

The text and context of ‘actor’ in the study of profession¹

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“..it is my firm conviction that only theory which is oriented in terms of its relevance to empirical problems deserves to be called scientific theory at all”

(Parsons, 1977 quoted in Halvorsen 1992)

Abstract:

This paper is based on theoretical discussions and reviews about existing literatures on sociology of profession. The paper argues that main ‘traditions’ in the sociology of profession only narrowly conceived or defined the concept ‘actor’ that never give holistic picture in an universal context while analyzing professionalization of occupational groups. Our point of departure is that such narrow definition and to some extent loose conception about the issue make the concept problematic and in many ways reflects a convergence of the Western concerns especially when use it in the developing societies like Asia or Africa context. The paper, therefore, draws the conclusion that understanding and interpretation of the concept ‘actor’ needs to be explained in relation to the globalization, ‘global movements’ and wider international context.

1. Introduction:

The notions of ‘profession’ and ‘professionalism’ are increasingly becoming popular and used (may be misused) to work and workers in modern societies (Evetts, 2004:5). As the term “professional” nowadays has become a phrase of great prestige, many new occupations from carpenter to schoolteacher lay claim to it. The term is also being used in many occasions as a marketing slogan to recruitment campaigns even in organizational aims and objectives to motivate employees. For Evetts ‘it is an appealing prospect for an occupation to be identified as a profession and for occupational workers and employees to be labeled as professionals’ (Evetts, 2004:4). Yet, the actors and factors which historically claimed to determine the form and success or failure of professionalization of an occupational group are as I shall argue have narrowly mapped if we consider the context of the developing societies. This, from my point

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of view represents a problem which needs to be addressed and clarified. Therefore, this paper addresses how different major ‘traditions’ in the sociology of profession literature conceive the concept ‘actor’ in relation to professionalization of practitioners. I shall also indicate how this interpretation might be problematic in relation to non-western countries in Asia and Africa where many of the key issues addressed in the sociology of the professions are different. The structure of our discussion in this paper is divided into five sections. Section two will deal briefly with the term profession, how it is defined in the past as well as at present. The third section extends the narrative of the concept of professionalization by assessing distinct stands of main ‘traditions’ of the sociology of profession. This section will also present how the ‘actor’ concept is perceived in these traditions. The contemporary global movements for education and different actors’ involvement in the professional development of teaching profession are discussed in section four. Section five revisits the actor-based Western framework of the study of profession in the developing society context. In order to understand the problem issue i.e. the Western-biased conception of actor first it is necessary to define the terms ‘actor’ and ‘profession’ because without some definition of these concepts the concept of professionalization would be virtually meaningless. According to the recent edition (internet version) of Webster’s Dictionary, an **actor** is an agent or performer “who acts, or plays a role in...” (Source: <http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org>). In our discussion, the term ‘actors’ refer to some “parameters” i.e. measurable variables that determine professionalization of an occupation (Burrage et al 1990:203).

2. What is a profession?

Profession is a much debated sociological concept and the criteria which distinguish professions from other occupations have been strongly contested. Evetts (op cit) for example, argues that the meaning of the term ‘profession’ has changed periodically and progressively in the West over the past three centuries (1600—1900). During that period the movement was away from the clergy (hence the Church) to the law (hence the secular State) but in the 20th century medicine, engineering and higher education evolved as prominent professions due to incredible scientific innovation and ubiquity of science (Evetts, 2004:2). Freidson on the other hand, mentions that before the establishment of the medieval university the term ‘profession’ refers to all kinds of occupations for living irrespective of their nature hence to a great variety of skills. He further argues that the narrowest definition of profession derived from those occupations that developed out of the medieval university with particular kind of training and

skill. For him, the narrowest meaning of profession developed with abstract nature of knowledge or skills required for specialized work, which was often taught in modern universities (Freidson, 1986:24). He further claims that since nineteenth century some sort of formal education was a basic credential and source of professionals' expertise and it differentiated between 'professionals' and other workers. In fact, although the professions derive from medieval or some cases in ancient period it was first in the twentieth century serious intellectual interest in the professions could be witnessed basically in the English-speaking western world. Eminent scholars such as Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), T.J. Marshall ([1939], 1965), Caplow (1954), Greenwood (1957), Barber (1963), Wilensky (1964), G. Millerson (1964) Talcott Parsons ([1939], 1964, 1968), Johnson ([1967] 1972), Larson (1977), Freidson (1970a, 1970b, 1986, 2001) and Abbott (1988), Burrage and Torstendahl (1990) etc are some very important and frequently cited authors in the study of profession but there is no agreement among these scholars on how the notion of profession should be defined. There are five³ major "schools" of thought in professional discussions particularly with refer to the concept actor. These are: (a) the traits school; (b) the functionalist school; (c) the Structuralist school; (d) the monopoly schools; and (e) the cultural school.

2.1. The traits school:

During the 1930s scholarly writings claimed that a profession is an occupational group with particular features or traits. Carr-Saunders & Wilson (1933) and Marshall (1938) are some remarkable writers in this tradition. Writers like Parsons (1951), Millerson (1964) and Wilensky (1964) also directed their attention some decade later towards the development of the profession and concentrated on its attributes. According to this school of thought, a profession comprises a list of 'attributes' which are considered to the common core of professional occupations. Millerson (1964 quoted in Johnson 1972) for example identified twenty-three such 'essential elements' of the 'true' profession, which have been included in various scholars' definition of 'profession'. Some of which are: (a) professional skill based on theoretical knowledge; (b) the provision of training and education; (c) testing the competence of members; (d) organization; (e) devotion to a professional code of conduct; and (f) altruistic service etc. Therefore, from the trait approach point of view professions were an organized

³ Abbott (1988) focuses on four "schools" i.e. the functional, the structural, the monopolist, and the cultural school. T. J. Johnson's work (1972) suggests we might add a fifth school—namely, the "traits school".

body of experts who applied special body of knowledge to particular cases and had an elaborated system of training, together with organizations that possessed and enforced a code of ethics or behaviour in order to render altruistic service to the clients.

