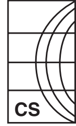

Current Sociology Review
61(5-6) 778–796
© The Author(s) 2013
Reprints and permission: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0011392113479316
csi.sagepub.com

Professionalism: Value and ideology

Julia Evetts
University of Nottingham, UK

Abstract

Professionalism is a key concept in the sociologies of work, occupations, professions and organizations. But professionalism is changing and being changed. The article considers the different ways in which professionalism has been and is currently being interpreted. Beginning with a section on defining the field and clarifying concepts, the second section examines the concept of professionalism, its history and current developments. The third section considers the consequences of changes in work contexts and employment conditions for aspects of professionalism both as an occupational value and as an ideology in the global world.

Keywords

Discourse, ideology, occupational value, professionalism

For a long time, the sociological analysis of professional work has differentiated professionalism as a special means of organizing work and controlling workers and in contrast to the hierarchical, bureaucratic and managerial controls of industrial and commercial organizations. But professional work is changing and being changed as increasingly professionals (such as doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers) now work in employing organizations; lawyers and accountants in large professional service firms (PSFs) and sometimes in international and commercial organizations; pharmacists in national (retailing) companies; and engineers, journalists, performing artists, the armed forces and police find occupational control of their work and discretionary decision-making increasingly difficult to maintain and sustain (Adler et al., 2008; Brante, 2010; Champy, 2011; Demazière and Gadea, 2009).

Corresponding author:
Julia Evetts, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD, UK.
Email: julia.evetts@nottingham.ac.uk

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

There also have been a number of policy and societal developments and changes, and increased complexities in the contexts and environments for professions. This makes it necessary to look again at the theories and concepts used to explain and interpret this category of occupational work. Some long-established differences are becoming blurred. For example, there is no longer a clear differentiation between the public and the private sectors of professional employment. Private funding is now operational in public sector work places and PPP (public/private partnerships) in the UK (e.g. in schools, universities and hospitals) enables the promotion of new capital as well as other policy developments (Farell and Morris, 2003; Kuhlmann, 2006).

Another complication and variation is the increased emphasis on and calls for professionalism in the voluntary sector, charities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Langer and Schröer, 2011). Wherever trust, transparency and accountability need to be demonstrated, then increased regulation, audit and assessment seem to follow (e.g. social work and aid agencies, national and international). In addition, there is wider accessibility to internet knowledge which renders the importance of professional and expert, tacit and experiential, knowledge and expertise more open to challenge (Olofsson, 2009; Verpraet, 2009).

The role of the nation-state has always been critical in theorizing about professions and, in particular, differentiating between Anglo-American and European systems of professions (Burrage and Torstendahl, 1990a, 1990b). The role of the nation-state had been seen to be paramount because states had granted legitimacy, for example, by licensing professional activity, setting standards of practice and regulation, acting as guarantor of professional education (not least by giving public funds for academic education and scientific research) and by paying for services provided by professional experts and practitioners. But the internationalization of markets required the reconceptualization of traditional professional jurisdictions. In addition, the increased mobility of professional practitioners between nation-states necessitated recognition and acceptability of other states' licensing, education and training requirements (Evetts, 2008; Orzack, 1998). Again, the convergence of professional systems and of regulatory states has required the reconceptualization as well as new theoretical and interpretational developments in the disciplinary field of professional occupational groups (Brint, 2006; Noordegraaf, 2007; Svensson and Evetts, 2003, 2010).

This article begins with a section on defining the field and clarifying concepts. This is followed by a second section on the concept of professionalism, its history and current developments. The third section considers the consequences of change for aspects of professionalism as an occupational value in the global world.

Defining the field and clarifying concepts

The concept of profession is much disputed (Sciulli, 2005 and Evetts' response, 2006a). For a period in the 1950s and 1960s, researchers shifted the focus of analysis onto the concept of profession as a particular kind of occupation, or an institution with special characteristics. The difficulties of defining the special characteristics and clarifying the differences between professions and (expert) occupations troubled analysts and researchers during this period (e.g. Etzioni, 1969; Greenwood, 1957; Wilensky, 1964).

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

It is generally the case, however, that definitional precision (about what is a profession) is now regarded more as a time-wasting diversion in that it did nothing to assist understanding of the power of particular occupational groups (such as law and medicine, historically) or of the contemporary appeal of the discourse of professionalism in all occupations (Champy, 2009). To most researchers in the field it no longer seems important to draw a hard and fast line between professions and occupations but, instead, to regard both as similar social forms which share many common characteristics (Olofsson, 2009).

Hughes (1958) was probably the first sociologist to argue that the differences between professions and occupations were differences of degree rather than kind. For Hughes not only do professions and occupations presume to tell the rest of their society what is good and right for it, but also they determine the ways of thinking about problems which fall in their domain (Dingwall and Lewis, 1983: 5). Professionalism in occupations and professions implies the importance of trust in economic relations in modern societies with an advanced division of labour (Di Luzio, 2006; Evetts, 2006b; Pfadenhauer, 2006). In other words, lay people *must* place their trust in professional workers (electricians and plumbers as well as lawyers and doctors) and some professionals must acquire confidential knowledge. Professionalism requires professionals to be worthy of that trust, to put clients first, to maintain confidentiality and not use their knowledge for fraudulent purposes. In return for professionalism in client relations, some professionals are rewarded with authority, privileged rewards and high status (Halliday, 1987). Some subsequent analysis has interpreted high rewards to be the result of occupational powers rather than professionalism but this was one result of the rather peculiar focus on medicine and law as the archetypal professions in Anglo-American analysis, rather than a more realistic assessment of the large differences in power resources of most occupational groups (Freidson, 1983; Hanlon, 1999; Johnson, 1992).

