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PROFESSIONALISM AND ETHICAL DECISION MAKING

Andrew Knight[1] and Roy Morledge

School of the Built Environment, Nottingham Trent University, Burton Street, Nottingham, NG1 4BU, UK

ABSTRACT

As more occupations claim 'professional' status there is an increasing need to examine the nature of professionalism from an academically robust sociological perspective.

This paper commences by arguing that professionalism is a continuum of various traits determined by reference to the characteristics of various historically powerful professions. Alternative theories of professionalism are then critically examined to produce a framework for analysing the surveying occupation. One key factor in determining occupational status is the presence of ethics, both codified (in terms of codes of conduct) and non-codified (expected behaviour). Evidence is offered to suggest that over time introduction of ethics and morals into the surveying curriculum can have an impact on prospective members of the surveying occupation.

Drawing on a range of evidence, this paper argues that if surveyors wish to defend and enhance their status, practitioners must become more aware of the complexities of moral and ethical frameworks and fully understand what it means to be a member of a profession.

Keywords: conceptual, ethics, professionalism, sociology.

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century was characterised by economic growth and increased social mobility as the UK moved towards a post-industrial society (Bell, 1973). Bell argued that the older industrial manual occupations would give way to a post-industrial knowledge based society, where technical and professional white-collar workers form the major productive base. Recent sociological studies appear to support Bell's claim and demonstrate a clear and sustained growth in the importance of the 'professional classes'. For example, Heath and Payne (2000) relatively recently completed a study of social mobility, which builds on the methodologies employed by sociologists in earlier seminal works (for example; Goldthorpe, 1980).

The aim of this research is to critically explore the concept of a profession before analysing how 'professional' the occupation of surveying is. A sociological approach to the research problem is taken synthesising earlier published work (Knight, 2001) with new empirical findings. The main methodology employed can be described as a conceptual analysis supplemented by a small cross sectional survey. The survey was carried out in 1995 (n=147) and 2005 (n=51) with undergraduate quantity surveying students at Nottingham Trent University. It is acknowledged that the survey is limited to undergraduates who have not developed a full sense of professional identity;

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[1] andrew.knight@ntu.ac.uk

however these empirical results do add an empirical context relating to the formation of professionalism in younger members of the profession.

A conceptual analysis is a desktop technique commonly applied in the philosophy of the social sciences when there is the intention to critically challenge understanding of common terms. It is an academic approach which involves more than a superficial listing of recent studies. A conceptual analysis often involves in-depth critique of seminal works that have contributed to contemporary understanding of a particular concept. Hence, the following analysis attempts to fundamentally question the meaning of the common understanding of the term profession from a variety of theoretical perspectives ranging from functionalist to neo-Marxist.

COMMON SENSE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM 'PROFESSION'

'Definition is all about placing boundaries around the meaning of a term' (Hart, 1998: 121). The term 'profession' has many meanings and is used in a variety of contexts. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) states:

'The occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow. A vocation which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in an art upon it. Applied Spec. to the three learned professions of divinity, law and medicine, also to the military professions.' (OED, 1997: Vol. XII, 572).

From this definition there are a number of points to note. First, this definition clearly and unambiguously links profession with occupation. This explicit association will be explored later when the works of the trait theorists are discussed. The definition also raises the issue of knowledge and its application. The prestige, and associated power, of specialist knowledge and claims by professions to monopolise that knowledge are fundamental concerns for contemporary sociologists. The definition also uses examples to assist in bounding the concept. The three 'learned' professions of divinity, law and medicine are specifically included. With the probable exception of the church, law and medicine are still commonly investigated, as case studies, by contemporary theorists attempting to understand 'the professions'. Therefore, a fundamental question to ask is: why were these occupations singled out and labelled professions? This is an important issue because defining professions by reference to the traits of these three old occupations helps draw a boundary around the concept, and consequently, excludes other occupations that do not display these characteristics.

In addition to this quite tightly defined use of the term, professional is often used in a broader sense to mean 'any calling or occupation by which a person habitually earns a living' (OED, 1997: Vol. XII, 572), for example, a professional footballer. However, in this discussion this very broad meaning would be misleading and, therefore, will be considered as a separate definition.