But such definition of profession based on 'essential elements' is often criticized on the ground that these traits lack systematic interrelations and no theoretical rational (Johnson, 1972). It is also interesting to note from Millerson's presentation that among the trait approach writers there is no single 'trait' that is agreed and accepted by all authors as essential to a profession. Therefore, the 'trait' approach has proved inadequate in the sense that it adopted procedure of listing attributes without any prior and explicit theoretical basis. Johnson reflected that "there is little attempt in the trait approach adopted to articulate theoretically the relationship between the growth of systematic theory and authority or whether such authority may have its source elsewhere" (Johnson, 1072:24). There was also problem of inclusion or exclusion of 'essential' elements from the list in an arbitrary manner as no theoretical limitations were placed upon those model-building activities. As Millerson pointed out:

...authors begin as historians, accountants, lawyers, engineers, philosophers, sociologists, etc. As a result group affiliations and roles determine the choice of items and bias. Usually the measures are presented with their own occupations in mind (Millerson, 1964:3).

For Johnson, another weak aspect of the trait approach is its narrow outlook to define 'professionals' from the analysis of a very few professional organizations (such as Medicine and Law) that were in practice particularly in Anglo-American culture at a particular time in the history.

2.2. The functionalist school:

While the trait model emphasize on 'essential elements' the functionalist approach on the other hand, takes stand on 'functional relevance' of professional. Therefore, this model does not present an exhaustive lists of 'traits' but rather limits its focus on those elements which are said to have functional relevance for society as a whole and professional-user relationship in particular (Johnson, 1972:23). This school of thought dominated much of the earlier theorizing about profession and writers like Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), Barber (1963), Marshall (1939, 1965), Parsons (1939, 1964, 1968), Goode (1957), Braude (1962) etc are

frequently cited scholars who belong to this functionalist school. According to this model, profession is merely a means to control the asymmetric expert-client relation (Abbott, 1988:15). Some distinguishing 'attributes' of profession derived from his model too. In other words, professional behavior may be defined in terms of essential attributes (Barber, 1963 quoted in Johnson, 1972:33) such as: (a) a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; (b) primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest i.e. altruism; (c) a high degree of practitioners' self-control through code of ethics imposed by association; (d) a system of rewards (monetary and honorary). Thus, this model depicted professionals as exercising knowledge-based skills as autonomous practitioners in a non-routine context according to a client-focused ethic guaranteed by a self-regulative professional body. One of the underlying notions of the functionalist approach is that 'a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge' is important both for practitioners and users' context because it provides professionals a control over nature and society and such knowledge should primarily be used in the community interest (Barber, 1963: 672).

But critics of the functionalist model argue that the idea of a profession, and the claimed distinctive attributes, is an analysis of practice than the theorizing of a self-interested ideology developed historically by a small group of elite occupations (such as medicine and law). Rueschemeyer (1964) for example, argued that 'generalized and systematic knowledge' applied by professionals is of equal value to all groups in society and it will be highly rewarded by the community to sustain such altruism. For him, the profession of law does not embody or apply values which are of equal relevance to all, and the values and organization of the profession vary in their consequences for different class or status groups. His main point of departure was that "the social distance which is generated in the relationship between the practitioner and the client is partly the product of factors other than the expertise of one and the ignorance of the other" (Rueschemeyer, 1964 quoted in Johnson, 1972:35). Critics of this approach also argue that this model excludes the power dimension in studying profession as many sociologists believe that a peculiar institutionalized form of control is the 'essential' condition of professions.

2.3. The structuralist school

“The functions disappeared and the structure alone remained” is the main idea of this approach. According to this model, profession is simply an institutionalized form of control, where the content of work and the professional-user relation were less important (Abbott, 1988:15). This model explicitly focuses on structure and its historical evolution while theorizing profession because structure or organization is the primary means both of exercising control over and access to basic occupational resources. Authors like Caplow (1954), Millerson (1964), Wilensky (1964) etc are some renowned supporters of this school of thought. Caplow’s analysis of profession tells us the narrative of structure in the following way:

Professions begin with the establishment of professional associations that have explicit membership rules to exclude the unqualified. Second, they change their names, in order to lose their past, to assert their monopoly, and, most importantly, to give themselves a level of legislative restriction. Third, they set up a code of ethics to assert their social utility, to further regulate the incompetent, and to reduce internal competition. Fourth, they agitate politically to obtain legal recognition, aiming at first to limit the professional title and later to criminalize unlicensed work in their jurisdiction (Caplow, 1954 also quoted in Abbott, 1988:11).

There is a uniform central subject in Caplow’s analysis and that is profession and its link to structure. This model presents occupations as having succeeded over time in gaining control over a market for service, achieving responsibility for bestowing the license to practice through a self-regulating body, strengthening the occupational boundary through credentialism and social closure and using increments of power to enhance levels of status and remuneration. Critics of this approach argue that this model ignores professional-client relation and functional aspects of profession and only focuses explicitly on structure and its evolution.

2.4. The monopoly school

In contrast to the structural approach which emphasize on structure, the monopoly model on the other hand, desire for professionals’ “dominance”. In this perspective ‘professions’ are corporate groups with “mobility projects” aimed at occupational control (Abbott, *ibid*). The main point of departure of this school is that the actual sequence of structure (e.g. association, training school etc) becomes less important than the sequence of functions performed by the profession. Some eminent supporters of this school are Larson ((1977), Krause (1977), Auerback (1976), Melosh (1982) etc. Related if not explicitly monopolist theorists are

Johnson⁴ (1972) and Freidson (1970a, 1970b) and Erichsen (1990). Freidson later change his position from his earlier stand on dominance (see e.g., 1986). For Larson and other supporters of monopolist school, ‘dominance’ or in other word ‘control’ is important for its influence on the status and power of professions. As mentioned earlier, Larson and to some extent Johnson brought the profession into the political arena, emphasizing its role in relation to the market, the class system, the community and its connection to the State—the ultimate source of power. The central issues of Larson’s discussion about profession are elites of practitioners, which seek personal rewards, high status through collective mobility. “Any organizational pattern (association, licensing, etc) that furthers corporate reward is a logical next step, provided that it is possible within the larger context of the society” (Abbott, 1988:13). According to this model, professions are those occupations succeeded in seeking a secure and privileged place in the economy and State support for an exclusionary shelter in the market in which they had to compete with rival occupations. From this model point of view, the State recognition and delegation of power (Johnson [1995] story for example) give the profession a high degree of autonomy or dominance as well as status. This model also suggests that it is not structure (i.e. association, training school etc) rather the ability or function (e.g. identification, exclusion, etc) of profession that leads to the State’s recognition and grant such dominance. One of the limitation of this model may be considered that it has developed mostly (if not totally) based on elite profession such as medicine and central subjects are elites of practitioners (Larson’s [1977] story, for example). But the ability to get the State’s recognition by the professions varies largely on the basis of the time, the conditions, the structures, and types and importance of professions.

2.5. The cultural school

This model has emphasized the cultural authority of profession in line with Parsonian thinking ‘expertise as a social relation’ (Abbott, 1988:15). For Parsons, the functional specificity and technical competence enable the physicians to “penetrate” into the “particular nexus” of the patient. “By defining his [professional’s] role in this way it is possible to overcome or minimize resistance which might well otherwise prove fatal to the possibility to do the job at all (Parsons, 1968:459 quoted in Halvorsen, 1992:14). Writers such as Ben-David (1963), Bledstein (1976), Jarausch (1990), Freidson (2001) etc have set a new criterion

⁴ Control of professional services by clients or the state was seen by Johnson as the alternatives to professional self-control.

for the ‘professionalism’ of occupations despite the fact that they have distinct perspective. From the point of view of this approach, the function of professionalism is to protect certain individuals i.e. the professionals themselves from the structured, rigid employment and determine the same privileged intellectual status as the logics of marketing in the Western capitalism. The cultural approach, differ from the functionalist approach in the sense that it is primarily oriented to practitioner’s self-interest rather than altruism or the community interest. Moreover for Bledstein, professionalism provides both an ideal “metaphor and means” for vertical mobility of the professionals. The way cultural approach differs with the structural and monopoly approaches is basically in the use of practitioners’ expertise i.e. professionalism and the professional-user relationship. From the structuralist point of view profession was simply an institutionalized form of control, where the profession-user relation had no important role. On the other hand, monopolist school suggests that ‘professions’ are corporate groups and profession-user (say State) relation is considered important for “dominance” of profession as a whole. But cultural approach emphasizes that profession-user relation is critical to protect individual practitioner’s interest (Parsons’s [1964] story for example). Moreover, professionalism or professional expertise from both the structuralist and the monopoly perspectives is an essential asset for collective mobility and a matter of collective choice, whereas according to the cultural model, professionalism that has external consequences (status, money, and power) was a matter of individual practitioner’s choices for mobility. It also protects certain individuals i.e. the professionals and corporate action is regarded as a mechanism to protect these individuals (Abbott, 1988:7). Jarausch (1990 quoted in Halvorsen, 1992:5) also provided a detailed description of how the professions in Europe, particularly in Germany, took shape between modernism and tradition. Abbott summarizes the issue in the following way:

“...Culturally, professions legitimate their control by attaching their expertise to values with general cultural legitimacy, increasingly the values of rationality, efficiency, and science” (Abbott, 1988:16).

The following table shows the definition of profession and its essential ‘elements’ in relation to five traditions discussed above:

Table 1: What is a profession?

Model	Definition of profession	Essential elements of profession
The traits approach	A profession as an occupational group with particular features or traits	A list of ‘attributes’ e.g. (a) professional skill and competence; (b) the provision of training and education; (c) organization; (d) altruism etc.
The functionalist approach	A profession is a mean to control practitioner-client relationships and ‘functional relevance’ of professionals’ activities.	The functional relevance for the society i.e. altruism; a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge, and professional user relationship.
The structuralist approach	A profession is an institutionalized form of control, where the content of work and the professional-user relation are less important.	The structure (e.g. professional association) is the key for control over a market, issuing license to practitioners, set up a code of ethics. Professionalism is a matter of collective choices and asset for collective mobility.
The monopoly approach	Professions are those occupations succeeded in seeking the State recognition and delegation of power, which give the profession a high degree of autonomy	The State recognition and delegation of power give the profession a high degree of autonomy, dominance, and secure and privileged place in the economy. Professionalism is a matter of collective choices and asset for collective mobility.
The cultural approach	A profession consists of a group of individual practitioners, who are protected by their specific professionalism from the structured, rigid employment in the capitalism.	The professionalism of an individual practitioner not the State that protects market for professionals and it is the metaphor for vertical mobility and has the consequences for status and power for individual practitioner. Professionalism is a matter of individual choices and corporate action only taken for granted to protect or extend them.

In summarizing our earlier discussion about the definition of profession it can be mentioned that the academic sociologists, mainly Anglo-American and from continental Europe, have done the major theorizing about profession. But theorists of the 1940s and 1950s emphasized on 'traits' such as 'specialized knowledge and skills', 'ethical code' 'altruism' etc in order to set professions off from other occupations and to justify the protective institutions and high prestige that also distinguish them. Writers from the late 1960s on, however, emphasized monopolistic institutions of professions and their high status as the critical factor and treated knowledge, skill and ethical code of conduct not as objective characteristics but rather as ideology. Instead of the primacy of cognitive rationality i.e. expertise, 'power' appeared as the key issue in defining profession though it was usually employed in a vague term. Even the issue of culture was brought in defining profession putting emphasis on the cultural authority of profession i.e. expertise or professionalism as a social relation. Abbott (1988), in contrast, criticized all earlier theorists and models of profession as he thought little attention had been paid to the actual work that is done by professionals. For Abbott, important factors that influence the development of the system of professions are new technology, organization change, reformulation of professions' strategies, and wider cultural and political changes (Abbott, *ibid*). And he adds, "The central phenomenon of professional life is thus the link between a profession and its work, a link I shall call jurisdiction" (Abbott, 1988:20). Despite that Abbott's work has good influence on the study of profession and professionalization but the relevance of his work approach for this paper lies not so much. It is because his analysis does not follow the conventional sociological stances, which focuses on the pre-constituted professional subject seeking autonomy (Johnson, 1995: 17). For him, the system of competitive struggles for "jurisdiction" over realm of expertise generates a profession (Abbott, 1988:2). Thus considering his different 'road-map' i.e. 'jurisdiction' instead of actors in analyzing profession and professionalization, we have decided to limit our discussion within above-mentioned five major traditions.

3. Actors that characterize professionalization of occupations:

Like definition of profession, the meaning of professionalization took different route during its long passage and has provided sociologists with the means of encompassing variations and seeming inconsistencies in the development. In general, professionalization refers to several usages some main of which are: firstly, it means some sort of changes in the occupational structure; secondly, the term is used in a way which implies more attention on occupational

associations attempting to regularise recruitment to and practice in a specific occupation hence regarded as the major indicator of the degree of professionalization of an occupation; thirdly, it is viewed as a 'complex process' in which an occupation comes to exhibit 'essential' attributes which, in fact, are considered as the core elements of 'professionals' and professionalism; and fourthly, it is viewed as a 'process' whereby occupations have become, or seek to become a profession recognized publicly in accordance with the degree to which they meet the alleged criteria. For Hargreaves (2000), professionalization can be seen as having two strands: firstly, it is concerned with the improvement of professional status; and the second strand is concerned with the improvement of quality and standards of practice. It is generally assumed that these two notions are often presented as complementary projects but this need not be the case always. However, recent usages distinguish between professionalization as the pursuit of status and professionalism as the improvement of practice hence skills (Hargreaves, 2000:152). Thus, the term 'professionalization' is used in a variety of ways in sociological analysis. However, our following discussion will deal with 'actor-based' framework of professionalization i.e. what actors characterize the professionalization of an occupation in relation to earlier mentioned five schools of thoughts.

3.1. The trait model

While professionalization refers to a process, the 'trait model adduces then a checklist for the measuring of the degree to which an occupation is professionalized ignoring variations in the historical conditions under which different institutionalized forms of occupational activities develop. The 'Trait theory rarely includes any systematic treatment of the general social conditions under which professionalization takes place' (Johnson, 1972:30) but rather implies 'natural' history of professionalism particularly in the context of USA. Despite that there was a growing concern and doubt about the existence of a 'natural' history of professionalism in an universal context the trait theorists such as Caplow and Wilensky suggested the following stages of professionalization (of course in the US context):

- The emergence of a full-time occupation;
- The establishment of a training school;
- The founding of a professional association;
- Political agitation directed towards the protection of the association by law; and
- The adoption of a formal code

(Source: Wilensky, 1964:142-6)

Johnson on the other hand reflected:

“one of the underlying assumptions of the [trait] approach is that it is the inherent qualities of an occupational activity which autonomously determine the way in which institutional forms of control will develop—neglecting any reference to the effects of such factors as the prior existence of powerful and entrenched occupational groups, or the extent to which governments or academic institutions may impose their own definitions on the organization of the occupation and the content of practice” (Johnson, 1972:30).

While professionalization refers to a process, the ‘trait’ model represents a checklist for measuring the degree to which an occupation is professionalized is fundamentally ahistorical (Johnson, 1972:27). Critics of this model claimed that the trait model failed to map its parameters i.e. the key actors that are engaged in the struggle of occupations to establish themselves as professions. This model only ‘claims for professional status are themselves the major conditions for professionalization’ (Johnson, 1972:31).

3.2. The functionalist model

Johnson (1972) argues that the functionalist model is limited to professional behaviour of practitioners. Millerson on the other hand, identifies and lists all functional aspects and links leading to a successful professional association, which according to him, achieve or consolidate professional status or prestige, coordinate existing practitioners and respond to new occupational possibilities (Millerson, 1964). As mentioned earlier, profession was seen merely as a means to control practitioner-client relationship and ‘functional relevance’ of professionals’ activities is core from functionalist perspective thus professionalization was simply the evolution of structural guarantees for control of that relationship (Abbott, 1988:15).

A functionalist theorist such as Barber (1963) clearly acknowledges the role of some specific groups or organizations in the professionalization process, which may be leveled as ‘actor’ in professional domain. As mentioned earlier, Barber (ibid) referred to four ‘essential attributes’ in defining professional behaviour such as: (a) a high degree of generalized and systematic knowledge; (b) primary orientation to the community interest rather than to individual self-interest i.e. altruism; (c) a high degree of practitioners’ self-control through code of ethics imposed by association; (d) a system of rewards (monetary and honorary). From Barber’s analysis we can depict at least three actors involvement in professional project such as: (i)

academic/ *training institute*, which will provide professionals a high degree of skills and systematic knowledge; (ii) *professional association* aimed at imposing code of ethics in order to maintain standard in professional activities; and (iii) *Users* of professionals' service who in return will recognize professionals by giving rewards as a symbol of their work achievement and importance. Although many of the authors belonging to this tradition focus mainly on understanding the profession or professionalization of an occupation as functions rather than specific agents or actors. However, three actors' role mentioned-above cannot be denied in this regard.

3.3. The structuralist model:

As already stated from the structuralist perspective professions are conceived as 'a form of occupational control' ignoring the content of work as well as expert-client relationship. Structural theorist such as Millerson, Wilensky, Caplow etc employ much emphasis on structure alone while discussing professionalization of occupation. Wilensky for example explained:

Professions begin when people "start doing full time the thing that needs doing." But then the issue of training arises....Schools are created....if not begun within universities, immediately seek affiliation with them....Then the teaching professionals, along with their first graduates, combine to promote and create a professional association. The more active professional life enabled by this association leads to separate competent from incompetent....This period also contains efforts to secure state protection, although this does not always occur and is not peculiar to professions in any case. Finally, the rules that these events have generated, rules eliminating internal competition and charlatanry and establishing client protection, coalesce in a formal ethics code (Wilensky, 1964 quoted in Abbott, 1988:10).

From the structuralist perspective, professionalization means explanation of why the professions display diverse properties. It also emphasises on historical forces that drive the structure and its evolution (Abbott, 1988:15). Wilensky's analysis for example, focuses mainly on understanding the profession and professionalization as structures rather than specific agents or actors. But some actors' role is implied in his analysis. These are: firstly, *university/ training institute*, which is the source of professionals' specialized knowledge and skills; secondly, *professional association*, which played role as guardians of the knowledge standards, ethical codes, and guarding the gates of entry; and thirdly the *State*, which secure

market and protection for professionals and make difference between professions and other occupations.

3.4. The monopoly model

From the monopoly tradition, professionalization is neither seen as function nor as structure but rather seen as an ‘external’ social process. Monopolist theorist such as Larson (1977) for example, sees the issue of professionalization in terms of status achievement. As stated earlier she, Friedson (1970a, 1970b), and Johnson (1972, 1995) brought the profession into political arena by emphasizing its role in the community and its connection to the state. For them, state recognition and delegation of power give the profession a high degree of autonomy and status, which make it different from other occupational groups. Therefore, the monopoly tradition suggests that it is not the ‘internal attributes’ rather the ability of profession to be recognized by the State in order to safeguard a degree of autonomy or dominance and higher social status. For the monopoly theorists, the sequence of functions (e.g. identification, exclusion, etc) is more important than the sequence of structures (association, training institute etc) in the professionalization process. From the monopolistic analysis, thus *professional themselves/ professional associations* and *States* are the most critical actors to improve professional ‘dominance’ and thus status. Larson’s analysis suggests an extra actor namely, the *user* (State or community) of professional service from which elites of practitioners seeks personal rewards, high status through collective mobility. Professions within the monopolistic tradition are those occupations that have succeeded in seeking a secure and privileged position in the economy. The State supports for an exclusionary shelter in the market make the difference between them and other occupations.

3.5. The cultural model:

The analysis of profession from the cultural tradition perspective is based not on functions, structures and/or processes but rather on cultural authority of a profession. The core issue here is that ‘expertise as a social relation’ and ‘professionalism’ or improve standard of work pave the “metaphor and means” for vertical mobility of the professionals (Blendstein (1976). Moreover, professional expertise provides the same privileged intellectual status as the logics

of market (Freidson, 2001:5). Therefore, the core issue about professionalization from this perspective is basically expertise or professionalism that legitimate professionals' control by attaching it to values with general cultural legitimacy (Abbott, 1988:16). For Freidson, "The degree and kind of specialization required by particular jobs, quite apart from their function, is widely used to establish their social, symbolic, and economic value and justify the degree of privilege and trust to which they are entitled" (Freidson, 2001:18). He further adds:

.....professionalism is of course an intellectual construct and not a portrayal of any real occupation. It is intended to serve as a stable standard by which to appraise and analyze historic occupations whose characteristics vary in time and space. Some occupations may come to closely resemble that ideal type in some places at some moments of history, the process by which this occurs being called professionalization (Freidson, 2001:128).

Friedson's (2001:127-8) ideal-typical professionalism which according to him leads to professionalization i.e. special status for practitioners in certain time and context consists of following interdependent elements:

- Specialized professional work derived from a theoretically based, discretionary knowledge and skills;
- Exclusive jurisdiction in a particular division of labour;
- A sheltered position in both external and internal labour markets based on qualifying credentials imposed and created by the occupation;
- A formal training programme associated with higher educational institution that produces the qualifying credentials,
- An ideology of altruism guided by commitment to doing good job i.e. the quality;
- The support of the State in order to defend labour market shelters against other competitive groups, adjudicate jurisdictional disputes within the occupation, give credence to the professional ideology, and create and maintain the general educational system which provides the foundation for professional schooling, etc.

Friedson's story about professionalization has identified some groups and institutions whose actions determined the form and the success or failure of what he calls ideal-type professionalism. These actors are: the *higher academic/ training institute*, *professional themselves (professional organization)*, and the *State*. The following table 2 summarizes the types of actors that have appeared in the Anglo-American and the continental European discussion.

Table 2: Actors that characterize professionalization of occupations

Model	Who are actors
The Trait approach	The issue actor does not appear in the analysis because theorists did avoid mapping parameters whose actions determine the form and success of professionalization
The Functionalist approach	Training institute, Professional association, User
The Structuralist approach	Training institute, Professional association, User, State
The Monopolist approach	State, Professional themselves (professional organization), User
The Cultural approach	State, Professional themselves (professional organization), training institute

It is to mention that Abbott (1988) acknowledges the role of the State in professional development but he follows a different route while discussing professionalization of occupations. His point of departure is ‘jurisdiction’—a link between a profession and its work (Abbott, 1988:20). His analysis of professionalization emphasizes on how such link is created in work and anchored by formal and informal social structure. His work also emphasizes on how changes concerning professional work are linked up with changes in inter-professional relations (Erichsen, 1990: 31). It also denotes to inter-professional relations thus suggests an extra actor i.e. ‘other professions’ (Burrage et. al., 1990:207). Halvorsen on the other hand, argues that professions usually seek appreciation for their expert knowledge and solutions but not only at the workplace but also at the field of education and research, from the State and professional associations (Halvorsen, 1995 quoted in Michelsen, 2004:124).

The work of Burrage et. al. (1990) of what they call ‘actor-based framework’ for the study of profession seems an attempt to summarize and bring all actors together that has appeared in the earlier discussion of the Anglo-American and particularly European theorists about professionalization project. Their ‘actor-based’ model is based on specific agents and actors rather functions, structures and/or processes. This model can be understood as a synthesis of the actors appeared in the five traditions under scrutiny and it may be considered as sixth tradition. Their model identified four main actors that according to them, determine the form and success/ failure of professionalization of occupation. These are:

Practising professionals: For Burrage et al. practising professionals themselves are the key actors in their own development. In order to pursue and uphold professional goals i.e. protect and enhance the corporate interests, monopoly of services, maintain professional autonomy etc., practising professionals use their essential ‘resources’ e.g. organization, ideology and ‘proximity and persistence’. According to Burrage et al. there are four major/ ideal types of practitioners’ organization. First are those that give primary emphasis to the knowledge base of the profession for example, academy or learned society. Second are those, which primarily seek to represent and lobby on behalf of the profession and to obtain some legislative relief or support. This representative association is primarily oriented towards the state. Third are those, which negotiate on behalf of their members and are often barely distinguishable from trade unions but the trade-union type of organization is primarily concerned to protect members having to deal with organized users of professional services, whether public or private. Finally, there are those that seek to regulate the members of the profession.

States are the second important actors identified by Burrage et al. They are both regulators of professional life and instruments of professional advancement. In fact, states are directly or indirectly involved in every facet of professional existence their organization, their resources and ‘education and licensing’, and their relationships with other professions as well as the ‘market’ for their services. The power, resources and prestige of any profession, therefore, depend largely on the policies of the state to which they are subjects (Burrage et al. 1990).

Users: Burrage et al identified the users as one of the most significant actors in the professional project. For them, there are diverse type of users such as individual fee-for-service user; organized fee-for-service user such as trade unions; private employer and public employer, and the state not as the ultimate user rather to provide services for its citizens etc. Professionals (e.g. schoolteachers) have both clients and employers when State is the ultimate user of their service. For Burrage et al, the ‘resources’ that are under such user jurisdiction is enormous to contain professional autonomy. For example, protest or votes are examples of such resources, which usually organized users apply in order to force the State action against the professions when they fail to fulfill expected obligation and responsibility. Burrage et al also adds that among clients and employers of their service professionals may sometimes use one user to resist the other in order to establish their high degree of autonomy (Burrage et al, 1990:215).

Training Institutions, for Burrage et al. (1990) are the fourth significant actors in the professional domain. Their major resources are the knowledge and expertise they generate which professions depend upon to be trusted by their clients. The degrees awarded by the institutions of higher learning render status and legitimacy to professional practitioners. In some professions academic knowledge is the sole source of professional status and professors or trainers are key players in the professionalisation process. In other cases legitimate expertise is also acquired through practice, and academic knowledge is less important.

The following table 3 shows the types of actor and resources at their disposal appeared in model suggested by Burrage et al.

Table 3: Actors and resources at their disposal

Actors	Resources at actor's disposal
Professional themselves	Professional organizations, ideology (codified self image, aspirations and loyalties etc), persistence (uniformity and consistency), and proximity
States	Legal and penal sanctions, State policies, public legislative and judicial decisions on which the power, wealth and prestige of any professions depends
Users	Sanction and rewards (fees, publicity etc), protest or vote to force state action
Training institute	Knowledge on which professions depend on and degree provides status for professions

In the following section we shall, therefore, argue that the Western conventional wisdom of the theory of professions i.e. 'actor-based framework' is insufficient and to some extent provide a narrow definition and mapping of actors that can tell the holistic story of professionalization of occupations particularly in the developing country. We shall also argue why there requires one more actor, which we may call '*strategic actor*' when speak about professionalization of an occupation in the developing societies. In our following discussion, we shall particularly refer teaching profession considering that some ongoing global movements have tremendous influence on teachers' work and status particularly in the developing countries.

4. Does the western actor-based framework sufficient to speak about professionalization of occupations in the developing societies?

Hoyle (2002) observes that a professionalisation process is taking place while consider teaching occupation. For him, the education of teachers has gradually been lengthened and linked up with university education at the same time its scientific profile has become more clearly anchored in disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical theory. National teachers' associations have also become stronger and more successful vis-a-vis the State in promoting an image of teaching as an occupation based on expert skills. In fact, from the mid 1970s, teaching as a profession began to undergo fundamental changes and took momentum since the 1990s as a result of some global movements such as the Education for All (EFA) Jambien (Thailand) World Declaration (1990), followed by Delhi Declaration (December, 1993), Dakar Framework for Action (2000) in reaching the Education for All (EFA) in all over the World, Education related U.N. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) drawn from the UN Millennium Declaration in 1995, U.N. Literacy Decade (2003—2012) and U.N. Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005—2014) etc.

EFA and the MDGs have become the central global issues considering its importance in the areas of poverty reduction, preventing epidemic and promote human rights particularly in the developing countries. The World struggles for literacy i.e. attainment of EFA goals globally by 2015, which is also considered as one of the key benchmarks for the UN Millennium Goal on education (i.e. achieve universal primary education—ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary education) and fight against poverty (UNESCO, 2005: 17). For Kofi Annan-the UN Secretary-General, “We will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights. Unless all these causes are advanced, none will succeed.” (United Nations, 1995:3). Therefore, education is considered as vital for empowerment of individuals to realize their potential, anti-poverty strategy with international trade justice, the best contribution to growth and economic development, preventing the future spread of epidemic such as Aids and malaria etc. Moreover, 164 governments around the World adopted the six EFA gals in 2000 in Dakar, Senegal known as “The Dakar Framework Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments”. The World leaders also share the view that EFA is the key issue not only to foster economic growth, create employment opportunities, civic participation and personal

development but also needs to promote fundamental human rights and global security through the development of greater tolerance, stable societies and intercultural dialogue (UNESCO, 2005:2). The Dakar Framework also set the following six “target dimensions”:

- i. Expansion of early childhood care and development activities, especially for poor, disadvantaged, and disabled children;
- ii. Universal access to, and completion of, good quality primary education by the year 2015 particularly girls, children from difficult circumstances;
- iii. Improvement in learning achievement and ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met;
- iv. Reduction of adult literacy rate especially the disparity between male and female rates and achieving a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015;
- v. Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education and achieving gender equality in education with a focus on good quality education by 2015; and
- vi. Expansion and improvement of all aspects related with the quality of basic education and training and other essential skills required by youth and adults especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

The UN millennium Development Goal 2 that is “Achieve universal primary education” by 2015; and goals of The UN Literacy Decade (2003-2012) are directly related to the accomplishment of the above-mentioned Dakar EFA goals particularly goal 3 that is “To contribute towards ensuring that the learning needs for all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes” (UNESCO, 2005). EFA got international priority and recognition for international coordination since Dakar World Declaration. Some unique aspects of this global struggle for literacy are: firstly, EFA is based on global partnership and collective commitment with advocacy for broadened perspectives, partnerships, alliances within and across countries, among agencies, and among EFA’s multiple stakeholders. In order to realize EFA world target by 2015 the following measures were also adopted by the EFA partners in the Annual Partnership Meeting 2005 in Beijing and by main EFA convening agencies:

- Countries particularly in the South progressively remove both formal and informal school fees, which is considered as one of the main barriers to enable all children and girls in particular, to attend and complete primary schooling.