The comparative work of Hughes, and his linking of professions and occupations, also constitutes the starting point for many micro-level ethnographic studies of professional socialization in workplaces (e.g. hospitals and schools) and the development (in new) and maintenance (in existing) workers of shared professional values and identities. This shared professional identity (which has been a major research focus for French researchers) is associated with a sense of common experiences, understandings and expertise, shared ways of perceiving problems and their possible solutions. This common identity is produced and reproduced through occupational and professional socialization by means of shared educational backgrounds, professional training and vocational experiences, and by membership of professional associations (local, regional, national and international) and institutes where practitioners develop and maintain shared work cultures and common values (Boussard, 2008; Dubar and Tripier, 1998).

One result is similarities in work practices and procedures, common ways of perceiving problems and their possible solutions and shared ways of perceiving and interacting with customers and clients. In these ways the normative value system of professionalism in work, and how to behave, respond and advise, is reproduced at the micro level in individual practitioners and in their workplaces (Abbott, 1988; Hughes, 1958). Some of the differences in occupational socialization between occupations have been identified but the general process of shared occupational identity development via work cultures,

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

training and experience was regarded as similar across occupations and between societies. Research into occupational identities has been prominent in French analyses (e.g. Dubar, 2000) because the rather peculiar emphasis on occupational privileges and powers, in Anglo-American research, has had less influence on the definition of the field in France.

Many researchers focus on a particular case study professional/occupational group and handle the definitional problem in different ways. Some avoid giving a definition of profession and instead offer a list of relevant occupational groups (e.g. Hanlon [1998] claims to be following Abbott [1988]). Others have used the disagreements and continuing uncertainties about precisely what *is* a profession, to dismiss the separateness of the intellectual field, although not necessarily to dispute the relevance of current analytical debates. Crompton (1990), for example, considered how paradoxes and contradictions within the sociological debates about professions actually reflected wider and more general tensions in the sociologies of work, occupations and employment.

For most researchers, professions are regarded as essentially the knowledge-based category of service occupations which usually follow a period of tertiary education and vocational training and experience. A different way of categorizing professions is to see them as the structural, occupational and institutional arrangements for work associated with the uncertainties of modern lives in risk societies. Professionals are extensively engaged in dealing with risk, with risk assessment and, through the use of expert knowledge, enabling customers and clients to deal with uncertainty. To paraphrase and adapt a list by Olgiati et al. (1998), professions are involved in birth, survival, physical and emotional health, dispute resolution and law-based social order, finance and credit information, educational attainment and socialization, physical constructs and the built environment, military engagement, peace-keeping and security, entertainment, the arts and leisure, religion and our negotiations with the next world.

In general, however, it no longer seems important to draw a hard definitional line between professions and other (expert) occupations (see Svensson and Evetts, 2003). The operational definition of profession can be highly pragmatic. The intellectual field includes the study of occupations which are predominantly service sector and knowledge-based and achieved sometimes following years of higher/further education and specified years of vocational training and experience. Sometimes professional groups are also elites with strong political links and connections, and some professional practitioners are licensed as a mechanism of market closure and the occupational control of the work. They are primarily middle-class occupations sometimes characterized as the service class (Goldthorpe, 1982).

In sociological research on professional groups, three concepts have been used extensively in the development of explanations: profession, professionalization, professionalism. The concept of profession represents a distinct and generic category of occupational work. Definitions of 'profession' have been frequently attempted but sociologists have been unsuccessful in clarifying the differences between professions and other occupations and identifying what makes professions distinctive. Definitions of professions as institutional remain unresolved, though particular generic occupational groups continue to form the case studies in which to examine and test sociological theories and explanations.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

The concept of professionalization is regarded as the process to achieve the status of profession and has been interpreted as the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group in order to maintain practitioners' own occupational self-interests in terms of their salary, status and power as well as the monopoly protection of the occupational jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977). This interpretation was prominent in the field in the 1970s and 1980s and was associated with a critique of professions as ideological constructs (Johnson, 1972). The critique continued into the 1990s (e.g. Krause, 1996; MacDonald, 1995) and continues today in some analyses of the medical profession (e.g. Dent, 2003; Saks, 2003). Neo-Weberian interpretations also involve critique, as in Saks (2010) and Faulconbridge and Muzio's (2011) analysis of professions in a globalizing world.

This interpretation has declined in popularity recently (e.g. see themes of papers presented at recent international conferences), although sociologists interested in gender issues and differences continue to critique the idea of profession. This critique sees profession as a gendered (historical) construct (Davies, 1995, 1996; Witz, 1992). Sometimes, however, professionalization can be seen as a positive outcome, as a process that has benefited particularly female-dominated occupational groups (e.g. midwifery) in competition with medical dominance (Bourgeault et al., 2004). In addition, the concept of professionalization continues to be important in the analysis of newly emerging occupations (e.g. IT consultancy, human resources management, psychology and social care work) perhaps seeking status and recognition for the importance of the work often by standardization of the education, training and qualification for practice (Brint, 2001; Ruiz Ben, 2009).

A third concept is professionalism, which has had a long history in the disciplinary sub-field. Professionalism was usually interpreted as an occupational or normative value, as something worth preserving and promoting in work and by and for workers. Then later developments interpreted professionalism as a discourse and to an extent this has combined the occupational value and the ideological interpretations. This current interpretation of professionalism as value system involves a re-evaluation of the importance of trust in client–practitioner relations (Karpik, 1989), of discretion (Hawkins, 1992; Molander and Grimen, 2010) as well as analysis of risk (Grelon, 1996), expert judgement (Milburn, 1996; Trépos, 1996) and expertise (Anders Ericsson et al., 2006; Evetts et al., 2006; Mieg, 2006). It also includes a reassessment of *quality* of service and of professional *performance* in the best interests of both customers (in order to avoid further standardization of service provision) and practitioners (in order to protect discretion in service work decision-making) (Freidson, 1994; Svensson, 2010).

A different version of this re-interpretation of the concept of professionalism has involved the use of Foucauldian concepts of legitimacy (Foucault, 1979) and of the control of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct (Foucault, 1973, 1980). Using these ideas in her interpretation of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism, Fournier (1999), following Miller and Rose (1990), has explored professionalism as the government of professional practice 'at a distance'. These interpretations can also assist in understanding the appeal of professionalism as a mechanism of occupational change in the modern world.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Analysis of legitimacy, as a property of both systems and actors, has been developed most fully in the work of Foucault and his followers on the nature of governmentality and the constitution of citizen-subjects within modern societies. In respect of professions as systems, Foucault (1979) argued, following Weber (see Bendix, 1966: 417–430), that the development of particular forms of expertise was a crucial element in the formation of governmentality from the 16th century onwards. Summarizing Foucault's argument, Johnson (1992) showed how the extension of the capacity to govern depended on expertise in its professionalized form and the development of expert jurisdictions and systems of notation, documentation, evaluation, calculation and assessment. This extension of the capacity to govern necessitated a shift in the basis of legitimacy. Acceptance of the divine right of the sovereign declined and was replaced by a discourse that held 'popular obedience to the law' to be the sole source of legitimate rule (Foucault, 1979: 12). This was not expressed by Foucault as overt domination but rather as the probability that the 'normalized' subject will obey (Johnson, 1992).

The professions were intimately involved in these processes of normalization which were crucial to the reproduction of legitimate power in the liberal-democratic state (Johnson, 1992). Normalization also included the reproduction of the authority of the expert. Acceptance of the authority of professional experts went together with the consolidation of the authority of states. Acceptance of the authority of governments and of professionals have been interrelated and have been part of the process of normalization of the citizen-subject. Perkin (1988) also highlights the close and interconnected role played by both the nation-state and professionals in the creation of a legitimate capitalist order in the UK in the 1880–1920 period. In some respects, the organizing principles of the professions can be seen to model the process of normalization: the professional's training is, in theory, supposed to cultivate a proper balance between self- and collectivity interest which is sustained by interaction with the occupational community of his or her peers and by the desire not to lose their good opinion by excessive greed or abuse of power. Such a model may be deeply problematic as numerous critical writers have observed, but symbolically it remains very powerful and continues to explain the appeal of professionalism at the system or occupational level.

In current work and employment contexts (such as professional work in organizations) it is the increased use of the *discourse of professionalism* in a wide range of occupational workplaces which is important and in need of further analysis and understanding. The discourse of professionalism is used as a marketing slogan (e.g. 'have the job done by professionals') and in advertising to attract new recruits (e.g. 'join the professionals' – the army) as well as customers (Fournier, 1999). It is used in occupational recruitment campaigns, in company mission statements and organizational aims and objectives to motivate employees. The discourse of professionalism has entered the managerial literature and been embodied in training manuals. Even occupational regulation and control (both internal and external forms) are now explained and justified as means to improve professionalism in work. The concept of professionalism has an appeal to and for practitioners, employees and managers in the development and maintenance of work identities, career decisions and senses of self.

If the focus of analysis is shifted away from the concepts of profession (as a distinct and generic category of occupational work) and professionalization (as the process to

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group) and towards the concept of professionalism, then different kinds of explanatory theory become apparent. Then the discourse of professionalism can be analysed as a powerful instrument of occupational change and social control at macro, meso and micro levels and in a wide range of occupations in very different work, organizational and employment relations, contexts and conditions (Brint, 1994).

Professionalism: Historical development of interpretations

In early British sociological analysis, the key concept was 'professionalism' and the emphasis was on the importance of professionalism for the stability and civility of social systems (e.g. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Marshall, 1950; Tawney, 1921). Tawney perceived professionalism as a force capable of subjecting rampant individualism to the needs of the community. Carr-Saunders and Wilson saw professionalism as a force for stability and freedom against the threat of encroaching industrial and governmental bureaucracies. Marshall emphasized altruism or the 'service' orientation of professionalism and how professionalism might form a bulwark against threats to stable democratic processes. In these interpretations professionalism was regarded as an important and highly desirable occupational value and professional relations were characterized as collegial, cooperative and mutually supportive. Similarly, relations of trust characterized practitioner–client and practitioner–management interactions since competencies were assumed to be guaranteed by education, training and sometimes by licensing.

The early American sociological theorists of professions also developed similar interpretations and again the key concept was the occupational value of professionalism based on trust, competence, a strong occupational identity and cooperation. The best known, though perhaps most frequently misquoted, attempt to clarify the special characteristics of professionalism, its central values and its contribution to social order and stability, was that of Parsons (1939). Parsons recognized and was one of the first theorists to show how the capitalist economy, the rational-legal social order (of Weber) and the modern professions were all interrelated and mutually balancing in the maintenance and stability of a fragile normative social order. He demonstrated how the authority of the professions and of bureaucratic hierarchical organizations both rested on the same principles (the principles of functional specificity, restriction of the power domain, application of universalistic, impersonal standards). The professions, however, by means of their collegial organization and shared identity demonstrated an alternative approach (compared with the managerial hierarchy of bureaucratic organizations) towards the shared normative end.

The work of Parsons in general has subsequently been subject to heavy criticism mainly because of its links with functionalism (Dingwall and Lewis, 1983). The differences between professionalism and rational-legal, bureaucratic ways of organizing work have been returned to, however, in Freidson's (2001) final analysis. Freidson examined the logics of three different ways of organizing work in contemporary societies (the market, organization and profession) and illustrated the respective advantages and disadvantages of each for clients and practitioners. In this analysis he demonstrated the continuing

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

importance of maintaining professionalism (with some changes) as the main organizing principle for service sector work. Freidson did not use the term 'occupational value' and instead focused on the importance of knowledge and expertise; but he maintained that occupational control of the work (by the practitioners themselves) is of real importance for the maintenance of professionalism. It is important because the complexities of the work are such that only practitioners can understand the organizational needs of the work, its processes, procedures, testing and outcomes. It is by means of extensive (and expensive) systems of workplace training and socialization that the new recruits develop the expertise to put theoretical knowledge into practice and to use and control the work systems and procedures.

