USE OF THESES

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TEACHERS' STATUS IN AUSTRALIA

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University, Canberra.

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Preface

THE THESIS

Summary of Contents.

Teachers are very concerned about the status of their occupation. This is evident from the opinions of teachers expressed in Teachers' Journals and in educational literature. Teachers believe their occupation has a low status and that it ought to be higher. The opinions held by teachers about the status of their occupation generally agree with the opinions held by various 'publics' in tests designed to measure the relative status of occupations. The tests reveal there is general agreement in placing occupations in such a scale, with the professions and higher business occupations at the top, the skilled trades and technical occupations in the middle group, and the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations on the lowest ranking. In respect of individuals in these occupations, the doctor has the highest rating, followed by the solicitor, the clergyman, the engineer and architect. Teachers come lower down on the scale, although the secondary school teacher appears higher on the list
than the primary teacher.

Teachers' ideas about the prestige rating of their occupation are fixed on the status of professions, particularly of medicine and law. Teachers want their occupation to be recognised as a profession because they believe that such recognition would result in individual teachers improving their social status, their position in society vis-à-vis other individuals. (Chapter One)

Teachers, however, are most confused and inconsistent in their statements about the status of teaching. Some maintain teaching is a profession but it lacks public recognition of this fact; others maintain teaching is not yet a profession but it is making progress towards that status. Much of the confusion stems from the fact that teachers have no clear picture of a profession.

Previous studies on the characteristics of professions in England are reviewed, (Chapter Two). There have been no similar studies of the professions in Australia. Thus it is difficult to ascertain what is meant by a profession in Australia and which occupations are so regarded. It is safe to assume that the older professions of medicine and law are so regarded and possibly occupations such as
architecture and dentistry. As there is fairly general agreement on the fields which mark off the professions as an occupational group, these must be used as a basis to build up a model of a profession in Australia, (Chapter Two).

The training requirements for occupations of a professional type are analysed, and certain general conclusions drawn regarding the duration and location of training, the content of the course, and the overall control and administration of the training, (pp.56-57).

Professional associations, such as the British Medical Association, the Law Societies, the Institute of Architects and so on, are examined in regard to their legal status, their constitution and membership, their aims and objectives, their activities and their methods. From this analysis some general conclusions are drawn regarding professional associations, (65-67).

Codes of Ethics, which are acknowledged as characteristic of professions, are examined. The origin and purpose of the Code is discussed. The part played by the professional association and by the statutory committee in regulating the conduct of members is analysed.
From this, the main principles underlying professional conduct are determined and stated, (pp.84-85).

The incomes earned by professional groups are analysed, using, in the first instance, the Reports of the Taxation Commissioner. Differences between the incomes of employed and self-employed professionals are noted. Other evidence relating to the incomes of professional people is examined, (Public Service Salaries, Reports of University Appointments Boards, etc.). Some general conclusions about professional incomes are drawn, (pp.96-97).

The size of professional groups and their distribution within one State, Queensland, are noted. The pattern of the professional life is indicated. The relationship between the size and distribution of the group and certain aspects of professional status is discussed, (pp.97-109).

Teaching is then measured against the professional model. Teacher training is examined and measured against professional training, (Chapter Three). Differences are noted and stated, (pp.137-151). Teachers' Unions are considered as professional associations
Chapter Four), and the differences observed and stated, (pp.196-201). The Teachers' Code of Conduct is examined, (Chapter Five), and the differences between this and the Code of Ethics of a profession are set down, (pp.226-239). Teachers' Incomes are compared with the incomes of professional people, (Chapter Six), and the difference observed and measured. The size of the teaching group and the dispersion of teachers are considered, (Chapter Seven). The effects of these two factors in producing an occupational pattern different from that of the professions are analysed.

From the differences which have been observed between teaching and the professional model it is possible to analyse the problem of teachers' status more closely, (Chapter Eight). The first argument advanced by teachers, that their occupation is 'an avocation having all the requisites and hallmarks of a profession', is clearly false. The second statement that teaching is making progress towards the position of medicine and law is examined, and it is found that whatever progress there is, is very uneven and very
overall, this claim is not convincing. This leads to the discussion of the third statement about the status of teaching, that 'there are no insuperable impediments to its continued advance towards a professional goal'.

It is apparent that there are factors which tend to make the development of teaching towards the professional model much more difficult than is the case with other occupations. Teachers are all employees, and in rendering the service of education, they must be employees, whereas professional groups are mainly self-employed. Employee status for teachers produces conditions which make the group unlike the professional model.

Total employee status is a disability for teachers in their attempts to be like the professional model; moreover, the State is the largest employer of teachers, and in fact virtually the only employer. The State is also the training authority. The State is also committed to providing a free and compulsory system of education. The largeness of this activity produces problems of finance and recruitment. When such problems arise
the State solves them by diluting the teaching group, and by lowering standards, and by keeping down costs (particularly of teachers' salaries which constitute the greater part of educational expenditure). Even though the service of education is already extensive, costly and expanding, teachers believe that, before teaching will become a profession, certain reforms will have to be introduced to improve the service. These are analysed in terms of extra costs and of additional teachers required. The probability of adequate finance being available and of recruiting sufficient numbers with high intelligence are discussed.

The first set of conclusions are set forth at this stage. Teaching is not a profession such as medicine and law, it is not making much progress towards professional status of this kind, and there are limiting factors of such magnitude that it is extremely unlikely teaching could ever become a profession like these occupations.

It is pointed out, however, that the comparison so far has been between teaching and a model based mainly on the older acknowledged professions of medicine and law.
Although there are reasons why teaching could never become a profession like these occupations, it is important to note that this professional model is itself in process of change. Medicine and law are examined to discover the changes which are taking place. It is possible to see in these changes the outlines of a new professional model. Members will be highly specialised in function and subject to a long course of training at a university; some, but not all, will be salaried employees of the State and of private organisations; the average income will be lower and the margin of the professional group over other occupational groups will be less; the ethical code will become less important as members accept employee status; the professional association will be concerned with economic as well as professional problems; the profession will be more dependent on the State for financial assistance in training and for making the service available at a reasonable cost to greater members in the community; the State will acquire closer control over certain aspects related to the provision of the professional service, probably by
having government nominees on the present governing bodies of the professions.

Although there are seemingly impassible barriers for teachers in their attempts to be like the old style professional model, teaching and the professions could well come together in the form of this new professional model.

Teaching is therefore re-examined and any changes which might take it towards this new model are observed. Some, but not all, of the teaching group, may well advance towards the status of a profession. Advancement will necessitate progress in all aspects of the occupation reviewed in this study. As teaching acquires the characteristics of the new model it will automatically reduce the gap in prestige between it and the professions and consequently teachers as individuals may expect their social status to be closer to that of doctors and lawyers.

Professional status is much more involved than the comments in Teachers' Journals would seem to indicate. It has proved a will-o'-the-wisp for teachers because the old model has been unattainable, yet it is only by striving to be like such a model that teachers may meet the professions in a new place which will be determined by the forces of social change.
In comparison with law, medicine, dentistry and other professions, teaching is still in the doldrums and has no professional status. I think that we, as representatives of the various State education authorities, should regard this lack of recognition of our professional status as a problem of great moment, and should spare no effort to find out the reason why teaching is not regarded as a profession."

Presidential Address to the Australian Teachers' Federation Annual Conference 1950.

Teachers are very concerned about the status of their occupation. This conclusion emerges from the recent survey by Davies who reviewed a long list of investigations made between 1925 and 1950 into the status of occupations. His survey also disclosed that it is the teaching group in particular which is concerned about its status.

There is other evidence to support the existence of a status problem for teachers. This is found in the opinions of teachers expressed in Teachers' Journals and in educational literature. Preoccupation with status is

perceptible among teachers in all Australian States, whether they are employed by the State or by private organisations. There is also evidence that teachers in other countries are concerned with the same problem.

**Evidence from Australian Sources**

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation maintains strongly that teaching is a profession, therefore it should have working conditions befitting such status. Much of the work of the Federation consists in dealing with the Public Service Board and the Department of Education in an endeavour to secure better working conditions for teachers. The argument is that these objective signs will bring professional recognition to the occupation.

There are frequent references to teachers' status in the Journal of the Victorian Teachers' Union, and the

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(2) 'The work of the teacher is second to none in national importance, and it is essential that the teacher's status and conditions be at least comparable with those of other professional workers. Present teaching conditions are such that the teacher is subjected to illiberal treatment and irksome restrictions, while his energies are dissipated in the performance of innumerable extraneous duties.'

*Handbook of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation*, p.19.

recent emphasis has been on the campaign for higher salaries as an indicator of status. It is argued that teachers' salaries are low and that this in itself is an indication of the low regard for teaching which is held by the community. The Teachers' Union believes that higher salaries will mean higher status, leading eventually to recognition as a professional body.

The Reports of the Annual Conferences of the Queensland Teachers' Union contain references to many discussions on the low status of teaching. As in New South Wales there is much agitation for better working conditions and the professions are looked up to as a model for comparison. Hence it is considered unprofessional for a teacher to be involved in raising money for State schools, handing out free milk to pupils and collecting pupils' money through the school banking system.

The Teachers' Journal in South Australia provides further evidence that teachers are concerned about the status of their occupation and that their concern centres


(4) 'If we are to achieve professional status we need reminding now and again that the professions are based on idealism..........'
round the lack of professional recognition for teaching. The writer of one editorial states that teaching is a profession yet it is not acknowledged as such by the public. He argues that the secret of professional recognition lies within the group itself. Teachers must themselves become more professional in outlook. If they follow the standards of the acknowledged professions in all things then recognition of their status as a profession must eventually come.

A recent editorial in the Teachers' Journal of Western Australia reviewed the problem of teacher status. The crucial question to the writer was - why is the teaching group's claim to the title of profession not as firmly established as that of medicine, law or dentistry? Does teaching lack something which thereby denies it this higher status? The suggestion was made that the Inspectorial System indicated a lack of confidence in the teacher, which was fatal to professional recognition.


The Australian Teachers' Federation

In its policy, this organisation has included matters relating to the training, qualifications and salaries of State teachers. The 1952 Annual Conference decided to campaign for 'adequate professional salaries' on an Australia-wide basis, believing that increased salaries would raise the status of teaching to professional levels. The Conference also advocated an Australian Teachers' Certificate which it believed would help to set a minimum standard of qualification on a uniform basis throughout Australia. This would raise the status of the occupation to that of a profession.

The Australian Council for Educational Research

A considered opinion on this problem of teacher-status comes from an authority on Australian education, Dr. K.S. Cunningham, until his retirement in 1954, the Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research.


(For more detailed information concerning the Australian Teachers' Federation, see Chapter Four, post p. 152)
Reviewing the status of teaching in the light of a profession, he states:

'In Australia, as elsewhere, the status of teaching is explained largely in terms of its gradual rise towards the position of older professions such as medicine and law.' (8)

**Teachers in Private or Non-State Schools**

The opinion of these teachers is important, for though they represent only 24 per cent of the teaching group, they have their being in the main outside of the direct influence of the State, mainly in the service of various religious bodies. Even so, they cannot remain uninfluenced by the status of teachers employed by the State. These teachers in the Non-State schools are just as much concerned with their status as those teachers in the Public Service. For those in the Roman Catholic system, however, membership of the Teaching Order and the status it implies may be more important to them than any feeling of membership of the teaching group as a whole. Hence they do not appear as outwardly conscious of the status problem as are the State school teachers. Non-State teachers have formed their own associations in each

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(9) For an explanation of this terminology, post p. 22.
State; and while most of these are mainly concerned with economic and industrial problems the larger associations, such as The Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria, and the Teachers' Guild of New South Wales, reveal in their aims and activities their concern for the status of teaching. The Teachers' Guild, for example, has as one of its objects:

'To promote, support, protect, further and advance the character, status and interest of teachers and the teaching profession generally.' (10)

Evidence from Overseas as to the Existence of the Problem of Teacher-Status

Great Britain

There has been considerable thought given to the low status of teaching in this country, for it has now been realised that status is an important factor in recruitment. The Journal of Education, which reviews educational problems, has numerous articles on the status of teaching. Reference to the same problem occurs frequently in that forum of educational thought in Britain, The Times Educational Supplement. (12)

(10) The Memorandum of Association, The Teachers' Guild of New South Wales (1921), 2.3(a).
The aims of The National Union of Teachers, the largest and the most powerful of teachers' associations in England, have been summarized briefly as follows:

'Since its inception in 1870, the basic objectives of Union policy have been to secure improvements in education and to achieve a higher status for the teaching profession.'(13)

Canada

In this country there has been a general exodus of teachers from the occupation, particularly in rural areas. There is now an awareness that teaching can only compete with professional occupations in times of general unemployment. It is maintained by teachers' associations in this country that the low status of teaching at other times can only be overcome by more adequate remuneration, greater security of tenure and freer consultation with teachers on matters of educational policy. The professions are always looked up to as a model for teaching, and attempts have been made to rate teaching as a profession according to a rating scale.


See also Educational Year Book 1944, International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, pp. 36-51.
The United States of America

The decrease in enrolments at Teachers' Colleges, combined with the resignations of so many teachers, is regarded as the direct result of the low status of teaching. Benjamin Fine paints a gloomy picture of the breakdown in teacher recruitment. 'Many feel as though they were committing hara-kiri by becoming teachers', he says.

That the status of teaching is a major problem has been recognised by the National Education Association of America, which has conducted a number of detailed studies into the status of teaching in that country. The emphasis has been on the legal status of the occupation, the argument being that matters of salary, tenure and working conditions, which will eventually determine professional status, must have a legal basis.

U.S.S.R.

It is extremely difficult to locate any objective reports of the status of the teacher in the U.S.S.R.

According to the Soviet reports, there is no problem of teacher-status. In discussing the educational system of the U.S.S.R., Medynsky states:

'The school teacher is an important and honored figure in the land of the Soviets.....He is regarded as a key factor in the entire system of public education, as one who fulfills an important function in the socialist state......Over 100,000 teachers have been decorated with Government orders and medals.......Soviet schoolteachers receive the same remuneration as engineers and technicians in industry.'(17)

An English author, again one scarcely objective, has this to say about the teaching group in the U.S.S.R.:

'The great advantage the Soviet teacher has over those of any other country lies in the relationship between the body of teachers and other groups in the community. They do not have to spend the energies which should go to the improvement of their profession or the enjoyment of leisure in fighting for the rights of children or for the improvement of their social status.'(18)

A more reserved opinion comes from Dr. Hans, of the University of London, formerly Director of Education in Odessa. While he gives credit for the tremendous expansion of education in the U.S.S.R., which increased literacy from 51 per cent in 1926 to 81 per cent in 1939, he maintains this

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was done by sacrificing the quality of the teachers in order to get the numbers required. Teachers' salaries were also inadequate, according to him.

These impressions were confirmed by Eric Ashby in a post war study, in which he quotes Russian sources estimating the teacher shortage at 25,000 in 1946-47. Whether this is due to the lack of suitable personnel or to the status of the occupation or to some other cause is not stated.

The World Organisation of the Teaching Profession

That the problem of teacher-status has assumed a world wide significance is demonstrated by two recent events. The World Organisation of the Teaching Profession, which included delegates from 27 countries, took as its conference theme in 1952: 'Rights and Responsibilities of Teachers'. It was believed that these rights, when obtained, would help 'to raise the status of the teaching profession'.

See also his article 'Education in Soviet Russia' in the Year Book of Education 1933, pp. 745-768.

(20) Ashby, E., Scientist in Russia, 1946, Chapter 3, The Education of a Scientist.

This book, published in association with the University of London Institute of Education and the Teachers' College, Columbia University, N.Y., has devoted the whole of its 1953 volume to the social and economic status of the teacher in the major countries of the world. The contributors have been asked to write, not what ought to be thought about teachers, but what, in fact is. Everywhere the story is the same, with teachers struggling to raise the status of their occupation.

**Teachers' Views on their Status compared with the Opinions held by Society**

There is thus abundant evidence that teachers in all Western countries believe that their occupation has a low status and that it should be higher. Is this belief of teachers about their status in accord with the opinions held by society? Unless there is some measure of agreement on this point, then it may be teachers feel unnecessarily inferior, believing that their status is lower than, in fact, it is.

Investigation of the status of occupations was pioneered in 1925 by Counts, who used groups of school

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children to arrange 45 occupations, including teaching, in the order 'most looked up to'. While these results placed teaching fairly high on the list Counts was impressed by the remarkable agreement between groups of respondents, and between them and a control teacher-group. This suggested to him that people had a high degree of 'occupational insight'.

This study was repeated in 1947 by Deeg and Paterson to see what change, if any, had occurred over this period in peoples' opinions of occupations. The rankings of this test showed a very high correlation with the earlier test. The professions and the higher business occupations were still at the top, the skilled trades and technical occupations in the middle group, the semi-skilled and unskilled having the lowest ranking. The conclusion was drawn that the multiplicity of social, economic and psychological factors which determine the ranking of occupations must have continued to operate consistently.

Hartmann also showed that there is a definite and widely held hierarchy of occupations, according to the


amount of prestige attached to them. He found that most people have a clear insight into the rating given their occupation by others. In his initial study the prestige of the professions was highest and the labour groups the lowest. Occupational insight was measured by the closeness of the agreement between the status assigned to it by persons within it and that given it by 'disinterested outsiders'.

The problem raised initially by Counts has been pursued by the sociologists along two lines. One group has endeavoured to establish a technique for measuring people's opinions about occupations, while the other has sought to relate the status of occupations to stratification in society.

(26) Hall and Jones emphasised the close link between occupations and economic status and the bearing of this on social class. They examined carefully previous attempts made to grade occupations, ranging from an official list made by the Registrar General (England) 1911 to the method used in the Social Survey of Merseyside. The above writers then worked on an empirical study to see how far people

have a common standard in the social grading of occupations. The result of the grading of thirty occupations by a thousand adults showed there was a 'surprisingly high agreement', though people were least sure about the middle range occupations. Teaching came well down on the list.

Davies made a much more detailed attack on the problem whether people do, in fact, recognize a hierarchy of occupations. He examined two main doubts about this. The first one was whether the same occupation would have the same ranking in different regions of society or whether it would vary with the social class of the informant. This doubt appeared groundless, as there was no split in the ranking whatever the 'public'. The second doubt was whether people found differences in the prestige of occupations in the 'nearer reaches' to themselves more meaningful and significant than ones in the 'further reaches'. Davies did not get far with this problem. He saw the need, however, to explain such a hierarchy of occupations in real terms, particularly the possible use of a scaled ranking in the study of social mobility and in the task of defining and ascribing groups to social strata. In so far as teaching was concerned, he found there was remarkable agreement about its place in the hierarchy of occupations.

(27) Supra, page 1.
These attempts at grading occupations were followed \(28\) in New Zealand by Congalton who used methods and techniques similar to those used by Davies. In spite of variations in judgment as to the social status of each of the selected occupations, there was a general measure of agreement corresponding to the hierarchy found by Davies. For example, the doctor, solicitor, public accountant, civil servant (Department Head) and Minister (Nonconformist) all ranked above the primary school teacher. In the rank order of all socio-economic groups the teacher dropped to tenth, being headed by additional occupations – company director, business manager, works manager and farmer.

More recent studies by Congalton and Havighurst \(29\) in New Zealand, and by Montague and Pustilnik \(30\) in America have refined the technique of measuring public opinion about the status of occupations, but they have not shaken the now well-established conclusions.

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The only work done on the grading of occupations in Australia appears to be a small exercise by the students of the Sydney Teachers' College and a recent study in Western Australia.

The former, by Bassett was an attempt to discover what was society's evaluation of teaching compared with eleven other occupations, including some professions. The method employed was that of paired comparisons, and students were asked to underline the occupation which was the more highly regarded in general, not the one which ought to be. Three groups completed this task: (a) 200 students training as primary teachers, (b) 50 graduate students training to be high school teachers, (c) 100 members of the Workers' Education Association classes, representing a variety of occupations. Their results are best observed in the graph. (Figure 1)

In the first place there is a significant difference between primary and secondary teachers in the social scale, although it should be observed that the gap is larger when seen through the eyes of the graduate students. In the second place high school teachers believed their status was much lower than did the other two groups. All three groups

Figure 1

BASSETT'S STUDY

(Results shown graphically)

GROUP A

- DOCTOR
- SOLICITOR
- DENTIST
- ANGLICAN MINISTER
- ENGINEER, ARCHITECT
- HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
- BANK OFFICER
- VETERINARY PRACT.
- PRIMARY TEACHER
- NURSE
- POLICEMAN
- CLERICAL OFFICE ASSISTANT

GROUP B

- DOCTOR
- SOLICITOR
- DENTIST, ARCHITECT, ANGLICAN MINISTER, ENGINEER
- HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
- BANK OFFICER
- NURSE
- POLICEMAN
- VETERINARY PRACT.
- PRIMARY TEACHER
- NURSE & POLICEMAN
- CLERICAL OFFICE ASSISTANT

GROUP C

- DOCTOR
- SOLICITOR
- ARCHITECT, DENTIST, ANGLICAN MINISTER
- ENGINEER
- HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER
- BANK OFFICER
- NURSE
- POLICEMAN
- VETERINARY PRACT.
- PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER
- NURSE & POLICEMAN
- CLERICAL OFFICE ASSISTANT

PRIMARY STUDENTS

W.E.A. CLASSES

GRADUATE STUDENTS

(The Forum of Education, November 1945, p. 68.)
agreed that the doctor, dentist, solicitor, Anglican
Minister, engineer and architect rate higher than the high
school teacher. The graduates also placed the bank officer
higher than themselves. There was some difference of opinion
about the primary school teacher. They themselves believed
that only bank officers and veterinary practitioners stood
between them and high school teachers, while nurses,
policemen and clerical office assistants were below them.
The graduates, on the other hand, rated nurses and policemen
above the primary teacher, while the Workers' Education group
placed nurses on a higher level but policemen on the same
rung as primary teachers.

Taft's study in Western Australia gives additional
evidence in support of the conclusion reached by Davies that
'in broad terms, the consensus typically reported supports
the use of a model of a single public'. The school teacher,
as in Hall and Jones's study, follows the doctor, engineer
and clergyman. Taft went further and tried to find out why
people assigned occupations to certain positions in the
hierarchy. The factors most frequently assigned to

(32) Taft, R. 'The Social Grading of Occupations in Australia',
The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.IV, No.2, June
1953, pp.121-187.
occupations with high prestige were, importance to community, use of education and interesting work, while low prestige values were working for others, little intelligence required and uninteresting work.

Conclusion

Teachers' views and the views of the public as to the status of teaching.

There is thus plenty of evidence that various 'publics' agree in placing teachers well down the list of occupations rated on social status. Teachers are aware of this, so their belief about their position is fairly accurate, though, if anything they are inclined to place themselves lower on the scale than they really are. Even allowing for some doubt as to the reliability of the various publics and the methods of measuring their opinions, teachers must face

(33) a. Many studies appear to have used 'publics' bearing some close relationship to teachers, e.g. students, university personnel. A recent attempt was made to measure public attitudes towards teaching by sampling the registered voters of a small community and the results were slightly more favourable to teaching. Terrien, F.W., 'Who Thinks What About Educators?' The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIX, No. 2, 1953, pp. 150-158.

b. Asch showed that rankings could be modified by producing authoritative background information and by placing bogus I.Q's before some occupations. Asch, Block and Hertzman, 'Studies in the Principles of Judgments and Attitudes, 1', Journal of Psychology, 1938.
the fact that their occupation is not held as high in status as some other occupations. This confirms their own beliefs.

There is a temptation to dismiss this striving after status as inevitable in our society or to regard it simply as a manifestation of the differential capacities of individuals. It might also be considered as of no more moment than the pressure tactics of other occupation groups, all desiring to improve the well-being of their members. But teachers are concerned with education and the education of the young is a basic activity in society. If teaching is selected as a vocation on the basis of its status when compared with other occupations, then it is very important to find out what the problem of teacher status is, and to solve it.

The Teaching Group

At this point it is necessary to delimit the teaching group in Australia in order to bring into focus the major field of this study. This will also help to clarify various expressions which are often loosely applied to sections of the group.

It is not as easy to determine boundaries for the teaching group, as it is for doctors, lawyers and architects.

In this connection the following features of the teaching group in Australia must be noted as relevant to the inquiry.

State and Non-State Teachers

There is a major distinction between teachers employed by the State and those employed by organisations other than the State. The former are invariably referred to as State teachers; but there is no comprehensive, descriptive term for the latter. 'Non-Government', 'Independent', 'Registered', 'Private', 'Public' and 'Church' have all been used; but these terms lead to confusion. In New South Wales, for example, State Primary Schools are 'Public Schools', while in Victoria 'Public Schools' are 'Private Schools'. Again, the larger 'Private' secondary schools for boys in New South Wales are referred to as the 'Great Public Schools'. This difference in terminology is reflected in the attempt to find a suitable name for those teachers not employed by the State. As this latter factor appears to be the major point of reference, these teachers will be referred to in

(35) The term 'Great Public Schools' does not merely reflect the size of the school. It is used rather with reference to a school which though 'private' is not run for profit. Heads of private schools run for profit, cannot be members of the Headmasters' Conference, set up in 1931. Some of the N.S.W. 'Associated Schools' are large but they are distinct from the G.P.S.
It will be seen from Table 1 that there are more than three times as many State teachers as Non-State teachers in all States. If the teaching group be divided solely on this basis, then the State employs 76 per cent of all teachers concerned with education, within the range of approximately six to sixteen years.

Table 1

State and Non-State Teachers in each Australian State 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Teachers</th>
<th>Non-State Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>13,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>10,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>4,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>3,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>2,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>1,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>34,765 (76 per cent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(For the historical explanation of this confusion in terms, see Portus, G.V.: 'Free, Compulsory and Secular. A Critical Estimate of Australian Education.' University of London, Institute of Education, Studies and Reports, No.11, 1937, p.35. The Australian Council for Education Research, in a recent study, prefers the term 'Non-Government'. For another useful discussion on this point, see Bean, C.E.W., 'Here My Son', pp.1-4. Introduction. 'By Any Other Name?')
It must not be concluded from this that Non-State teachers form a unity. They fall into two main sections, those connected with the Roman Catholic system of education and those who teach in the many other types of church and private schools. Table 2 reveals that teachers in the Roman Catholic schools outnumber those in the remaining Non-State schools by almost two to one. Teachers in the latter comprise those in Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist and a few undenominational schools.

Table 2

Non-State Teachers in each Australian State 1950, Roman Catholic and Other Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>R.C.</th>
<th>Other Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>3,271</td>
<td>1,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1,778</td>
<td>1,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>2,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,297 (66 per cent)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,688 (34 per cent)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is not usual to find public comment by teachers in the Roman Catholic system on their status. Their status emanates primarily from the fact that they are members of a religious body. If, for the purposes of this study, they
are excluded from the teaching group, then more than ninety per cent of the teaching group are in State employment.

Another major division occurs within the group because the occupation employs many women. This is revealed by Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State and Non-State Teachers in all Australian States 1950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Male and Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>18,021 (54%)</td>
<td>16,744 (46%)</td>
<td>34,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-State</td>
<td>2,588 (24%)</td>
<td>8,397 (76%)</td>
<td>10,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>20,609 (46%)</td>
<td>25,141 (54%)</td>
<td>45,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-State Groups</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>5,958</td>
<td>7,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>1,013</td>
<td>1,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>1,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2,588 (24%)</td>
<td>8,397 (76%)</td>
<td>10,985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Non-Government Schools of Australia. Supra.

It will be observed that if State and Non-State teachers are considered, 54 per cent are women but this is due to the large percentage of women teachers in Non-State schools. 76 per cent of teachers in the Non-State schools are women compared with 45 per cent in the State teaching group. This difference warrants some explanation. One reason lies in
the fact that the majority of teachers in the Roman Catholic system (80%) are women in the Teaching Orders. Even in the remaining Non-State groups 66 per cent of teachers are females. This might be accounted for by such factors as lower wages, availability of women in the labour pool or the use of untrained or partially trained married women.

It must be noted, however, that the femininity of the occupation is decreasing. In New South Wales, for example, the percentage of women in the State teaching service has decreased from 56.8 in 1920 to 49.4 in 1953. The decrease is particularly evident among secondary teachers where the percentage of women fell to 38.5 in that period. The explanation for this decreasing femininity of the occupation lies not so much in the increasing attractiveness of the occupation for men, as the greater relative attractiveness of other occupations for women during this period. The 1947 Census revealed that the percentage of all employed females who were teachers dropped from 7.20 per cent in 1901 to 5.37 in 1947, while the percentage in commerce, transport and communications, health and other occupations had increased. (37) It is probable therefore that this decreasing femininity of the teaching group is a feature common to all States.

Another important division within the teaching group is that between teachers in primary and secondary schools. Primary teachers form the larger section as they are usually concerned with the education of children during the major portion of the statutory school period, while secondary school teachers are fewer in number as they are required to teach a smaller number of children who pass on to secondary education. The distinction between these two sections of teachers in relation to their different functions has caused them to receive different kinds of training and to receive different salaries. The differences between the two must be observed with caution, however, for in some States primary teachers may teach in secondary schools and secondary teachers may teach in primary schools with secondary 'tops'. In Queensland, where the State system of secondary education has not developed to the same extent as in other States, 92 per cent of teachers are in primary schools. In Victoria, on the other hand, 73 per cent of teachers are in primary schools.

(38) Seventy-Sixth Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction (Queensland) 1951, p.14.

The advance of technical education has made a further division within the teaching group. In Victoria, teachers in these schools are classified as a group distinct from those in the State primary and secondary schools.

This, then, is the teaching group. It is not a neat, compact occupational group, but one torn apart by employment differences, by sex, by religion and by differences in rank. The edges of the group become blurred when an attempt is made to define them. Thus, at opposite ends but generally outside the teaching group, are nursery school and kindergarten teachers, (other than Education Department employees), and University staffs. Also on the fringe, but generally within the group, are members of staff of State Teachers' Colleges. There are also those officials of the Education Department who usually come from the ranks of teachers, but, who, as Inspectors and Superintendents, are commonly regarded by teachers as outside the teaching group. In fact, in some States these officials are excluded from membership of Teachers' Unions.

Despite these divisions within the teaching group, it will be convenient for the first part of this study to regard the group as a unity.

The solid mass of the group consists of the 35,000 who are employed by the State Education Departments. Since by their size and influence they largely determine the status
of the teaching group, it is with these that this study will
mainly be concerned, although some reference must occasionally
be made to the 4,000 teachers in Non-State schools other than
Roman Catholic, and to the 7,000 teachers in the Roman
Catholic system.

The Problem

Before the problem can be clearly stated there is one
aspect of the confused thinking of teachers about their
status which needs clarification. The evidence shows that
teachers talk about the problem of 'teacher status' or of
'the social status of teachers' and also about the problem
of 'the status of teaching'. These are not the same problem,
although they are closely connected. Social status, according
(40) to Hyman, is simply the position of an individual in
society vis-a-vis other individuals, and it may be determined
by any of a number of factors, such as wealth, family, power,
according to the current values of the particular society.
In Western countries, at least, occupation is a most
important index of social status, though not the only one.

(40) p. 21, supra.
ii) Marshall, T.H.; 'The Nature and Determinants of
Social Status'. The Year Book of Education 1953,
pp. 30-50.
However, it is with the status or prestige ranking of their occupation that teachers are most concerned. In the past, professions have apparently contained values which, according to the collective judgment of the public, merited respect and prestige for those whose occupation was so regarded. Invariably professional people had a high social status. Assuming that there is this inter-relationship between the status or prestige of an occupation and the social status of those employed in it, then the initial problem for teachers is how to acquire for the occupation those characteristics by which professions are recognised. If teaching is accorded recognition as a profession then individual teachers may be expected to improve their social status.

There is one factor about the modern activity of teaching which distinguishes it from most occupations and this factor may be highly relevant to the problem of teachers' status. Teachers are concerned with education, which is a service made
available by the State, usually free and compulsory and on an extensive scale. Teachers thus bear a distinct relationship to the State in performing this activity. The majority are actually employed by the State to provide the service while the remainder are supervised to a greater or lesser degree by the State wherever they are employed. This relationship between teachers and the State is a factor which will be closely examined in this study of the teachers' search for professional status.

The problem may now be briefly stated. There is evidence that teachers are concerned about the status of their occupation which they believe is low. Their belief is confirmed by investigations designed to determine the attitudes which people have about various occupations and their relative rankings. Teachers want to be recognised as a profession for professions as a group invariably have high status. However, teachers are most confused and inconsistent in their statements about the status of teaching. Some claim that teaching is a profession but it lacks public recognition of this fact; others maintain that teaching is not yet a profession but that it ought to be. Still others believe that teaching is making steady progress towards professional status and that in time it will acquire all the characteristics of such acknowledged professions as medicine and law.
This study is an attempt to define and solve the problem of professional status which is worrying teachers. It will be necessary to find answers to such questions as these:

a) What are the characteristics of professions in Australia?

b) Has teaching all these characteristics?

c) If it has, then what is the substance of the teachers' problem? If teaching differs from the professions then how does it differ and what is the explanation of the difference?

d) If teaching is not a profession now, then will it be possible for teaching to become a profession in the future?

e) Even if teaching were to become a profession what effect would this have on the teaching group and on education itself, i.e., if the attainment of professional status for teachers is possible, is it desirable?
Chapter Two

THE PROFESSIONAL MODEL

'The flight into professionalism by technicians, tradesmen, brokers, social workers, and administrators in the last few decades should suggest that no simple, or even comprehensive definition is likely to cover every case, or convey adequately the quality of professional service. Yet that quality is a very real thing, and we ought to make some attempt to understand what we mean by it.'

Lewis and Maude: Professional People.

From this preliminary examination of the problem of teachers and their status, it is evident that teachers' ideas centre round this concept of 'professional status', as exemplified by medicine and law. Some teachers believe they are a profession, but lack public recognition; others just as firmly believe that teaching is not a profession, but that some day it will achieve this status. Much of the confusion in teachers' claims about their status derives from the fact that there is no clear picture, either among teachers or in the available relevant literature, as to what a profession is like in Australia.

Attempts to define a profession are not satisfactory. The standard definition is too wide, for it would include
many kinds of technicians above the simple mechanic, in occupations not generally accepted as being in the professional group. Another definition places the emphasis on the organisation into an association with power to test competency by examination. This would bring in many but not all occupations of the professional type, for it is not defined precisely enough to indicate the standard of competence required nor the degree of difficulty involved. An occupational therapist, for example, would be included by this definition.

An alternative method of clarifying a term such as 'profession' is to look at the derivation of the word. 'Profession' derives from the Latin 'profiteor' meaning 'to declare publicly', 'to avow' or 'to profess'. The noun, 'professio' was used as a public declaration of a business or calling, which aspect of a profession still

(1) O.E.D.: 'Profession: a vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it'.

(2) 'Any body of persons using a common technique who form an association the purpose of which is to test competency in the technique by means of examination'. Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce, H.M.S.O., 1949, (as quoted by Lewis and Maude, p.54).
remains in the public avowal of a Minister of Religion, the call to the Bar and in the oath of office in a number of other occupations. However, beyond giving some interesting historical background to the expression, the derivation does not help much with current usage.

It is not easy to draw a line which will arbitrarily determine, purely by definition or derivation, those occupations which will qualify for admission and those which do not, and it is no part of this study to attempt such a task. Carr-Saunders and Wilson, who made an exhaustive study of the professions in Britain, limit the term to those occupations which have similar characteristics to those of the acknowledged professions of medicine and law. The danger in this approach is that the concept of profession is constantly changing. It was customary, for example, to refer to the 'liberal and learned' professions. 'Learned' signified that the individual possessed a form of learning and knowledge transcending immediate practical requirements; and for this a liberal, general education was an essential background both to see the profession in relation to the 'good life' and to keep a fresh and inquiring mind capable of probing

and absorbing new ideas. A criticism which has been levied at the modern professions is that the practice of over-specialisation has resulted in a narrowing of the cultural content of courses, so that there are, in effect, no liberal and learned professions today. 

However, although it may not be satisfactory to regard the professions of today in terms of the liberal and learned professions of the past, the latter cannot be entirely neglected. The older acknowledged professions still remain as models to which newer occupations are constantly looking, for they apparently contain those characteristics by which the public recognizes and evaluates an occupation as a profession.

It is not intended to survey all the professions to find out what these characteristics are. There have been, in fact, three major attempts in England, at singularly appropriate intervals, to survey professional occupations. The Webbs, (1917) emphasised the importance


(ii) Carr-Saunders and Wilson, supra.

of the professional association. They classified the professions into five distinct groups, including the learned professions of medicine and law in one group. They were content to define profession simply as, 'a vocation founded upon specialised educational training, the purpose of which is to supply disinterested counsel and service for others, for a direct and definite compensation wholly apart from expectation of other business gain'.

To Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) a profession represented a complex of characteristics. The acknowledged professions of medicine and law exhibited all or most of these, and could be represented as standing at the centre of professionalism, surrounded by many occupations which exhibited some but not all of these characteristics. The particular marks of a profession, as exhibited by medicine and law, were, according to these writers:

(a) The practitioners, by virtue of a prolonged and specialised training, have acquired a technique which enables them to render a specialised service to the community.

(b) This service they perform for a fixed remuneration whether by way of fee or salary.

(c) They develop a sense of responsibility in the use of the technique which they manifest in their concern for the competence and honour of the practitioners as a whole, a concern which is sometimes shared with the State.
(d) They build up associations, upon which they erect, with or without the co-operation of the State, machinery for imposing tests of competence and observance of certain standards of conduct.

They do not view these criteria as a gestalt, distinguishing professions as a group from other occupations only if they contain these features. Instead, they maintain that the 'distinguishing and overruling characteristic is the possession of a technique', and it is this which gives rise to the major features of professionalism.

Lewis and Maude, in their discussion of Professional People (1952), are content to analyse the characteristics suggested by a former President of the Institute of Engineers. Their conclusion is that:

'Professional status is therefore an implied contract; to serve society over and beyond all specific duty to client or employer in consideration of the privileges and protection society affords to the profession'.

These two writers emphasise that, in their opinion, the most important characteristic of a profession is the standard of conduct of the practitioners, 'the L.C.M. of professional life'.

There have been no such studies of the professions related to Australian conditions. Thus it is difficult to ascertain what is meant by a profession in this country and which occupations are so regarded. It would be safe to

(6) Lewis and Maude. Supra, Chapter IV.
assume on the basis of the English studies, reinforced by popular opinion and by the few small attitude tests that have been carried out, that medicine and law and possibly the Church are regarded as professions in Australia. A Sydney Teachers' College study, while not differentiating professions as a group, found that the doctor, dentist, clergyman, engineer and architect were considered higher in status than the teacher. Taft's study indicated that medicine, law and the Church were occupations of high status and presumably of professional standing.

In so far as teachers are concerned, the evidence shows that they are constantly looking to medicine and law, comparing and measuring their occupation against what they believe a profession to be. Therefore some closer analysis of these occupations must be made to build up a professional model. Some reference must also be made to such occupations as architecture, dentistry, and surveying, and indeed to others which exhibit what are regarded as characteristics of professions. This will in effect build up a model of a profession against which the claims of teaching relative to professional status might be more easily measured.

(7) Supra. p. 17.
(8) Supra. p. 19.
From the investigations which have been made into the professions it can be seen that there is general agreement on the fields which contain certain characteristics which mark off the professions as an occupational group, although there is no general agreement as to the relative importance of the respective characteristics. In this study those fields must be taken for granted; but they must be investigated to discover what are the particular characteristics of a profession in Australia. Thus the professional model will be built up by analysing these fields:

Part I  Professional Training
Part II Professional Associations
Part III Professional Codes
Part IV Professional Incomes
Part V Professional Characteristics

Part I. Professional Training

The first broad field to be examined is that of the training required for occupations of the professional type (9) in Australia.

(9) As training for the professions is usually carried out at a university, the University Calendars provide full details of the training requirements. See pp. 134, 402.
Medicine

The uniform procedure for entry into this occupation is to complete a secondary school course, qualify for matriculation and then complete a six years' course at a university. Theoretical and practical work followed by clinical work at a hospital qualify the student doctor for registration as a medical practitioner according to the appropriate medical statute of each state. It should be noted that this course is the minimum requirement for qualification as a general practitioner; further degrees are available for those who wish to specialise.

Law

The character and organisation of the legal profession in Australia is influenced by the English tradition of the distinction between barristers and solicitors. The former were originally the university trained, professional men, while the latter were the 'clerks' who served their 'articles' in the office of an established law firm and in so doing fitted themselves for the more routine tasks in the law. This distinction has been preserved in fact and in law in New South Wales and Queensland, with an apprenticeship type training and a minimum of university work for the solicitor and a full university course for the barrister. In practice in these States there is a
tendency for the barristers' training to converge on the solicitors’, and many of them have qualified both as barristers and solicitors. In Victoria the two branches are merged in law but in fact a separate Bar remains; the legal merger, however, involved the abolition of distinct types of training. The other three States, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania, have completed the merger in fact and in law; and again there is no distinction of training on this ground. In Victoria, and in these three States, a university course and an articled clerks' course co-exist, but the latter now requires almost as extensive an attendance at university lectures as the recognised law course.

In general, therefore, members of the legal profession will have completed a four years' university course or satisfied the Admission Board for that occupation that they have completed an approved course. Admission to the profession is by authority of the Supreme Court, which keeps a register of duly qualified and authorised practitioners.

Architecture

Qualification demands a degree course at a State University or University of Technology or a diploma course at a Technical College. In New South Wales there is a five years' course full-time at the University of Sydney, leading
to the degree of Bachelor of Architecture, (B.Arch.).
The University of Technology has a similar course of six years' study, some full-time and some part-time. The Sydney Technical College course is of six years' evening study leading to the Diploma in Architecture. Victoria and South Australia have a five years' full-time course at a university or technical college. In Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania the course at the university is of six years' duration, leading to a degree or diploma in architecture.

Before an architect may practise he must register with the appropriate Board in each State.

Dentistry

There is only one method of becoming qualified, and that is by matriculating in special subjects followed by a degree course full-time at a State university. At the Universities of Melbourne, Adelaide and Western Australia the course is five years, in Sydney and Queensland four years. All dentists must register before commencing practice.

Professional Engineering

Entry to this occupation may be obtained by completing a university course in engineering and specialising in a particular branch of the profession. The duration of the
course is four years in each State, except in Western Australia, where it is five years. There is also available a technical college course in most States, of four years' full-time or up to eight years' part-time. Queensland is the only State in which there is a Professional Engineers' Act requiring registration. This Act merely means that persons not registered may not describe themselves as 'Registered Professional Engineers'; but there is no legal bar to prevent them from carrying out the work and receiving payment provided they do not use the protected title.

Surveying

Training courses are available at both universities and technical colleges, but these courses must be supplemented by experience with a registered surveyor. One method of entry is by a four years' apprenticeship, supervised by the Surveyors' Board. Queensland and Western Australia have degree courses in surveying, of three and four years respectively, plus a further year of practical work before graduation. Surveyors must be registered with the Surveyors' Board in each State.

A useful contrast to the training requirements set by these occupations, medicine, dentistry, law, architecture, surveying and engineering, is provided by the training requirements for three other occupations sometimes included
in the professional group, journalism, librarianship and 
nursing. The differences in training requirements, entry 
standards, and in the duration of the course of training 
are apparent.

(10) 
Journalism: Intermediate Certificate, followed by a 
cadetship of four years, is a favourite method of entry. 
In-service training is general, together with time-off 
for study in particular subjects. No special course is 
necessary, but Melbourne and Queensland Universities offer 
two year courses leading to the Diploma in Journalism. 
No registration is required.

Librarianship: No set training is required; but the practice 
is growing of requiring training. One course is conducted 
by the Public Library in Sydney, another at the Melbourne 
Public Library and a third at the National Library, Canberra. 
Leaving Certificate is usually required for entry to training, 
but a university degree is an advantage. The course in 
Canberra lasts about nine months. No registration is 
necessary before employment.

Nursing: The entry standards to training vary from State to 
State; but they are a long way below university entrance. 
The standard is: New South Wales and Victoria - Intermediate 
or in some cases lower standards, South Australia - seventh 
grade, Western Australia - Junior Certificate or eighth 
standard, Queensland and Tasmania - seventh grade. The 
length of training also varies, but in general the period 
is from three to five years. In New South Wales, Queensland 
and Tasmania there is a minimum period of four years for 
the general nursing course. There is a Nurses' