of attending elitist establishments, such as universities, that could guarantee entry to professional class (2).

However, during the last decade in England and Greece the concept of professionalism has been developed in a way that deviates from the historical one, in the sense that what was considered professionalism by the "mainliners" before,

"no longer carries the humanitarian implications of service, nor the scientific prerogative of autonomy..."(3)



As such, professionalism is not a constant, especially when it is examined as a means of twofold occupational control: Control over monopoly of knowledge -associated with teachers' expertise- and over conditions of the market of professional services -associated with autonomy.

From this standpoint, and given the position of teachers in England and Greece which has always been in close relation to the central government, their professional control has to be managed. Management control exercised by the central government over knowledge and the market of their services, contradicts with teachers' professional control. Thus, the actual level of expertise and autonomy that teachers enjoy in the two countries is the outcome of the tensions between the two forms of control. In analysing these tensions, the construction of a model seems imperative in the present study. By considering professionalism as a system, the different aspects of teaching over which control is exercised and contested, by both the central government and teachers, and the ways in which they are all linked to make professionalism functioning, become identifiable.

Professionalism is related to various aspects identified at four levels: the state, the formative, the institutional, and the ideological level. They are all linked by the formal processes of control, the latter taken in its legitimate form. Because legitimate control can only be provided by the central government in education which has the legal means to do that, our initial assumption of the possible tensions between management and professional control is justified on the basis of the discrepancy between the actual and expected degrees of professionalism.

The significance of the interpretation of the application of the model in two national settings lies not in the identification process of the different aspects, as they are described at the four levels of the model, but rather in the implication of their interrelated nature upon the functioning of the

system. The implication, pertinent to this analysis is the shift of the ideological aspects of professionalism. This is the *output* of the system functioning, as the central government has for the last decade been increasingly gaining control over teachers' workplace, at the expense of teachers' degrees of professional control. The educational measures introduced in the 1980s, under the legal and constitutional provisions in both countries have strengthened central government's position, by providing the legitimisation basis to its policy machinery, while at the same time, they have weakened the accessibility to power of other interest groups, and most of all teachers.

This legitimisation of central government's control, a growing recognition in England, and more firmly currently established in Greece, has made clear who ultimately has the whip hand and controls the purse strings. Control over allocation of resources has been the means by which the central government has strengthened its position. This takes place simultaneously as organised teachers realise the increasing limits of their participatory rights which have come to be equated with degrees of regulated autonomy and accountability. Within this contextual framework, conceptualisation of professionalism takes the form of the outcome of the tensions between the management and professional control, over knowledge and conditions of work.

In comparing the effects of the expansion of management control over teaching, in two case studies, the emphasis has been placed on the extent to which professionalism as a form of colleague control of occupational practice has remained dominant. Does increasing management control and the consequent reducing professional control imply that professionalism will eventually be phased out? In that case, the problem of evaluating the current and future meaning of professionalism shifts to the extent that the phase II of the model represents the new form of professionalism functioning.

In seeking an answer, reference should be made to the assumptions on which the model functions. That is, teachers' organisations can influence management control through negotiation processes with the central government at all levels. The evolved model has been seeking to explain organised teachers' behaviour within a pluralist perspective. The development of the four-dimensional framework that can demonstrate diagrammatically the aspects of professionalism is the means by which this investigation has been pursued. Thus, the initial assumption on which phase I of the model was based did not work out in its application in England and Greece and pointed out the need for the development of phase II of the model, so that the system could cope with the tensions resulted from the central government's recent initiatives.

In this frame of reference, the response pattern of teachers observed in the two countries, seems to be rather similar. Does this then mean that substantial structural convergence has taken place between these two? To a certain degree this is undoubtedly the case. Analysis of the application of the model in terms of teachers' response, places their pattern closer to the anticipated, rather than the actual form of professionalism, despite that the current context makes teaching subject to new contextual factors. Despite the different structural influences on teacher-central government interaction in each country, the problem observed in both of them is rather similar in essence and only different in degrees of intensity and variety of symptoms. Does this mean that eventually these contexts will condition close patterns of professionalism and produce rather similar systemic modifications?