This interpretation represents what might be termed the optimistic (or positive) view of what professionalism and the process of professionalization of work entails. It is based on the principle that the work is of importance either to the public or to the interests of the state or an elite (Freidson, 2001: 214). According to Freidson, 'the ideal typical position of professionalism is founded on the official belief that the knowledge and skill of a particular specialization requires a foundation in abstract concepts and formal learning' (2001: 34–35). Education, training and experience are fundamental requirements but once achieved (and sometimes licensed) then the exercise of discretion (discretionary decision-making rather than autonomy; see Evetts, 2002) based on competencies is central and deserving of special status. Practitioners have special knowledge and skill and because of complexity it is often necessary to trust professionals' intentions. One consequence is that externally imposed rules (from states or organizations) governing the work are minimized and the exercise of discretionary decision-making and good judgement, usually in highly complex situations and circumstances, and based on recognized competences, is maximized.

It can also be argued that professionalism represents a distinctive form of decentralized occupational control and regulation which constitutes an important component of civil society. Professions create and maintain distinct professional values or moral obligations (e.g. codes of ethics) which restrain excessive competition by encouraging cooperation as well as practitioner pride and satisfaction in work performance – a form of individualized internal self-regulation. Indeed it could be argued that professional commitment (professionalism) has frequently covered for the various failures of statutory and organizational forms of work regulation. Where statutory and organizational forms have been seen to impoverish the quality of work and increase the bureaucracy, professionalism can be defended as a uniquely desirable method of regulating, monitoring and providing complex services to the public (Dingwall, 2008; Freidson, 2001).

There is a second, more pessimistic (or negative) interpretation of professionalism, however, which grew out of the more critical literature on professions which was prominent in Anglo-American analyses in the 1970s and 1980s. During this period professionalism came to be dismissed as a successful ideology (Johnson, 1972) and professionalization as a process of market closure and monopoly control of work (Larson, 1977) and occupational dominance (Larkin, 1983). Professionalization was intended to promote professional practitioners' own occupational self-interests in terms of their salary, status and power as well as the monopoly protection of an occupational jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988). This was seen to be a process largely initiated and controlled by the

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

practitioners themselves and mainly in their own interests, although it could also be argued to be in the public interest (Saks, 1995).

A third development involved the analysis of professionalism as a discourse of occupational change and control – this time in work organizations where the discourse is increasingly applied and utilized by managers. This third interpretation is a combination of the previous two and includes both occupational value and ideological elements. Fournier (1999) considered the appeal to 'professionalism' as a disciplinary mechanism in new occupational contexts. She suggested how the use of the discourse of professionalism, in a large privatized service company of managerial labour, worked to inculcate 'appropriate' work identities, conducts and practices. She considered this as 'a disciplinary logic which inscribes "autonomous" professional practice within a network of accountability and governs professional conduct at a distance' (Fournier, 1999: 280).

It is also the case that the use of the discourse of professionalism varies between different occupational groups. It is possible to use McClelland's (1990: 107) categorization to differentiate between professionalization 'from within' (that is, successful manipulation of the market by the group, such as in medicine and law) and 'from above' (that is, domination of forces external to the group, such as in engineering and social work). In this interpretation, where the appeal to professionalism is made and used by the occupational group itself, 'from within', then the returns to the group (in terms of salary, status and authority) can be substantial. In these cases, historically the group has been able to use the discourse in constructing its occupational identity, promoting its image with clients and customers, and bargaining with states to secure and maintain its (sometimes self-) regulatory responsibilities. In these instances the occupation is using the discourse partly in its own occupational and practitioner interests but sometimes also as a way of promoting and protecting the public interest (e.g. in medicine).

In the case of most contemporary public service occupations and professionals now practising in organizations, however, professionalism is being constructed and imposed 'from above' and for the most part this means by the employers and managers of the public service organizations in which these 'professionals' work. Here the discourse (of dedicated service and autonomous decision-making) is part of the appeal (or the ideology) of professionalism. This idea of service and autonomy is what makes professionalism attractive to aspiring occupational groups. When the discourse is constructed 'from above', then often it is imposed and it is a false or selective discourse because autonomy and occupational control of the work are not included. Rather, the discourse is used to promote and facilitate occupational change (rationalization) and as a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct.

This discourse of professionalism is grasped and welcomed by occupational groups since it is perceived to be a way of improving the occupations' status and rewards collectively and individually (e.g. aspiring caring occupations). It is a powerful ideology and the idea of becoming and being a 'professional worker' has appealed to many new and existing occupational groups particularly during the second half of the 20th century (e.g. social work and social care occupations throughout Europe and North America).

However, the realities of professionalism 'from above' are very different. The effects are not the occupational control of the work by the worker-practitioners but rather control by the organizational managers and supervisors (e.g. health and social care work).

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Organizational objectives (which are sometimes political) define practitioner–client relations, set achievement targets and performance indicators. In these ways organizational objectives regulate and replace occupational control of the practitioner–client work interactions, thereby limiting the exercise of discretionary decision-making and preventing the service ethic that has been so important in professional work. Organizational professionalism is clearly of relevance to the forms of public management currently being developed in the UK, and more widely, in educational institutions (schools and universities) and in NHS hospitals and primary care practices.

The appeal to professionalism can and has been interpreted as a powerful motivating force of control 'at a distance' (Burchell et al., 1991; Miller and Rose, 1990). It is also effective at the micro level where essentially it is a form of inner-directed control or self-control where close managerial supervision is not required – professional workers don't need supervisors. Organizational professionalism will be achieved through increased occupational training and the certification of the workers/employees, a process Collins (1979, 1981) labelled credentialism. In these cases the appeal to professionalism is a powerful mechanism for promoting occupational change and social control.