The purpose of this brief discussion is to outline how the everyday meaning of the term profession has evolved. From these definitions it should be clear that the term profession is both fuzzy, in terms of its boundaries, and a continuum, in terms of its dimensions. For instance, most people would probably recognise a medical doctor as a professional man or woman, and a general labourer as clearly falling outside this socially constructed category. More difficult questions would include: is a nurse a professional? Is a computer programmer a professional? Which of the two is 'more'

professional? The answers to these questions are less clear. Therefore, from our common sense understanding of the term it would be difficult to build explanatory theory. Theory performs a central role in the social sciences because it attempts to answer questions by abstraction from data. For example; what occupations qualify as professions? How do they differ from non-professional occupations? Where do professions sit in the social structure? What is the relationship between knowledge and the professions? How do professions maintain monopoly? What is the relationship between state and the professions?

These are just a few of the types of questions that have occupied sociologists of the professions throughout the 20th century. Therefore, it is to these 'professional' theorists we now turn in an attempt to examine the definition of a profession in a more robust academic context, before progressing to apply those findings to ask: is surveying a profession?

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF PROFESSIONALISM

The first major sociological study of the professions was carried out by the English academics Carr-Saunders and Wilson. The purpose of the study was to give an historical background on all groups that could, at the time, be considered professions. The authors noted that although trade unions and social and economic problems had received attention, professional associations had been 'almost entirely neglected' (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933: iii).

Carr-Saunders' and Wilson's methodological model can loosely be described as a case study approach. They requested information from a variety of occupational associations which were 'usually granted professional rank'. In their own words, 'with this material before us we shall be in a position to examine and evaluate all that is characteristic of professionalism' (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933: 3). In essence they were attempting to define the term profession.

Their case studies included the following examples: lawyers, doctors, dentists, nurses, midwives, veterinary surgeons, pharmacists, opticians, masseurs and biophysical assistants, mine managers and surveyors. Each case study is presented as a chapter describing the historic development of each 'profession'. For example, the section headed 'Surveyors, Land and Estate Agents and Auctioneers' outlines the basic functions of the surveyor and gives an historical description of the evolution of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors and associated institutions. The rules of conduct and the educational requirements are then described.

There are a number of weaknesses with *The Professions* (1933). Firstly, an examination of the text reveals that the data collected are predominantly historical documents from professional institutions. These documents then appear to be repeated with a limited amount of uncritical analysis. The authors make no attempt to validate the professional associations' claims with additional empirical evidence. For example, no data has been collected from practising professionals in the field. This type of triangulation may have resulted in a different set of conclusions.

Secondly, the sampling frame is almost guaranteed to result in a self fulfilling prophecy. The authors' sample of occupations is purposeful, rather than random, and based on those occupations which are similar to medicine and law. By restricting their analysis to these occupations Carr-Saunders and Wilson could not be 'in a position to examine and evaluate all that is characteristic of professionalism' (1933: 4). This is because their sample is exclusively based upon a criterion of

professionalism which will then reappear in their conclusions as characteristics of a profession. This logical flaw results in no empirical comparison with occupations that do not fulfil these characteristics. Hence, rigorous evaluation cannot take place.

Finally, there appears to be a major contradiction in the aims of the work. The authors state an aim to evaluate all that is characteristic of the professional. However, they later claim 'we shall not offer, now or later, a definition of professionalism' (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933: 5). Surely, by articulating a concept by reference to its properties and dimensions Carr-Saunders and Wilson are defining the word. Towards the end of the text the authors do, interestingly, appear to offer a definition.

We have found that the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as the result of prolonged and specialised training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933: 491).

In summary, there appear to be faults with the methodology, data collection and logic. However, Carr-Saunders and Wilson did make a contribution to the study of professions of which later theorists often fail to take full account (for example, see McDonald, 1995). By undertaking their research they increased awareness in the topic area and provided a foundation for criticism, which propagated more sophisticated theory. In terms of a definition of the professions they offer one, as stated above, in all but name. However, this adds little to the common sense dictionary definition of a profession which formed the basis for their sample.

