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Special Issue: Professions and Professionalism in Market-Driven Societies

Table of Contents

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Editorial: Professions and Professionalism in Market-Driven Societies

Social, political and economic transformations in contemporary society create instabilities, ambiguities, and uncertainties that bring significant challenges to professionals, professional groups, professionalization processes, and professionalism. Social notions, institutionalized during industrial capitalism, are now put in question. That is the case for the concept of a welfare state; the regulatory role of the nation-states, the dominant processes of work rationalization and control that along with the intrusion of market and management narratives in the structuring of societies, challenge the traditional role, power, and autonomy that professional groups had in the society.

Eliot Freidson (2001) is among the authors who claim that professional values are—and should be—autonomous from the market and bureaucratic-administrative structures, as a condition to assure the quality of knowledge and similar conditions of access to services. However, it is no longer possible to think about work and professions without taking into account the current global context of market expansion into different dimensions of individual and collective everyday life. The states' roles, particularly welfare governance, are changing accordingly (Kuhlmann, 2006), as are work models that are increasingly shaped by entrepreneurial and network-based values aiming at emancipating individuals from organizational control. Not surprisingly, such competing logics are likely transposed to individuals, therefore affecting how they perceive and act as users and professionals (Ward, 2012).

The way these macro-structural changes affect professional groups, professionals and professionalism, has been a core concern for the sociology of professions in more recent years (Brock, Leblebici, & Muzio, 2014; Carvalho, 2014; Correia, 2013; Evans, 2016; Noordegraaf, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2016; Skelcher & Smith, 2015; Kuhlmann et al., 2013). This special issue intends to further contribute to the discussion of market-driven societies through the lens of the sociology of professions.

Market-driven societies

In contemporary societies, there is an institutionalized and hegemonic idea that the traditional model of state organization based on welfare principles is no longer capable of creating solutions to face the socio-political problems and conflicts generated by recent transformations in capitalist and global economies (Carvalho & Santiago, 2016b; Clarke & Newman, 1997; Offe, 2018). As a consequence, different and sometimes inter-related proposals have been presented, discussed, and implemented to restructure the welfare state.

Traditional welfare state interventions are now presented as linked to economic inefficiency, lack of innovation, dependency on professionals' power, lack of individual freedom to make informed choices, the/a "fat and big state" and irrationalities

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in cost-benefits of public services (Carvalho & Santiago, 2016b). To overcome these disadvantages, several proposals have emerged, relying mainly on the attempts to transfer the managerial assumptions and devices from the capitalist enterprise to public systems and institutions. This transference resulted in attempts to privatize some public institutions, specifically in the Anglo-Saxon context in the 1970s, leading to the transfer of its activities from the public to the market realm. However, other transformations were also tested that, although not implying privatization, promoted quasi-market mechanisms in the public sector (Exworthy, Powell, & Mohan, 1999; Le Grand, 1991). Mechanisms such as separating providers from purchasers, emphasizing business-like accountability systems, concentrating policy and strategic power at the top of organizations, and promoting entrepreneurial cultures represented attempts to rule public systems under private models logic. These mechanisms are included in New Public Management (NPM) tendencies (Carvalho & Santiago, 2016b; Deem, Hilliard & Reed, 2007; Pollit & Boukaert, 2000).

The way NPM has been conceptualized and interpreted is not consensual. While some look at privatization and marketization as merely an economic and management response to the welfare state "crisis," based on efficiency and cost concerns (Bartlett & Le Grand, 1993; Hood, 1995; Le Grand, 1991), others interpret it as part of a specific political agenda intending to restrict the economic, administrative and social roles of the state (Carvalho & Santiago, 2016b; Collyer, 2003). In this perspective, privatization and marketization are assumed as instruments of an ideological project aiming to promote the state disengagement from the public sector (Dardot & Laval, 2009). In overall terms, market and quasi-market mechanisms are said to induce transformations in the way society and different social and professional agents make use of public services—from a "public space" to a "private like space" of activities constructed outside the traditional values of the welfare state. In this context, market mechanisms have an increasingly relevant role in the provision, steering and organization, not only of private for-profit organizations but also in private and non-profit organizations. These general tendencies promoted by policy reforms and supported by technical innovations and globalization are said to deeply transform both the environment of institutions and professional work.

The new social and institutional order is presented as one of the major challenges to professionals and to professionalism in current times. New forms of professional development involving increasing flexibility, mobility, and individualization have been developed (Kuhlmann & Saks, 2008) along with the imposition of new cultural values and professional practices, compelling professional groups to pursue competitive and enterprising modes of conduct and to adopt more "business-like" practices (Boyce, 2008; Fournier, 1999). The traditional *professional (self) regulation* based on voluntary activities carried out by professional bodies is increasingly substituted by *market regulation*, sustained in competition principles and performance evaluation measures aligned with standardized professional practices.

Recurrent in the literature is the discussion on the effects and challenges that these market-oriented reforms, both at the system and institutional levels, have on professionals' core values and norms and on their professional practices. Professionalism can be defined, according to Evetts (2003), as a discourse consisting of a set of normative values and identities. But it can also be conceptualized, according to Fournier (1999, 2000), based in the Foucaultian (1991) notion of governmentality, as a mechanism of control of work and workers. In other words, professionalism can be interpreted as a form of self-discipline for employees (Fournier, 2000). The objective is to self-regulate the subject. In this perspective, market-oriented reforms may change professionals' behaviour by affecting their autonomous subjectivity (Freidson, 2001).

Simultaneously, there is also a dominant idea that professional power is being diluted, currently analyzed in the scientific literature under the de-professionalization thesis (Clark, 2005). However, social dynamics are not linear, nor are they unequivocal regarding this issue. Dimensions such as the increase in the level of education and training, the expansion of professional characteristics to groups that

traditionally did not have them, and the way professional frontiers are negotiated to maintain traditional borders, are nothing more than a few examples of the complex dynamics of presence in professionals groups. Furthermore, the empirical analyses of these changes are not so linear in their conclusions and tend to defend the existence of hybrid forms and mechanisms translated in the coexistence of different institutional logics (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2018; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015).

Contributions to the sociology of professions have already highlighted some market-driven policies and practices in different countries (Bonnin & Ruggunan, 2016; Korableva, 2014) and professional groups (Carvalho, 2011; Carvalho & Santiago, 2016a; Correia, 2013; Correia & Denis, 2016; Mausethagen & Smeby, 2016; Schnell, 2015). Building on this evidence, this special issue aims to provide a comprehensive approach to the interplay between professions and the market.

Market influences in the professional world

The collection of articles in this special issue aims to broaden the theoretical and empirical understanding of the market in the world of professions. The analyses show that the market-professions relationship is a global phenomenon that crosses different regulatory models and historical trajectories of professionalization, but also that renewed insights are necessary due to differences in processes and outcomes of professionalization. Indeed, the market—defined as a competing, for-profit-driven rationale apart from the bureaucracy and the professions—is making itself visible in professions in various ways: in training and workplace settings, structurally in occupational values and individually in professionals' agency, and more and more in regulated professional groups.

The studies also show that competition and the for-profit-driven rationale is increasingly present in the governance of public institutions, and thus that the dichotomous view of the public-private boundary is blurring. Increasingly, state-owned and subsidized institutions look for financial self-sustainability, compete for limited resources, and sustain on public-private relationships with their operations.

The studies look specifically to the education sector, journalism and advocacy, and empirical research reports on Denmark, Portugal, and Germany. The underlying argument that crosses all studies is that professions deeply embed in concrete realities. Therefore, the operationalization of key concepts (e.g., professionalism and professionalization) needs to be grounded in and build on specific contexts. The debate traditionally considers categories linked to broad specific regulatory models (e.g., the Anglo-American model, the Continental European model, the Russian model) (Larson, 2018; Saks, 2015; Sciulli, 2005; Torstendahl & Burrage, 1990). Recently, the literature is increasingly pointing to organization-driven differences (Reed, 2005; Thomas & Hewitt, 2011).

This analytical displacement towards organizational settings, which is often called the *neo-institutionalism turn*, highlights the living nature of organizations in which bureaucratic, professional and market logics stand closely together. Macro-micro relationships then need reconsideration, and the classical structure-action dichotomy that has to a large extent prevailed in the sociology of professions is called into question (Correia, 2017).

Methodologically, the studies focus exclusively on qualitative approaches (e.g., interviews, focus groups, discussion panels, literature reviews, and ethnographic observations), which is likely to provide a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of the theme.

Three of the articles provide different yet complementary insights into the education sector. Samuelsson reviews the literature on teacher collegiality to better frame the increasing influence of the market on teachers' workplace settings and professional cultures. The argument derives from the overall trend of opening public

administration to governance mechanisms and principles of New Public Management (NPM). The link of NPM-driven reforms and the market in the education sector is detailed, as well as in the analysis by Stoleroff and Vicente, which generally speaks to the loss of employment security, increased competition among professionals and institutions, and changing practices in teaching cultures towards less collaboration and more individualism.

The question Samuelsson raises is how to make sense theoretically of teacher collegiality in empirical realities increasingly complicated by seemingly contradictory forces: collaborative practices on the one hand, and competition and accountability on the other. The answer lies in treating collegiality as a *boundary object*, which basically means that bureaucracy, professionalism and the market are adaptive rather than static analytical categories, thus embracing collegiality in specific institutional logics. The review of studies shows the extent to which collegiality articulates with in-market competition, strengthened hierarchical procedures and shared learning, insofar as new challenges are posed to work models, occupational values and solidarity.

These general trends are given greater visibility in the articles authored by Duch, and Stoleroff and Vicente who conducted empirical studies on the education sector in Denmark and Portugal, respectively.

Duch focuses on changes in the training program of teachers, in particular, the effects on teachers' transition from training to the workplace. The market is made visible in the analysis through the governance of these programs, which were once state-regulated and now are under the influence of vocational colleges. Despite vocational colleges continuing in the public sphere, the training programs have become more decentralized and dependent on the views of the in-charge managers of vocational colleges. Additionally, private stakeholders increasingly play a role in the activity of vocational colleges, hence the growth of public-private relationships in the provision of public services.

Theoretically speaking, the article fosters debates on changing professionalism, which is empirically explored through whether and how managers' views of organizational professionalism influence teachers' occupational professionalism. The contribution to the debate is three-fold. First, it highlights the extent to which the market is making itself visible in professions during preliminary stages of occupational socialization, even before professionals enter the labour market. Therefore, changes in teachers' occupational professionalism are likely to be taking place from within the profession. Second, the evidence also uncovers differences in training models, which highlights the trend of decentralization and the importance of in-charge managers of vocational schools in setting training programs. In this sense, more and more teachers' occupational professionalism comprises different values and pedagogic skills. Third, these structural changes do not necessarily affect teachers' individual constructions of professionalism in similar ways. Therefore, it is necessary to look closer at the interplay between professionals' individual trajectories and occupational values. By giving professionals a more active status, the analyses more likely reveal different ways by which occupational and organizational professionalism relate to each other.

Stoleroff and Vicente focus on academics in higher education institutions, in particular, the discourses of union representatives and academics on performance assessment models for academics. Theoretically speaking, the study aligns with the overall argumentation by Samuelsson regarding New Public Management and blurred public-private boundaries. The aim is to understand how more traditional collegial governance models of higher education institutions coexist with the reinforced managerial-bureaucratic model in the discourses of some of the players.

As for the main results, the institutional position of unions accepts the need for performance assessment in higher education institutions out of respect for broad principles of competition and meritocracy. However, unions are critical of the aim,

criteria, and procedures of assessment models. The discourse analysis of union representatives was done in two moments to capture possible variations in time. In fact, the discourses reveal growing conformity or acceptance of the assessment models set in place. A similar ambivalence is found in academics' discourses. One possible explanation is that the implementation of performance models did not fulfil its initial goals, hence leading to professionals' accommodation. Another possible explanation is that academics routinized the new procedures in their daily practice, hence leading to deeper interconnections between collegiality and managerialism.

Next, Schnell provides a comprehensive approach to journalism built on previous empirical studies in Germany. The added value of the analysis crosses national borders, as it regards more broadly how professionalism and professionalization of journalism interconnect with the public interest, democracy, and the market economy.

The article also offers a historical perspective of the differences and intersections between the Anglo-American and Continental European models of the professionalization of journalism, and the extent to which in different countries these models have turned out differently. One important argument is that the creation and development of journalism were built and continues to build on tensions between public duty and market-oriented principles.

The influence of the market on the analysis is made visible in four ways. The first is the global growth of the media economy and the influence of international-level corporations on journalism. The second is the spread of the liberal scope of the Anglo-American model of professionalism of journalism to Continental Europe, where traditionally the activity was more corporative. The third is competition among journalists in the labour market as forms of social closure did not narrow down diverse trajectories and training. The fourth is the digital era, in which journalism is increasingly made accountable to technology, different industries, and more demanding participating audiences.

In sum, the professionalization of journalism, unlike other professional groups, has never resulted in effective strategies of social closure regardless of the defence of occupational values of public service, autonomy, and ethics. This distinctive trait of journalism reflects, on the one hand, the importance of ideals of freedom and the adaptive nature of the practice. On the other hand, it reflects structural constraints imposed by the global economy in control of the media and by the new roles of active consumers/citizens.

Lastly, Santos provides an analysis of the legal sector in Portugal. The focus is on young lawyers' views of professionalism, notably the cross between organizational dynamics and high exposure to competition. The provocation is patent right in the title: the ideal of unstoppable workers. One key point of the analysis is to trace the construction of lawyers' professionalism through different instances of occupational socialization. Another key point of the analysis is to better understand the influence of workplace contexts in lawyers' occupational values given the diversity of labour settings and resources at their disposal.

Similar to the previous empirical studies, the relevance of the analysis is beyond national borders. In this case, the core argument builds on the overall influence of the market on the professions and the states: not only is advocacy the archetype of the liberal profession in Portugal and in many other countries, but also the internationalization and financialization of the economy makes lawyers a centrepiece in the functioning of modern states (e.g., for the defence of citizens' rights, for the functioning of public-private relationships, for the governance of public administration, for the definition of social policies).

The results detail the processes through which lawyers are socialized in organizational professionalism, including how to meet clients' needs and better respond to professional-based hierarchical relationships in workplace settings. Aligned with the previous studies of this collection, tensions between forms of individual and institutional competition stand out for lawyers, as well as forms of collaboration.

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Collegiality in Context of Institutional Logics: A Conceptual Review

Abstract: This article presents an analysis and discussion of the conceptions of teacher collegiality in times of restructuring, where a shift in the governance of teachers' work from bureaucratic to market principles can be identified. In addition, several actors from different cultural and social worlds want to contribute to education policy and school success, often through collegiality. Through a conceptual research review, a selection of articles on how teacher collegiality is assigned meaning in the context of different institutional logics is analysed. Different kinds of collegiality are presented, all of which have something to contribute to the understanding of teachers' work; however, they imply different things. Such differences need to be clarified in order to improve the exchange of ideas, cooperation, and mutual understanding between actors in different cultural and social worlds. Researchers, actors, and experts in market-driven societies will thereby have a better chance to exchange ideas and actually understand each other.

Keywords: Teacher collegiality, teacher professionalism, educational restructuring, structuring principles

Improving schools through "collaborative practices" is currently on the agenda in supranational organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (Schleicher, 2015, p. 10). In educational research, this is also regarded as an important aspect for the development of school organizations and professional cultures of teaching (see, for example, McLaughlin & Talbert, 2006 or Clement & Vandenberghe, 2000). Improving teachers' collaborative practices is thus currently highly valued in policy as well as in research.

At the same time, teachers' work like the public sector, in general, has been subject to a shift in governance. Business-like ways of organizing and governing teachers' work based on New Public Management (NPM) have been introduced including a notion that efficiency and international competitiveness will increase (Hudson, 2007; Lægreid & Christensen, 2007; Santiago, Carvalho, Amaral, & Meek, 2006). This market-like shift is highly visible in teachers' everyday work, for instance in a new focus on competition (Frostenson, 2011; Lundahl, 2011; Lundström & Parding, 2011). According to Lundström and Rönnberg (2015), teachers' work and their tasks have changed due to marketization, and according to Dovemark and Holm (2017, p. 45), this market-influenced governance forces teachers into competition and individualism instead of collaboration.

Here a clash in structuring principles appears. On the one hand, collaborative

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practices—or collegiality—are thought to be promoted by accountability policies (Jacobsen & Buch 2016), but, on the other hand, NPM can also be regarded as a threat to collegiality with increased competition and managerial control of the teaching profession (Dovemark & Holm, 2017; Evetts, 2009, p. 248). It thus seems that collegiality can be assigned different meanings in different settings. In this clash of structuring principles, I raise the issue of what meanings the concept of collegiality is assigned in the context of different management principles and what this implies for the understanding of teachers' work and working conditions (Parding & Berg-Jansson, 2016). For my purpose, I use educational research literature and theories of institutional logics (Freidson, 2001). The article adds to research on teacher collegiality, professionalism, and teachers' working conditions in the market-driven societies by analysing collegiality in an intellectual context through the institutional logics. This is of importance when different management principles appear simultaneously in teachers' work in what Blomgren and Waks (2015) call "institutional crowdedness."

Point of departure, purpose, and research questions

Teachers' work is here regarded as socially and politically constructed (Goodson, 2003, p. 52). Teachers work in specific social, cultural, and organizational settings, and these pre-conditions limit what is possible to see and act upon (Freidson, 2001). Put with Hodkinson, Biesta, and James' (2007, p. 418) words, "people are subject to structures even as they take agentic actions." In accordance with, for instance, Bernstein (1996/2000, p. 3) and Lundgren (1984, p. 10), it is of importance to understand educational societal contexts. Here, referring to the notion of language games (Wittgenstein 1953/1978), I study utterances or conceptions, arguing that they take on their meanings in different contexts understood as different structuring factors that are analysed through institutional logics (Freidson, 2001).

Since collegiality is a term used in different social worlds, I regard it as a boundary object.

> [p]lastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use and become strongly structured in individual site use. These objects may be abstract or concrete. They have different meanings in different social worlds, but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393)

Boundary objects can be used to understand the relation between science and society and how scientific cooperation between different groups is possible (Wisselgren, 2008, p. 104). They can also explain the possibility of "building bridges" between different social worlds, here seen as research, policy and teachers' work, each of them wanting to contribute to school success from their perspective.

Purpose and research questions

Given the above-sketched focus on collegiality as a boundary object in different social worlds and the shift of governance in teachers' work, the purpose of this study is to analyse and discuss conceptions of collegiality. Two research questions are posed:
  – In terms of expectations and assumptions, how are the conceptions of collegiality assigned meaning in the context of different institutional logics?
  – What do different notions of collegiality imply for the understanding of teachers' work?

An additional purpose is to design and evaluate a highly transparent search method for finding educational research literature.

This study is of significance for two reasons. Firstly, it aligns with Kelchtermans who argues that "[a] proper evaluation of collaboration and collegiality, thus, cannot but treat them as organizationally embedded phenomena that can take different forms and therefore can have different values" (Kelchtermans, 2006, p. 225). I see the theory of institutional logics and this study as one way of defining these values.

Secondly, I turn to Sahlin & Waks (2008) who argue that the governance of schools is made up of "a complicated interaction of different actors, initiatives, interests, and ideas," and therefore new descriptions are needed in order to see what happens and with what effects (Sahlin & Waks, 2008, p. 72, my translation). This is of particular importance in the market-driven societies where an economic organization such as the OECD has a major impact on education policy, *politics of expertise* according to Lindblad and Lundahl (2015, p. 15). Such arguments are important to analyse (see, for instance, Adamson, 2012; Coffield, 2012; Grek, 2009).

Previous research

According to Svensson (2011, p. 304, my translation), the term colleague means "a person you work with," and collegiality in general means "unity, solidarity." Thus, rather broad definitions. However, in both research and individual-site use, it assumes different positions. A few examples follow to illustrate this from the 1970s to the present.

In Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975/2002, p. 70)—this text's "ground zero" and seminal (but also heavily criticized) modern study on teachers' work —teacher collegiality was connected to a lack of technical culture, and teachers were seen as professionally isolated. Thus, collegiality here entailed that a good colleague left his or her colleagues alone, as suggested by Little and McLaughlin (1993, p. 3).

From this notion of "individual collegiality," most researchers seem to consider collegiality as more "cooperative," consisting of communication and interaction (Mausethagen, 2013, p. 17) as a structure or as action and practice (Bennett, Woods, Wise, & Newton, 2007). Collegiality can also be regarded as highly contextualized and normative, a result of pursuing the "right" collaborative activities in a workplace (Kelchtermans 2006, p. 221). In general, collegiality includes a positive value (Clement & Vandenberghe, 2000, p. 81); however, see also Clement and Vandenberghe (2000), Little (1990) or Kelchtermans (2006) for a critical discussion. However, following Hargreaves (1994), Vangrieken, Dochy, Raes, and Kyndt (2015) highlight a problem with a loss of individual autonomy and independence replaced by increased contrived collegiality.

Research on teachers' professional work has been performed with a variety of different frameworks, giving the field a "lack of internal consistency and stability" (Lindblad, 2009, p. 212). Early sociological research on professions used to treat differences among occupational groups (e.g., Broman, 1995; Gieryn, 1983; Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2009) or, for example, professions' functions in society (Parsons, 1939). This research did not include teachers as teaching was categorized as a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969). Such early sociological research on professions was followed by a period of critique of professions and professional projects (Svensson & Evetts, 2010, p. 8). For instance, according to Foss Lindblad and Lindblad (2009, p. 7), the altruistic traits of professions were heavily questioned, and it was argued, on the contrary, that professions are characterized by self-interest. Later research on professionalism can be seen as a movement "toward models of professional organizations and knowledge claim" (Leicht & Fennell, 2008, p. 432). In these movements, the work of teachers is also included. Professionalism is discussed as a disciplinary mechanism (Fournier, 1999) or as a way of steering and organizing work (Evetts, 2009; Freidson, 2001). With a new kind of governance based on NPM,

Evetts (2009) presents two distinct forms of professionalism: occupational professionalism, in which the occupation sets the rules and collegial authority is incorporated, and organizational professionalism, in which the "discourse of control, used increasingly by managers in work organizations" is dominant (Evetts, 2009, p. 248). Evetts (2009, p. 252) argues that as a rule, "NPM is working more to promote organizational professionalism and to further undermine occupational professionalism." In this text, I will use "professionalism" in accordance with Freidson (2001) and Evetts (2009).

Governance of teachers' work has changed from a focus on bureaucracy to more market-like principals in what can be called educational restructuring, a global movement, similar in many Western countries (Ball, 2008; Wiborg, 2013). In the Nordic countries restructuring in education has been similar; curriculum reforms combined with some kind of goal or outcome steering were carried out during the 1990s although with some national differences (Carlgren & Klette, 2008). Antikainen (2006) argues "equity, participation, and the welfare state have been known as the major socio-political attributions of the Nordic model" (Antikainen, 2006, p. 230). In various degrees, these ideals are now competing with market ideals or rather quasi-markets (as used by, for example, Lundahl, 2002), although the countries still maintain "a universal welfare state regime and a comprehensive education system" (Wiborg, 2013, p. 407). Many of these changes have been regarded as "inevitable" in order to make the respective systems better (Johannesson, Lindblad, & Simola, 2002). Nilsson Lindström and Beach (2015) argue that this decentralization and marketization bring about "significant changes in relation to education policy and the management and organization of teachers' work" (Nilsson Lindström & Beach, 2015, p. 241).

In this shift of governance, teachers' work is of interest not only to national policymakers—many actors want to contribute to improving education. One example is the OECD and their *International Summit on the Teaching Profession.* On their website, the summit's high impact on teacher policy is highlighted (International Summit on the Teaching Profession, 2016).

The main issue emerging from this outline—when vague concepts are used in combination with new and even contrasting governance including many actors—is how concepts are used or rather assigned meaning in different contexts and how teachers' professional work can be understood in relation to this.

Conceptual framework

To study the structuring principles for teacher collegiality, Freidson's (2001) three ideal types of institutional logics—market, bureaucracy, and professionalism—will be used. Research on institutional logics is used in many different ways (e.g., Blomgren & Waks, 2015; Freidson, 2001; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Scott, 2000). In this study, it is regarded a way of governing and organizing work, framing teachers' ways of acting and points of reference (Thornton et al., 2012) and it provides a fixed model to compare and use as an analytic tool. The different logics are characterized by different sets of assumptions.

The logic of the market assumes that there are sellers and buyers who know the value of the goods on the market. For the "customers" to make well-informed choices, much information is required and provided. The idea is that in this way competitive prices and acceptable quality will follow (Freidson, 2001; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015).

In *the logic of bureaucracy*, the idea is that through transparency, stability, hierarchical structures, rules, and formal procedures a high degree of standardization will follow. This is often seen in the public sector (Freidson, 2001; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015), and is often legitimized as measures to implement parliamentary decisions.

Finally, in *the logic of professionalism,* the idea is that professional actors themselves rule their work with a high degree of autonomy. This is rooted in their long education and training, and their competence and experience are the basis for decisions (Freidson, 2001; Blomgren & Waks, 2015; Samuelsson & Lindblad, 2015).

The point of departure is that different structuring factors are based on different institutional logics—including material and symbolical parts, concrete structures as well as ideas (Blomgren & Waks, 2015)—and that these strategies, in turn, have implications for collegiality in teachers' work.

Methods

A conceptual analysis of collegiality in educational research will generate insight into the field's arguments that are of importance in understanding teachers' professional lives. My approach is interpretative and deals with conceptual contributions in research publications, inspired by Lindblad, Pettersson, and Popkewitz (2015). Aligning with Gough, Oliver, and Thomas (2013), it is concerned with "a small number of detailed cases to develop an understanding of processes and mechanisms and meanings" (Gough, Oliver, & Thomas, 2013, p. 20).

I aimed for seminal research texts in the educational research literature in a systematic and transparent search. Different search engines proved to yield different results, so instead, I chose an alternative way, through well-recognized journals and within them the most cited articles according to a strict schedule. To find important academic journals in education, I used SCImago journal and country rank provided by Scopus. The schedule limited the journal search by focus: teachers' work and education in general (see Appendix A1). After that, the first ten journals, based on their SCImago Journal Rank indicator (a measure of a journal's impact, influence or prestige) were chosen, which turned out to be mainly with Anglo-Saxon origins (see Appendix A2).

In the next step, the most cited articles within the journals were found through the search terms *teacher AND collegiality AND professionalism.* Since Lortie (1975/2002) is seen here as a "ground zero" for collegiality, the first articles used were published after *Schoolteacher* in the 1980s, and the most recent articles used were published in 2016 (see Appendix A3).

All the articles found were thereafter sorted by respective decade 1980−2016 and ranked by the number of citations in Scopus.

Since this search was a bit "unorthodox," there was a reason to question it. Hence, a parallel search with the same search terms was performed in Google Scholar. Based on this parallel search, the conclusion was that the original search with well-recognized journals and frequently cited articles worked well. Similar articles appeared in Google Scholar although a more active job in evaluating the texts was required on my part due to a higher mixture. Even so, this controlled search has important limitations; no books are included, seminal texts might be excluded, and it also may be contributing to the much-disputed focus on citation impacts. There is also a risk that the discussed research arguments found in the literature search are not the most significant ones. All this is acknowledged. However, there is also gain in finding interesting literature in a transparent way that is rigorously controlled, since it renders the search unbiased and easily replicated.

Results

As a result of this search, a total of 185 articles were found between 1980 and 2016. Within each journal, the number of articles varied between 3 and 68. The mean for all the journals was five articles per year. The chronological distribution is presented in Figure 1 and shows that the number of published articles was low in the 1980s but increased in the 1990s.
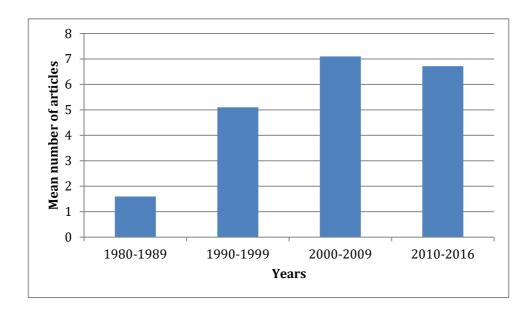
Figure 1. *Mean number of articles on teacher and collegiality and professionalism in this paper's selected journals*

After an increase also in the early 2000s, the interest in teacher collegiality has remained relatively stable in these journals. The two most frequently cited articles within each year span used in this analysis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1a
Articles chosen for the analysis

	Year span	Author, year, and title	Journal and times cited
1	1980-1989	Little, W. J. (1982). "Norms of Collegiality and Experimentation: Workplace Conditions and School Success."	*American Educational Research Journal*. Times cited: 369
2	1980-1989	Rosenholtz, S., Bassler, O., & Hoover-Dempsey, K. (1986). "Organizational conditions of teacher learning."	*Teaching and Teacher Education*. Times cited: 37
3	1990-1999	Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (1999). "Relationships of Knowledge and Practice: Teacher Learning in Communities."	*Review of Research in Education*. Times cited: 839
4	1990-1999	Louis, K., Marks, H. M., & Kruse, S. (1996). "Teachers' Professional Community in Restructuring schools."	*American Educational Research Journal*. Times cited: 307
5	2000-2009	Spillane, J. P., Reiser, B. J., & Reimer, T. (2002). "Policy Implementation and Cognition: reframing and refocusing implementation research."	*Review of Educational Research*. Times cited: 217
6	2000-2009	Lasky, S., (2005). "A sociocultural approach to understanding teacher identity, agency and professional vulnerability in a context of secondary school reform."	*Teaching and Teacher Education*. Times cited: 288

7	2010-2016	Zeichner, K. (2010). "Competition, economic rationalization, increased surveillance, and attacks on diversity: Neo-liberalism and the transformation of teacher education in the U.S."	*Teaching and Teacher Education.* Times cited: 82
8	2010-2016	Moolenaar, N. M., Daly, A. J., & Sleegers, P. J.C. (2010). "Occupying the Principal Position: Examining Relationships Between Transformational Leadership, Social Network Position, and Schools' Innovative Climate."	*Educational Administration Quarterly.* Times cited 68

These selected articles are frequently cited in all more than 2200 times and can be said to be widely disseminated. Each time span is represented by two journals (which was a result of the strict schedule). After this search, "Nordic" or "Scandinavian" was added in order to find articles within this geographic setting. In total eight new articles were found, but after scanning, only two remained.[1] These are not as widely cited as the four articles mentioned above, neither are they as widely distributed in time as those above, they are all recent, published in the 2010s. However, they were published in highly recognized academic journals and add to the picture of the landscape of collegiality from a Nordic perspective in a transparent search, see Table 1b.

Table 1b
Nordic articles chosen for the analysis

9	2013	Mausethagen, S. (2013). "A research review of the impact of accountability policies on teachers' workplace relations." (+ search term Nordic)	In *Educational Research Review.* Times Cited: 15
10	2014	Kemmis, S., Heikkinen, H. L. T., Fransson, G., Aspfors, J., & Edwards-Groves, C. (2014). "Mentoring of new teachers as a contested practice: Supervision, support and collaborative self-development." (+ Nordic)	In *Teaching and Teacher Education.* Times Cited: 13

The analysed texts will initially be briefly described and then analysed in the light of institutional logics. This deductive analysis utilized a schedule with the characteristics of the logics presented above. The schedule was divided into two parts: 1) accounting for bibliometric issues and research traditions; and 2) accounting for the empirical findings of the article, in the light of institutional logics. A model of this schedule is found in Appendix B.

Overview of the articles

The most cited articles analysed in this text were published in five (out of the ten) journals. These are based in the USA and Great Britain and thus mainly represent an Anglo-Saxon tradition even though three of the articles have a Nordic perspective (added in the second phase). Most of the articles are widely cited even though the latest one was a bit less so (68–839 times). The papers with a Nordic perspective are

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[1] One of them was omitted as it did not deal with collegiality at all, and four were omitted since they did not deal with either Nordic or Scandinavia, and finally one was dropped because one of its authors is also the author of this article.

less cited which reflects a well-known citation pattern where Nordic researchers cite Anglo-Saxon researchers but are not cited by them, as seen in Goodson & Lindblad (2011). The articles have different research approaches (e.g., practice architecture, sociolinguistics) and methodologies (microanalysis, meta-analysis, interviews, surveys), they have different interests (e.g., organizational perspective, teacher learning development, professional communities, and student achievement or teacher education) and they discuss different things through or in relation to collegiality. Sometimes collegiality is very present and in the foreground, but sometimes collegiality is used as an explanation for a phenomenon, in the background. Yet, all articles stem from the set search words which also reflects the wide area in which collegiality is discussed. The articles and their variation move the concept of collegiality between different intellectual contexts, and its different assigned meanings contribute to the understanding of collegiality as a boundary object. The next section presents collegiality in the chosen articles as analysed within different institutional logics starting with collegiality in the logic of the market.

Collegiality in the logic of the market

In NPM, a common idea is that "collaboration is promoted by accountability policies" (Mausethagen 2013, p. 21). However, as Mausethagen (2013) shows, when embedded in features from the logic of the market, collaboration is not promoted but fades away. Instead, the collaborative focus is on monitoring and tests (Little, 1982; Mausethagen, 2013) and thus collegiality in the logic of the market can be regarded an instrument, limiting teachers' professional leeway and reducing professionalism. In addition, collegiality turns out to ensure the market's requirements for teachers through procedures and laws (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 159).

The idea is that the market requires competition in order to improve quality among other things. However, competition can also imply an exclusionary attitude towards colleagues where it becomes more important to protect the individual than the collective group. In a setting of competition, it can, therefore, be difficult for teachers to share and exchange ideas within a school (Little, 1982). This stands in contrast to a safe and courageous setting where the chances are greater that teachers will take risks and implement new ways of working (Moolenaar et al., 2010, p. 654). Spillane et al. (2002, p. 407) argue that teacher individualism "afforded them few opportunities to grapple with the meaning of policy-makers' proposals for revising practice. They undertook less fundamental, frequently surface-level, changes in their practice." Spillane et al. (2002, p. 408) compare this to Lortie's view of working isolated as in "egg-crates," individual collegiality. Zeichner (2010, p. 1550) argues that in teacher education the market transforms education into a "private consumer item," which also seems to contradict the common idea introduced in the beginning.

Collegiality in the logic of bureaucracy

In the context of the logic of bureaucracy, there is less room for individualism and spontaneity; the structures and prerequisites are clearly set as are standardized hierarchical structures. However, whether the fact that teachers have a standardized basis is a given path to success is debatable in the articles. According to, for instance, Louis et al. (1996) or Rosenholtz et al. (1986), the standardized basis seems important. Rosenholtz et al. (1986, p. 102) argue that in collaborative settings "there appears to be tighter congruence between the goals, norms, and behaviors of principal and teachers," but Little (1982), on the other hand, argues that "the greater the frequency of interaction, the greater the prospects for it to build or erode commitments and the more salient are teachers' views of its utility, interest, and importance" (Little, 1982, p. 334). It seems that standardized routines may develop into a lively professional culture, but then its members actively need to develop it, a collective effort is needed where teachers play an active and dynamic role.

According to Little (1982, p. 333), when collegiality does not pervade the school, the in-service meetings tend to be used mainly for administration issues. Also, Mausethagen (2013, p. 21) finds that some teachers viewed "formal planning meetings as sometimes supportive and sometimes constraining—hence, both fostering and diminishing the sense of being a professional." In one of Lasky's interviews in a reform context with increased accountability pressures, a teacher identified a change in the profession "from collegialism to managerialism and stated that the dedicated teachers were leaving the job" (Lasky, 2005, p. 905). This seems more similar to Little's (1982) more careful statement.

Collegiality in the logic of professionalism

Finally, in the context of the logic of professionalism, collegiality emerges as a result of the professional actors' initiative. Teachers have more influence, and a collaborative culture appears and grows from within. Collegiality here is the frequent talk and hands-on work of being a teacher and the teachers' will to train and develop joint work (Little, 1982, p. 331). Here, joint work means that through their standardized meetings teachers build their own teaching repertoire. This collaborative work generates a shared language (Little, 1982) and leads to continuous learning on the job. In collegiality embedded in the logic of professionalism, teachers teach each other, continuously and in the workplace; it includes collaborative work and continuous training on the job (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Little, 1982). Teachers are in charge of their knowledge, and they develop it. It is not only the fact that collaborative actions pervade the school but also that teachers change and develop their teaching through inquiries and data analyses (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999); teachers' collegial job is to generate knowledge. They also participate in collective decisions in the workplace, which boosts collegiality and professional development (Little, 1982; Louis et al., 1996). Collegiality is valuable, informal, and flexible and is supposed to develop the teacher within the job on the job (Kemmis et al., 2014). Rosenholtz et al. (1986) see principals and teachers' collegial work as important and thus mixing bureaucratic and professional ideas.

To summarize this analysis, collegiality can be argued to be assigned different meanings in different institutional logics. The idea embedded in the logic of the market—that collaboration is to be promoted by accountability—seems to be contradicted, and instead, collegiality tends to fade away. The thought that through competition and a focus on customers improved organization will follow seems contradicted and, as seen in these examples, collegiality, when exposed to competition, risks losing cooperation within and between schools, and instead, individual actions are the focus. Collegiality embedded in the logic of the market thus seems to focus on the performative part of the job.

In the context of the logic of bureaucracy, teachers by implication get a standardized base for cooperation at a workplace. There seems to be a risk, however, that collegiality in the logic of bureaucracy is not necessarily an expected or positive part of the teachers' working culture but turns out to be contrived (Hargreaves, 1994). For teachers, collegial work embedded in the bureaucracy can lead to good prerequisites for cooperative collegiality, but it can also become an unwanted burden.

Finally, collegiality embedded in the logic of professionalism has the assumption of being based on the teachers' judgments and being used for knowledge production. Teachers use and help each other to achieve a better work situation. Here, collegial relations are professional relations, aiming at learning together on the job in work communities.

Discussion

It has been fruitful to analyse collegiality as a boundary object in the context of different institutional logics in order to find different conceptions or values of collegiality. In the everyday making of schooling and collegiality, these logics overlap, and competing forms of collegiality appear, but departing from the above analyses, here they are translated into ideal types: market collegiality, bureaucratic collegiality, and professional collegiality with a focus on how collegial relations appear within the respective logics, centering on who introduces collegial ideas and on the nature of such ideas. This is of importance in relation to the understanding of collegiality as a boundary object appearing in different social and cultural worlds.

In *market collegiality,* collegial relations are imposed from the outside of schools—from the market, "customer" and managerial requirements for monitoring and information. A great deal of information is needed and produced for the "outside" to absorb. The outside is here regarded as the media, parents, and students—the recipients of education. This imposed collegiality becomes an instrument for information and suggests that teachers' work is strictly instrumental, providing important information and 'products' for the market. With the "right" tools teachers are expected to do the right thing—an instrumental view of teaching might arise.

In *bureaucratic collegiality*, collegial relations are regulated "from above," that is, through formal procedures and/or official steering documents, for the school's best. These formal procedures may be supporting, but they may also be constraining—cutting leeway for improvisation and possibly hindering collegial relations to develop, and collegiality risks becoming a burden. This imposed collegiality becomes an instrument and supplies the prerequisites for a standardization of the teacher's job, which provides clear structures, but reduces flexibility. This too can be seen as instrumental teaching.

Finally, collegial relations in the ideal type of *professional collegiality* are based on professional judgements (based on teachers' professional knowledge and ethics) concerning what is considered to be for the best of the participants and the school. This demands a lot of the teachers' involved. Some teachers might want to avoid it, or some teachers are avoided. Yet, when it works, continuous on-the-job learning ensues. This collegiality is not imposed, but emerges from within the group and becomes a tool for professional development. This kind of collegiality originates from within the organization, and provides leeway and scope for development.

These different ideal types of collegiality are regarded as a supplement to Evetts (2009, p. 248) since they can contribute to and deepen the understanding of organizational and occupational professionalism—in terms of organizational and occupational *collegiality*. The ideal type of professional collegiality resembles occupational collegiality, whereas the other two resemble organizational collegiality. Table 2 illustrates this.

Table 2
Collegiality as ideal types in the framework of institutional logics (Freidson, 2001)

Ideal types of collegiality in terms of collegial relations and collaboration
Market collegiality   **Collegial relations** as imposed from "the outside," for information and market requirements. **Collaboration** regarded as positive but fades away in a setting of competition and individualism. Leads to less professional development for the collective group. Organizational collegiality.

Bureaucratic collegiality	**Collegial relations as** imposed "from above" through standardization and formal procedures, for the school's best. **Collaboration regarded** as supportive *or* constraining. Fostering *or* diminishing professional development. Occupational *or* organizational collegiality.
Professional collegiality	**Collegial relations** as "from within" based on professional judgements and participants' needs for the clients' and the school's best. **Collaboration** regarded as positive and is manifested through frequent talk and hands-on work on being a teacher. Participation in discussions and decisions makes teachers active in their work life, leading to professional development. Occupational collegiality.

Here the analysis is based on the fact that the constructed ideal types of collegiality are dependent on and appear in relation to each other. All ideal types of collegiality have something to contribute to teachers' professional work life; however, they suggest different things and affect teachers' working conditions in different ways. Bureaucratic collegiality suggests standardization, market collegiality provides transparency, and professional collegiality suggests professional development; thus, the different kinds of collegiality relate to teachers' work in different ways. This might influence teachers' work life, but on the other hand, Lasky (2005, p. 912), for one, argues that

> [t]he new mandates were establishing new norms, expectations, and tools for the profession. Yet, these teachers did not change their fundamental sense of professional identity or a sense of purpose. This suggests that external mediational systems might have less of an effect on shaping teacher identity and agency as teachers become more certain or sure of whom they are as teachers.

Even so, since collegiality is a weakly structured concept, it is of importance to analyze its mix of ingredients and to recognize that there are different meanings and that certain connotations and expectations follow from each meaning in context, referring to Wittgenstein's (1953/1978) notion of language-games.

Concluding remarks

In this paper I have argued that collegiality as a boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989) is understood differently in the context of different institutional logics (Freidson, 2001). When collegiality is discussed, this is done from a certain context with its set of values. Here I have shown how these values can be manifested in different institutional logics present in teachers' work. The main finding is that the diverse, often concealed, meanings assigned to collegiality—here made into ideal types—matter for teachers' daily work and working conditions. The ideal types of collegiality range from imposed collegial relations to collegial relations appearing from the teachers themselves. It also ranges from collaboration as a tool for professional development to collaboration as a tool for administration or information. How can teachers in institutional crowdedness embrace collegiality when its values and expectations are not contextualized? How do expectations correlate with the context teachers' work is embedded in? Since it seems hard to succeed with ill-defined tasks, it is important to clarify what value of collegiality is intended before campaigning,

arguing, or implementing it—as for now, teachers themselves have to translate this meaning in their daily work.

This study used a rather unusual, but strictly controlled way of finding literature. Using the most cited articles in widely recognized journals, texts were found that can be said to be influential. This way of finding literature yields a certain kind of outcome. To find out what texts were excluded, a simple parallel search was performed, which confirmed that this method was an acceptable way in terms of hits. In addition, it was a transparent way of finding articles spread in time and space. I thus see this systematic and transparent search method as an additional result of this study.

Out of the 185 found articles in this transparent search, ten articles were chosen to form the foundation for this analysis. As this present article does not claim to present a picture of the general landscape of collegiality, but rather an example of how collegiality as a boundary object is situated and assigned meanings in different institutional logics, I argue that this is in order. This is an analysis of influential research texts, found in accordance with my goal of transparency. The participating articles can be regarded as "travelling texts" that change meaning in different contexts. These texts are used for my examples, and this reading is mine, through the lens of institutional logics (Freidson, 2001). The fact that another lens would generate new and other insights does not diminish the contribution of this article.

The different ingredients of collegiality require various quality checks that to some extent have to do with trust in teachers (Evetts, 2006). Who is entitled to find mistakes, and how is trust in teachers' collegial work acknowledged? When collegiality is imposed from the outside as in a market and bureaucratic collegiality, the control also comes from the outside whereas in more professional collegiality this control comes from within, from professional judgments. These different quality checks are probably related to the trust shown in teachers' collegial work, but further analyses are needed, as is consideration of the mix of the characteristics in a certain setting or how teachers in various settings respond to these structuring principles.

The text departed from the fact that the governance of teachers' work has shifted towards a focus on NPM and an influence on policy from new actors seen as *politics of expertise* (Lindblad & Lundahl, 2015). The analysis confirmed that the expectations and assumptions of collegiality were assigned different meanings in different settings ranging from "collegiality for the sake of information for the market" to "collegiality for development for the sake of the occupation" and as such has contributed to research on new description of governance of teachers' work through defining values of collegiality in different contexts. Since the ensuing assumptions and following expectations are then very different, this article has argued that it is of vital importance to be aware of such differences and to clarify what kind of collegiality is meant, for instance when demanding more or less of it. The ideal types of collegiality presented in this article all have something to contribute to the understanding of teaching, but they imply different preconditions and frameworks. Such differences need to be clarified in order to improve exchanges of ideas, cooperation, and understanding of collegiality as a boundary object with different implications. It affects teachers' working conditions in their daily work. To recognize and to deal with different meanings of collegiality is important for research, teachers, and teacher educators as well as for policy-makers and planners. Given this collegial clarity, actors in different cultural and social worlds will hopefully have a better chance to exchange ideas, cooperate, and actually understand each other—collegial missions we all could benefit from.

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Appendix A (A1, A2, A3)

A1. Work procedure: finding highly ranked journals

SCImago. (2007). SJR—SCImago Journal & Country Rank, www.scimagojr.com	
Step 1: limit by subject:	education
Step 2: limit to "teachers' work" or "education in general"—journals within education	Excluding for instance *Handbook of the Economics of Education* and *Studies in Science Education and Child Development*.
Step 3: choose by ranking	the first ten journals

A2. Chosen journals on teachers' work

1. *Review of Educational Research*
2. *American Educational Research Journal*
3. *Educational Researcher*
4. *Sociology of Education*
5. *Educational Research Review*
6. *American Journal of Education*
7. *Journal of Teacher Education*
8. *Educational Administration Quarterly*
9. *Teaching and Teacher Education*
10. *Review of Research in Education*

A3 Search for articles within chosen journals

Step 1: Keywords	*teacher* AND *collegiality* AND *professionalism*
Step 2: Abstract	Abstracts were studied manually in order to see if they dealt with collegiality, otherwise skipped.
Step 3: Spread in time	a) 1980–1989 b) 1990–1999 c) 2000–2009 d) 2010–2016
Step 3b: Choose articles	Two articles with most number of citations are chosen. Using Scopus November 17, 2017.

Appendix B

A model of schedule for analysis
Text XX

Part i:				
Author, title, year	Times cited, publication	Research questions	Tradition	Keywords

Part ii:		
Text:		
Context:		

The logic of the market, characteristics:	Examples of characteristics visible in the text	Comments
Competition		
Customers		
Sellers and buyers		
Much information		
Competitive		

The logic of bureaucracy	Examples of characteristics visible in the text	Comments	
Transparency			
Stability			
Hierarchical structures			
Rules and procedures			
Standardization			
Public sector			

The logic of the profession	Examples of characteristics visible in the text	Comments	
The workers themselves rule			
Long education and training			
Autonomy			
Decisions			
A boundary			

Henriette Duch

Training for a Profession as a Vocational Teacher: The Transition from the Course to the Workplace

Abstract: A teacher training program is mandatory for vocational teachers, but vocational colleges decide how to support a transition from the course to workplace. Before 2010, the transition process was regulated by a ministerial order, but now the market has created variation in the training. The case presented here is four vocational colleges where teachers attend a teacher training course. The study is based on the documentary analyses, focus group interviews and observations. Using Evetts' concept of professionalism, the analyses show different logics at vocational colleges. Managers implement the course at vocational colleges by choosing different strategies for *organizational professionalism*. However, the teachers construct other learning trajectories by moving between classroom teaching and teamwork, which in the article is perceived as part of occupational professionalism. These coinciding logics might influence the transition from course to workplace.

Keywords: Professionalism, market, vocational teacher education, co-operation, vocational colleges

The article addresses what may be seen as a marketization of a teacher training course with a reform in 2010. The course is aimed at vocational teachers at vocational colleges. The article analyses how managers and teachers act in relation to a teacher training course that leaves any practical training to the schools. On the one hand, managers at vocational colleges design this procedure, for example, the handling of tasks by managers with competences in HR and general as well as strategic management in relation to the pedagogics at the college. It can also be a handling of tasks by managers who understand teaching and pedagogy, and can handle the practical and administrative work. Accordingly, the organizational work involved in the teacher training often includes several managerial employees, which makes integration of the teacher training course a hierarchical and generalized task in the organization. On the other hand, the teachers develop organizationally adapted conduct in order to apply their teacher training course in teaching at vocational colleges. The balance between the two approaches, as presented be managers and teachers, is analysed in the article. The analytical approach is illustrated by the three points in the triangle in Figure 1: market (the teacher training course takes place in a market), teachers (who are assumed to develop occupational professionalism through the course), and managers (managers at vocational colleges strive to apply the course content at the college based on organizational professionalism). Coherence makes up the base of the triangle; the article analyses the transition from the course to the

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workplace with a focus on the relation between the two forms of professionalism. Below, I will unfold some aspects of teacher professionalism and coherence at Danish vocational colleges.
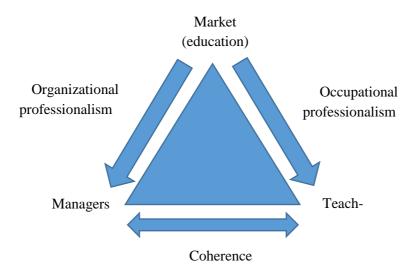
Market
(education)

Organizational
professionalism

Occupational
professionalism

Managers

Teach-

Coherence

Figure 1. *The transition from the course to the workplace.*

Vocational colleges in Denmark, teacher professionalism, and coherence

Vocational teachers' pedagogic education and its historical development can be seen in the light of an expanding state and growing professionalism (Duch & Andreasen, 2017a). During the course, the teachers teach at vocational colleges, and the state has played a central role in developing the dual model at vocational colleges, in other words, the education takes place at the vocational colleges as well as in practical training (Greinert, 2004). The above-mentioned changes to the governance of vocational colleges and the teacher training can be seen as altered relations between the welfare state, bureaucracy, and professionals (Carvalho, 2012). Welfare issues such as social inequality and the match between labour, supply, and demand are politically and administratively handled via reforms of vocational educations (Jørgensen, 2014). The relation between bureaucracy and professionals—in this case at vocational colleges—may vary as some professionals operate in the bureaucracy as managers and administrators designing organizational and administrative frameworks, while employees in collegial collaborations may establish other forms of professionalism with different relations to bureaucracy (Evetts, 2009). At vocational colleges, this is manifested in evaluations and quality systems (Friche, 2010). Likewise, the political-administrative systems, the managers' organizations and the teachers' organizations have different takes on why the new teacher training program was needed (Duch & Rasmussen, 2016). The consequence may be, as the analysis will examine, that two different professions at the same vocational college have different understandings of transitions from the course to the workplace. Different approaches to teacher training courses in an educational market may, therefore, become decisive in the sense that marketization concerns not only external factors such as supply in a market but also the internal significance of marketization when professional groups have different priorities (e.g., Fejes, Runesdotter, & Wärvik, 2016).

Coherence

When professionals in a workplace participate in education in another context, it may be a challenge to ensure that the workplace benefits from the new knowledge and establishes coherence between knowledge from the course and practice at the workplace in order to prevent a counterproductive "gap" between theory and practice (Heggen, Smeby, & Vågan, 2015). There are indications that the teacher training course has an effect on teaching at vocational colleges, but the course–workplace relationship is challenged (Duch & Andreasen, 2017b; 2017c).

Research in other settings shows that managers, context as well as education affect the employees' learning and thus their possibilities for transition (Aili & Nilsson, 2016). Education enhances professionalism in terms of critical thinking, autonomy, jurisdiction and discretion at a time when administrative and political governance plays such a large role (Aili & Nilsson, 2016). Learning contexts in the workplace are important in terms of both learning visions and learning opportunities for new employees in an organization (Eraut, 2006). Moreover, managers play a central role in the learning culture (Eraut, 2007). Managers who want to support learning have to ensure that the employees are adequately challenged, promote opportunities for learning via teamwork and one-to-one coaching, mediate in groups, establish a positive learning culture, work with feedback and take emotional factors that affect the employees' work into consideration (Eraut, 2010).

In the continental research tradition, professions are mainly educated for (partly) publicly financed institutions, and the state vouches for certificates of education via the accreditation of institutions (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011). This is the case with vocational teacher education. It is therefore interesting whether employees are seen as passive victims or active agents who establish new strategies and protect their jurisdictions and privileges in the organization, as mentioned by Muzio and Kirkpatrik (2011). Research shows that the outcome may be a change of the profession and professionalism, an improvement or a new co-created form of professionalism that redefines the profession internally in the organization (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). It is, therefore, interesting to study how a new teacher education affects teachers' behaviour and practice in their organization and in their teaching.

Organizationally, professionalism requires *organizational sense* in terms of how professionals in an organization handle cross-pressures (Gaglio, 2014). Organizational sense has three dimensions: balancing in turbulent surroundings and handling daily tasks; acting in a political organization with an asymmetric relation between the political system and the professional; and handling duty and loyalty in the organization (Gaglio, 2014). Studies of the teacher training program show, however, that professionalism may be expressed in different ways. Rather than *one* type of professionalism for teachers, *personal professionalism* is found in the English HE system (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013). New teachers' learning trajectories may lead them to full participation in the teacher community out of the community or to peripheral participation (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013).

Vocational teachers' education differs in the Nordic countries, just as the Nordic youth educations have developed in different ways (Haue, 2014). In Norway, there are two programs for vocational teachers at different levels and with different structures. The choice of program depends on the individual teacher's level of education (Grande, Lyckander, Landro, & Rokkones, 2014). In Denmark, all employed vocational college teachers have access to the same education program.

This article takes its empirical point of departure in professionals' theoretical continued education in the field of vocational colleges in Denmark. In 2010, the pedagogic teacher training course for teachers at vocational colleges was reformed. Before that, the education consisted of alternating training, in other words, practical coaching by an experienced teacher at the employing college along with a theoretical course. A ministerial order described how the provider of the mandatory education

and the vocational college would contribute to establishing coherence between the theoretical education and the practical training at the employing vocational college (Duch & Andreasen, 2017a). The program had a fixed structure. In other words, there was collegial training and socialisation to teacher professionalism in the specific vocational field. There was one provider of pedagogic training for vocational teachers. In 1969, the provider became a state institution, but in 1996, it became self-governing and a fee was introduced for the vocational teacher program. The vocational college payed the fee for employees when they attended the program. Since the 1990s, vocational colleges in Denmark have been self-governing, state-subsidized institutions based on, for example, enrolment. However, most vocational college students are employed by a private or public employer after their first-year core curriculum, and the social partners are key players in terms of content and the supply of internships for vocational educations (Juul & Jørgensen, 2011). This educational structure is still in effect with the latest reform of vocational educations at vocational colleges (Government et al., 2014).

The new teacher training course has abolished the requirement for coaching at the vocational college, but the college is obligated to ensure that the employees complete their degree within the first four years of employment (Ministeriet for Børn, Uddannelse og Ligestilling [Ministry of Children, Education and Equality], 2016). Politically, the change is seen as an upgrade of the pedagogical teacher training course (Duch & Rasmussen, 2016). The course ranks at level 6 in the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) and consists of six modules that are completed with exams, often over a number of years. The teachers thus alternate between teaching at the vocational college and studying. Some teachers study full time for three to nine weeks, depending on the module; others study part time over a longer period. The courses are provided by university colleges that are accredited by the state. There is a fee for the program as well as a state subsidy, and the vocational college—not the teacher—pays the fee. This may affect the weighting assigned to teachers' and managers' requirements in the choice of provider Since 2010, the number of providers in Denmark has increased to six. The vocational colleges decide which provider they want to use and how the individual teacher's education is planned. The college organizes enrolment in the program and keeps track of the teachers' absence from the work due to the course, which affects overall scheduling. In other words, the vocational colleges have to handle a number of administrative and planning-related tasks. In addition, as self-governing institutions, their state subsidy to vocational colleges is contingent on various control mechanisms (Kondrup & Friche, 2016). After the reform of the teacher training course, the colleges establish structures and procedures and strive to compensate for or introduce new understandings of the teachers' pedagogic training (EVA [Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut], 2015).

Research questions

As mentioned, the new teacher training course changes how vocational colleges formally plan practical training and integration in the course, which may require new administrative and managerial approaches at the colleges. Likewise, the new course requires that teachers within such organizational frameworks use the pedagogic training. The research question is: Which organizational frameworks are planned by managers for teacher training, and how do the vocational college teachers apply the pedagogic training using collegial teamwork? Based on the answer to the question, the managers' and the teachers' approaches are compared in order to discuss how coherence can be qualified in a marketized education program. The purpose is to qualify teachers' education to benefit students' learning at vocational colleges.

Analytical tools

British professor Julia Evetts (2003; 2009; 2011; 2013) studies professions in terms of different traditions, values in professions and the conceptual development of theories of professions. This article is based on her ideal types of professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Evetts identifies two ideal types of professionalism, *organizational professionalism* and *occupational professionalism*, which are constructed for micro- and macro-levels but are applicable to analyses at the micro-level, which she finds particularly interesting: "the complexities at micro levels are particularly interesting and worthy of further analysis" (Evetts, 2009, p. 248). Evetts' aim is to demonstrate that a new form of professionalism has emerged as a consequence of new public management and how this new form differs from earlier forms of professionalism.

Organizational professionalism implies a controlling discourse that is based on rational and formal authority. The basis is standardized procedures defined in a hierarchical decision-making structure. The occupational professionalism is the discourse that teachers create as professionals. There is a collegial authority, and the work is controlled by the professionals based on their professional discretion. The authority is assigned via trust from students and employers, for example, businesses, and employers at the vocational college, for example managers, whereas control is exercised by the practitioners. The two forms of professionalism are illustrated in Table 1. The columns in the table show the ideal types of professionalism and the rows show the discourse, authority, procedures, decision-making and control as described above.

Table 1
Ideal types in knowledge-based work (based on the excerpts from Evetts, 2009, p. 263)

Professionalism	Organizational	Occupational
Discourse	Control by managers	Constructed within professional groups
Authority	Rational-legal	Collegial
Procedures	Standardised	Discretion and occupational control
Decision-making	Hierarchical structures	Trust by clients and employers
Control	Managerialism	Controls operationalized by practitioners

In this article, the two forms of professionalism are analysed in light of the program for vocational teachers and its effect on tasks at vocational colleges, both for managers and teachers. I use the ideal types as analytical tools for my empirical study of different understandings and practices of professionalism and apply them at two levels: at the meso-level in order to analyse administratively constructed models at four colleges, and at the micro-level to analyse two teachers' learning trajectories that deviate from the school models because the teachers participate in collegial teamwork. Organizational professionalism is thus understood as the managers' intended and planned learning trajectories for the employees, and occupational professionalism is seen in light of the teachers' experienced learning trajectories at the vocational college. Learning trajectories are here seen in a socio-cultural tradition that recognizes formal as well as informal learning (Eraut, 2010; 2011).

The implication of using Evetts' ideal types is that teachers and managers are seen as separate actors, although in reality, from a social cultural standpoint, they are two sides of the same coin in an organization. However, as an analytical tool, it is helpful to analyse the actors, managers and teachers from the point of departure that their professionalisms differ. In academia, it is discussed whether and how profes-

sionalism should be understood in new ways in view of current societal developments (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Using concepts such as *hybridized professionalism* and *organizing professionalism*, Noordegraaf (2007; 2015) demonstrates that professionalism is developing in relation to its surroundings, which is in line with the changes Evetts (2003; 2009) analyses. The point of using ideal types as analytical tool is to examine two diverging conceptions in a specific context instead of going into a more general theme of the development of professionalism.

In the analysis of the workplace context, I apply Professor Michael Eraut's approach, which is based on his empirical analyses. Eraut (2007, p. 418) lists three important factors for new employees' learning at their workplace: allocation and structuring of work, including individual participation, expectations to employees' performance and progress, and challenges and relations at work. As far as supporting individual employee's learning trajectory in the workplace, Eraut (2011, p. 11) mentions teamwork and emphasizes collaborative work, facilitating social relations, joint planning and the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. I use these terms to categorize the teachers' learning trajectories in collegial teamwork (see Table 2, Appendix 1 below).

Method

The article is based on focus group interviews with managers in the fall of 2014 from four vocational colleges with very different approaches to teacher training (Barbour, 2007). Follow-up meetings with the management were held in 2015 and 2016. The managers represent the strategic, the organizational and the practical matters in relation to the teachers' education. They are hierarchically placed in the organization—some are in top management, some are in mid-level management, and some are close to the teachers and the daily teaching. As a group, their statements thus range from strategic approaches to practical problem solving. I interviewed two managers at one school and three managers at three schools. The schools chose the managers and the number of managers to inform about the different levels in the organization in relation to the teacher training course. In the interviews, I asked about the school viewpoint on the course and how it works to integrate it; how they view the coherence between workplace and course. I also conduct document analyses of school procedures to examine how the schools work with the teacher course (Prior, 2011). In the analysis, I focus on two of the four colleges, as cases with variation (Yin, 2014): a technical college and a health and social care college, with procedures that emphasize the period before and the period during the program and representing different views on learning trajectories. Table 2 (Appendix 1) gives an overview of the school models.

Focus group interviews were held at each of the four vocational colleges. Teachers were interviewed with a focus on their application of the curriculum in their teaching. Two focus group interviews with the same teachers were conducted at three of the colleges during spring and fall 2016; only one focus group interview was conducted at the commercial college, since the teachers had completed or were close to completing the course. A total of 20 teachers are included in the study. Eight were observed for one day in their classroom at the vocational college (see Table 2, Appendix 1). The observations focus on how the teachers apply the curriculum in their teaching, and the meaning and form of collegial teamwork vary significantly. In the two selected cases, colleagues at the team office play a central role socially and in terms of joint planning. The other informants mention collegial teamwork, but the role of the physical premises stands out in observations of Brian and Bodil (teachers at the colleges), and they trand their school are therefore central cases in the analysis. The method is participant observation in the sense that I spoke sporadically with colleagues and students but communicated continuously with the informant about using the course (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 2015). The observation day starts with a

brief meeting where the teacher being observed informs the observer of the didactics in the day's classes at the vocational college and ends with a recapitulation.

The question technique and interview guides were very open, and only in the later categorization did I use the above-mentioned approach to teamwork. The focus group interviews and individual interviews have been transcribed (Bloor, 2001), and field notes were typed up immediately after observations (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001).

The initial analyses focused on the total material (Table 2, Appendix 1), after which two cases were selected, for example, the technical college with the teacher Brian and the health and social care college with the teacher Bodil. Below, the managers' planning of the organizational framework for the course and the teachers' transition from course to workplace are analysed.

Management's control of transition from the course to the workplace

The analysis consists of two parts: organizational professionalism (i.e., the management's planned model for transition from the course to the workplace) and occupational professionalism (i.e., the teachers' transition from the course to the workplace).

At all the colleges, the managers have developed a standardized procedure for handling the course: the technical college have a pre-course procedure, the health and social care college have a during-course procedure. Both models contain some measure of control. The difference lies in the 'authority' in relation to the outcome of the program (Evetts, 2009). The health and social care college has a rational approach; the objective is to change practice, and one of the outcomes, amongst others, is defined as including IT in teaching. The management anchors the model in theories on transfer, and, in that sense, the model has an explicit learning vision. Teachers are paired and conduct a teaching experiment in the classroom that is observed by a colleague. The expectation is that this will link teaching and the course. Likewise, management has decided that employees learn most by being with colleagues employed in the same type of vocational college and with a similar educational background. This implies a hierarchy of vocational teachers in different types of vocational programs (Duch & Andreasen, 2015). We might say that the transition is well defined and management imposed.

The technical college only operates with pre-course procedures, among other things in order to prepare the teachers for completing the program. The aim is that HR managers establish a dialogue with the teachers to support their learning objectives, but the individual teachers define their goals. This indicates a broad learning vision, and the managers at the college emphasize the integration of new pedagogic knowledge in the organization. The aim is to find a qualified approach to the course as alternating training, but a specific method has not been defined.

Based on the concept of organizational professionalism, we can thus say that the managers have designed rational models to comply with the above-mentioned formal requirements for vocational colleges and to handle the educational requirements for the teachers via an organizational, standardized approach. At the health and social care college, the model reaches all the way into the classroom, whereas the technical college emphasizes preparation for the course and engages in ongoing dialogue afterwards. This model is less hierarchical regarding how individual teachers can apply their training in their teaching.

At the two other colleges, the school models differ. The school models at the commercial college and the combined college focus on the time during the course, but the understanding of transition is different. The combined college emphasizes the coaching of employees directly in relation to exam papers but in the long term sees the teachers as agents in the realization of its pedagogic value basis in close cooperation with the management. The commercial college involves teachers in the

course directly in its committees as a means of organizational learning. An underlying objective of the models—except at the social and health care college—is to ensure that the employees are prepared for the educational level in the course, which may be especially challenging for teachers in technical subjects, as many of them are skilled workers (Duch, 2016).