Close supervision of the teaching workforce in an under-resourced service has eliminated the possibility of advancing professionalism and has provoked militant reaction from teachers in both countries. The divisions of status among teachers have been successfully exploited by the central government resulting in the creation of certain measures that permit a

strategy of divide and rule. The costs in terms of a demoralised and alienated teaching workforce are high. With regard to the last point, teachers need to reconsider the line of their collective action on the basis of the new context in which their job takes place. The traditional form of professionalism tends to distance teachers from reality by being associated to elitist elements and unattainable targets:

"is an ideal to which individuals and occupational groups aspire that distinguishes them from other workers. However, this aspiration obscures actual job functions, work practices and social relations"(4).

Nevertheless, to stress convergence is to emphasise the growth of radical reforms, since the initial assumption on which the choice of the two case studies was based on was their distinctive educational character. Teachers' efforts to explore possibilities of participation has involved a painful process for the teaching body and generated certain tensions in both countries of a different nature. In England, this process has taken place through attempts of the central government to devise a more elaborate participatory machinery able to meet the demands of specific groups that compose parts of the educational constituency -that is parents-, but in a way that this secures its own purposes and definitions of conditions of the teaching workplace.

In Greece, this process has evolved through a more restricted educational constituency, through bureaucratic procedures and financial constraints. The central government has secured the functioning of the control machinery by distancing itself from the educational constituency. The structural conditions for a continuation of the "stop and go" pattern of changes in State education have remained largely unaltered and will remain so, unless political priorities manifest the willingness to reduce strong control over teaching.

Does this then, mean that these two systems will continue to provide different patterns of State education and thus condition different kinds of

*throughputs* ? The lasting differences between the two at the ideological level, which still allow further shifting of the ideological aspects of professionalism indicate that the present system of functioning is not yet over. In other words, the contextual factors of professionalism continue to act and interact in a quite distinctive way.

What is then surprising, is not that teachers are losing the control over their conditions of work, but rather the ways through which the central government is gaining it. That, as was explained within the outline of the general characteristics of the State education in the two countries in terms of the pluralistic perspective, reveals that the way teaching relates to central government -a State-employee and civil servant type of relationship in England and Greece respectively- generates certain tensions that affect critically and differently its functioning. The structure of limited pluralism in terms of degrees of participation of the educational constituency, centralisation of control and strategies of politicization of education, are evident in both countries -though in a unique way in each case-, in the late 1980s.

Consequently, the significant point that could draw the attention of the concluding section is not which group among State education components is succeeding in the struggle for control, but whether it is possible for the competing interests involved to be reconciled or consolidated.

In terms of the group of organised teachers, their interests and responses to central government's policy have varied in different historical circumstances and places. Sometimes teachers tried to get closer to what was traditionally held to be considered "professional behaviour", while other times they moved closer to struggles in conjunction with the workers' movements, and professionalism became synonymous to unionism.

The former was the case in England in the 1960s and early 1970s when the professional model of teachers was developed by a set of factors that saw

education as a means for the economic and social advance of the country. On the contrary, since mid 1970s, there has been a revision of the political, social and economic considerations in education. Not only has the central government assumed more responsibility over control of education, but also teachers' response to educational policies has changed to more militant forms of action. Teachers' unrest manifested in the form of strikes in the late 1970s distanced English teachers from that model and placed them closer to the one exhibited by Greek teachers, due also to the rearrangement of the allocation of resources. Stricter use of the allocation of resources has been the yardstick by which the central government in both countries has regulated the conditions of teachers service in practical terms and has placed the focus of their claims on financial issues. Despite teachers' determination to satisfy them, even when there was some improvement in their salaries that was soon wiped out by inflation. Nevertheless, lack of militant strike activity or of constant union activity should not be taken as a sign of teachers' degree of collective effectiveness.

Reasons for the ineffectiveness of teachers' collective action may be rooted in the ambivalent and varied position of the teaching body itself, which is an heterogeneous group differentiated also by the formative level factors. Gender, Age and Class relations all intrude to obstruct the creation of common interests and policy basis. In addition, the ways that politics in education have taken place, tend to place the educational constituency groups often against each other, despite the fact that there are not significant and justified variations in their demands. Thus, when educational policy is put into practice by the central government, the incompatible nature of the interests of the educational constituency groups is revealed.

What is important between the two groups of teachers is not the strategies employed in order to satisfy their demands, nor the content of the demands themselves, but rather the context within which these demands

are shaped. It is the context influenced by the political, economic and social conditions of each country and shaped by the central government's political priorities, that can illuminate where the gravity of teachers-central government relationship lies on.