Continuing the tradition of the trait theorists Geoffrey Millerson published his book titled *The Qualifying Associations, A Study in Professionalization* in 1964. As the title suggests his purpose was to examine the development, structure and work of the professional associations. The sample is restricted to organisations in the UK. The basic difference between this and earlier work is that Millerson examines the dynamic process of becoming a profession i.e. professionalisation. Hence, the variable of time is introduced into the analysis.

But, what does Millerson add in terms of defining a profession? In his analysis, chapter one proves to be an excellent review of the problem of definition. Commencing chapter one he states: 'Of all sociological ideas, one of the most difficult to analyse satisfactorily is the concept of a profession' (Millerson, 1964: 1). He then proceeds to summarise the definitional problem in terms of semantic confusion, the structural limitations of attempting to list characteristics and adherence to a static model rather than a dynamic process.

The results of his thorough analysis of the literature are tabulated in a 21 x 14 matrix titled 'Showing an analysis of elements included in various definitions of profession'. This table is important because it powerfully brings together a wide range of literature to tackle the problem of definition.

In summary, the essential features of a profession were distilled from the literature as:

A profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge - The skill requires training and knowledge - The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test - Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct - The service is for the public good - The profession is organised. (Millerson, 1964: 4).

Millerson reviewed the existing literature in an original manner. There can be little doubt that this helps identify consensus among writers on the professions. However,

did Millerson's empirical and theoretical work lead to greater understanding of the professions?

The analysis in *The Qualifying Associations* does seek to answer more probing questions than Carr-Saunders and Wilson. For example, what are the main types of professional organisation? Why are they formed? What is their structure? He also examines educational requirements and codes of conduct. However, the analysis is generally regarded as a-theoretical (Johnson, 1972). Millerson, like Carr-Saunders and Wilson, accepts the professions 'at their own word'. He fails to make any evaluation of self interest, motivation or power. The analysis is also pitched at the level of the organisation, the qualifying association, and, again, empirical evidence is restricted to documents produced by the professional associations. For example, there is a discussion of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (Millerson, 1964: 83). Millerson lists key dates commencing with the 'Surveyors Club' which was formed in 1794 (later publications appear to indicate 1792). The entire 'analysis' for this chapter appears to be referenced to one document, 'The RICS List of Members 1960-61 'History of the Profession' pp. 20-27'. There is no clear methodology or explicit discussion of how this data was selected, obtained and analysed. Therefore, it is unlikely that any critical, or well grounded, conclusions would arise to challenge the hegemony of the old professions.

In conclusion, Millerson contributed to the sociological definition of a profession and opened up professionalisation as a dynamic process. However, his essentially a-theoretical typological approach did not result in a very useful analytical framework for further research to build upon.

The work of writers such as Terence Johnson reflected a departure from the traditional, and uncritical, stance of the functionalists and trait theorists; to a theoretical position which questioned the self interests of the professions. In *Professions and Power* (1972) Johnson's purpose is to offer an alternative framework of analysis to the trait theorists which he rejects as inadequate. The main focus of his work is the relationship between the producer and consumer of professional services. The scope of his study encompasses the UK and USA professions. However, there is no explicit differentiation between the two.

Johnson's theoretical orientation can be described as neo-Marxist with clear references to the power relationships between consumers, producers and society. His stance is explicitly critical of the professions. In *Professions and Power*, Johnson argues that the division of labour (occupational specialisation) creates varying degrees of social distance between the producer and consumer. He argues that professionalism is one form of occupational control that is used to impose the definition of a relationship on the client. Hence, professionals, and not clients, hold the power in society. He concludes by stating that the social conditions necessary for occupational control are in decline in the early 1970s, therefore, the power of the professions will decline.

Johnson works at a structural level and although he acknowledges 'a generous grant from the Social Science Research Council' (1972: 7) no methodology is forwarded. Therefore, it is difficult to examine the validity of the claims that form the foundations of his argument. Thus, it would be fair to conclude that Johnson's theory is ungrounded and lacks an explicit empirical base, even though the logic of his argument stacks up.

From this theoretical perspective what does Johnson offer in terms of a definition? Chapter one and two both consider the definitional problem. They are titled '1. Theoretical Approaches: Concepts and Contrasts' and '2. Professionalisation and Professionalism', respectively. He argues that the current definitions, i.e. professions as special types of occupation identified by certain traits or characteristics, are inappropriate for the study of professions. Reflecting on the work of Millerson (1964), Johnson states that the dynamic process of professionalisation as a concept can be seen as a 'straight jacket imposing a view of occupational development which is uniform between cultures and uni-linear in character' (Johnson, 1972: 37). He explains that in attempting to define a profession as an occupation with certain characteristics academics have limited their analysis to theoretical statements at various levels of abstraction related to these characteristics. This endeavour, he states, has resulted in 'confusion so profound that there is even disagreement about the existence of confusion' (1972: 22). Johnson then proceeds to develop a definition firmly viewed from his own critical perspective.

Professionalism becomes redefined as a peculiar type of occupational control rather than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations. A profession is not, then, an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation (Johnson, 1972: 45).

He also goes on to redefine professionalisation as an historical process rather than a process particular occupations undertake because of their 'essential' qualities.

Johnson is typical of what is now termed the 'power approach' to the professions. He recognised the explanatory weaknesses of the trait approach and re-examined the nature of the professions from a neo-Marxist perspective which resulted in a paradigmatic shift in the field of research. However, the lack of explicit methodology and empirical data are over-arching weaknesses in the study.

The power approach, whether deemed from the interactionist or Marxist tradition, was more useful than the trait theorists (McDonald, 1995). However, in parallel with this approach, some academics were asking whether sociologists were asking the wrong question. For instance, E C Hughes states:

In my own studies I passed from the false question "Is this occupation a profession" to the more fundamental one "what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people" (1963, cited by McDonald, 1995: 6).

Quoting Hughes, McKinlay (1973) states that there is no logical basis for distinguishing between so-called professions and other occupations. McKinlay then argues that definitions of professions based on traits are no more than myths imposed on a gullible public.

Therefore, has this paper been attempting to answer the wrong question? Also, if later theorists had given up on the definitional problem, what were they concerning themselves with? In the late 1970s, Larson produced a seminal text titled *The Rise of Professionalism, a Sociological Analysis* (1977). This complex work examined the historical development of professions in the UK and USA. The empirical evidence was focussed on law and medicine. Although she acknowledges her Chicago School roots, she attempts to transcend the structure-actor dualism that was characteristic of earlier work in this field. The theoretical perspective used in this work is difficult to disentangle. She draws on a whole range of theorists including Marx, Weber and

Gramsci. Larson's complex argument follows the conceptualisation of the 'professional project'. This involves two major dimensions; market control and social mobility. However, in the chapter titled, 'Monopolies of competence and bourgeois ideology' she offers a definition.

The visible characteristics of the professional phenomenon – professional association, cognitive base, institutionalized training, licensing, work autonomy, colleague "control" code of ethics – have been considered from a double perspective (Larson, 1977: 208).

It should be noted that this definition appears to share more in common with Millerson than Johnson. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that sociologists have not given up attempting to define a profession. However, the issue of definition has become a subsidiary issue. This is in contrast with the early trait theorists where definition was the prime aim of the research. Owing to the size and complexity of Larson's work this analysis is necessarily limited to the definitional problem. However, there is one evident limitation. Larson primarily takes an historical view and relies on documentary evidence to draw out conclusions regarding complex and often difficult-to-operationalise concepts, for example, utility, ideology and class. Although she focuses in detail on just two main professions, there is a lack of currency and groundedness to her work. Analogous to earlier work, ordinary rank and file members of the professions are ignored in the data collection. From experience, there is often a stark contrast between what the elite rulers of a profession say and do, and the ordinary members undertaking their every day practise.

Finally, the work of one of the most recent major contributors to the field is considered. In his seminal text *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (1988), Abbott provides a critical review of the literature and provides a useful classification scheme. He states that 'professionalization was at best a misleading concept, for it involved more the forms than the contents of professional life' (Abbott, 1988: 1). Based on this criticism, Abbott's work is focussed on the contents of professional work. It is this specialist knowledge, and claims to this knowledge by various competing professional groups, that form the basis of the work.

His theoretical orientation is difficult to disentangle and appears to shift as the argument progresses 'from an individualistic to a systematic view of professions' (Abbott, 1988: 2). This view is supported by Macdonald (1995: 14) :

This admirable enterprise is, however, not assisted by what seems to be the author's intellectual journey from his Chicago School origins (p. vx) to an uneasy resting place in a kind of neo-functionalism.

Abbott argues that to understand the professions one must not examine each as a separate entity. After his analysis of the traditional concept of professionalisation, he discusses the systematic relationships between the professions. Abbott then proceeds to analyse the external forces influencing the system of professions. He concludes with three case studies of contested 'jurisdiction'; his core category. Unusually, he applies three types of methodological approach; one to each case study. The three chapters employ different methodologies, the first being an interpretation of secondary sources, the second a largely quantitative analysis of historical materials, the third an analysis of primary historical data. Unfortunately this cannot be seen as methodological triangulation because each chapter refers to different case studies.

Hence, Abbott's methodology is as eclectic as his shifting theoretical perspective. In 433 pages, this type of complex analysis appears to be characteristic of many modern sociologists and is in sharp contrast to the Carr-Saunders and Wilson era. In summary, Abbott brings new empirical data to questions surrounding the professions. He also draws attention to inter-professional competition, control of knowledge, and the systematic interdependent nature of these relationships. However, our earlier criticisms still apply; Abbott is attempting to understand people without ever speaking to them. With such little contact with living professionals it would appear that some sociologists appear to harbour a deep seated fear of collecting primary data from working professionals.

IS THE OCCUPATION OF SURVEYING A PROFESSION?

Having critically explored the concept of a profession from a variety of perspectives that have shaped current understanding, we can draw together the various themes of the analysis, introduce some empirical evidence and compare these with the occupation of surveying. The problem of definition was the core concern of the trait theorists. The first of these was Carr-Saunders and Wilson. Over thirty years later Millerson undertook a systematic literature review to distil consensus on the traits of a profession. Therefore, how does surveying compare to these identified traits?

Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct
There is clear connection between an occupation's claim to profession status and adherence to a code of conduct. The RICS provides rules which it expects member to abide by. However, the maintenance of integrity is more than the existence of a rule book. Clients, and more broadly society, expect professionals to demonstrate a level of integrity in their decisions. Therefore, students in the sample who had all experienced between one and four years in surveying occupations were asked various questions relating to professional integrity. Table 1 illustrates some interesting findings from the survey.

Table 1: Comparison of 1995 and 2005 surveys (percentages)

	1995		2005	
	yes	no	yes	no
Do you believe commercialism must come before an ethical stance?	63	34	39	61
Do you feel your own ethical standards as applied in the context of your job are at an acceptable standard?	86	10	91	9
Does, or will, membership of a professional body affect your ethical standards?	26	72	42	58

It is clear that there appears to be a shift in opinions amongst the students over the ten year period. The results suggest that current students may be developing a greater understanding of the meaning of professionalism in their working practises. This may be owing to a number of factors. One of the main changes in the curriculum over the ten year period has been the increased teaching in the theory and practice of professional ethics in various subject areas. This was inspired by the original findings of the first survey which appeared to demonstrate a lack of understanding.

A profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge.
Basically, surveyors deal with land and property issues. Assuming theoretical to mean generalised, or abstract, there are many examples of theory utilised in surveying practice. For instance, the capital asset pricing model, discounted cash flows, and probability distribution functions. It is obvious that these theories are borrowed from academic disciplines, such as mathematics, and applied by practitioners in a commercial context.

The skill requires training and knowledge
Training currently takes a minimum of five years. This consists of a three year degree and two years structured training. However, in practice the majority of surveyors undertake 4 year bachelor degrees in order to increase employment prospects. This is then followed by a period of structured training, which commonly ranges from two years to five years. Although the typical period of qualification may be a result of the process of professionalisation, or inter-professional competition (jurisdiction), this lengthy period of training results in a knowledge base. For example, most chartered surveyors (construction faculty) would be capable of financially managing a multi-million pound construction project without assistance. A general member of the public without this training would lack the knowledge base required to achieve this aim.

The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test
The training, discussed above, is completed with an Assessment of Professional Competence. Prospective members submit written reports and are interviewed by a panel consisting of three existing members of the institution.