Teachers' transition from the course to the workplace

After having analysed school models, I now address teachers' transition from the course to the workplace. Using Eraut's (2011) terms, the potential for collaborative work differs widely for the eight teachers who were observed (see Table 2). Uffe from the technical colleges does collaborative work, the teachers at the health and social care college explicitly demand it, and the teachers at the combined college talk about it in the interviews. Facilitation of social relations is observed for Brian from the technical college, Bodil from the health and social care college, and Tue from the combined college. All observations except one include joint planning— Dorthe is only observed in the classroom. The ability to engage in and promote mutual learning is mentioned by Brian from the technical college and is expressed as a wish by the other teachers. Three teachers—Tue, Bodil, and Brian—deviate in the sense that all the mentioned forms of collegial collaboration are present in the data. Since both Tue and Brian teach in technical programs at vocational colleges, even though they are employed at different schools, Brian is chosen as a case in the following analysis, as is Bodil. Tue, unlike Brian, finds it difficult to apply knowledge from the course in his teaching, and he emphasizes collaboration and pedagogics less. As mentioned, the cases were selected to ensure variation in terms of vocational colleges, school models and their transition from the course to the workplace. In addition, the role of the physical premises stands out in the cases of Bodil and Brian. The facilitation of social relations is not observed in the case of Fie, even though she works at the same vocational college as Bodil.

Bodil is observed on one day of teaching at the health and social care college and Brian is observed at a technical college. During the day, they both spend time at an office where they discuss current teaching-related issues with a few, close colleagues. They both have approximately four years of teaching experience, are around 40 years of age, but their educational backgrounds differ. Brian has a four-year vocational education at EQF level 3 or 4, Bodil has a 3.5-year, medium-cycle higher education at EQF level 6. Brian says that he and the team have developed both the content and the organization of the teaching he implements. In Evetts' (2009) terms, the procedures are thus developed by the teachers. Bodil sees the process as management-imposed, so she and the team attempt to fill out a framework that they basically see as flawed. These procedures are, in Evetts' (2009) terms, standardized. Both teachers are organizationally interested and involved. Brian finds that he is included by the management and has great autonomy and influence; Bodil experiences success in being able to influence forward-looking organizational initiatives and in counteracting management decisions that she sees as detrimental. Bodil encounters inconsistencies and barriers to the teaching she wants to practice based on knowledge she has gained in the course, whereas Brian focuses on new opportunities. In Evetts' (2009) terms, "trust" between the teacher and the management differs.

They also have different experiences with the course. In the first focus group interview, Brian talks about unexpected success in the educational system, getting good grades and devoting a lot of resources to decoding the examination system. Bodil finds the exams easy, and she talks about differences in relation to her former job in the healthcare sector and misses opportunities to work with the vocational education at a higher theoretical and reflective level. Brian finds it more difficult to transfer knowledge from the course to his own teaching. However, they both see collegial collaboration and social relations in the office as central. In Evetts' (2009)

terms, they both prefer that the professionals construct the discourse, the authority and the procedures.

Brian: Team development of teaching at the technical college

Brian's office has several functions. It is the team's workplace and functions as a centre for planning and coordination. The common, physical planning tools are visible, as described in the observation:

> The office is a small room where six small work desks combined into one large desk take up most of the space. The desks are cluttered with the teachers' work tools. There is just enough space between the desk and the wall to edge by. The wall is full of A4 sheets with joint plans for teaching. We talk a little bit about Brian's teaching plan, but he mostly talks about the team. It sounds like they all agree that they are working in a new way and that they see this as the work method of the future. They work closely together and have considerable authority. (Field notes, 2015)

The quote can be understood based on Evetts' (2009) and Eraut's (2011) analytical tools. The team members have different educational preconditions, but they coordinate the topic´s content and agree on their work methods. The team has collegial authority to make organizational decisions and control various procedures. According to their discourse, their team has found an ideal way to work that includes collaborative work and joint planning. Coordination also takes place during classroom teaching: "Before the break, a colleague wants to say something to the students; Brian goes to fetch her, but it turns out that it can wait" (Field notes, 2015).

During lunchbreak at the office, the team members talk about what is important in teaching:

> Teaching can become too scholastic for the students, like in elementary school. That's why Brian verbalizes reality in his teaching. He did not talk about educations in today's teaching but about jobs in reality. I ask why. The answer is that vocational colleges are characterized by close interaction with the labour market. A colleague talks about objectives in vocational teaching: It has to prepare the students for a vocation, and it has to prepare them for the next module in the basic curriculum. (Field notes, 2015)

I read this as an expression of the teachers' common understanding of their task, and in that sense we can say that the vocation for which the students are being trained is indirectly present as a form of control of the performance of a profession. Theoretically, and based on Evetts' (2009) ideal types, decision-making is based on continued trust by clients. We can talk about a shared discourse in the understanding of the central aspect of teaching (Evetts, 2009) because based on the context of vocational education we might imagine other responses concerning the importance of young people completing a youth education or wanting to take further education (Ministry of Children, Education, and Equality, 2016).

The conversation during lunch switches to Brian's teaching:

> The aim of the teaching today was to give all students a learning outcome; student with reading disabilities were in focus and were put in a special group, and then he wanted the students to reflect on their own learning process. Brian finds that teachers often focus only on the specific content of the teaching. (Field notes, 2015)

Teaching went beyond the vocational content; that is, the didactic planning aimed at learning via reflection and group formation. Brian explains to the students that the

day has a new structure: "They have now been at the school for 17 weeks and have to try something new" (Field notes, 2015). It becomes clear that the control of what is expedient in the teaching is with the teacher and that the teacher is willing to experiment (e.g., Evetts, 2009).

The evaluation of Brian's teaching continues during lunch:

> Brian has learned something new today. He notes that some students in a group had not paid attention and the expected knowledge sharing has not happened. Many elements in the course make sense today, and he explains it as a new realization in terms of paying attention to the students. (Field notes, 2015)

Brian thus connects his pedagogy developed by the team with the course and establishes a link between the course and his workplace. Using Eraut's (2011) terms, the team facilitates social relations, and the joint plans that are posted in the office become part of the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. The collaboration with the team contradicts his description of power struggles against a standardized focus in the management and against routines established by experienced colleagues in his department:

> Oh my god, you've fought alone for a long time, and it is really hard to talk about pedagogic initiatives when you are talking to someone who's worked 30–40 years and go "no, things are the way they are." You've been in the minority a lot, and you really need support from the system, from all the bodies in the system that want pedagogy. Luckily, that's becoming more pronounced; I feel it. (Focus group interview, Fall 2015)

Based on the ideal types, we can say that there are several different discourses among colleagues at the technical college, and it appears that the teachers are exercising a form of control of each other (Evetts, 2009). However, via the team, Brian adheres to his preferred discourse and is optimistic about the work in the future. The bodies that Brian refers to in the quote may be the special unit at the college that works with school models for the course and pedagogic development in general. The school is, thus, described as being divided between the team and the department that favours pedagogy and other colleagues. Based on Evetts' (2009) ideal types, we can say that Brian sees a connection between organizational and occupational professionalism, but that there is disagreement internally among the teachers. Brian is the only case whose data includes all of Eraut's (2011) categories, collaborative work, facilitation of social relations, joint planning, and abilities to engage in and promote mutual learning.

Bodil: Collegial collaboration on task solution at the health and social care college

Bodil spends the four daily breaks in the eight-person office at the health and social care college. The desks are partially shielded and there is a larger meeting table for gathering during breaks. The room is light and the individual desks are cluttered with personal as well as work-related items.

During the first break, Bodil receives some teaching material from her colleague Inge that she uses immediately after the break. Bodil and Inge make up a team and discuss different things:

> We go to the staff room during breaks. We take coffee and fruit and go to the team office. Inge and Bodil exchange teaching material as Bodil receives some copies. They talk about teaching evaluation, about upcoming class formation … and about individual students. At 9:35, we go back to teaching. (Field notes, 2016)

During the next break, they discuss the general pedagogic problem of teaching students to select topics to work on in different assignments:

> There are again collegial exchanges in the office. They talk about how the students cannot identify problems but go straight to solutions. It is difficult for the students to identify job-related problems. (Field notes, 2016)

During lunch, a specific appointment is made with a colleague and the next day's teaching is discussed collegially:

> A colleague from the office notes that she will come to the classroom to fetch a student for a contact teacher conversation. Bodil and Inge discuss tomorrow's teaching. (Field notes, 2016)

During the last break between 13:25–13:40, they again discuss pedagogic issues and the next day teaching:

> Again, collegial sparring with Inge and discussions about group formation and groups' choices of problems. I note that they share their ongoing reflections on such a day, and they start to plan tomorrow together. (Field notes, 2016)

As the above quotes show, they talk about different things at different levels, but based on Eraut's (2009) concepts, it all concerns joint planning and problem solving in teaching here and now or the following day. In general, based on the analytical tools, the discourse in the office belongs to the teachers in the sense that management decisions or views are not mentioned and the conversations are close to the ongoing teaching and thus areas controlled by the teachers (Evetts, 2009). Several joint decisions are made about the planning of teaching, class formation and group formation with the teachers as the authority. The office is a confidential space in the sense that the teachers discuss individual students and teaching-related issues that cannot be discussed in the halls or classrooms.

This is an example of what Evetts (2009) calls procedures with discretion and occupational control in relation to teaching. When collegial agreement is reached on the nature of a problem (e.g., that the students "go straight to solutions"), it is a collegial construction and control of the dominant discourses that are formulated in the office (Evetts, 2009). They do not discuss whether their pedagogic approach to teaching might cause the problems in class and whether they could choose different approaches. The professionalism is thus clearly defined by joint planning and social relations in the office.

The collegial conversations in the office are not directly related to the teacher training course, but Bodil says earlier in a focus group interview that she applies a didactic model from the course indirectly in her teaching:

> I never use it when I'm preparing, but it has somehow become integrated in my way of thinking when I'm with the students, when I'm in the classroom and when something isn't working out. Then that's the model I have in my head so that I am able to change something or do something. It helps me analyse a situation. (Focus group interview, fall 2015)

However, after the observation in 2016, Bodil is more preoccupied with dissatisfaction regarding the management's framing and planning of teaching, the fact that she cannot work with teaching at a more overall level and that she has to work with colleagues during breaks to complete the required planning. One interpretation, based on Eraut's (2011) concepts, is that she wants collaborative work and the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. If we see the management's model for

integration of the course in the light of Bodil's case, it is difficult to find a connection between her experiences and the management's intentions. Evetts' (2009) two ideal types for professionalism may provide an explanation: The management at the health and social care college has one discourse with standardized procedures in a hierarchical structure, but in the office the discourse is defined by the collegial group that controls what is important and necessary (i.e., the discourse is constructed within the professional group). This difference is discussed after the conclusion and related to the marketization of education.

Coherence in a diverse market

The analyses lead to the conclusion that school models, as an expression of organizational professionalism, represent different forms of rational procedures. However, managers have different approaches to establishing coherence between the vocational college as an organization and the teacher training course. The social and health care college has chosen a special learning approach and procedure that emphasizes direct transformation to teaching at the college. The technical college focuses on supporting the individual teachers and their goals to ensure pedagogic development. As mentioned, the two other colleges have different models.

If we compare school models with the form of occupational professionalism as it appears in observations and focus group interviews with teachers, a different picture emerges. At the social and health care college, the case with Bodil shows social relations and joint planning, but she expresses that she prefers teamwork and the ability for mutual learning. Her learning trajectories deviate from the assumptions in the school model. The case of Brian at the technical college demonstrates a professionalism that is developed via teamwork, social relations, joint planning, and mutual learning. One interpretation is that there is coherence between this and the school model, since teamwork supports his individual goals and thus potentially his pedagogic development, which is a goal of the school model. According to Brian, there are different collegial discourses, so the coherence that emerges is not clear-cut or general to the school.

The technical college and the health and social care college have different approaches to organizational professionalism, and Bodil's and Brian's learning trajectories in occupational professionalism differ even though they both participate in collegial collaboration, which contributes to shaping their professionalism. The school models do not appear to play a central role in the teachers' work day; instead, Brian forms alliances with his team and others who favour pedagogy, but he sees himself as being in opposition to another group of teachers. We can thus say that overall the course reinforces Brian's professionalism in an interplay with the team (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011). In contrast, the course polarizes Bodil in relation to the managers, because she is now in a position to argue against their decision and her autonomy in pedagogic planning has been restricted. Conceptually, this amounts to a reduction of her work as a teacher, and we can theoretically talk about a change of the profession or a new form of professionalism (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Evetts' (2009) two ideal types thus analytically illustrate certain difficulties in transforming knowledge from a teacher training course into an organizational context due to a discrepancy between the intended learning trajectory in the management's school model and the learning trajectory experienced by teachers and demonstrated in observations. The question is whether the two forms of professionalism can be developed and can support each other via learning processes supported by management or colleagues, which Eraut (2010) finds to be crucial in his analyses of newly graduated professionals. As mentioned, the teachers, except Brian, talk about forms of collaboration that are not being practiced and lacking possibilities for learning through collaboration. Based on this, all the teachers have op-

portunities for development, even though we have to talk about personal professionalism, as they all exhibit different learning trajectories and professionalism (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013).

As described in the introduction, the teachers' training course takes place in a market that is affected by various factors, for instance whether the supply of modules matches the schools' logistics in terms of planning, the geographic placement of modules and the price. The above analyses draw attention to the issue of whether the supply promotes organizational and occupational professionalism. Bodil's and Brian's cases illustrate a point here. In Brian's case, a connection is formed between what he calls "bodies" that favour pedagogy and the team's collegial work. The school model, the teamwork and the course encourage him to pursue a professionalism that goes against that of other colleagues. Brian becomes a frontrunner and the client—in this case, those who favour pedagogy—in a market logic is satisfied. The challenge to the vocational college and to the provider of the course is those colleagues who are not participating in the process of change. The market challenge is thus whether the client sees this need and whether the provider can deliver 'a product' that covers this new demand. It cannot be a standard product, since the colleague at the same technical college does not participate in similar collegial collaborations, see. Table 2. In other words, the market exhibits some diversity, and internal relations at the vocational colleges may demand different things from a provider (Fejes et al., 2016).

In Bodil's case, we do not find the same coherence between organizational and occupational professionalism, since she also wants collegial collaboration that is not possible. In a market situation, providers thus have to choose between educating for an occupational profession where the management does not assign the same value to collegial collaboration (the school model and standardized procedures) and the teachers. The providers therefore have to be able to deliver an educational product that satisfies managers as well as teachers, and this requires different supplies. Likewise, technical colleges and health and social work colleges have different demands for providers in terms of organizational learning.

The above analyses give rise to the question of how interaction between the two forms of professionalism can be promoted with a view to coherence and thus increased use of the teacher training course in teaching at vocational colleges. As possible answer is found in the concept of hybrid professionalism with reflexive practice and trade-offs in the relation between organizational and occupational professionalism or in organizing professionalism, where professionals take on new roles (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Such new understandings of professionalism can challenge the content in the existing teacher training course. The practical implications of this understanding in the context of vocational colleges require more research.

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Appendix 1

Table 2
Overview of school models and collegial teamwork
The columns show the school models, teachers, and ways to collaborate: teamwork, facilitationg social relations, joint planning and ability to engagen in and promote mutual learning. The rows show the four different colleges.

	School models	Teachers	Teamwork	Facilitating social relations	Joint planning	Ability to engage in and promote mutual learning
			Observed = x — According to interviews: e = exist, w = wanted			
Technical college	Pre-course: Prepare the students for the course	Uffe			x	w
		Brian	x	x	x	x
Health and social care college	During course: Control with a view to implementation in teaching	Bodil	w	x	x	w
		Fie	w		x	w
Commercial college	During course: Integration in the school's committees and development projects	Naja			x	w
		Dorthe				w
Combined commercial/technical college	During course: Internal coaching concerning examination papers on the course	Charlotte	e		x	w
		Tue	e	x	x	w

Alan David Stoleroff and Mara Alexandra Vicente

Performance Assessment and Change in the Academic Profession in Portugal

Abstract: The introduction of a performance assessment model based upon the measurement of merit through explicit, standardized, and objective criteria of productivity has provoked significant changes in the academic profession within the public higher education in Portugal. Given that employment security was made contingent upon obtaining adequate positive scores and promotion upon achieving maximum scores, a new institutional culture framed by precariousness and competition seems to have emerged. Moreover, as a consequence of austerity and with it the freezing of the pay awards associated with a promotion, the positive effects of excellent performance have been suppressed, while punitive measures for inadequate performance have been maintained. Based on ongoing qualitative research consisting of analysis of union position statements, interviews with union representatives, and interviews with academic staff of a Portuguese higher education institution, this article advances the hypothesis that evolution has taken place from resistance to routinization and acceptance of assessment procedures.

Keywords: Performance assessment, higher education, NPM reforms, organizational change, bureaucracy, academic profession, teachers' union

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The recent development of public higher education (HE) in Portugal has been typical of the trends associated with New Public Management (NPM)-type reforms particularly with respect to the linkage of institutional development, competitivity, and success with academic output and, therefore, application of organizational strategies that link incentives to productivity with meritocratic reward based upon individual performance assessment (PA). Since 2007, organizational change in the context of public administration reform has provoked significant changes in the academic profession within the public HE in Portugal. The generalized introduction of models of PA based upon the measurement of merit through explicit, standardized and objective criteria of productivity has been exemplary of change in this context. Given that employment security was made contingent upon obtaining adequate, positive scores and promotion upon achieving maximum scores, a new institutional culture, framed by competition – and by risk, seems to have emerged. Moreover, as a consequence of austerity and, with it, the freezing of the pay awards associated with a promotion, the positive effects of high productivity and excellent performance were suppressed. Punitive measures for inadequate performance were, however, maintained. Thus, the application of PA is particularly symptomatic of how problems involved in the implementation of NPM-inspired reforms have produced organizational change with significant impacts upon the academic profession.

This article, therefore, proposes to place the development of individual PA in the Portuguese public HE system within the context of the institutional and organizational changes associated with NPM-inspired reforms. It will address the challenges that this assessment system has placed upon academics and their reactions to it. In this context, it looks at the discourses produced by union organizations and union activists and their evolution since the inception of PA. It also presents the points of view of teachers themselves through an analysis of interviews with union activists and teachers obtained from a case study at a representative Portuguese polytechnic institution. Its analysis is based upon the hypothesis that a general evolution has taken place in unions' and teachers' behaviour and attitudes from resistance to routinization and acceptance of assessment procedures. Accordingly, the article begins with a look at the implementation of NPM reforms in public HE and then reviews the application of the new assessment models for teachers in the Portuguese system.

PA of teachers and international organizational and management reforms in public HE

Public HE systems have not escaped from international tendencies of management reform in public administration, such as organizational decentralization and autonomy, accountability and results-based management models. Indeed, the generalized influence and rising hegemony of NPM ideology, with its presumption of the superiority of private management models, together with the external pressures of context, provided fertile breeding ground for discourses regarding the ineffectiveness and indulgence of the traditional models of administration of public HE institutions (HEIs), supposedly founded upon the inefficient logics of academic development and collegiality (Barr, 2004; Lorenz, 2007). From these it has been easy to concludec—ideologically and not necessarily empirically—for the necessity of changing its existing management models as in the rest of public administration (Amaral, Magalhães, & Santiago, 2003; Anderson, 2008; Field, 2015; Kallio & Kallio, 2014; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Pollitt, 2003; Reed, 2002) in favour of organizational decentralization and autonomy and a convergence upon a results-based model of human resources and careers. Thus, the decentralization of the system of HE was justified theoretically by equating organizational autonomy from uniform public tutelage with efficiency.

As with the hospitals in public health systems (Stoleroff & Correia, 2008), decentralization and organizational autonomy give way to "marketization" and to increasing fragmentation of the system. Decentralized organizations produce discrete development strategies, each acting as if it were a "private" entity and going its own competitive way.[1] Moreover, the long-term and crisis-induced decrease in public financing of HEIs has further stimulated such competition by increasing organizational dependence upon self-generated funding (in particular from increasing receipts from student tuition as well as private investment). Thus, although attenuated by the still public character of much of the system, highly competitive educational "markets" have emerged for the "products" of HE, thereby making necessary the exercise of explicit hierarchical control over results at all levels of their operation—with the additional consequence that internal hierarchies have been readjusted and reconstituted. In this context academic productivity becomes a key element to organizational competitivity and success and, consequently, systems of individual PA were almost universally introduced with the pretext of objectively measuring the productivity of teachers and researchers.

In short, the introduction of new management models in public institutions of HE

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[1] Rhoades & Slaughter (2004) refer to this phenomenon as "academic capitalism."

has resulted in diverse and numerous organizational changes. However, the introduction of new managerial principles into practice has often gone ahead without sufficient attention being given to the limiting conditions for their application, and they may not adequately anticipate and respond to the complexity and limited rationality that characterize public organizations in particular (Reed, 2002). On the organizational level, a particularly relevant criticism holds that competition between decentralized organizations potentially jeopardizes the institutional cooperation that should be conducive to optimal academic and scientific development. Moreover, this competition may result in less efficient use of resources from a macro point of view, thus contradicting the goals of NPM itself, namely, an increase in the efficiency of the system as a whole.

Another line of critical reasoning involves the unintended consequences of the administrative measurement of merit. In the NPM ideology optic, both scientific and teaching quality require an organizational climate that promotes, at least in attenuated form, "market" competition (Van Dalen & Henkens, 2012) that is based upon human resource management (HRM) models. This pressuposes external control and monitoring of activity is taken on by administrative structures, whose responsibility it is to supervise and verify their production through standardized measures and instruments. There is, however, a risk in that such control procedures are located within a conception of merit conditioned by quantity rather than quality. Indeed, some authors argue that such quantified criteria of assessment result in the over-valorization of quantity over quality (Kallio & Kallio, 2014; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Stelmach & Wollf, 2011), to the extent that evaluation has become constrained by standardized scores based upon *rankings* and *ratings* (Lane, 2010). These may encourage conformism since publication norms tend to promote standard work rather than critical innovation (Coulthard & Keller, 2016; Sousa, 2011), potentially jeopardizing objectivity and integrity in publication choices (Fanelli, 2010) as well as individualism in research (Sousa, 2011). On the other hand, dependence upon sources of self-financing may constrain academic organizations' decisions regarding their teaching and research to cater to the educational marketplace, leading them to approximate educational demand (Van Dalen & Henkens, 2012). Survival in an increasingly competitive and uncertain market thereby transforms ratings and rankings into the instruments through which HEIs measure merit and are themselves evaluated for merit (Stelmach & Wolff, 2011). Moreover, marketization may risk the independence of academic and scientific research and publication since projects, and the interpretation of results can be influenced by the priorities of private interests (Coulthard & Keller, 2016). These dynamics are a strong pressure on teachers and researchers and have a strong effect upon their motivations (Anderson, Johnson, & Saha, 2002).

Although the advocates of NPM and HRM may like to juxtapose two distinct models, one being a new more efficient flexible, meritocratic model with a preceding bureaucratic-administrative model, in practice the new models have tended to add layers of regulations upon increasingly standardized procedures and measures in a strongly bureaucratic manner. The devolution of powers—which sought to reduce bureaucracy in HE management, devolving greater autonomy to the organizations—has paradoxically lead to the creation of new bureaucratic control mechanisms due primarily to the new demands for accountability (Pollitt, Birchall & Putman, 1998) and explicit external supervision of results (Santiago & Ferreira, 2012). The establishment of accreditation processes (Amaral et al., 2003; Reed, 2002) as well as of procedures for PA based upon standardized, quantified criteria (Kallio, Kallio, Tienari, & Hyvönen, 2016; Vicente & Stoleroff, 2016) are two examples of such mechanisms. These lead not to the elimination of bureaucratic control but rather to its displacement within systems and individual organizations.

On the other hand, the introduction of managerial models within HE is frequently approached, in both the critical literature and professional discourse, as a rupture

with a preceding supposedly democratic and collegial peer-based model of evaluation (e.g., Macfarlane, 2015). Collegiality here seems to refer to governance models dominated by peer relationships and in which decisions are taken on the basis of professional and scientific criteria in representative organs by colleagues who are normally elected to positions to serve roles for a limited period (Amaral et al., 2003). The question is whether this criticism is based fundamentally upon an idealization of a preceding organizational pattern purportedly characterized by looser professional regulation and is now, in hindsight, being remembered nostalgically as democratic.[2]

In order to get closer to discourses regarding change, in the following, we try to synthesize two different models (see Table 1) based upon an opposition between ideal types of models of administration that may hypothetically be extracted from discourses about governance models in public HE: a democratic-collegial model and a managerial-bureaucratic model (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2014; Kallio & Kallio, 2014; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Santiago & Carvalho, 2008; Schminank, 2005; Ter Bogt & Scapens, 2012; Van Dalen & Henkens, 2012; Vicente & Stoleroff, 2016). Although this opposition may appear somewhat simplistic, it does represent opposing discourses regarding the relevant changes in the institutions.

Table 1
Ideal types of administration models in HE

Democratic-collegial model	Managerial-bureaucratic model
Institutional Management	
Emphasis on the code of public administration/civil service and general framework for public HE system;	Emphasis on internally generated statutes and regulations derived from a general framework for the public HE system;
Dependence on public financing through the state budget;	Mixed financing through the state budget, student tuition and self-generated receipts;
Orientation towards academia; Governance based on the presumption of the common good and public interest; Aloof from the community, independent of companies;	Orientation towards the educational market; Competition for students; Governance based upon market logic: with students as clients, teachers as service providers; Proximity with community understood mainly as "the economy;"
Democratic participation in organs of governance; Collegiality;	Top-down formal leadership. Responsibility and power located in Directors of Units (Faculties, Departments, Centers);

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[2] Anderson et al (2002) argue that the term collegiality is abused as an evocation of an imagined climate of harmony and intellectual collaboration that they refer to as *contrived collegiality*, which in effect can be used as a counter-narrative or defensive tool in resistance to change (Fullan & Scott, 2009). Taylor (2008) argues that the fixation with collegiality is in part the result of a state of spirit and sense of loss that brings academics to reminisce upon a supposed (pre-NPM) golden era, thereby imagining that a previous collegial model has been presently supplanted by managerialism.

Democratic-collegial model	Managerial-bureaucratic model
Organizational Structure	
Centralization at macro and supra-organizational level (i.e., Ministry); Underdeveloped internal structure;	Relative organizational autonomy and managerial decentralization; Developed internal structure;
Relatively flat organizational structure; The primacy of collegial organs;	Pyramidal organizational structure Importance of centrally emanated managerial hierarchy (from Rector to Deans and Chairs) ;
Human Resource Management	
Non-explicit self-control of *outputs* of academic production;	Explicit external control of academic production;
Remuneration according to category, scale, service;	Remuneration according to category, scale, service and bonuses for productivity;
Administrative management of academic staff; The primacy of the civil service statute;	Hybrid regimes of human resource management, including civil service regime and private law contracts;
Stability of academic employment in accordance with public service employment regime.	Tenure and employment stability linked to performance assessment.

While reforms in public HE have forged ahead, supported by NPM's more or less successful hegemony, and pushed on under the pressure of austerity, the theory and its implementation have been subject to significant practical professional resistance, as well as the academic criticism, especially as they have had visible consequences for HEIs and teaching careers.

Teachers and the implementation of PA in public HE: from resistance to routinization

Given what has been at stake for teachers in public HE with the introduction of a purportedly meritocratic system of PA that includes awards and penalties, it should not be surprising if its implementation has led to significant adaptations and adjustments in their behaviour, such as the adoption of the management language (Carvalho, 2012). On the one hand, this applies in the positive sense, when the interested parties – especially when in possession of favourable resources – perceive opportunity and gain a hold on the game, foreseeing advantage and reward. However, this is even more valid in the negative sense since, employment security, for example, becomes dependent upon evaluation (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015), especially in the polytechnic sector (Santiago & Carvalho, 2008). All of this further promotes an increasingly competitive environment and, yet, may lead, in particular, and ironically, to complacency.[3] Such complacency may then lead to routinization of the new practices.

Fixed procedures fix expectations, and such routinization is partly what secures bureaucracy (Merton, 1957), permitting work to go ahead as planned. With time, routines and their underlying rules are internalized by the interested actors (Guidens,

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[3] Complacency arises, in accordance with Anderson (2008, p. 264), when, given the impossibility of avoidance, academics may accept a situation pragmatically and strategically, even if minimally, which does not signify agreement.

1984) and their interests, such as promotion, will become dependent upon conformity—which may also hold back risk and innovation (Merton, 1957), which is particularly problematic in academics and science. In this light, the system of individual PA becomes a bureaucratic instrument for the control of results, and the simultaneous effects of expectations of reward or avoidance of sanction will be dependent upon the degree of conformity with the norms and behaviour defined by the management system. Thus, such routinization of behaviour may and should have significant impacts on really-lived professionalism. What we may hypothesize therefore is a dualization of professional strategies as a function of the individual academic's perception of opportunity or disadvantage in the situation, but altogether a breakdown of resistance through routinization.

In the rest of this article, we will report upon research conducted in relation to our hypotheses, that is, the reflection of this process in union representatives' and teachers' discourses on organizational change and the consequences of PA.

PA of teachers in Portuguese public HE

Characterization of HE in Portugal

In Portugal, until 1972 there were only four public universities (Lisbon, Coimbra, Évora and Porto) and a small, recently created Institute of HE (ISCTE in Lisbon) (Torgal, 2012). Following democratization in 1974, HE rapidly expanded in response to a massive increase in demand (Amaral et al., 2003; de Almeida, 2012). At present, the public system consists of 39 institutions (13 universities, a university institute, 15 polytechnical institutes, and five schools that are not integrated within either universities or polytechnical institutes (General Direction of Higher Education, 2017). These institutions are under the tutelage of the Ministry of Higher Education and Science. They all may confer Bachelors and Masters degrees while only the universities are entitled to confer doctorates.

During the dictatorship of 1933-1974, the regime tightly controlled the universities allowing them very little autonomy. Rectors were appointed directly by the government, and the organs of governance were hardly representative of the faculty (de Almeida, 2012). The democratization of the country resulted in concomitant democratization of the governance of HEIs, approximating a democratic-collegial model and obtaining a high degree of academic liberty and scientific and pedagogic autonomy. There was, therefore, a significant delegation of decision-making to the institutions themselves, extending even to financial and administrative matters, although many fundamental decisions, such as the creation of courses, the number and distribution of students to be enrolled or the creation of teaching lines for hiring, remained subject to ministerial approval. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the 1990s, managerial principles, at least at a rhetorical level, began to make their way into a political debate and effective practice (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2014), preparing the way for important changes to the traditional model by the 2000s (Amaral et al., 2003). Subsequently, and in the wake of OECD recommendations for publicly financed institutions to operate within the private market (Kauko & Diogo, 2011), their administrative and management models were altered relatively rapidly along the lines of NPM (Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2014; Diogo & Bruckmann, 2015), with the passage of the Law Nr. 62/2007 creating the Judicial Regime for HEIs (RJIES).

The main changes in the new framework produced a top-down structure of power and authority and included numerous derivative changes in the organizations of HE (Araújo et al., 2014; Diogo & Bruckmann, 2015; Kauko & Diogo, 2011; Santiago & Carvalho, 2011; Vicente & Stoleroff, 2016) as can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2
Main changes introduced by RJIES

Governance	The concentration of decision-making power within a reduced number of organs and, especially, the strengthening of the powers of the university rectors and presidents of the polytechnical institutes; A significant decrease in the number of members constituting the government structures of the institutions, namely in the General Councils and the Management Councils; The introduction of external stakeholders into the management organs; The introduction of the modes of a selection of members of governing bodies, making it possible for some to be designated or co-opted from above; Professionalization of certain managerial functions and administrative leadership (supervisors, directors and the like).
Management	Creation of an option between two institutional models: the public institute regulated by public law and the foundation regulated by private law; Introduction and regularization of reporting and other instruments for accountability; Viabilization of formalized cooperation and consortia between institutions.
Funding	Linking institutional budgets to productivity through financing contracts with the state; Possibility of autonomous fixing of tuition, including the possibility of tuition increases.
Human Resources	Transformation of the civil service status of teachers and administrative staff to public employees; Introduction of Performance Assessment of academic personnel.

The introduction of PA into HE

Academic and scientific endeavour is necessarily subject to evaluation by peers, and academic careers are therefore inherently meritocratic (Ter Bogt & Scapens, 2012). Assessment of academics' work, therefore, involves evaluation procedures that, to some degree, are familiar to the field and expected. However, previous systems of assessment in the Portuguese public sector tended to derive from bureaucratic systems of personnel administration review derived from the statutory conditions of the civil service employment contract and based upon loose, qualitative assessments made by supervisors—and even these were pretty much informally applied in academic contexts or not at all. In NPM-inspired discourse, this internal control of performance was over-determined by the job security attendant upon civil service status. Security purportedly functioned as a disincentive to productivity and excellence and weakened the meritocratic dynamic conjured up by the familiar expression *publish or perish*, perversely inducing accommodation and productivity fall-off, allowing academics who had acquired civil service status *to rest upon their laurels* (Vicente & Stoleroff, 2016). In this sense, and in the optic of NPM ideology, both scientific

and teaching quality were in need of an organizational climate that promotes competition based upon human resource management models in which external control and monitoring of activity is taken on by administrative structures, whose responsibility is to supervise and verify their production through standardized measures and instruments (Vicente & Stoleroff, 2016). This NPM view of the positive function of meritocratic assessment was largely transported to a revision of the Career Estatutes of Teachers and Researchers in HE that necessarily followed the passage of the RJIES.

The revision of the Career Estatutes took place in 2009. Amongst other alterations, the revision entailed the institutionalization of evaluation based upon the assessment of pre-determined quantitative objectives distributed among the four areas representative of teachers' activity: teaching, research, participation in organizational management bodies and services extended to the community. PA measures were to be put into effect through the elaboration, operationalization and implementation in each institution of a regime of regulations for PA (designated a RAD). The coordination of the process was to be led by the Scientific Councils in the universities and by the Technical-Scientific Councils of the Polytechnical Institutes and, according to the law, the RAD for each institution was to be initially negotiated with the teachers' unions.

The decentralization and autonomy attained by the institutions led to diverse regimes throughout the system. Nevertheless, the following characteristics are common to almost all:

- a certain uniformity in the weighting of scores amongst the four areas of teaching activity, with a tendency to value teaching and research activities;
- similarities in the items of assessment that had been operationalized for each of the areas of activity;
- a certain standardization of the criteria for evaluating teachers irrespective of their professional category, scientific area, degrees or seniority;
- standardization of the scales for assessment results such as three or four levels for positive assessment and only one negative level;
- a prevalence for assessment over three-year periods;
- some sort of inclusion of students' evaluation of teachers, usually based on annual or bi-annual questionnaires;
- the presence of some form of self-assessment by teachers through reporting of activities or registering of results and its delivery to an organ (such as a department chair) with responsibility for its validation.

Diversity in the institutions' regimes entails aspects such as the existence of quotas for the proportion of teachers who may obtain the highest gradings per unit or the application of assessment to part-time teachers.

The effects of austerity measures in teachers' PA

Legitimated by the economic and financial crisis that swept through several European countries, such institutional and organizational reforms were, more recently, followed by austerity, which can be said to have simultaneously reinforced and distorted the logics of change, constraining the chances and conditions necessary for their consolidation (Lodge & Hood, 2012; Stoleroff, 2013). On the one hand, austerity increased the competitive pressures upon organizations for survival. However, austerity also threatened professional alliances, that would have been crucial for the transition to the new models, and jeopardized the levers and positive incentives for continued reform. If it was already problematic to introduce changes in the manage-

ment of academic work and careers, austerity posed complex challenges to the meritocratic reconstruction sought by the reforms and, in particular, by the introduction of individual PA.

The austerity policies introduced in Portuguese public HE (Teixeira & Koriakina, 2016)—as in the rest of the public sector—ended up limiting the implementation of the PA system. Budget restrictions promoted the emphasis upon measurement of productivity, particularly, as a criterion for promotion (as promotions across the system involve significant costs). However, these budgetary restrictions have been invoked to suppress or freeze the positive effects, such as promotions and bonuses, for superior assessment. As a result, PA under austerity was transformed into a fundamentally punitive system, or at least could be perceived as such. This promoted, above all else, strategies for avoiding insufficient results in evaluation or, especially amongst those who become tired of the competition, strategies for sufficing and behaviour based upon just getting by, since better results produce no tangible career or immediate material advantages.

We are, therefore, faced with circumstances which permit us to advance hypotheses considering resistance and acceptance of this major reform in the academic profession and its career: an evolution has taken place from resistance to innovation to routinization and acceptance of assessment procedures 1) that is reflective of the underlying differentiation of academics to the new professional stratification processes in accordance with their varying adaptive capacities and that 2) is reflected in the discourses of teachers' professional representatives.

Methods

Teachers unions' and teachers' views on PA: some research

Based on our research, we will now examine the perspectives of the teachers' unions and their activists regarding the assessment system implemented in Portuguese public HE. We look at their evolution from the start of the process until the conclusion of the first cycle of evaluation. We will then report on the viewpoints of teachers themselves, taken from a specific case study, regarding the rules and process applied in their institution as well as assessment in general.

There are two representative union structures in public HE. The National Federation of Teachers (FENPROF) was formed in 1983, federating various regional teachers' unions that were organized in the aftermath of democratization, aggregating teachers from all levels of the educational system. It is affiliated in the national CGTP confederation. The National Union for HE (SNESup) was created in 1989, following a wave of dissatisfaction with the performance of FENPROF in the negotiation of the Teachers Career Statute and the resulting aspiration of many teachers to have a union dedicated solely to HE (Lourtie, 2015). SNESup is an independent, national union. Each of the unions submitted opinions regarding the RAD conceived for each institution, explaining its position.

With respect to the positions of the unions, in addition to analysis of union documents, we interviewed a set of union activists in order to get a more general sense of the organizational dynamics involved in the implementation of the evaluation system nationally and in order to complement the information collected through the case

study of a specific institution. We interviewed 18 union activists from diverse institutions (15 activists from SNESup and three from FENPROF).[4]

Table 3
Identification of union interviewees cited in the analysis

Interview	Union	Scientific area	Holds leadership position
A	SNESup	Social Science	x
B	Fenprof	Engineering	x
C	SNESup	Mathematics	x
D	SNESup	Social Science	x
E	SNESup	Sciences	
F	SNESup	Social Science	x
G	SNESup	Law	
H	SNESup	Sciences	
I	SNESup	Engineering	
J	SNESup	Management	
K	SNESup	Social Science	x
L	Fenprof	Sciences	x

Finally, as part of a case study of a HEI, semi-directive interviews were also conducted with a sample of 30 teachers (N=180) from a representative polytechnic institute that had implemented individual PA biannually since 2011. The option to do a case study in a polytechnic institute was due to an interest in developing sociological research specifically in this under-studied sub-system of HE in Portugal and an interest in researching the particularities in the application of an assessment regime in this sub-system, which is characterized by a high degree of precarity in employment relations (a higher proportion of teachers on non-permanent contracts), less experience in scientific research activity and significantly lower academic credentials among its teaching staff. The specific institution was chosen due to the opportunity afforded by the approval of the institution's administration. The choice of using the interview method was adequate towards the goal of carrying out an exploratory and intensive analysis of the positions of the main actors involved in the assessment process, taking into account that, while research has been done on other measures of NPM reform in the academic context (e.g. Amaral, Tavares, & Santos, 2013; Bruckmann, 2017; Bruckmann & Carvalho, 2014; Carvalho & Videira, 2017; Santiago & Carvalho, 2008; Santiago, Carvalho, & Sousa, 2015), to our knowledge, there do not as yet exist other studies of this object within the panorama of Portuguese HE. The sample of participants in the study was constructed intentionally based upon the following criteria: discipline, contract status, professional category, employment regime (full or part-time), and academic degree. The interviews were

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[4] The selection of the interviewees was made with the assistance of the unions. The first interviews were carried out between October 2014 and October 2015 and, in order to analyse the evolution of union and activists' positions, a new round of interviewing was carried out between October 2016 and February 2017 with the same activists who had been previously interviewed.

conducted between November 2015 and March 2017. The sample was diversified by both academic discipline (law, accounting, management, finance, languages, and computer science) and type of contract (full-time with exclusivity, full time and part-time).

Results

This analysis will focus on four aspects of the issues at hand: 1) the positions and conduct of the teachers' unions in relation to PA; 2) opinions of the interviewed union activists; 3) the opinions of the interviewed teachers regarding the implementation of the new models of PA applied in their institution; and 4) the possible sources of accommodation and acceptance behaviours with regard to PA.

Union positions on the system of PA

An analysis of the unions' positions is indispensable for an understanding, at the least, of discourses around the issue.

Analysis of the unions' position papers leads to the conclusion that both FENPROF and SNESup, on the one hand, considered, at least officially, that the implementation of assessment would be inevitable due to the competitive and meritocratic character of the teaching and research careers and, on the other, challenged the legal basis of the system alleging, in a similar fashion to the critical sociological arguments, that it posed serious threats to academic professionalism, as can be understood from the following excerpts.

> We do not refuse evaluation but consider that an exclusively individual evaluation, according to the models that have been proposed by the various institutions [based upon the quantification of results], is not justified,… since it will produce competition, fear and the destruction of any notion of collective work. (Position of SPN/FENPROF on the regulations of performance assessment, March 2010)

> [O]ne of the fundamental tasks of our careers is evaluation: all of us evaluate, and we are, always have been, evaluated.… Before evaluating it is necessary to know what evaluation is for, what are the intended goals to be reached. (SNESup, Debate on Performance Assessment in Higher Education, 2010)

One of the most criticized principles was the quantification of teachers' productivity (according to the four fields of evaluation: teaching, research, managerial roles, and extension) since it leads, in their view, to a decrease in academic autonomy and a weakening of professional powers as well as to a "proletarianization" of teaching and research work, subjecting it to managerial criteria for an assessment defined externally and hierarchically:

> [m]any academics publish because they desperately need these publications to hold onto their job, so they can continue to research or be promoted and earn more money.… No serious and honest system of assessment can leave out a rigorous and thoughtful analysis of the content of the work of an academic,… which is contrary to the idea of permanent assessment that is based upon metrics, which, for its part, encourage bad practices. (SNESup, on Performance Assessment in Higher Education, 2010)

> The enormous waste of time and the concomitant displacement of energy to fulfil the requisites of evaluation are going to irreparably and radically alter the main functions and objectives of teachers. (Opinion of SPN/FENPROF on the RAD proposed by the Universidade do Porto, 2010)

The initial positions of union activists to the introduction of PA

The analysis of the discourse of the activists in the first round of interviews revealed a significant variety of positions in relation to the system that was implemented, even amongst members of the same union organization, varying between resistance and full acceptance, as is demonstrated in the following excerpts.

1. Resistance

Three of the interviewed activists expressed their rejection of the system of evaluation following the alteration of the teachers' career statute without recognizing any value for the profession.

> Metrics are not fair. It is not a fair system.… The regulation of performance appraisal has put colleagues against colleagues. [The appraisers] assume the power of surveillance and pressure. (A)

> I think that [the system of assessment] is harmful! (C)

> I am completely against these regimes of performance appraisal. (D)

2. Partial acceptance

In contrast with the previous views, the majority of the interviewed activists recognized the importance of performance assessment for the teachers' career, accepting the existence of a system geared towards this end. Nevertheless, they expressed disregard for some of the rules of the system as implemented as well as the manner in which it has been implemented in various institutions, such that their position is to be considered as of partial acceptance.

> We understand that the existence of performance appraisal is very important.… But, one thing is to say that, and another is to say that any appraisal is ok. It is not that! There are principles that have to be followed in the assessment. (B)

> I think that these regulations for performance assessment nowadays are indispensable. How can we assure the control, verification and validation of the work of others if we don't have these tools?... at the level of putting them into practice the things end up with worse results.… These regulations always have a tendency that is for a certain uniformity. (D)

> With regard to performance assessment, in general, I'm in favour.… In theory, evaluation for merit seems right to me, evaluation by peers, and that career advancement be made through evaluation mechanisms. (G)

3. Total acceptance

Activist E, on the other hand, expressed total acceptance of the implemented assessment system, stating that he had participated (as a teacher and not a union representative) in some of the phases of the conception of the assessment regime in the institution where he works. This participation may have contributed to the interviewee's acceptance of the rules applied in his institution.

> Before the new RJIES and the new teaching career statute, in this institution, there was no evaluation.… My opinion is that teachers should be evaluated and, therefore, I think it's positive to introduce assessment.… I agree with this assessment in the form in which it is taking place … by objectives. (E)

From initial resistance and fear to acceptance and conformism

The second round of interviews of the activists revealed a general posture of accommodation or acceptance in discourse, even amongst the present leaders of these organizations, as can be read in the following examples:

> Performance appraisal right now stands more for conformism [on the part of academics] than for something else.… The Union also has been affected by that.… The theme of evaluation took up a lot of [time] in our board meetings. Now it no longer does. (A)

We could also detect outright acceptance as expressed in the interview with B:

> We know what was the main reason [for P.A. implementation]—to prevent people to progress [in the career], which is motivating because it stimulates people not to rest. (B)

With respect to the remaining union activists, the results seem to point towards an evolution of positions, from initial fear with the introduction of assessment to either accommodation or acceptance following its application. This observation is reinforced by the positions expressed by even some union activists, such as E and F.

> We no longer hear much [talk] about PA internal rules by academics, which is an indicator of a greater acceptance. (E)

> At that point [of the take-off of the assessment process], I think that fear was greater because people also did not know what type of consequences assessment could have.… [At this point], people have no concerns and, somehow, they accept the mechanism. (F)

The positions of teachers

The 30 interviews conducted in the case study also revealed a diversity of positions amongst teachers in relation to the system of assessment introduced in their institution, similarly varying between resistance (Academic 1), partial acceptance (Academic 2) and acceptance (Academic 3).

> People are not measured only by numbers. There are multiple dimensions through which an academic … can be evaluated and not only on quantitative terms. And this [system] is purely and systematically quantitative! (Academic 1)

> The quantitative part of assessment of teaching to me doesn't seem inadequate. It seems to me that they should make the criteria between evaluators uniform. (Academic 2)

> I don't see any inconvenience in the quantitative approach.… It is a way to guarantee that performance appraisal is more objective. (Academic 3)

The posture of accommodation/acceptance of the assessment system, observed in the opinions of the activists, is also shown in the discourse of some of the teachers interviewed in the case study, as is exemplified by Academic 3, a full-time teacher, with a fixed term contract who is not on permanent staff:

> At the beginning, there was a little tumult, but then we saw how [the appraisal system works], the criteria, and since then it has been not a big problem. (Academic 4)

This result corresponds with our hypothesis, showing that the perspectives of the teachers evolved from initial resistance and fear to a position of accommodation or passive acceptance. Confronted with this evidence, we think it is important to identify the main causes of this phenomenon, through the analysis of discourse of all the participants in this study as described in the next point.

Possible sources for accommodation and acceptance

In the course of the interviews with union activists and the participants in the case study we identified various phenomena which, in their opinion, constitute possible causes for the accommodation and/or acceptance of the system of performance assessment. These will be described in the following.

1.   Attenuation of the consequences of the results of the assessment
The implementation of evaluation did not fulfil the expectations for positive effects—rewards—for the highest levels of performance, namely promotion and career advancement.

> Although academics have been evaluated, there were no positive effects. That is, teachers with high enough scores to allow them to progress were not promoted. (C)

> We didn't notice anything!… In terms of career progression, it is all frozen! (Academic 5)

Although this phenomenon, derived from austerity, may lead to discouragement among teachers, leading them to question the ends of such assessment (Marsden, 2004), it may also serve to induce accommodation to the system in operation.

> The fear ended up wearing off because there were neither positive or negative consequences. (F)

The representatives of the teachers indicate that colleagues could not understand the benefits of the implementation of a system of assessment, but that this question is not present in the immediate concerns of the teachers or the unions themselves.

> They do not reach us here [many complaints in relation to performance assessment]. The problems that we've had here recently have to do with employment—the short term hiring and the risk of losing employment, which has been quite high. (B)

2.   PA perceived as a discredited administrative procedure
In addition to the above, PA is coming to be seen by teachers as a mere, though mandatory, administrative procedure, that has already been discredited by various actions.

> This is a make-believe! It produces no effects. Why do you implement something that has no effects?! (Academic 6)

> Neither the appraisers nor the appraised face this with any responsibility. It is not looked upon seriously. (L)

3.   Routinization of behaviour

The routinization of behaviour associated with the implementation of the system of

PA, which is manifested in the assimilation and internalization of expectations, is indicated by some of the interviewed as a factor promoting accommodation and reducing apprehension.

> [Academics] have incorporated the mechanism and today they are generally prepared to fill in evaluation forms. (F)

The results also revealed the emergence of new practices and the acceptance of a new language of management (Carvalho, 2012), such as the frequent counting of the number of publications, the strategic selection of journals, in accordance with the scores attributed to them in the assessment regulations, to which to submit articles, the concern with taking on tasks that bring points, amongst others.

4. Homogeneity of grading

Another factor pointed out as a motive for accommodation to the system has to do with the relative absence of differentiation in the grading attributed to teachers following the application of the assessment procedures. This may create the perception amongst the assessed that competition amongst peers is less acute than it may actually be.

> The evaluation results of teachers were, in general, globally very positive and, therefore, the fears haven't been felt. (F)

Conclusion

The results of the research reported here point to heterogeneous perspectives in relation to the implementation of the present system of PA of teachers in public HE. We repeat, this diversity of opinions is noticeable even among the union activists (themselves academics of course), whose organizations' initial official positions were fairly critical of the introduction of the procedures. This may demonstrate the adoption of diverse strategies on the part of teachers and researchers in order to deal with the changes introduced to the profession (de Bruijn, 2002). However, the attenuation, until now, or even the absence, of positive effects for higher performance - due to austerity measures, does not make it easy to understand the purpose of such a system of teacher assessment (Behn, 2003), which is, as a result, perceived by many of those involved as a mere administrative procedure, required by law, but with not much credibility. With the institutionalization of the system, teachers' and even the union activists' reactions seem to have evolved from initial fear and rejection to routinization, which has in turn lead to the assimilation of the rules and their apparent integration into the expectations of daily academic life. In this context, the fulfilment of rules becomes a focal point of behaviour, as Merton (1957) pointed out in his seminal analysis of bureaucracy, taking precedence in relation to the substantive results. In a sense, therefore, PA becomes transformed for many into an instrument to assure continuity of employment, the maintenance of a status quo in an increasingly competitive and unstable environment, in which there are only negative effects for insufficient performance. At present, we still cannot project to what will be the reactions of the academic community to a post-austerity situation where positive effects for high performance are added to the negative, especially if such a situation brings quotas for the superior grading.

In light of this analysis, the application of systems of PA in public HE, based upon quantification of academic productivity through objective criteria and standardized instruments, seems to have become a routine practice in everyday life of HEIs and their academic staff. Therefore, the results of this institutionalization may not correspond to the ends that were originally intended for this management

strategy, that is, as an incentive to excellence and as a compensation for merit. In other words, if despite this, academics continue to strive to show their merit and excellence in their work, for now, it is not principally due to this HRM device.

In spite of the relevance of the results of our research, the fragmentation of the assessment process (due to the autonomy of each institution in elaborating its model and regulations) and the different stages at each of the 39 institutions in the implementation of the system, there are important limits to the generalizations that can be made. For this reason, it would be important to engage in further research involving comparison amongst representative institutions within the two sub-systems of Portuguese HE.

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Starving at the Laid Table? Journalism, Digitalization and Corporate Capitalism

Abstract: Professional journalism fulfills an important role in modern democracies, while always standing with one leg in the public sphere and the other in the private media economy. Within the era of digitalization, the limits of a market-driven professionalism become apparent. Since information appears to be easily accessible due to new media, journalism lost its role as a gatekeeper for "what the world needs to know". But dropping an anachronistic idea of professional authority—as reform projects within the journalistic profession demanded for decades—does not necessarily lead to a more open and participatory public sphere. On the contrary, the chance for reliable news seems to shrink in the everyday flood of information. Facing a severe shortage of professionalism against the background of an oversupply in the field of journalism might indicate a general paradox of contemporary societies.

Keywords: Journalism, democracy, market, public good, digitalization

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From the sociology of professions perspective, journalism is discussed as a *permeable profession*, torn between serving the public and private profit (Abbott, 1988; Lewis, 2012). The professional project of journalism commenced with the rise of modern mass media. Always standing with one leg in the public sphere and the other in the private media economy, it went through challenging times during the 20th century. The following article will discuss the development of the journalistic profession with regard to the tension resulting from a public duty carried out within the increasingly commercialized media.

Journalism is widely seen as an important element of democratic societies, assigned to control the ruling elites and the government and promote deliberative processes. The concept of professionalized journalism was developed in the US and was adapted to the European countries after World War II. In continental Europe, journalism has been traditionally attributed to the intellectuals, situated somewhere in between arts and politics. However, in Germany, for example, the US American model prevailed as an academic discipline due to the American occupying power influence in media politics after the political abuse of the media during the Nazi regime and the historically new emergence of journalism studies. With regard to the professionalization of journalism, the second half of the twentieth century is particularly important—not only because the idea and the term professionalization itself became more prominent, but journalism also developed tremendously, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in that period. Since this process of professionalization was directly connected to the expansion of the media economy, the relation between professionalism and market structures is strikingly clear in the journalistic field. Within the era of digitalization, as will be illustrated in this article, the limits of a market-

driven professionalism have become apparent.

The following argumentation is based on long-term observations of the development of the cultural and media professions lea by own empirical works and referring to sound literature in the overlaps of sociology, journalism, and media studies. The aim of this article is a reconstruction of the historical development and drawing a line from the core ideology of professionalism to recent challenges of journalism. This results in a helicopter perspective, tending to pass over the multifaceted reality of journalism and presenting quite condensed micro-level findings. The empirical research, which nevertheless substantiates this argumentation, is based on document analysis, ethnographic observations, expert discussions and qualitative in-depth interviews with journalists of different cohorts and specializations in Germany (Schnell, 2007, 2009, 2016a, 2016b).

Furthermore, the development of the journalistic profession might be considered in correspondence to general tendencies of contemporary professionalism. On the one hand, journalism left behind the paternalistic concept of the professional as a gate keeper who decides "what the world needs to know" and took over the very modern idea of professional journalism as a compass in the everyday flood of information. On the other hand, journalism also exemplifies a problematic combination of hybridization, consumer sovereignty and the blurring distinctions between professional and non-professional work. Within digitally accelerated and commercialized mass media, journalistic achievements seem to lose relevance due to the lack of obvious distinctions between professionally conducted information, other types of content and "fake news".

In the following, the traits and pathways of the professionalization of journalism (section one) and the role of academisation for the process of professionalization (section two) are summarized. Section three discusses the transformation and rationalization of journalism in the era of new media. In section four, the problem of serving the public under market constraints is reflected. In section five, the current crisis of the democratic public is discussed before resuming the paradox of shortages and oversupply of professionalism in the field of journalism.

Traits and pathways of professionalization

Before diving deeper into the contradictions journalism faces today, a brief history of the professionalization in the field of journalism is summarized in this section. The development of the journalistic profession in Western industrial societies has been influenced by the Anglo-American model (Esser & Umbricht, 2013; Polumbaum, 2010; Williams, 2005), as outlined in the article "Journalism as an Anglo-American invention" (Chalaby, 1996). Journalism developed with industrialization and emergence of the press as the first mass medium. According to these historical roots, the ideal of journalism refers to news work and newspaper journalism while essentially ignoring the rising diversity of journalistic work. Even most scholarly work on journalism has focused on institutional news journalism, and the research on "alternative" journalism suggests that journalists across genres and media types invoke the same ideal-typical value system when discussing and reflecting on their work (Sparks, 1992; Van Zoonen, 1998). These evaluations have shifted subtly over time yet have always served to maintain the dominant sense of what journalism is (and should be) (Deuze, 2005; McNair, 2003).

Five ideal-typical traits that form the traditional core values of the professional ideology of journalism are discussed in the literature (Deuze, 2005.; Golding & Elliott, 1979; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001): First, the public service ideal is the main legitimizing feature of journalism, implying that journalists share a sense of "doing it for the public". The figure of the "watchdog" or the claim of a fourth, which is controlling the political elite, stands for this self-perception. Overall, journalistic

work is interpreted as important to the public—as consumers but even more as citizens —insofar as journalism's public task is conceptualized as promoting democratic deliberation (Deuze, 2005; Merritt, 1995).

Objectivity is the second key element, particularly in Anglo-American professional self-perception (Mindich, 1998). Since recent approaches question whether any information is objective in the sense of value neutrality, academics and journalists revisit this value through synonymous concepts, such as fairness, professional distance, detachment, and impartiality, to define and legitimize what media practitioners do.

Of course, the claim of professional *autonomy* plays an important role in the field of journalism as well. As in the established professions, autonomy is demanded in different directions and encompasses the freedom of opinion, free media and protection from censorship as well as the independence of the journalistic work from market forces and newsroom hierarchies. Whereas the general claim for autonomy unifies editors, media companies and journalists, claiming autonomy within the editorial department is supposed to defend the interests of journalists against editors' expectations and within their working environment so that they will not have to subordinate themselves to editors and managers. But as discussed below, editorial autonomy has become even more fragile due to changing working conditions in today's journalism (Singer, 1998).

Immediacy has always played an important role in the journalistic working culture. Fast decision-making and hastiness are part of the professional habitus, corresponding with the defining principle of "news"—the novelty of information. Of course, with regard to the technological development and the emergence of real-time publishing in a "non-stop" 24/7 digital environment, the notion of speed has become more ambivalent, as it increases the conflict between prudence and actuality (Deuze, 2005; Hall, 2001).

Last but not least, the development of a professional code of ethics, the fifth trait, has been another central element of the professionalization of journalism. Regardless of contextual differences, the commitment to truth and objectivity are key dimensions of ethical guidelines, as they legitimize the claim of autonomy and societal trust and recognition (Hafez, 2002; Ryan, 2001).

The professional ideology is particularly important in the field of journalism, as it has always been an "open" profession unable to institutionalize social closure. Even though the concept of professionalized journalism refers to an expert role for the freedom of expression and a specific responsibility for the democratic public, this jurisdiction must not be monopolized. Constitutional democratic rights imply that everyone is allowed to express his or her opinion publicly. Lacking institutionally secured boundaries, journalists tend to refer to these ideal traits to distinguish themselves from other occupational groups within the media and sustain some operational closure, thereby keeping outside forces at bay (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). With regard to the following development of journalistic professionalism, it is important to recognize that the frame of journalism as a "watchdog" over politics is rooted in the liberal ideology and corresponds with the commercialized structure of the Anglo-American press. Limitations of journalistic freedom resulting from market structures and economic dependencies have not been taken into account by theoretical approaches as a challenge to professionalism, even though the problematic implications became more obvious with the rise of the media economy.

Journalism studies have stressed the contrast between Anglo-American professionalism and continental European traditions in journalism. However, the Anglo-American ideal of journalistic professionalism has been progressively imported and adapted in newsrooms throughout continental Europe, while the overall picture changed completely throughout the course of the expansion and internationalization of media production in recent decades. But to understand the similarities and differences of the journalistic field, the systems of media production and the social and

political preconditions for professionalization in Europe are still of interest. Therefore, one line of differentiation is drawn between a highly politicized literary style in South or Central Europe and the corporative style allocated to the more Northern European countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Germany and Switzerland are representatives of a liberal version of the corporatist media, which correspond with a political system traditionally emphasizing compromise and power-sharing. This sociopolitical framework has supported the development of strong ties between newspapers, political parties and organized social forces, and thus also a partisan reporting style. However, the ideal of a neutral professionalism and information-oriented journalism has prevailed against the background of a moderate degree of external pluralism and a legacy of commentary-orientated journalism (Esser & Umbricht, 2013, p. 992). Therefore, media-theory mentioned the influence of the US American allies explains how the German media developed after World War II.

Professionalization via academization

Academization has been another important aspect of the professionalization of journalism, starting in the late nineteenth century, but mainly taking place in the second half of the twentieth century. Journalism studies have evolved principles of teaching, learning and researching journalism, which were adopted at an international level (Deuze, 2005). It has been relatively common for journalists to hold a university degree for quite some time, but often from other academic areas, such as social or political science, that was meant to build up their analytical skills or to broaden their intellectual horizons without directly preparing students for journalistic practice (Schnell, 2007). Journalism studies show evidence of the shift from a "profession of talent" to a "profession of qualification", whereas established journalists still tend to doubt that universities could prepare new entrants for the "realities" of journalistic work (Donsbach, 2013; Kepplinger, 2011). For the former generation of journalists, which was socialized within the "old industry model", journalism was understood as a craftwork that was learned in the

> By the end of the 1990s, there had developed a peculiar disjunction between the reality of how people did become journalists and the ideology of how they should become journalists, between the empirical evidence that journalism was now a career for graduates and the editorial suggestion that it should not be. (Schnell, 2007, p. 139)

In contrast to established professions, the relation between society and journalism is in a constant process of redefinition, and the profession is in a more reactive than proactive role of defining its position in relation to society. This became particularly evident in the discussion of academization, as the notion of social closure associated with academization was interpreted as dysfunctional with regard to the functional role of journalism. In the UK, for example, the loss of social proximity and how journalism might keep in touch with the "ordinary people" was problematized, implying that the academic elite would not be able to communicate the right things in the right way and represent their reality. In Germany, the idea of an intellectual avant-garde was much more accepted in the second half on the twentieth century, but the need for practical learning and socialization in the field was emphasized as well.

In terms of professionalization, academization might be understood as the development of a theoretical body of journalistic knowledge and an attempt to self-regulate the occupational field. In terms of education and socialization in a professional culture, which is conducted by the described values and principles, the academization of journalism has been quite successful. However, it has not achieved social

closure; rather, the opposite is the case. The growth of journalistic university programmes and degrees has contributed to enhanced competition in the journalistic labour market, and instead of stabilizing the social status of journalists through a university degree, it has become a standard, if not a formal requirement within the field over time. An interpretation of the academization of journalism as a successful collective upwards mobilization would be misleading. A more adequate interpretation seems to be that academic education and training have taken over parts of the reproduction of journalistic culture and offered training that is no longer provided within the general journalistic working conditions (Schnell, 2008; De Burgh, 2005).

Transformation and rationalization in the era of new media

Parallel to the attempts to professionalize journalism, the structural preconditions of media production changed fundamentally. Technological innovations have always influenced journalism and led to new specializations, but new media have generated an unprecedented and widespread proliferation of new technologies, new genres, platforms, and industries. The manifold dimensions of change are interconnected, and the consequences with regard to journalism are complex. In addition to the technological development, the literature discusses social change in general (which also includes a transformation of the audience), changing political and legal frameworks, and of course, structural changes of media systems as concentration processes take place at the national and international levels (Knoche, 2007). Thus, it would be heavily abbreviated to understand digitalization merely as a new type of publishing, rather than considering the profound changes for the concept of journalistic professionalism associated with the ongoing processes of computerization, multimedia production and interactivity (Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2002; Wise, 2000).

The emergence of a new type of journalism has been discussed since the 1990s. It is often entitled cyber-journalism or network journalism and is adapted to the online media logic (Dahlgren, 1996). In contrast to the traditional ideal of news production, which is characterized by a more-or-less individualistic top-down process, editorial organization patterns of multi-media journalism are much more team-based and include participatory elements. Moreover, the technique of storytelling differs from mono-media production insofar as multimedia journalists must organize content differently and produce story "packages" that could be integrated in digital network technologies instead of writing single stories, likely repurposed in multiple formats. Overall, technical skills have grown in importance in relation to the traditional core skills of writing and information gathering. It is claimed that more working time is being taken up in dealing with technical problems. Whether this should be interpreted as a de-skilling, a change or an extension of professional skills is still controversial. According to Örnebring (2010), re-skilling, multi-skilling and de-skilling occur simultaneously. New training programs have been designed to teach journalism in the new media environment, considering that a broader skill base is needed within these segments of the news-gathering process from investigation to production (Deuze, 2005). With regard to professionalism, the diagnosis about the consequences for journalism is just as ambivalent: taking over parts of the production leads to an expanding control over more stages of production, but it is also time-consuming; therefore, writing and investigating tend to take a backseat (ibid, p. 67). However, the changes resulting from digitalization and new media go far beyond the need for qualifications and the acquisition of new skills.

Clearly, these changes are challenging the traditional self-conception and the professional ideology of journalists and catalyzing new tensions in the industry and among journalists. However, the development of new media goes far beyond concrete editorial organization. It is embedded in, and interlaced with the transformation of the media economy, which is increasingly being driven by commercialism and market rationality (Cottle, 2003; Dickinson, 2007). In continental Europe, where

the cultural landscape (including the media) has traditionally been assumed to be predominantly "public territory", a shift has taken place from public cultural services to a prospering private-commercial domain within progressively internationalizing market structures. Audio-visual media, newspapers and magazines, the book trade and music were falling more and more in the hands of globally operating media companies. Overall, capital considerations and the "shareholder value" have grown in importance in medial production and changed the labour market and the working conditions in the journalistic field (Schnell, 2007; Hallin, 1996). Against this background and combined with the 24-hour multi-media news cycle, immediacy has been evolving more and more from a key value in the journalistic culture to a contradiction of journalistic liability and diligence (Blair, 2004). Digitalization has accelerated the news process and afforded a "discourse of speed" (Hampton, 2004), which tends to overlap with other criteria of journalistic labour. However, this development has become stronger and more encompassing over time, and journalistic work practices have had to adapt to the pressure of immediate publication and broadcasting.

After all, the discourse of speed appears as a mechanism of economic competition insofar as the technology is used to rationalize the news process in the very narrow sense of increasing the output and reducing the costs of media production. In effect, this can be interpreted as a devaluation of the traditional principles of journalistic professionalism (i.e. news gathering according to the principles of verification, ethical clarity, and depth) and as a shift in occupational control from journalists to managers (Higgins-Dobney & Sussman, 2013; Ursell, 2003). Instead of using new technologies to support elaborate investigation, many journalists seem to carry out desk jobs and must take over technical production (Witchge & Nygren, 2009, p. 55). Örnebring (2010, p. 64) sees a risk of a "proletarianization" of journalism in this development in which technology becomes a tool "that allows managers to implement organizational changes aimed at making journalistic labour more cost-effective and more easily controlled".

Another aspect of change resulting from digitalization and convergence is the conceptualization of the producer-consumer relationship (Baroel & Deuze, 2001; Neuberger & Quandt, 2010). With the increase of interactivity, the hierarchical relationship between producers and users is blurring, which is being discussed in the literature of journalism studies as a challenge of "one of the most fundamental "truths" in journalism: the professional journalist is the one who determines what publics see, hear, and read about the world" (Deuze, 2005, p. 451; Hall, 2001; Löffelholz, 2000; Pavlik, 2001; Singer, 1998). The more-or-less unlimited access to information in the digital era is changing the jurisdiction of journalistic professionalism from the level of the generation of information to the level of supporting consumers to cope with the flood of information (Schnell, 2008). At the same time, journalists must consider the rising social complexity resulting from changes in the social structure and multiculturalism (Deuze, 2005). This is identified as another problem of journalists' role perception in contemporary society by authors of journalism studies because the active awareness of social diversity contradicts the valued detachment of society that has been the traditional ideal of journalistic professionalism (Golding, 1994; MacGregor, 1997; Quandt & Schweiger, 2008).

In the era of new media, core values of journalistic professionalism have been challenged. Even the public service ideal is questioned in a multi-media context and is "not the same safe value to hide behind like it used to be in days of print and broadcast mass media" (Deuze, 2005, p. 455). It is much more difficult to meet the general public's interest and therefore to legitimize the professional authority in a public that is characterized by individualization and an audience considered to be becoming increasingly fragmented. This seems to be even truer since new media also imply a further loss of control in respect to the reception of information in the face of surfing the internet and shrinking attention spans. As a consequence of this development, theories of journalism indicate a shift towards a notion of serving the public

that is increasingly based on a bottom-up principle. Instead of pretending to be responsible for what people need to know (or not), journalism must take over the role of the moderator of the "conversations society has with itself" and offer filters and interpretations with regard of the overload of accessible information (Deuze, 2005; Carey, 1989 [1975]).

Additionally, the value of journalistic objectivity is being questioned insofar as it follows the common understanding of "getting both sides of the story". The increasing similarities of different media cultures in new-media production combined with news platforms that support interactivity and direct feedback from the audience are challenging journalists more than ever before with a plurality of interpretations of reality. As a result, the core value of objectivity appears much more against the background of social complexity. Moreover, the value of autonomy, which was developed as a concept at the individual level, must now be reflected in a more transparent and sometimes even participatory news environment. Obviously, as argued before, immediacy potentially turns from a value to a menace of journalistic professionalism, particularly if the quality and depth of news and information are not adequately valued in the context of online publishing. In addition, journalists might refer to ethics to defend against structural changes or commercial, audience-driven or managerial encroachment, but they will need to rethink their ethical standards to be able to deal with new conditions of working and publishing.

In sum, the concept of journalism as a social authority representing the public, which was developed within the expansion of mass media, seems to have lost power against the background of changing technical, economic and social preconditions (Bardoel, 1996). Compared to traditional professions, which have been affected by the overall developments as well, journalism is confronted much more directly and is forced to react consequently to these developments.

Serving the public under the terms of commercialization

With regard to journalism, a paradoxical interplay of the societal needs and requirements and actual circumstances of professional work can be observed. On the one hand, journalism represents a specific type of expertise, which corresponds to the idea of a knowledge society. The concept of a knowledge society covers an understanding of social change, which emphasizes the opportunities of new technologies and rising sources of data creation as well as the eased spreading of information around the globe. Therefore, a key resource to promote development on individual and societal levels, as well as economic growth, is the ability to deal with huge amounts of data and information. On the other hand, the de facto structural conditions of professional work in the era of neoliberalism develop quite contradictory to the optimistic reading of the rise of a knowledge society. The paradoxes resulting from this situation are particularly obvious in the field of journalism.

Quantification and market validation

When structural changes in the sphere of professional work are discussed, the transformation of welfare state politics, called new governance and New Public Management (NPM), are mentioned initially. Professions are facing external measurements and the expectation to have cost-efficient performance, which is colliding with the historical model of professional autonomy. Keywords like accountability stand for this management of public services following the principles of business administration. The amount of sociological literature discussing the relationship between professionalism and managerialism is huge and still rising, indicating that both "logics" are still struggling with each other or merge into a new hybridized type of professionalism (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2007). In the field of journal-

ism, the transformation towards further economization took place much more radically, as substantial parts of the media are traditionally driven by commercial interests. Above that, journalistic work has always been measured in countable pieces, in lines and concrete products, which catalyzes the principle of quantification, even though the essential value of journalistic work is immaterial (Schnell, 2016b). Therefore, media production was quite easily reduced to managerial indicators and quantitative outcomes, while largely ignoring journalistic quality and societal relevance (Schnell, 2007). Consequently, the inflation of accessible information by digitalization exacerbated the devaluation of professional work, particularly if it is already measured by numbers. Moreover, journalism faces the paradox of the de-constructivist turn towards knowledge and knowledge production, which correlates with the plurality of information and co-existence of perspectives disseminated within the global digital communication (Usher, 2016). While the traditional idea of a monopoly of professional knowledge and jurisdiction has become anachronistic, journalism might be exemplary for the impending loss of the differentiation between qualified and unqualified perspectives.

Accessibility and consumer sovereignty

Consumerism is the other side of the coin of the transformation of professionalism in the neoliberal era. Due to the process of modernization during the 20th century, the gap between professional experts and laymen seems to have shrunk. The increase in the educational level and a general trend toward academization have contributed to the loss of professional superiority. Some sophisticated approaches (e.g., Oevermann, 1996) have always stressed the relevance of true cooperation between experts and clients instead of a professional paternalism. However, with regard to the general decrease of professional authority, the interaction between professionals and laymen appear in a new light. In journalism, the dimension of co-production has become much more important. Even before digitalization was an issue, the public journalism movement questioned the ways in which information has been gathered and provided in the late 20th-century mass media (Ahava, 2013). Public journalism was guided by the idea that the audience must be involved into the production of news to produce a closer relation between mass media and society, provide more suitable information and support the media competence of recipients. For this purpose, projects have been invented to involve lay people in local editorial offices and enable them to participate in news production. With the digital age and the emergence of social and interactive media, this direct co-production has become the norm. But what might have sounded like a utopia of progressive journalism soon revealed its ambivalence. Instead of strengthening professions like journalism, which are promoting the translation of information into knowledge, they are further weakened. Journalists no longer control the accessibility of information, and journalistic and other content has become difficult to differentiate (Luengo, 2016). In particular, recipients, who are not conscious about the invisible aspects of professional work, might be fooled by the idea of consumer sovereignty (Schnell, 2016b).

Journalism and the crisis of democratic public

Researchers interpreting journalism from the sociology of professions perspective need to take the broader social context into consideration. First, journalism refers to a specific constellation of profession and organization, which is significantly characterized by international corporations. The relationship between journalists and publishers had already lost the quality of a working symbiosis during the 1990s, but with the shift towards ever-larger private media conglomerates, the power balance tipped over. Journalism finds itself on the defensive, but likely just as dramatic are the consequences to the democratic public. Analogous to the institutional frame of

the traditional professions, the professionalization of journalism has been promoted during the 20th century in the context of nation states, through particular welfare and media politics. Journalistic autonomy has been supported in Western democracies by the freedom of expression and the freedom of the press, but also by the provision of public service broadcasting. Before digitalization, the technological preconditions were the reason to offer a public infrastructure to ensure a pluralistic and democratic mass media. With the development of new media and the growing diversity of outlets beyond public regulation, journalism lost, at least partially, its hegemony as a provider of information (Schnell, 2016b; 2018).

The theoretical re-definition of journalism as a compass or navigator within the everyday flood of information disregarded the fact that journalism might be deselected completely within contemporary media communication. Due to technological preconditions, the reception of information has been previously canalized, and consumers have been driven into the arms of journalism. Now they must decide if they want to receive professional outlets or other sources of information. This development is reinforced by the downgrading of journalism, as mentioned above. If journalists tend to use already accessible information, the contrast between journalistic and other types of content is fading. However, even beyond corporate media, new and, in terms of journalistic professionalism, ambitioned formats have been established within the new media. How important these new and independent media becomes visible when journalism suffers from censorship or political suppression. And beyond the socio-economic and cultural dimensions mentioned, just recently this political dimension of professional journalism has become more visible. Next to the traditional nemesis of the democratic public, the media monopoly, information overkill has emerged as a new threat, which is anything but less prone to manipulation. Exemplarily one can watch this currently in the US: On the one hand, there are some high-standard media, which show with their everyday reporting that they are taking the task of a societal corrective seriously and do their best to uncover undemocratic developments and political misconduct. On the other hand, there are platforms, which formerly would have been dismissed as dubious, feeding the political debate and the public aggressively and alas successful, while the established press is discredited as "fake news" (Astheimer, 2018; Schnell, 2018).

On the background of this new constellation, it is clear that the professionalization of journalism was only possible during a historical phase of relatively stable socio-cultural and economic preconditions of mass media communication. To guarantee the democratic standards of media communication, broadcasting services were understood as a public duty and a public good needing to be regulated. Distribution technologies have been so cumbersome and expensive that the model for the press, promoting democratic pluralism by market competition, was not applicable to broadcasting. Most journalism studies reflected the social change and chances of a rising knowledge society but failed to steel professional journalism against post-democratic attacks. The interpretation of journalism as a compass or navigator assumes that the public, as the general client, acts not only as a sovereign customer but also as a competent and responsible citizen. Above that does the metaphor of journalism as a compass ignores, that giving orientation within the huge amount of information will not be enough. There is no guarantee that all relevant facts will find their way to the public. Thus, producing news on the basis of investigative and reliable reporting will still be necessary. In politically turbulent times, solid journalism might again become distinguishable against the diffuse oversupply of content by background research and critical reporting, but there needs to be a public who appreciates professionalism. Or, as the prominent Jeffrey Alexander put it: "Certainly, the preservation of any professional craft is never guaranteed. The more central a profession to a society's core beliefs and institutions, however, the more existential struggles generate defence and support" (2016, p. 23).

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Becoming a Lawyer in a Large Law Firm: The Idea of the Unstoppable Worker

Abstract: This article proposes a reflection around the organizational-based professionalism model and its interconnections with the state and the market through the lens of young lawyers' discourses. The professional pathways of young business lawyers were investigated using a mixed-methods design based on life histories interviews and observation. The findings explore the dynamics of professional socialization, highlighting the importance of the training and the career plan in the inculcation of professional values based on the idea of promoting an unstoppable worker.

Keywords: Professional values, managerialism, organisational-based professionalism, professional internships, lawyers, working conditions

Business lawyers are a group with distinct characteristics within the legal profession. Over the years, many studies in the areas of professions and organisations have been committed to this form of professional practice emphasising its global diffusion (Flood, 2011; Morgan & Quack, 2005) and its growing social and economic recognition (Dezalay & Sugarman, 1995). This article has a double objective. First, to discuss and present data on the process of entrance into the profession, reflecting on the learnings at a formal and informal level that enable young lawyers to practice law. This objective will be addressed by discussing the ways that professional socialization moulds and transforms the individuals into professionals, based on the life stories of a group of nineteen lawyers placed in large national and international law firms. And associated with this socializing process, the role of this type of organization, its forms of organizing the work and its different agents in the construction and dissemination of professional values will also be considered.

Second, to raise awareness on the contemporary Portuguese reality traversed by complex processes of "financialization" of the economic activity supported by law and its actors, integrating it in international studies and thus contributing to a more encompassing vision of the transformations of lawyering highlighting the importance of the social, economic and political contexts.

Thus, the development of this article will seek to answer the question: what professional values are instilled in young lawyers during their professional internships in large law firms? This will be assisted by two subsidiary questions. What is the role of the training and the career plan? And how these working conditions interrelate with socialization for professional autonomy?

The article is divided into five parts. It starts with a review of the concepts of profession and professionalism, attempting to summarize various theoretical perspectives in light of the economic, political and social context, trying to establish bridges between neoliberal ideology and its vision of the world and the ways that the

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professions organize themselves and form relations with States and markets (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001). At a second point, we present a series of transformations in the profession underlining the growing importance of the roles performed by business lawyers in the various spheres of social life, using the Portuguese case as the main example. At a third point, dedicated to professional socialisation and professional values, the impact of managerialism in this professional group is discussed based on the organisational professionalism model proposed by Evetts (2010). The fourth presents the methods and collection of information. In the last point, the results are examined and leads for future investigation are suggested.

Profession and professionalism in market-driven societies

Recent studies highlight the contributions of different theoretical affiliations (Dent, Bourgeault, Denis, & Kuhlmann, 2016). Neo-Marxists point out that a distinctive feature of the professions in contemporary societies is their proletarization (Ackroyd, 2016; Davies, 1996). The growing number of liberal professionals developing their activity in large organisations removes a certain margin and autonomy for action, while at the same time it integrates them hierarchically and controls them in terms of work hours, position and salary. In this regard, it is essential to take account of the studies that, by incorporating the concept of cultural capital (Cook, Faulconbridge, & Muzio, 2012) and social struggle of Bourdieu, emphasize the new forms of commercial professionalism (Hanlon, 1998, p. 45). Commercial professionalism stresses the growing predominance of the tasks and skills linked to management and entrepreneurship, combining three factors: 1) technical ability: technical competence and specialisation; 2) managerial skills: the ability to manage the work of others; 3) entrepreneurial skills: the ability to bring in business (new clients). Hanlon observed this type of professionalism in large law firms of the City of London, having collected data on their exponential growth at the turn of the decade, as the 1980s rolled into the 1990s (Hanlon, 1998). The proletarianization of professions has been associated with the growing number of professionals, and the case of Portuguese lawyers is a good illustration of this phenomenon. The Portuguese Bar had in 1960 a total of 1.964 lawyers, in 2016 the number raised to a total of 30.475 lawyers (Pordata 2018). But also, with changes in the division of work, the lack of autonomy and hierarchical control. We will stress this triple condition on new lawyers by examining the training plan, defined by the set of conditions and obligations presented by the law firm in the beginning of their internship which will follow them through the all process.

Neo-Weberians emphasize the strategies of professional groups in control of access to the profession, with social closure maintaining the monopoly as a form of assuring a high status and financial rewards. However, the operationalisation of the concept of social closure does not define merely the privilege of control over the professional activity as noted by Larson (1977), with an analysis of the advantages for public service being developed in parallel (Saks, 2012). Social closure is important to understand the barriers to entering the profession (Freidson, 1982, 2001). We will explore the dynamics of the access and control by analysing the use of career plan by the firms. The career plan is both a definition of the labour conditions and a mechanism of regulating control and autonomy.

Based on the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1986), Neo-Foucauldians discuss the inter-relation between the state and the professions and its ensemble of ways of governing (Johnson, 1995). Another major contribution from Foucault's work is the importance of the internalisation of the discipline by the subjects (Foucault, 1995/1975). The idea that citizens follow the discipline and actually become their own disciplinarians, self-controllers and punishing themselves. In this way, we can propose an interpretation on the value of time and long working hours has a result of individual's internal disputes to become a good professional, and in the

relation with peers by promoting an ideal of worker. In this sense, the predominance of self-regulation fosters an increased number of work hours and the creation of the unstoppable worker as the prototype of the good worker.

What appears to be the lowest common denominator of the different theoretical approaches is the social change of the last few decades which, in the European case, has been characterized by the neoliberal turnaround. This turnaround, which various authors identify temporally with the Thatcher governments of the 1980s in the United Kingdom and that progressively spread to different European countries (Schmidt & Thatcher, 2014), reached its climax in the response to the financial crisis of 2008, both from a supranational point of view with the initial response of the European Commission and European Central Bank, and from a national perspective with the imposition of austerity measures in the great majority of the countries.

The instability in the Eurozone and in the Portuguese economy has been understood as a great opportunity to business lawyers, not only to improve their services in the national but especially in the international market. The debt crisis functioned as a sort of mechanism to reduce internal debt by constraining national consumption (lower salaries, increase of unemployment, emigration in both qualified and unqualified workers, but with more effects on the youngest and more qualified of the working force) and to search for international investment in all sort of ways—by selling infrastructure companies like energy, telecommunications, postal service and transportation and by attracting investment to tourism and property households with new legislation like golden visa.

The golden visa programme is a good example. This programme created by the Portuguese government allows non-EU citizens to obtain a full valid residency permit in Portugal which allow the investor and his family members to live and travel in all the Schengen space. To apply the investor needs to buy a property above €500.000 to create a minimum of ten jobs or to transfer funds above €1.000.000 (Juridical regime of entrance, residence, and exit of foreigners from the Portugese territory, 2012). The programme created a new demand for juridical counselling that all law firms responded with new offices and specialized services on immigration, real estate and private investment.

Another example is the new nationality law that allows foreign citizens to apply for Portuguese nationality if they have a Portuguese grandparent. This new amendment to the law caused impact with the attribution of Portuguese nationality to thousands of Brazilian citizens (Oliveira, Gomes & Santos, 2017), especially those from middle and upper classes which intended to escape political and economic crisis in Brazil.

Lawyers in large law firms: Mediators and merchants

The legal elite—a subset of the professional universe of lawyers with access to the main judicial, political and economic decisions of a country whether by their presence in the offices of large law firms, their belonging to political parties, their holding of positions of governance or in ministerial bureaus, their presence in boards of directors of major companies or their participation in international bodies—are the basis for reflection on the transformations and continuity of professional values.

Various studies demonstrate that the transformations have created categories in the profession. Although, in quantitative terms, the vast majority of lawyers continue the exercise the profession in an isolated manner (Caetano, 2003; Olgiatti, 1995) and continue to be a relevant and significant presence in the professional associations (Flood, 2011).

It is important to make a distinction between large law firms and individual practice in order to observe, in a controlled form, the role of the organisation in the profession (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2012). The corporate model entails a hierarchical

and specialized organisation composed of various legal departments assisted by supporting departments of accounting, invoicing, information technology, human resources, public relations and knowledge management[1]. With a differentiated range of services, designed for the client's needs who requests a full service (Galanter & Henderson, 2008), especially business customers, offering a plethora of legal services including advisory, negotiation, current management and litigation (Dezalay, 1992; Flood, 2001), in all types of business models, from start-ups to big conglomerates.

Large law firms have a strong division of labour, first between lawyers and non-lawyers, and second between lawyers according to the stage in the career plan and the position occupied in the power relation structure. On the top of the pyramid, there are the equity partners who are members of the administration board, besides them the partners of industry, and below the coordinators of the department, principal associates and associates and in the end, the trainees. The division corresponds to substantial differences in salaries, control over work and direct relation with clients[2].

In the mainland Europe, large law firms developed with the evolution of a new legal elite dedicated to international business, the *marchands des droits* (Dezalay, 1992)—in countries such as France, Germany, and Spain that benefited from an economic scenario marked by neoliberalism associated to a political context of European integration and the flourishing of European public and private law.

In Portugal, the transformations in the profession of lawyer date back to the 1980s, with accelerated growth of the number of professionals (Caetano, 2003) and, from the 1990s onwards, with the creating of law firms producing dynamics of differentiation and segmentation in the profession (Chaves, 2010). During a first wave through the establishment of partnerships with international firms and subsequently via a process of mergers between small and medium-sized firms and the entrance of international companies, in particular, Spanish and British firms. The German case is particularly interesting for its parallel with recent transformations in Portugal. Business lawyers played an important role in the privatisation of companies of the former GDR, having been drivers and operators of the market economy in the strategy of German unification, working directly with foreign investors (Rogowski, 1995, p. 114). Nowadays, Portuguese business lawyers have benefited from the economic crisis and, in particular from the European political response to the crisis, positioning as mediators and merchants for international investors.

The lawyers' capacity to adapt to change has been documented in various studies that highlight the constant search for power and recognition portrayed in different professional strategies: the ability to embrace and "swallow" other disciplines (Jung, 2011), the capability to compete with large consulting companies and accountants (Dezalay & Sugarman, 1995), their role in the construction of a new worldwide economic order (Dezalay, 1992; Flood, 2011). The differentiation and segmentation of the legal profession confirm the ability of lawyers as a professional group to adapt to social, political and economic transformations and at different times in order to assure the closure and integrity of the group. The process of social closure is not identical in all groups. Business lawyers, due to their integration in large organisations benefit from a series of features, namely: i) engagement in a number of areas of legal advice—M&A, finance, banks, investment, arbitration; ii) own recruitment patterns, iii) powerful forms of organization, iv) higher salaries; v) high social status within the legal and the economic systems.

The comparative studies highlight singularities in the growth strategies and options of European law firms which arise from specific circumstances related to national contexts (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2008), their relationship with the economic structure, the role of the State, their social recognition and, finally, their relations

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[1] This was the standard division found in the law firms observed in this study.
[2] As observed in the field work.

with other legal professions.