The use of the discourse of professionalism as operationalized by managers in work organizations is also a discourse of self-control which enables self-motivation and sometimes even self-exploitation. Born (1995) illustrated this process in the work context of French professional music practice and it is present more generally in the work culture of artists, actors and musicians. Once self-defined as a *professional* artist, then imposing time or other limits on one's efforts is rendered illegitimate. Similarly with professionals in general. The expectations by self and others of the professional have no limits. For the professional, of all kinds, the needs and demands of audiences, patients, clients, students and children become paramount. Professionals are expected and expect themselves to be committed, even to be morally involved in the work. Hence managers in organizations can use the discourse of professionalism to self-motivate, inner-direct and sometimes even to exploit professionals in the organization.

In contemporary societies we seem to be witnessing the development of two different (and in many ways contrasting) forms of professionalism in knowledge-based, service sector work: organizational and occupational professionalism (see Table 1). As an ideal-type *organizational professionalism* is a discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations. It incorporates rational-legal forms of authority and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. It involves the increased standardization of work procedures and practices and managerialist controls. It relies on externalized forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target-setting and performance review. In contrast, and again as an ideal-type, *occupational professionalism* is a discourse constructed within professional occupational groups and incorporates collegial authority. It involves relations of practitioner trust from both employers and clients. It is based on autonomy and discretionary judgement and assessment by practitioners in complex cases. It depends on common and lengthy systems of education, vocational training and socialization, and the development of strong occupational identities and work cultures. Controls are operationalized by practitioners themselves who are guided by codes of professional ethics which are monitored by professional institutes and associations. In earlier work the links and connections between these two different

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Table 1. Two different forms of professionalism in knowledge-based work.

Organizational professionalism	Occupational professionalism
• Discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations	• Discourse constructed within professional groups
• Rational-legal forms of authority	• Collegial authority
• Standardized procedures	• Discretion and occupational control of the work
• Hierarchical structures of authority and decision-making	• Practitioner trust by both clients and employers
• Managerialism	• Controls operationalized by practitioners
• Accountability and externalized forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review	• Professional ethics monitored by institutions and associations
• Linked to Weberian models of organization	• Located in Durkheim's model of occupations as moral communities

forms of professionalism and the classical interpretations of Weber and Durkheim have been explored (Evetts, 2004, 2005). These links will not be explained here but can be illustrated by reference to Weber's analysis of the increased prominence of the efficiency of the rational-legal (Bendix, 1966) and Durkheim's interpretation of organic solidarity and occupations as moral communities and sources of identity (Durkheim, 1992). (See also Liljegren [2012] and Le Bianic, [2011] for the need to clarify the level of analysis and the differences at macro, meso and micro levels.)

Professionalism as an occupational value: Changes and consequences

In conclusion, and returning to the question of the appeal of professionalism, it is necessary to try to understand how professionalism as normative value system and ideology is now being increasingly used as a discourse in modern organizations and other institutions and places of work as a mechanism to facilitate and promote occupational change. Why and in what ways have a set of work practices and relations, which historically characterized medicine and law in Anglo-American societies, resonated first with engineers, accountants and teachers, and now with pharmacists, social workers, care assistants, computer experts and law enforcement agencies in different social systems around the world?

The *ideology* of professionalism that is so appealing to occupational groups and their practitioners includes aspects such as exclusive ownership of an area of expertise and knowledge, and the power to define the nature of problems in that area as well as the control of access to potential solutions. It also includes an image of collegial work relations of mutual assistance and support rather than hierarchical, competitive or managerialist control. Additional aspects of the ideology of professionalism and its appeal are autonomy in decision-making and discretion in work practices, decision-making in the public interest unfettered only marginally by financial constraints, and in some cases

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

(for example the medical profession historically) even self-regulation or the occupational control of work (Freidson, 1994).

The meaning of professionalism in most service and knowledge-based occupational contexts is very different, however, and even medicine and law in Anglo-American social systems are no longer exempt. Fiscal crises have been features of most states and such crises have been partly explained by governments as resulting from the rising costs of welfare states and particularly social service professionalism. (See also Bourgeault and Benoit [2009] and Riska [2011] for commentary on and some of the difficulties of a comparative perspective on professional groups.) Remedial measures to attempt to contain the fiscal crises have been taken, and these have included cutbacks in funding and institutional 'rationalizations' as well as the promotion of managerialist/organizational cultures in the professional public service sector, including medicine. As Hanlon (1999: 121) explained: 'in short the state is engaged in trying to redefine professionalism so that it becomes more commercially aware, budget focused, managerial, entrepreneurial and so forth'.

Another interesting aspect of this question of the appeal of professionalism is how the balance between the normative and ideological control elements of professionalism is played out differently in the various service and knowledge-based occupational groups with very different employment situations. In considering this aspect, it can be argued that the Anglo-American over-emphasis on medicine and law as the archetypal professional groups has been largely unhelpful. One consequence has been that Anglo-American social scientists have developed a distorted view of the power of a limited number of occupational groups to influence states, demand and retain regulatory powers from those states and control (through monopoly practices) the markets for their knowledge and services. For other occupational groups (such as engineers, teachers and health workers), however, the ideology has worked, and has been working in other ways. (See also Muzio and Kirkpatrick [2011] on the need to reconnect the sociologies of professions and organizations.)

In general, then, a focus on (previously) powerful occupational groups has deflected attention away from analysis of occupations which generally have been less successful in using the ideology in their own interests (such as engineers and teachers; see Evetts and Jefferies [2005] on engineers and Gewirtz et al. [2009] on teachers). Indeed, it has handicapped and prevented discussion of how and why so many new service and knowledge-based occupational groups are attracted to the normative aspects of the ideological appeal.

It is, however, this willingness by states to concede professional powers and regulatory responsibilities, and for occupational groups to construct and demand professionalism 'from within' that is now almost universally in question. The consequence of this is still diversity in the balance of normative values and ideological control aspects of professionalism between different occupational groups – although this diversity might be reducing. The legal profession now (in contrast to medicine) is perhaps the best example of an occupational group in a relatively privileged normative position and still able to construct professionalism 'from within' (Olgiati, 1998). There are however numerous occupational groups within the profession of law, and groups can be categorized as social service, or as entrepreneurial (Hanlon, 1999). In general, groups which are publicly

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

funded compared with commercial practices are occupations where the ideological control elements are stronger than the normative (Milburn, 1998; Schepers, 1998; Speranza, 1998).