The service is for the public good
The similarities between functionalist theory and the trait approach are evident here. It could be argued that the service is for the good of the equity partners, rather than the public. On the other hand, this argument could equally be applied to other professions, such as law. Also, without effective financial management society's scare resources could be wasted. There are many examples of infrastructure projects in India where millions of pounds of aid have been 'lost' owing to poor auditing and management systems. Therefore, it could be argued that the service of surveying is, in part, for the public good.

The profession is organised
There are currently 110,000 members of the RICS worldwide (RICS, 2004). The primary institution is the RICS. This is organised into various committees, groups and faculties at national, regional and local level. It is difficult to determine what 'organised' means and how organised surveying is. However, to some degree, it is organised around a central institutional framework.

Although Millerson's framework is a synthesis of 24 other writers, some of the traits appear to be underdeveloped. Still, using this definition, surveying appears to qualify as a profession. However, without comparison with other professions one cannot state dimensionally how professional surveying is, i.e. where on the continuum of professionalisation, or professionalism, surveying is located. The categorisation of surveying as a profession is given additional weight by the trait theorists themselves. Both Carr-Saunders and Wilson, and Millerson included case studies of the surveying profession. However, this definition and subsequent analysis, are drawn from the trait

theorists uncritical perspective. Consequently, can surveying be categorised as a profession utilising a 'power' or critical perspective definition?

Johnson (1972) stated a profession is not an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation. There is evidence to both support and reject the surveying profession's ability to control their occupation. For example, the RICS is the most important surveying institution in terms of membership size. It is widely accepted as the only body granting qualified status on surveyors. Other institutions do exist for surveyors, for instance, the Institution of Civil Engineering Surveyors, and, until recently, the Incorporated Society of Valuers and Auctioneers (ISVA). These alternative institutions are effectively in competition with the RICS, but these smaller organisations often focus on sub-disciplinary specialists. They also lack the prestige of a royal charter, often perceived as the highest endorsement in a profession's pact with the state in the UK. The value of RICS membership is reflected in the open job market. Vacancies are often advertised for Chartered Surveyors, hence, excluding non-RICS members. Analogous to other organisations operating in a market system, the RICS have launched successful take-over bids on competitors. Recently the ISVA was incorporated into the RICS. Thus, the competition was removed.

Therefore, there is evidence to suggest that the central professional framework is controlling the occupation. However, there are opposing indications to infer that the RICS has failed to monopolise the surveying function. Any member of the public is legally entitled to use the label 'surveyor' and start their own commercial enterprise. This causes significant problems for the RICS in their aim to control the occupational skill base, credibility and market for surveying. Architecture has been more successful at controlling its occupation title. An Act of Parliament restricts the use of the title 'architect' to qualified members who are registered with the United Kingdom Architects' Registration Board. Nevertheless, in an attempt to undermine this control 'architectural technologists' and 'design consultants' have evolved to perform the architects' function without the need for qualifications. This appears to be an example of Abbott's concept of jurisdiction but at an intra-professional, rather than inter-professional, level. Thus, using Johnson's definition, the RICS has achieved some success in controlling its occupation. Again, this analysis has illuminated the dimensionality in the concept of a profession, but this time from an alternative theoretical perspective.

CONCLUSION

The term 'profession' is claimed by an ever increasing group of occupations as developed economies move towards a post-industrial age. With this elevation, practitioners from a wide range of disciplines wish to claim privileged status in their respective businesses. Therefore, this paper has attempted to more fully understand the meaning of the term 'profession' by evaluating a range of sociological theories. These findings were then applied to the occupation of surveying to pose the question: is surveying a profession?

Paradoxically, the evidence from the surveying occupation suggests that, to some degree, surveying is a profession. However, we cannot offer a single definition of what a profession actually is. Bringing together elements of the analysis reveals that the term profession has evolved from its original association with the three 'learned' professions, to a dimensionally diverse, theoretically sensitive sociological concept. Trait theorists see professionalism as a list of characterises derived from the historical

professionals of law, church and medicine. In contrast, critical theorists believe that these traits are little more than myths imposed on a gullible pubic: a profession is merely a way of controlling occupational functions. Nevertheless, from whatever perspective the profession of surveying is viewed it is clear that prospective members must also 'buy in' to the concept of a profession if the membership is to retain its integrity and win jurisdiction battles with other occupations who may claim to be 'more professional'.

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