Since the central government is the major employer of teachers, its position vis-a-vis the teachers is influenced by certain tensions engendered in the employer-employee kind of relationship. Consequently, continuities and changes in the conditions that provide the background for State education policy affect the form of this relationship and the pattern of control over teaching accordingly, and they might also call for radical shifts in the ideology that informs State education policy. The shift to a new form of populist politics, emphasising the importance of national educational guidelines in England, and to more centralism, -despite the recognised need by both the central government and groups of the educational constituency- for more decentralisation of educational control in Greece, has rearranged the distribution of control -in more radical way in England- at the State education level. Interestingly enough, these changes have made more differences to the roles which State education accords to teachers in England than in Greece: Teachers can be efficient to the extent they can contribute to nationally defined educational objectives. In this sense, English teachers are moving closer to the pattern of control exercised over their Greek counterparts.

Could then, this behaviour of organised teachers and of the central government be a sign of the irreconcilability of the interests between the two? How can professionalism survive within this new context? To these questions, the significance of the second phase of the model can give an insight, by revealing the urgency for a new equilibrating situation for professionalism.

Professionalism, as described in this analysis, refers to ideological aspects

of teaching, that constitute the very essence of it. Its ideological use by teachers has restricted their efforts to advance their occupational control, and thus, it can be said that teachers have been, in a way, disillusioned by using it in an-out-of-context manner. Application of the model in two national settings has revealed that teachers' views are becoming outphased, giving gradually way to "rational" meanings of control. Clearly, there has been a move towards a cycle of conflicting interests in the relationship between teachers and the central government, in which the emphasis is being placed on contractual obligations of the teaching body. Teachers seem tightly controlled and unable to articulate or implement their own demands.

Do then, current developments in teaching suggest the abandonment of professionalism as a form of control of the teaching force? Professionalism as an ideology is deeply rooted in teaching, associated with teachers' concerted actions and related to forms of teachers' organisations. Its importance, as it springs from this study, can be justified on the following grounds: The ideological aspects of professionalism can devalue and challenge the management control and at the same time consolidate and provide the basis for the legitimation of professional control.

What is possible, then, is to suggest ways in which professionalism can be effective.

At this point, a twofold problem can be identified. Does acceptance and incorporation of this new type of professionalism imply teachers' compliance or adjustment to new conditions imposed by the changing environment of teaching? Certainly, it does not imply compliance, since this would mean teachers' loss of resistance, or lack of alternatives. And teachers do have alternatives. We will call it then, adjustment, in the sense that professionalism should abandon the exclusivity of characteristics that obstructs teachers from adopting a broader view of the context in which they perform their services. Such a behaviour would involve



reconceptualisation and redefinition of professionalism, within the framework of the pluralist State, in which various interest groups become more or less important, depending on the political priorities of the central government. It also means that the central government does not intend to exercise a total control over teachers, as this would imply the loss of importance of the teaching profession. As was examined in the earlier chapters, the central government in both countries has made movements towards the advancement of teaching, the most important of which is the incorporation of the teacher training establishments in the university sector. We should not lose sight of these initiatives that place considerable degrees of importance upon the social value of the teaching body.

Nevertheless, this behaviour of the central government inculcates a rather problematic notion for teachers. In a way it incorporates them into State service and makes them loyal to that service, but at the same time it equips them with the means to promote their position in a way that might challenge State forms of control.

All these considerations imply that the fight over professionalism does not always end in favour of the central government. The central government might be the winner over the issue of pay, for example in both countries, but not over the issue of appraisal. There have been clear attempts by the former to reduce professional control but it cannot entirely ignore teachers' professional ethos, so that teachers should be treated as professionals able to make their own decisions. Teachers' work cannot be monitored by governmental processes in every aspect and detail and teachers have undoubtedly the potential to modify the effects of increased management control. In other words, certain form of autonomy -though restricted- will always be the persistent ideological aspect of professionalism.

This may help teachers understand that their marginalisation is not something to revolt about, nor to ignore, but an indicator that their

strategies should become more realistic. The significance of teachers professionalism needs to be related to the description of the actual work conditions rather than its ideological content. Teachers can gain from the functional value of professionalism, if they direct their strategies towards ways operating within the framework of inclusiveness. This would involve more regard for the formal aspects of cooperation within the teaching body itself, as well as between the other groups of the educational constituency.