The medical professions are similarly highly stratified and differentially powerful in the sense of being able to construct and demand professionalism ‘from within’ (Annandale, 1998; Witz, 1992). It is also interesting to observe that the professional groups who are becoming powerful in international markets (for example some accountancy and legal professions) might be different from the occupational groups who have been powerful at state levels in the sense of constructing and demanding professionalism ‘from within’ (Cooper and Robson, 2006; Flood, 2011; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Grey, 1998).

In order to be able to analyse and discuss these occupational shifts and changes at state and international levels, however, it is necessary to be able to assess, evaluate and compare the balances between normative and ideological control elements of different occupational groups both historically (over time) and comparatively (between groups and in different social systems). In many of the new occupational contexts, where professionalism is being imposed ‘from above’ the normative value of the concept of professionalism is being used as an ideological instrument and a mechanism to promote and facilitate occupational change. In effect, professionalism is being used to convince, cajole and persuade employees, practitioners and other workers to perform and behave in ways which the organization or institution deem to be appropriate, effective and efficient. And ‘professional’ workers are very keen to grasp and lay claim to the normative values of professionalism.

The meaning of professionalism is not fixed, however, and sociological analysis of the concept has demonstrated changes over time both in its interpretation and function. All of these different interpretations are now needed in order to understand the appeal of professionalism in new and old occupations, and how the concept is being used to promote and facilitate occupational change.

The different balances between normative values and ideological control aspects in occupational groups, and the differences between professionalism constructed and operationalized ‘from within’ or ‘from above’ can help to explain the wider and more general appeal and attraction of professionalism. These different balances between occupational groups can also be applied in other societies and parts of the world where issues to do with the closure of markets or the ‘capture’ and manipulation of states never occurred. Thus Freidson’s (2001) analysis of professionalism as the third logic – namely control and order of the work and workers by the occupation rather than by the logics of the market or the organization – warrants further elaboration. Control continues to be by normative and ideological means but the balances vary between different occupational groups and are critically dependent on where professionalism is constructed and operationalized.

It is precisely the highly contested nature of the meaning of professionalism which according to Fournier (1999) makes professionalism as an ideological mechanism such an imperfect form of governance. For all occupational groups this leaves space for professional institutions (where they exist) and for professional workers to act as a countervailing force against organizational as well as political and state bureaucracies of

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

ideological control. This entails that professionalism as both normative value system and ideology of control needs to continue to be contested and challenged in new and old occupational contexts.

Annotated further reading

Freidson E (2001) *Professionalism: The Third Logic.* London: Polity Press. This book examines and compares the logic of the organization, the market and the profession as different contexts for the control of work and worker/employees/practitioners. It demonstrates the importance of maintaining professionalism in the production of service sector, knowledge-based work.

Muzio D and Kirkpatrick I (eds) (2011) Reconnecting professional occupations and professional organizations. *Current Sociology* 59(4): Monograph 2, July. This collection is important because it examines the ways in which professionalism and managerialism are coexisting and mutual affecting and influencing each other.

Svensson LG and Evetts J (eds) (2010) *Sociology of Professions: Continental and Anglo-Saxon Traditions*. Göteborg: Daidalos. This book explains the different traditions of research and analysis in sociology of professions in Anglo-American and Continental Europe. It also examines the convergences between these two traditions.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

References

Abbott A (1988) *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Adler P, Kwon SW and Heckscher C (2008) Professional work: The emergence of collaborative community. *Organization Science* 19(2): 359–376.

Anders Ericsson K, Charness N, Feltovich PJ and Hoffman RR (eds) (2006) *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Annandale E (1998) *The Sociology of Health and Medicine*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bendix R (1966) *Max Weber*. London: University Paperbacks.

Born G (1995) *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourgeault IL and Benoit C (eds) (2009) Comparative perspectives on the sociology of professional groups. *Current Sociology* 57(4): Monograph 2.

Bourgeault IL, Benoit C and Davis-Floyd R (2004) *Reconceiving Midwifery*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Boussard V (2008) *Sociologie de la gestion: les faiseurs de performance*. Paris: Belin.

Brante T (2010) Professional fields and truth regimes: In search of alternative approaches. *Comparative Sociology* 9(6): 843–886.