- Fast-track Initiative (FTI) and EFA main partners will need to give prompt and long-term support to governments of developing countries in order to improve their capacity to maintain quality education while absorbing the impact of enhanced enrolments.
- Reduce child labour as it is a major obstacle to achieving EFA.
- FTI country partners should strengthen own domestic resource mobilization for primary education, where it is below 10 percent of domestic budgets, and 2 percent of Gross National Income. Donor partners (particularly the G8 countries) should substantially increase their support for basic education through expanded country programmes and through direct contributions to the FTI Catalyst Fund.
- Adopt the Global Action Plan of the Working Group sponsored by the UNESCO in order to highlight processes and areas of action by international EFA partners in support of country's efforts geared towards achieving the EFA goals.
- UNESCO has been assigned to play key role in the mapping of partners (i.e. identifying who does what and characterizing the gaps) in the way of realizing the EFA goals at the global, regional and country level characterizing gaps in the areas of the policy, the information, the funding, the capacity and the advocacy (UNESCO, 2005:3).

4.1. Education for All—Fast Track Initiative

The Education for All—Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was created in 2002 under the supervision and management of the World Bank in order to take a drastic measure to bring 100 million out-of-school children around the World to help developing countries achieve a free, universal primary education by 2015. FTI was launched as the first ever global “compact” on education based on global partnership mutual accountability and responsibility between donor and developing countries, aiming to provide the technical know-how and funding by donor nations to developing nations for building and implement sound educations plans with greater political and financial resources towards the MDG of universal primary education by 2015. One recent policy papers of the UNESCO reflected, “...the Education Sector [in the EFA partner countries] is promoting donor harmonization and coordination through, among others,

the Fast-Track Initiative and the programme-oriented approach....” (UNESCO, 2004:4). The FTI has two components i.e. Trust Funds: (i) the Catalyst Fund (CF) was established in November 2003 by the FTI donors with the aims to provide short term budget support (of two or three years) to developing countries through global budget in addition to regular bilateral and multilateral support in combating illiteracy and (ii) the Education Programme Development Fund (EPDF) was established in November 2004 with the aim to provide technical support and build capacity required to prepare and implement a sound education plan by poor countries. It also supports all low-income countries in sharing their knowledge and experience on how to reach the goals of EFA and MDG related to education. Developing countries which demonstrates serious commitment to achieve universal primary education are now getting supports from EFA—FTI Trust Funds under their Poverty-Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) and Education Sector Plan. “Globally, the FTI encompasses all major donors for education—more than 30 bilateral, regional and international agencies and development banks” and its aims are supports and promotes (i) sound education plan (ii) better coordination; (iii) country led programs, (iv) predictable aid and (v) measurable results and best practices (for more details please visit EFA—FTI web site: www.fasttrackinitiative.org). The donors contributions/ commitments to the EFA—FTI Catalyst fund (CF) total US\$ 445 million over 2003-2007 (excluding US\$ 7 million pledge in March 2006 by Russia for the FTI) and the EPDF commitments total about US\$ 30 millions for the period 2005—2007 (source: EFA—FTI web site, *ibid*). The growth in donor payments by US\$44.5 millions from US\$165.0 millions since the EFA—FTI Annual Partnership Meeting held in December 2005 in Beijing and financial commitments to country programs have more than tripled over the past three years reaching US\$320.7 million since inception of EFA—FTI. It is interesting to note that twenty developing countries have had their education plans endorsed and are receiving support from FTI as of January 2006 and it is expected that over the next two years numbers of beneficiaries counties will rise as many 60 within the FTI partnership (source: EFA—FTI web site, *op cit*). Moreover, “annual donor assistance to basic education in low-income countries more than doubled from an average of US\$1.24 billion in 2002 to an average of US\$2.64 billions in 2004” (FTI Press Release from Moscow, March 14, 2006. Source: EFA—FTI web site, *op cit*). In fact, EFA—FTI was a respond to the commitment at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, where countries across the globe vowed that “no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by lack of resources.”

To deliver good quality education to children increases demands for broader national plan of actions particularly on access, fees and teachers is essential (UNESCO, 2005:6). As a result of World struggle for literacy the World's net enrolment ratio across sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia, and the Arab States in particular are rising rapidly and gender gap is also slowly closing. The sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia each enrolled nearly 20 million additional children and the sub-Saharan Africa alone the school-age population is likely to increase by 34 million (32%) over the next decades (UNESCO, *ibid* p.7). Which means broad base national and international strategy, coordination and support, flow of external technical and financial assistance particularly from donor countries and institutions are inevitable for having enough teachers trained, employed and supported, classrooms equipped with teaching aids, reduce class size in all these States.