Thus, what is needed is teachers' *inclusive adaptability*, incorporated in teachers' actions, as an organised group, in order to make professionalism functional, within a changing contextual framework. Such a strategy would call for the removal of the blanket of persisting and sterile notions about "a golden age" of teachers' professionalism, and attention paid to the actual use of the term and context in which it is used.

However, many of the issues raised in this thesis are controversial, in the sense that many of the arguments can be disputed by teachers as well as by policy-makers. It is advocated that professionalism in teaching is a very important issue, and it will remain as such for the foreseeable future. It is, thus, expected that it can not be resolved without controversy or conflict. Control over teaching, as has been analysed in this study, is not only a matter of interest to organised teachers, but it is also a political problem. It is difficult to envisage what political forms could prevent teachers and the central government from opposing sides in the two societies, -the former still divided by class, gender and age relations. However, this should not be an inhibiting factor in the search for an appropriate political form that could reconcile the interests of teachers and the central government. As a political problem, it will not be solved until the political will calls for radical reforms in teaching that can affect the macro-level within national, as well as within international boundaries. Internationalisation of the culture of teachers within the European

Community, as a trend to respond to the same educational issues and address similar problems, might also be helpful, in terms of widening the range of possible solutions, although this is a very optimistic view, given the established structure of different national systems and vested interests related to their maintenance. However, into this context and with some optimism, it is expected that teaching will respond positively to future challenges and become a creative innovative force. This would require change in the behaviour of the central government and the incorporation of the importance of teaching within its interests. It might sound an exaggeration, but there is some truth in Erasmus's words of 450 years ago.

"It is a duty incumbent on statesmen and churchmen alike to provide that there be a due supply of men qualified to educate the youth of the nation. It is a public obligation in no way inferior, say, to the ordering of the army"(5).

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TABLES

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

## TABLE 1

### The Growth of Training Colleges

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales,  
1907-8,p.245-407

TABLE 2

TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS 1961-62

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education; Establishments for the Training of Teachers in England and Wales. Recognized by the Minister for the Academic Year 1961-62. London: HMSO, 1960. p.6-31.

### TABLE 3

#### MEMBERSHIP OF TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Pietrasik, R. (1989), p. 112



**TABLE 4**

**THE CHANGING DISTRIBUTION OF SERVING TEACHERS  
BETWEEN ASSOCIATIONS**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Coates, R.D.(1972),p.4

**TABLE 5**

**MEMBERSHIP OF THE BURNHAM COMMITTEE**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



**TEACHERS' PANEL**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source:Pietrasik,R.(1989),p.112

**Table 6**

DOE and OLME membership in selected years

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source:OLME,DOE,1989

**Table 7:** Changing roles in the structure of education in  
England,1944-88

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Dale,R.(1989),p.115

**Table 8**

Teachers in public elementary schools, with sex ratios

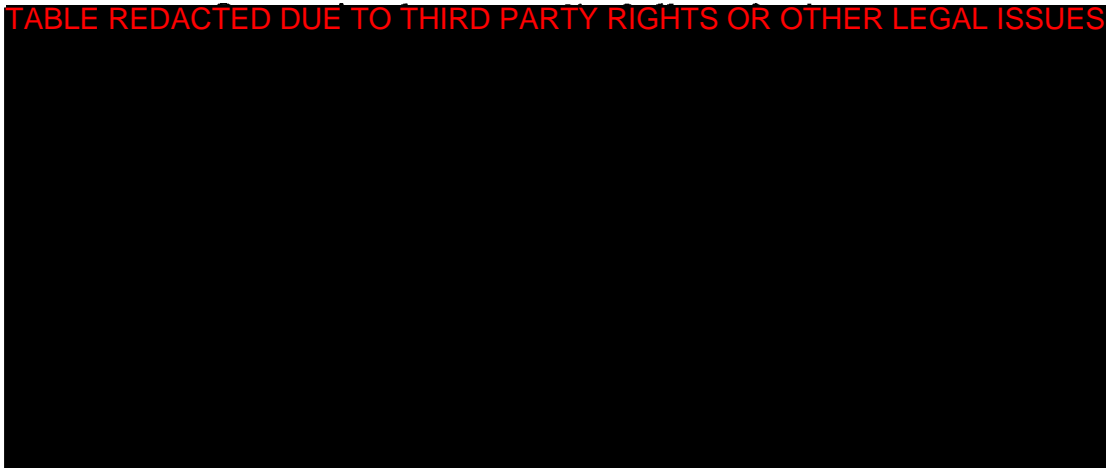
TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Bergen, B. (1982), p. 4-5