Brint S (1994) *In an Age of Experts: The Changing Role of Professionals in Politics and Public Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brint S (2001) Professions and the 'knowledge economy': Rethinking the theory of post-industrial Society. *Current Sociology* 49(4): 101–132.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Brint S (2006) Saving the 'soul of professions': Freidson's institutional ethics and the defence of professional autonomy. *Knowledge, Work and Society* 4(2): 101–129.
Burchell G, Gordon C and Miller P (eds) (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
Burrage M and Torstendahl R (eds) (1990a) *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions*. London: Sage.
Burrage M and Torstendahl R (eds) (1990b) *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*. London: Sage.
Carr-Saunders AM and Wilson PA (1933) *The Professions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Champy F (2009) Overcoming the double-bind of the sociology of professions. In: *ESA Conference*, Lisbon, RN19.
Champy F (2011) *Nouvelle thèorie sociologie des professions*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Collins R (1979) *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*. New York: Academic Press.
Collins R (1981) Crises and declines in credential systems. *Sociology Since Midcentury: Essays in Theory Cumulation*. New York: Academic Press.
Cooper DL and Robson K (2006) Accounting professions and regulation: Locating the sites of professionalization. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 31(4–5): 415–444.
Crompton R (1990) Professions in the current context. *Work, Employment and Society* Special Issue 4: 147–166.
Davies C (1995) *Gender and the Professional Predicament in Nursing*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Davies C (1996) The sociology of professions and the profession of gender. *Sociology* 30(4): 661–678.
Demazière D and Gadea C (2009) *Sociologie des groupes professionnels: aquis recent et nouveaux défit*. Paris: La Découverte.
Dent M (2003) *Remodelling Hospitals and Health Professions in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Di Luzio G (2006) A sociological concept of client trust. *Current Sociology* 54(4): Monograph 2: 549–564.
Dingwall R (2008) *Essays on Professions*. Ashgate Classics in Sociology. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Dingwall R and Lewis P (eds) (1983) *The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others*. London: Macmillan.
Dubar C (2000) *La Crise des identités: l'interprétation d'une mutation*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Dubar C and Tripier P (1998) *Sociologie des professions*. Paris: Armand Colin.
Durkheim E (1992) *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. London: Routledge.
Etzioni A (1969) *The Semi-professionals and their Organization: Teachers, Nurses and Social Workers*. New York: Free Press.
Evetts J (2002) New directions in state and international professional occupations. *Work, Employment and Society* 16(2): 339–351.
Evetts J (2004) Organizational or occupational professionalism: Centralized regulation or occupational trust. In: *ISA RC52 Interim Conference*, Versailles, France, 22–24 September.
Evetts J (2005) Organizational and occupational professionalism: The legacies of Weber and Durkheim for knowledge society. In: *ISA Executive Committee International Symposium – Cultural Change, Social Problems and Knowledge Society*, Zaragoza, Spain, 7–11 March.
Evetts J (2006a) Short note: The sociology of professional groups: new directions. *Current Sociology* 54(1): 133–143.
Evetts J (ed.) (2006b) Trust and professionalism in knowledge societies. *Current Sociology* 54(4): Monograph 2.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Evetts J (ed.) (2008) Professional work in Europe: Concepts, theories and methodologies. *European Societies* (Special issue) 10(4).
Evetts J and Jefferies D (2005) The engineering and science institutions in the UK: Changes, ambiguities and current challenges. *European Journal of Engineering Education* 30(3): 299–308.
Evetts J, Mieg H and Felt U (2006) Professionalization, scientific expertise, and elitism: A sociological perspective. In: Anders Ericsson K, Charness N, Feltovich PJ and Hoffman RR (eds) *Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 105–123.
Farell C and Morris J (2003) The neo-bureaucratic state: Professionals, managers and professional managers in schools, general practices and social work. *Organization* 10(1): 129–156.
Faulconbridge J and Muzio D (2011) Professions in a globalizing world: Towards a transnational sociology of the professions. *International Sociology* 26(3): 1–17.
Flood J (2011) The re-landscaping of the legal profession: Large law firms and professional re-regulation. *Current Sociology* 59(4): Monograph 2: 507–529.
Foucault M (1973) *The Birth of the Clinic*. London: Tavistock.
Foucault M (1979) Governmentality. *Ideology and Consciousness* 6(1): 5–21.
Foucault M (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
Fournier V (1999) The appeal to 'professionalism' as a disciplinary mechanism. *Social Review* 47(2): 280–307.
Freidson E (1983) The theory of professions: State of the art. In: Dingwall R and Lewis P (eds) *The Sociology of Professions*. London: Macmillan.
Freidson E (1994) *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Freidson E (2001) *Professionalism: The Third Logic*. London: Polity Press.
Gewirtz S, Mahony P, Hextall I and Cribb A (eds) (2009) *Changing Teacher Professionalism: International Trends, Challenges and Ways Forward*. London: Routledge.
Goldthorpe J (1982) On the service class, its formation and future. In: Giddens A and MacKenzie G (eds) *Classes and the Division of Labour: Essays in Honour of Ilya Neustadt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 162–185.
Greenwood E (1957) The attributes of a profession. *Social Work* 2: 44–55.
Greenwood R and Suddaby R (2006) Institutional entrepreneurship in mature fields: The big five accounting firms. *Academy of Management Journal* 49(1): 27–48.
Grelon A (1996) Ingenieurs et risques technologiques dans le chimie industrielle en France. In: *ISA Working Group 02 Conference*, Nottingham.
Grey C (1998) On being a professional in a big six firm. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 23(5–6): 569–587.
Halliday TC (1987) *Beyond Monopoly: Lawyers, State Crises and Professional Empowerment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Hanlon G (1998) Professionalism as enterprise: Service class politics and the redefinition of professionalism. *Sociology* 32(1): 43–64.
Hanlon G (1999) *Lawyers, the State and the Market: Professionalism Revisited*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Hawkins K (ed.) (1992) *The Uses of Discretion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hughes EC (1958) *Men and their Work*. New York: Free Press.
Johnson T (1972) *Professions and Power*. London: Macmillan.
Johnson T (1992) The internationalization of expertise. In: *Sociology of Occupational Groups Conference*, Paris, 19–20 November.
Karpik L (1989) Le désintéressement. *Annales, Economies Socitétés Civilisations* 3 (Mai–Juin): 733–751.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Krause EA (1996) *Death of the Guilds: Professions, States and the Advance of Capitalism, 1930 to the Present*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Kuhlmann E (2006) *Modernising Health Care: Reinventing Professions, the State and the Public*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
Langer A and Schrőer A (eds) (2011) *Professionalisierung im Nonprofit Management*. Heidelberg: Vs Verlag.
Larkin G (1983) *Occupational Monopoly and Modern Medicine*. London: Tavistock.
Larson MS (1977) *The Rise of Professionalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Le Bianic T (2011) Certified expertise and professional responsibility in organizations: The case of mental health practice in prisons. *The Sociological Review* 59(4): 803–827.
Liljegren A (2012) Pragmatic professionalism: Micro-level discourse in social work. *European Journal of Social Work* 1–18. DOI: 10.1080/13691457.2010.543888.
McClellend CE (1990) Escape from freedom? Reflections on German professionalization 1870–1933. In: Burrage M and Torstendahl R (eds) *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*. London: Sage, pp. 97–113.
MacDonald KM (1995) *The Sociology of the Professions*. London: Sage.
Marshall TH (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mieg H (2006) Social and sociological factors in the development of expertise. In: Anders Ericsson K, Charness N, Feltovich PJ and Hoffman RR (eds) *Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Milburn P (1996) Les Territoires professionnels et la négociation experte du réel: compatibilté des modèles théoriques. In: *ISA Working Group 02 Conference*, Nottingham.
Milburn P (1998) French lawyers and the development of children's rights. In: Olgiati V, Orzack LH and Saks M (eds) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Miller P and Rose N (1990) Governing economic life. *Economy and Society* 19(1): 1–31.
Molander A and Grimen H (2010) Understanding professional discretion. In: Svensson LG and Evetts J (eds) *Sociology of Professions: Continental and Anglo-Saxon Traditions*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
Muzio D and Kirkpatrick I (eds) (2011) Reconnecting professional occupations and professional organizations. *Current Sociology* 59(4): Monograph 2.
Noordegraaf M (2007) From pure to hybrid professionalism: Present day professionalism in ambiguous public domains. *Administration and Society* 39(6): 761–785.
Olgiati V (1998) Risk, professions and the claim for human rights. In: Olgiati V, Orzack LH and Saks M (eds) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Olgiati V, Orzack LH and Saks M (eds) (1998) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Olofsson G (2009) The coming of the proto-professions: A third stage of professionalization? In: *ESA Conference*, Lisbon, RN19.
Orzack LH (1998) Professions and world trade diplomacy: National systems of international authority. In: Olgiati V, Orzack L and Saks M (eds) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati Papers 4/5. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Parsons T (1939) The professions and social structure. *Social Forces* 17: 457–467.
Perkin H (1988) *The Rise of Professional Society*. London: Routledge.
Pfadenhauer M (2006) Crisis or decline? Problems of legitimation and loss of trust in modern professionalism. *Current Sociology* 54(4): Monograph 2: 565–578.
Riska E (2011) Professionalism and medical work in a post-Soviet society: Between four logics. *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 29(1): 82–93.

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

Ruiz Ben E (2009) Professionalism patterns in the internationalization of information work. In: *ESA Conference*, Lisbon, RN19.
Saks M (1995) *Professions and the Public Interest: Medical Power, Altruism and Alternative Medicine*. London: Routledge.
Saks M (2003) *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine: Politics, Professionalization and Health Care*. London: Sage.
Saks M (2010) Analysing the professions: The case for the neo-Weberian approach. *Comparative Sociology* 9(6): 887–915.
Schepers R (1998) Continuity and discontinuity in the self-regulation of the Belgian and Dutch medical profession. In: Olgiati V, Orzack LH and Saks M (eds) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Sciulli D (2005) Continental sociology of professions today: Conceptual contributions. *Current Sociology* 53(6): 915–942.
Speranza L (1998) Expertise versus status: Professional dilemma or sociological decoy? The Italian case. In: Olgiati V, Orzack LH and Saks M (eds) *Professions, Identity and Order in Comparative Perspective*. Onati: The International Institute for the Sociology of Law.
Svensson L (2010) Professions, organizations, collegiality and accountability. In: Svensson L and Evetts J (eds) *Sociology of Professions: Continental and Anglo-Saxon Traditions*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
Svensson L and Evetts J (eds) (2003) *Conceptual and Comparative Studies of Continental and Anglo-American Professions*. Göteborg Studies in Sociology No. 129. Göteborg: Göteborg University.
Svensson L and Evetts J (eds) (2010) *Sociology of Professions: Continental and Anglo-Saxon Traditions*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
Tawney RH (1921) *The Acquisitive Society*. New York: Harcourt Bruce.
Trépos J (1996) Une modelisation des jugements d'experts: catégories et instruments de mesure. In: *ISA Working Group 02 Conference*, Nottingham.
Verpraet G (2009) Knowledge professions between market professionalism and professional autonomy: The adequation of sociological typologies. In: *ESA Conference*, Lisbon, RN19.
Wilensky HL (1964) The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology* 70(2): 137–158.
Witz A (1992) *Professions and Patriarchy*. London: Routledge.

Author biography

Julia Evetts is Emeritus Professor of Sociology in the School of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Nottingham, UK. For a number of years she has been researching and writing about professions and occupations including women's and men's careers in teaching, banking and science and engineering in industrial organizations. She has worked on projects to do with the armed forces, journalism, foster care and social work.

Résumé

Le professionnalisme est un concept clé dans les sociologies du travail, des activités professionnelles, des professions et des organisations. Mais le professionnalisme se transforme et continue à se transformer. Cet article examine les différentes approches qui ont été utilisées ou sont en cours d'utilisation pour interpréter le concept de

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015

professionnalisme. Après une première partie consacrée à la définition du champ et à la clarification des concepts, la deuxième partie examine le concept de professionnalisme, son histoire et ses développements actuels. La troisième partie analyse les conséquences des transformations du monde du travail et des conditions d'embauche du point de vue de la valeur professionnelle et de l'idéologie dans un monde globalisé.

Mots-clés
Discours, idéologie, valeur professionnelle, professionnalisme

Resumen

Profesionalismo es un concepto clave en las sociologías del trabajo, ocupaciones, profesiones y organizaciones. Pero el profesionalismo está cambiando y está siendo cambiado. Este artículo considera las diferentes maneras en que el profesionalismo ha sido y está actualmente siendo interpretado. Comienza con una sección en la que se define el campo y se esclarecen los conceptos. La segunda sección examina el concepto de profesionalismo, su historia y desarrollos actuales. La tercera sección considera las consecuencias de los cambios en los contextos de trabajo y en las condiciones de empleo sobre aspectos del profesionalismo tanto como valor ocupaciones, como una ideología en el mundo globalizado.

Palabras clave
Discurso, ideología, valor ocupacional, profesionalismo

Downloaded from csi.sagepub.com at MOUNT ALLISON UNIV on June 15, 2015