4.2. Professionalization of teaching profession and EFA global struggle

Education for All (EFA) Framework of Action emerging from Dakar seems greater challenge for international community to realize the EFA goals by 2015. The UNESCO Director-General correctly pointed out that “Education will never live up to its promise unless there is a quiet but fundamental revolution in the way teaching takes place” (UNESCO, 2000:4). The acute shortage of qualified teachers has also been identified as one of the biggest challenges to realize the EFA targets. Thus, addressing teacher shortage, training issues is a top priority for countries that still need to significantly increase the coverage of their primary education systems in line with the pledge (pledge ix) that is “enhance the status, morale and professionalism of teachers” (Dakar Framework of Action, 2000, p 9) made by the governments, donors agencies represented at the World Education Forum to achieve Dakar EFA goals. Considering the pressing need to ensure available qualified teachers and the replacement of large numbers of incapable teachers around the world particularly in the developing world, UNESCO has been playing coordinator role with expanded partnerships and a broader cooperation with other EFA partners providing leadership, advocacy, and technical advice concerning teacher training and related policy issues such as teacher status (UNESCO, 2005:19). The Teacher Training Initiative (TTI) for Sub-Saharan Africa is a special assignment for UNESCO and at the global level it is also assisting the governments, E-9 countries in particular in their education plan to organize a large-scale scheme of teacher training abroad (UNESCO, 1994), which is seen as a major step forward to improve the quality of teaching and learning hence teacher professionalization. EFA Global Monitoring

Report 2005 shows that EFA global campaign pushed numbers of pupils per teacher in some countries are as high as 70:1 (e.g. Chad, the Congo, Mozambique, Bangladesh etc) and in some cases (e.g. the Niger), the proportion of qualified teachers is dropping as a consequence of the hiring of volunteer teachers to cope with increased number of student enrolled and demand for primary education. Therefore, UNESCO in close cooperation with other EFA partners particularly donor countries and key financial institutions and also teacher unions is continuously pushing forward the following measures (UNESCO, 2005:19) to achieve EFA goals and improve teacher status:

- Assist Member States in developing or reforming national teachers policy and teacher education in the context of national education and poverty-reduction plans;
- Promote the exchange of good national practices with groups of countries linked by common teacher-related agendas;
- Help developing countries in collaboration with ILO to improve status and working conditions of teachers, develop attractive career paths for them so that the brain-drain of teachers to other professions will be avoided;
- Encourage Member States to adopt teacher education policy and training at country level to take greater account of national priorities for EFA, HIV/AIDS reduction, poverty reduction, the MDGs;
- Advocate for greater role of national universities to quality teacher education at the college or community level;

Moreover, to meet the EFA World's target by 2015 the World Bank's EFA—Fast Track Initiative also put emphasis on community involvement i.e. make community (particularly capable section of the community) convince of the benefits of investing in their children's education.

As stated earlier that EFA Dakar Framework of Action is a “collective authored” struggle required “collective effort” and “shared accountability” globally in order to reach its goals by 2015. It is also a multi-stakeholders movement. EFA stakeholders or partners consists of governments, United Nations agencies, the World Bank, donor agencies, civil society, the private sectors—all are considered indispensable in particular to influence the development agenda at all levels to secure support for EFA and bring fundamental change in the way professional development of teacher and teaching takes place in the developing societies. It is

also important to mention that the EFA global movement has certain implications for expansion and quality issues in secondary and tertiary education systems of the World too. The EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005 for example, has revealed that the global number of secondary and tertiary students continued to increase rapidly. The number of students rose from 430 million in 1998 to almost 500 million in 2002 and from an estimated 90 million to 121 million during the same period in secondary and tertiary level respectively. The growth rates for tertiary education in developing countries are, on average, more than twice those observed in developed countries (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005:9). Therefore, UNESCO is playing a leading role in the worldwide and builds international and regional networks to assist with a range of issues in higher education such as academic mobility, international exchanges of excellence, and teacher development.

5. The ‘Actor-based frame’ of the study of profession revisited

From our discussion it is revealed that like EFA the enhancement of the status, morale and professionalism of teachers at present is a collective effort and a shared responsibility of both the developed and the developing countries. Actors such as national governments, donor agencies, the United Nations agencies, the World Bank etc are all concerned and playing a role in this regard. Thus, the notions of actor in the analysis of major ‘traditions’ of the sociology of profession are most narrowly-conceived by the Western scholars from Parsons (1939) to Burrage et al (1990) to Freidson (2001). The synthesis of the ‘actor’ concept that derived from five major traditions under scrutiny is the ‘actor-based framework’ suggested by Burrage et al (1990). But it also seems inadequate to give holistic picture of actors’ involvement in the professionalization of an occupation such as teaching, particularly in relation to World’s struggle for literacy. This West-biased model only concentrate on four actors’ (i.e. States, professional associations, training institute, and users) role when speaking about professionalization of an occupation in a specific country. But considering the global partnership and the responsibility of both developed and developing countries for supporting world struggle for literacy a redefinition or a broad-based definition of actor is required so that actors outside the nation-states can be incorporated in the model about professionalization of an occupation such as teaching. It is clear from our above discussion that teachers’ professional service as well as professional development in the present world situation is not only concerned about nation-states when fulfilling EFA goals and quality education is now a

global demand. International development partners which we may call *strategic actors* have an increasing concern and role in this respect. We call them strategic actors because they have resources such as fund and technical know-how at their disposal in order to influence national policy of governments in the developing world and use of their resources are not unconditional either. These actors are using their resources for EFA because it will ensure more security and as well as development both in the East as well as in the West. The EFA Dakar World Declaration itself is an outcome of bargaining between developed and developing world, where both came to a compromise in order to eradicate world illiteracy and share responsibilities. Considering the ongoing global movement for universal quality basic education, therefore, there needs to broaden concept of user from nation-state context to international context by including international development partners. These international actors are actively involved in providing support for improvement of status and working conditions of teachers, develop attractive career paths, teachers' professional training hence legitimacy or autonomy.

Therefore, our point of departure is that in the fast-changing world reminds us constantly that the basic education is important to World's peace and prosperity and teachers are most critical players to deliver such crucial service to the World. Hence professionalization of teachers today cannot be explained only in terms of actors (such as States, professional association, training institutes, and user) of a country specific. Their professional status, empowerment and development in present day situation need to be explained in relation to the globalization, ongoing global movements, and both national and international context. The emergence of demand for mass public education all over the world may have contributed to this situation and increased teachers' importance, social status and occupational prestige among their immediate clients. Thus actors such as international development partners have definite role for influence on the status and power of teachers beyond other in-country actors such as the State, professional association, training institute and users particularly in the context of the developing societies.

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