**Table 9** Proportion of female members and proportion of all professional workers of selected professional occupations in Great Britain.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Legatt, T. (1970),p.170

**Table 10**

Percentage of female practitioners in selected professional occupations in Great Britain

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

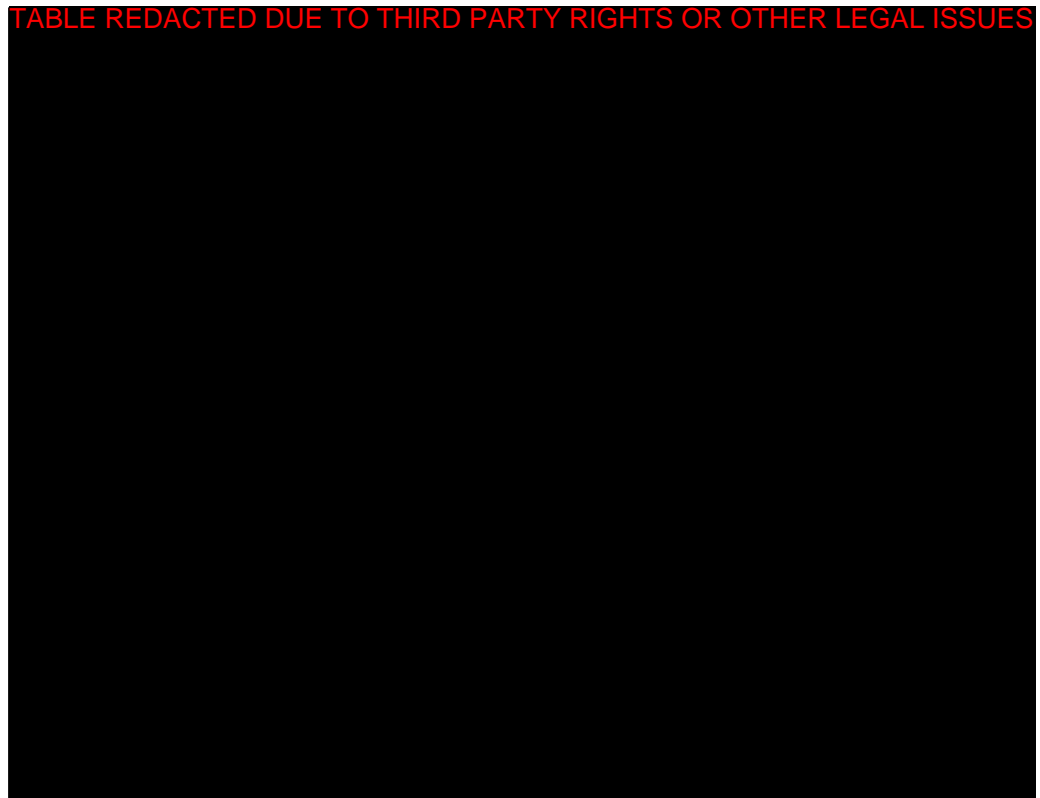


Source: Legatt, T. (1970),p.172

**Table 11**

Distribution of scale posts in 1985 by sex

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source DES: 1985 Table B129

**Table 12**

Proportion of men and women teachers of lower class and lower middle class origin in Grant-earning schools in England and Wales

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Floud,J. and Scott,W.,in Legatt, T (1970),p.173