The transformations within the profession are accompanied by the development of new legal professions which enter into competition for the provision of different services. In the case of Law, the State's creation of the figure of justice of the peace (Guibentif, 2007) and the pressure of international markets towards the practice of commercial arbitration demonstrate the diversity of requests and institutional and professional arrangements to accommodate duties that had hitherto been performed only by lawyers and judges. As stated by Evetts, "professions do sometimes initiate projects and influence governments but as often professions are *responding* to external demands for change, which can be political, economic, cultural and social" (Evetts, 2003, p. 403).

It should also be highlighted that these phenomena—derived from the economic globalisation and the intensification of trade of goods and services between states, citizens and enterprises—can be observed at a national scale, for example, the case of consumer arbitration. And seen at an international scale with investment arbitration, typically between states and companies or, commercial arbitration between companies, being responsible for the creation of a legal system with actors and instances of transnational scope (Dezalay & Garth, 1996).

Professional socialisation and professional values

Professional socialisation entails the forms of integration of an individual in a profession or occupation, encompassing the formal rules relative to the acquisition and use of skills and knowledge acquired in a general manner through the accomplishment of prolonged internships.

In Portugal, the internship is mandatory for every graduate student of Law who wants to become a member of the Bar Association. The internship programme is developed by the Bar and its regional councils and consists in six months of classes dedicated to technical, procedural and knowledge aspects of the profession, followed by practice with a patron lawyer, and written and oral exams. There has been a restructure in 2015, to diminish the internship to eighteen months. In general, the duration was expected to last from two to three years. The patronage system does not oblige the patron to pay for the work of the trainee (Cruz & Fernandes, 2016). The existence of a salary during the internship is facultative, except for medium and large law firms who have created parallel internship programmes. In these type of firm's trainee lawyers is introduced in a training plan specially designed, which combine professional and organisational values.

The professional organisation is a *milieu of socialisation* (Dubar, 2000) where philosophy is developed, a vision of the world that includes thoughts, values and meanings directed towards the continuity of the organisation and its members. For this reason, entering into an organisation, in this case, a law firm, will bring in a series of values, thoughts and forms of working to the new member through a long process of professional socialisation (Montagna, 1968). This is especially so if this is the individual's first professional experience and if his/her recruitment is conducted through an internship programme (Boon, 2005).

This implies that the professional socialisation involves the profession, the organisation and the instilment of professional values, being combined with other social aspects of life.

The professional values are undergoing a transformation: adaptation to the new requirements of clients, the predominance of management in the training of the professionals, the logics of efficacy and efficiency, the form of organisation of law firms with the transformation of the rules of collegiality into boards of directors with distinct powers. All these aspects should, in principle, influence the way that each lawyer experiences the profession and how it will be conveyed to trainee lawyers what they should expect from their professional activity.

The proposed model of two professionalism models (Evetts, 2010, p.130): organisational-based professionalism and occupational-based professionalism in knowledge societies is the starting point for the analysis of the experiences of integration of a set of nineteen lawyers in large-sized firms. As emphasized by the author, this attempted categorisation is a simplification of the complexity of the professional values that combine diversity in the development of the professions which are permeated by different national contexts. We put forward the idea that the transformations in the profession towards the incorporation of organisational type values of professionalism, in particular, the use of standard procedures, managerialism, target-setting and performance review, are more present in the first few years of activity. And that we can interpret this as the result of strong market pressure towards the adoption of new practices more commensurate with the rules and expectations of major business clients.

The strong presence of organisational-based professional values in the training of trainees marks a rupture with other forms of experiencing the profession closer to the occupational type values of professionalism.

Methodological strategy

In order to capture the dynamics of the entrance and integration of young lawyers in large law firms, we decided to pursue a strategy of mixed-methods research with interviews, observation and document analysis. Thus, the first phase involved access to the law firms and lawyers through institutional websites and the LinkedIn platform and by the continuous reading of specialized journals, magazines and websites. The selection of the law firms obeyed four criteria: 1) the presence of at last three years in international rankings from independent entities like Chambers and Chambers, Best Lawyers, The Legal 500, Financial Times—Innovative Lawyers, among others; 2) more than a hundred lawyers; 3) auto-reference, firms citing other firms; and, 4) firms represented in the major financial operations in Portugal (Santos, 2015). The contacts with the lawyers were made by an invitation letter. From more than hundred invitations it was possible to have an appointment and then an interview with nineteen young lawyer's men and women, aged between 24 and 34 years old, trainees and associates working in six of the ten major law firms in the country. The data collection had a duration of fifteen months, from August 2015 to November 2016.

The interviews followed the biographic interview model (Bertaux, 1997) with a non-structured script, covering five aspects: family and sociability, education and schooling, professional trajectories, leisure, and lifestyles. In figure 1, the academic and professional trajectories are presented. From the scheme, we can describe that all participants had completed a Law Degree on prestigious law schools, and only one of the interviews didn't follow post-graduate studies. Eleven had continued studying before applying to an internship, and seven started a post-graduate after entering the law firm. Half of the participants had frequented a summer internship in a law firm. In terms of the relationships with the Bar Association, five of them are still trainee lawyers (only one in the new format of eighteen months internship), twelve interviewees had a three-year programme to become accepted as members and, two of them took a total of four years from the inscription to the last exam in the Bar. The four-year period occurred in 2006, as a direct result of the Bologna agreement on tertiary education combined with a crisis in the model of lawyering accreditation in the Portuguese Bar. Those inscribed in the Bar in this period have waited to confirm the acceptance of their degree in Law, which has changed from five to four years.
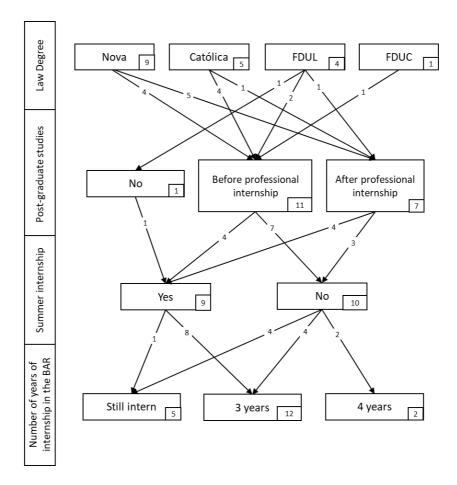
Figure 1. *Academic and professional trajectories of the nineteen lawyers' interviews*

After the transcription, the interviews were analysed, with the method of analysis of discourse (Kohli, 1981). The discourses produced by young lawyers are important tools for comprehending contemporary professional practices and bring in interesting leads on the ways that these individuals internalize and integrate professional values in their daily life.

Findings

The introduction of the trainee in the law firm is her/his first contact with organisational professionalism albeit at some moments characterized by forms of occupational professionalism. The first days are engaged in getting to know the building, the form of organisation and compartmentalisation into departments, the computer programme for clocking in and out, recording time and tasks grouped by projects and/or clients. The lawyers responsible for the integration of the trainees are named internship coordinators that are, from that moment onwards, the trainee's point of contact and appraisal, creating the first connection that will subsequently, over the following weeks, be enlarged by connections to lawyers of the department where the trainees will be allocated. In some cases, the internship coordinator is also the formal patron for the inscription in the Bar. At this first stage, the preparation for daily life is marked by an introduction to the values and history of the firm, promoting professional occupational values like collegial authority and professional ethics, whether in the form of guided tours and meetings with founding or older partners, or in the case of international firms with a visit to the head office.

> We were a group, here they do one week, which they call … they don't call it integration week, but it could have been, where the trainees in the entire D., so, Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, Lisbon, go during that initial week, we all go to Madrid, where we have a week of conferences and lectures. (Associate, 26 years old)

In one of the firms, the informal position of the coach was created. The coach is not responsible for promoting professional values, but instead labour values, as the distribution of work, problems between members of a team, and others, and it's a clear influence of the business world in the organisation of the law firm (Galanter & Henderson, 2008).

Training plan

Each firm develops its own training method, albeit with many similarities between practices of the same size, that are based on and inspired by the exchange of information and knowledge with international offices, through partnerships and especially through the possibility of accomplishing a secondment[3] of their own lawyers that will subsequently bring back learnings on the mode of organisation and production of legal activities. This practice is highly valued by lawyers, as confirmed by L., an associate in a large national firm:

> S. went to Skadden, S. is a lawyer here in the office, she went to Skadden for four months to do arbitration, when she returned, she implemented the best, for me, the best in-house training measure of the last … since I have been here, it was during the lunch hour. The training lunches given by litigation to corporate, we have to eat anyway, and litigators train us on important topics where we debate the part of the solicitor and the barrister and have a brainstorming session to see how we can improve clauses, resolve problems, and how to improve the service to the client.

The training method incorporates all the types of activities that the lawyer will carry out: how to investigate, how to write procedural documents, how to invoice, how to behave before the client, how to write emails, whom much time is given to carry out a task, partition of a project into small tasks divided by various team members with different hierarchical levels.

> The training period is very extensive in E., and involves a training period in Portugal, in all the areas, what each area does, what each supporting area does, what software we use, we do a series of specific training and then we have another period of one week in London, where they basically give us the foundations, tell us what is expected of a trainee of E., what type of tasks we will be called upon to do, how these tasks should be done, how the revision of texts should be done, how legal texts should be drawn up, then we have classes of legal English, we have classes in other languages. (Associate)

Standard training is the most visible form of assuring that the trainees learn and internalize the firm's work modes and can reproduce them, whether in the manner that they write an email, investigate an issue, write a procedural document, or start the preparation of a contract. Standardisation offers advantages to the organisation, but likewise to the lawyer. From the perspective of the organisation, this type of training

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[3] Period of permanence in another firm or company for acquiring new professional skills and practices or more closely supporting a client in the implementation of a project.

enables greater control and assurance that the work to be accomplished complies with the rules imposed by the firm and provided to the clients. It also permits an easier transfer of work from one lawyer to another and tighter control by the partners or other hierarchically senior employees that, at any given time, may consult the progress of the work.

From the lawyer's perspective, standardisation is the beginning of a form of conquering autonomy, by knowing that she/he was taught in that manner and is precisely reproducing it, helping the lawyer to manage the anxiety associated to the new professional environment.

> When you start working in a law firm, the pressure is enormous, and we feel that we don't know anything, even writing an email just to say "hello" we think about it 50 times, wondering if it's written properly and if we're saying something wrong. (Trainee lawyer)

Standardisation is still a brand image of each firm. Although the literature points to a greater change in the ways of working and to the growing influence of the forms of organisation and management of the North American large firms in law firms throughout the world (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2012). Each firm has its own particularities which combine their history, their partners, their relations with the social environment in which they are placed, in sum their professional values and that can be observed in the work of their lawyers. More than the authorship, the signature of a lawyer, the distinctive mark is the form of organisation and work of the firm.

> In contracts, it is also perfectly perceptible when a contract was produced by C., or when it's a contract of D., even when they don't come with the letterings, we can already understand this because we know what it is, but it cannot be said "this contract was definitely produced by the lawyer X". I think it's rather something of the past, the contracts have been done so many times, it's difficult to find any vestige of authorship in work, but I think it's not only that … perhaps, in E. due to this issue of all of us having to present work in a certain manner, in the end, E's signature is more important than the actual lawyer's signature. (Associate)

The investment in the specialized training of the lawyers is determined according to the needs of each department. This investment could vary between the total or partial payment of the training or time off from working in the office or even unpaid sabbatical periods. One of the most common forms entails financial support for postgraduate training at a reference university, in exchange the firm enrols several of its lawyers to take a course and/or also counts on some of its lawyers lecturing. As was reported, it is common for the office to make a specific training proposal to one or more of its lawyers, according to the type of involvement of the firm in academic training at any time and the interests of the lawyers.

> Every year, the firm's lawyers can participate in various training modules, in fact, last year I did it. I didn't have to pay anything. But there is a place every year, as the course is then sponsored by other firms as well, for each firm to select a person to do the LLM without paying. In that year, they asked me if I wanted to do it, I accepted because I thought it was an excellent opportunity. (Associate)

Career plan

The career plan is presented to each trainee and accompanies that person throughout the years of employment at the law firm. The plan reflects the shift from a closer division of traditional practice between associates and partners, more closely to occupational professionalism, to law firms with a strong hierarchical division with five professional categories: trainees, associates, principle associates, senior associates

or coordinators, industry partners and equity partners[4].

The plan establishes the relations between the lawyer and the firm, in replacement of the employment contract, considering that as a liberal professional the lawyer works for the firm under an arrangement of the payment an agreed upon amount. Nevertheless, the career plan establishes a relation of dependency, creating a different type of professional autonomy. What the lawyer will internalize is autonomy in a dependent relationship with the hierarchy of the firm and not in a collegial form, where all lawyers are autonomous on their practice and based their decision on their internalized knowledge of the profession.

The plans are designed pursuant to the short, medium, and long-term interests of the organisation and bind the parties to comply with a series of objectives with distinctly detailed salary per year of progression. The career plan is, in the words of many of the interviewees, the assurance of a greater capacity of control and comparison with the other lawyers, allowing them to know, at any given time, just what is expected of them and whether their performance enables them to achieve the proposed goals. In the words of T., an associate, we can surmise the internalisation of the objectives, "the ultimate door of arrival" the time limit to accomplish them, "the 15 years" and, the difficulty in accomplishment.

> I think that the people who are here in that spirit know the ultimate door of arrival, being a partner, finally becoming a partner, and, so, yes, at this particular moment I am an associate, I am in my last year as an associate. By next year, I will be eligible to be a principal associate, and then I can't say when, once again, it's a goal.

The goals established in the career plan are internalized by each lawyer. In view of their dynamic nature, which interlinks the firm's interests at any given time with the interests of the lawyer, it is to be expected that the firm's objectives and those of the lawyer will not always be synchronized. There are various reasons for this imbalance. From the side of the law firm, the global economic instability, the growing competition between law firms and the overlapping of legal services are factors that influence their ability to attract new clients and maintain or enhance their relations with existing clients. This combination of factors was experienced by several of the interviewees that were contracted immediately before and during the worldwide financial sovereign debt crisis, which showed particular incidence in Portugal following the bailout of 2012. The context of crisis led, at a first stage, to the adaptation of firms with a reduction in the number of trainees per year, especially during the years of 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012.[5]

> The Lehmann Brothers went bankrupt on the day that we entered this office. We were recruited in one context, and by the next day the world had completely changed, it's necessary to understand what happened here, a profound crisis. Those were years when law firms were recruiting half and that, I believe must have been complicated. (Associate)

The global expression of the activities of large-scale law firms, even in semi-peripheral contexts such as Portugal, help to explain the need for constant adaptation to the markets which does not coincide only with national economic cycles.

From the side of the lawyers, the collected discourses indicate a diversity of expectations in relation to the career plan. The first explanatory factor is well referenced in the literature (Davies, 1996) and separates the expectations between men and women. Among female lawyers, it was more common to find a discourse which

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[4] Organisational structure common to the six law firms involved in the study.
[5] Information gathered during the interviews.

curtails the expectations of actually becoming a partner, with reference to various difficulties of reconciliation between familiar, personal and professional life. Although only one of the female interviewees had children[6], this expectation is placed on a close horizon and is perceived as a motive for finding a new professional placement. Here, the ambition entails shifting from being a lawyer of a law firm to being a company lawyer (in-house lawyer).

According to the interviewees, failure to achieve the objectives could imply leaving the law firm, which generally happens by mutual agreement. For such, as we were explained, this leaving is anticipated for a period of time not less than one year while the lawyer and the firm fine-tune the best strategy and, in some cases the firm is actively involved in the search for new job placement at another firm or client. The perceived reasons for such conduct are related to the need to uphold a good exterior image of the law firm, whether in terms of its relations with other law firms or in its relations with the business world and civil society. Hence, the interviewees of various firms stated that an attempt is made to preserve the relations between a former lawyer and the firm over several years with invitations to events.

> Former employees of T. come to the open-air festival (*arraial*) and the chestnut feast (*magusto*), it's good to keep this up and say that everything's fine, it does no harm, they left, but everything's fine, we are still here as friends. (Associate)

The professional value of time and long working hours

First, it is taught that they will have to work long hours and always be available, and later the value of the billable hour is taught as the unifying principle of all the firm's activities. Everything rotates around the billable hour. In order to enable carrying out other activities that are considered important such as attending specialized training, teaching, writing newspaper articles, giving lectures, providing support to leisure activities, it is necessary to have a notion of how much has already been invoiced, what the situation is regarding billable objectives. As stated by J, an associate in her second year: "studying is good, but it's not a billable hour." Even when at an initial stage of the internship like M., a notion is gradually grasped of two basic principles: management of the time devoted to each activity, and detailing and entering the number of hours in the computer programme.

Learning about the billable hour is a continuous process that implies negotiation and internalisation of working times and their conversion into invoicing the client. During the internship period, the lawyers are integrated into the firm's invoicing system and progressively learn from the more experienced lawyers what is expected to be considered as time allocated to each task. Very often this learning is carried out through mechanisms of self-discipline. In the lawyers' discourse, the word "hours" and "billable hours" are the most used. Expressions such as "does not have sufficient hours","it took me three hours to study, but I'm only going to impute one hour", "knowing our pace", "write off" and "write down", "the trainee takes more time", "not detailing the hours of study of law" were identified in the discourses. As we were explained:

> I can't, I am never going to describe in detail the real time that I spent there, in other words, the detailing and invoicing, it's always estimated because very often the issues take a lot longer than what the client realizes. This was something that was instilled in me by my work team right from the very beginning. (Trainee lawyer in her second year)

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[6] This lawyer exercises her activity in a supporting department (Knowledge Management Department) which allows her to have shorter working hours than her colleagues.

The billable hour and the computer system to record the hours are preeminent instruments of hierarchical control and management of human resources. The immediate availability of consultation enables each partner of the department to have a portrait in real time of the activity of each lawyer. The way that each lawyer is taught to use the system facilitates this monitoring, as indicated by an associate:

> I begin working, I put the time that I started working, when I finish, I write it down. I started at two-thirty, finished at a quarter past three and then at the end of the day I enter it, probably it's the next day in the morning.

The best moments of learning are recounted by the interviewees as those that take place outside of normal business hours. The expression "through the whole night" is described as a special moment in the professional insertion of a trainee or young associate. In these situations, the trainee has the privilege to be working closer to the partner or senior associate, being able to directly access their teachings and benefit from a more informal attitude, a closer relationship, because they are spending many hours together, they have a common deadline, they feel they are working towards the same objective and feel that their supervisor needs them and is looking at their work. These moments are also occasions to slip in a few details on the personal life and the interests and motivations in professional life, letting down some barriers during momentary breaks when the conversation can revolve around the family, the football club, books, travel, and hobbies. So, working through the entire night could be interpreted by the trainee as a privilege. Having been chosen for this operation or for that project is an exterior sign of recognition of the quality of the trainee's work, of her/his potential and/or spirit of sacrifice that is expected to be recognized and rewarded later, whether through a bonus, or something in the medium term such as an invitation to remain at the firm, or even a faster career progression. The idea of working late through the evening and night was attested by different observations in the six firms as a common practice. In our field notes we signed:

> Arrive at the door office at 9 p.m. someone opens the door before we rang, is a lawyer finishing her day of work. There is no one at the reception desk, we enter, and our contact approaches to showing us around. We go to the basement, a large open space with some transparent divisions. In one of the divisions, a young lawyer consults *linguee* portal[7] on her laptop. (23/09/2015)

These situations reinforce the idea of the unstoppable worker, always available for the client and for the firm. In the discursive sphere, we found remarks such as: "I worked 38 hours nonstop", "I sleep three hours and resume working at home""a normal day is from 9 in the morning through to 9 at night" "a necessary evil." Narrated as an identity mark of the profession, the ability to show self-sacrifice and surpass oneself is what transforms trainee lawyers into members of the group.

Conclusion

This article aims to contribute to the debate around professionalism and professional values of lawyers in social and economic contexts marked by the predominance of neoliberal policies. In the study, we have formulated three questions. Through the analysis, it was possible to describe and deepen the mechanisms used in the internship to inculcate professional values oriented to the market and designed to the fulfilment of corporate client's needs. Firstly, the training plan—a mechanism that sim-

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[7] Website specialized in juridical translations.

ultaneously decreases professional autonomy and increases control and the integration in a chain supply of legal services—results in forms of proletarization of the profession (Ackroyd, 2016; Davies, 1996) and in hierarchical segmentation. The ability to succeed along the training plan is a direct result of the capacity to inculcate in their daily practice forms of commercial professionalism, in particular, the combination between technical and entrepreneurship skills (Hanlon, 1998).

Secondly, the career plan is not only a mechanism of integration in a hierarchical and complex organization but fundamentally a social closure tool operated from above (Larson, 1977). The career plan is a permanent system of evaluation and control which allows partners to maintain their privileges in the firm and to reward lawyers on an individual basis.

Competition is a distinctive mark that signs the place of each individual, separating equity partners—equals among peers—from different seniority positions inside the firm ladder. The end of the internship arises as a recognition of the law firm that the lawyer has by this time internalized this notion of competition in her/his work and daily practice, and therefore can perform in accordance with the individually-based system.

Finally, through the analysis, it was possible to validate the idea that young lawyers in their professional socialization trajectories' inculcate and put in practice a myriad of mechanisms of self-control and self-discipline (Foucault, 1995/1975) in order to become closer to an ideal worker. This ideal professional is performed as the unstoppable worker, always available to accept new projects, work through the night and/or accumulate different tasks.

The long work hours, the repetitive nature of many of the tasks, the pressure exerted by the goals, the need to integrate in her/his practices a series of aspects that were not formerly known, the necessary requirement of knowing or at least recognising business language in combination with an accelerated learning of knowing how to present oneself, what to say, how to write, what to wear, how to speak and how to listen, help to explain their concordance with, or at least, their acceptance of a professional model driven by business and profit/bonuses in the short-term.

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