**Table 13a**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

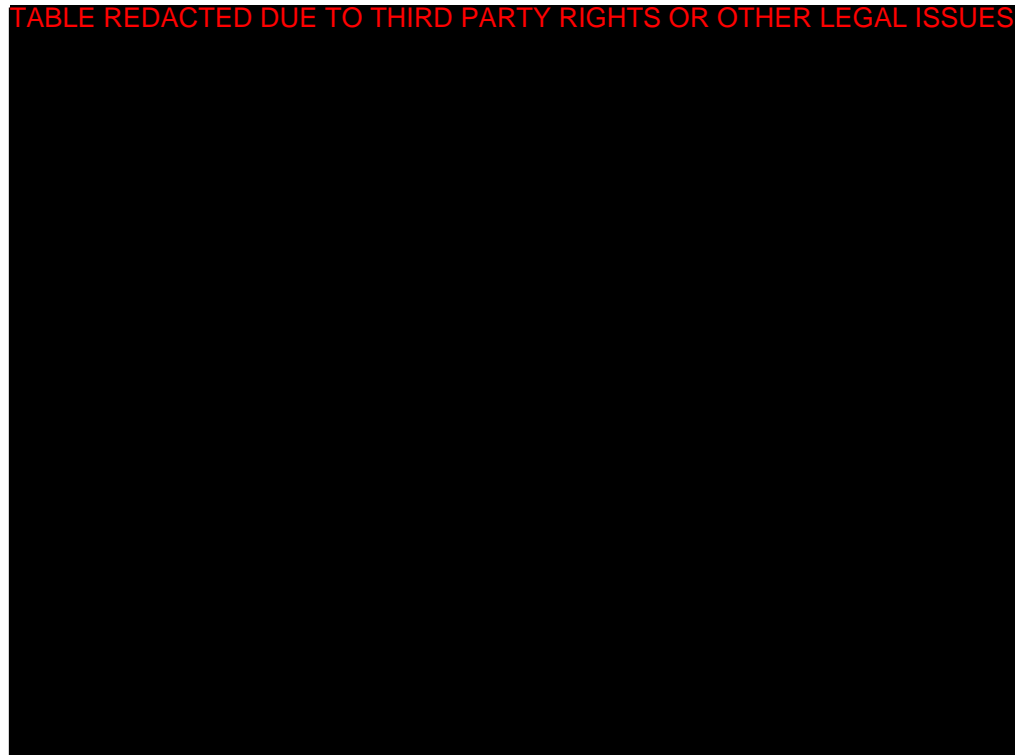


Source: DES: Second Report of the Interim Advisory Committee  
on School Teachers' Pay and Conditions, 10 February 1989

**Table 14a**

The salary scale of English teachers

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

A large black rectangular box redacting the content of Table 14a.

**Table 14b**

Incentive allowances

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

A large black rectangular box redacting the content of Table 14b.

Source: NUT,1987a.

### Table 15a

Number of teacher involvement in INSET

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



### Table 15b

Teachers attending non-award-bearing short courses

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source:Mattock,G.(1989)p.191

**Table 16a**

Number of first time appointed primary school teachers

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education ,1989

**Table 16b**

Number of first time appointed secondary school teachers

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education, 1989

**Table 17**

Monthly income of teachers in comparison with other occupational groups with the same typical qualifications and position in the economic scale

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source:OLME:15-3-1976

**Table 18**

The salary scale of Greek teachers

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Valsamopoulos, N. (1989), p.50

## Appendix I

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



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our

Source: Harries-Jenkins, G.(1970),p.62



## **Appendix II**

Allowances paid to English teachers from 1-10-1987

*Allowance B:* £1002 per annum will be paid to all teachers previously on Scale 3

*Allowance D:* £3000 will be paid to all teachers on Scale 4

*Allowance E:* £4200 will be paid to all teachers previously on the Senior teacher scale

*Allowance A:* £501. No teacher will automatically receive this allowance from October 1987. Teachers currently on Scale 1 and 2 will be eligible to receive these allowances subject to their limited availability.

*Allowance C:* £2001. The Government is not providing finance for this new allowance until September 1988 but LEAs have discretion to pay the allowance from September 1988 if they wish.

Source: NUT, 1987a

### Appendix III

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Valsamopoulos, N.(1989),p.55

## APPENDIX IV

### Aims of practical training of teacher education courses

*General aims:* School practice should offer students opportunities to participate in school observation that will help him/her to understand the kind and conditions of work involved in schools, in terms of didactics, administration, psychopedagogy and sociology and so he/she can get some perception of the problems related to schools.

In addition, he/she can plan and perform teaching in a way that will enable him/her to get the necessary knowledge, attitude and ability to develop his/her own model of teaching.

*Specific aims:* Organization and functioning of schools, relation of teachers with social and governmental agents, knowledge of the law governing primary education, councils of parents, local authorities.

Knowledge about school buildings, educational technology, school libraries and files

Presentation and analysis of the teaching manual

Organization of school life, activities of teachers and pupils (cultural, unionism, cooperation with parents)

Source: Προγραμμα Σπουδων Παιδαγωγικων Τμηματων, Πανεπιστημιο Αθηνων, Σεπτεμβριος 1989

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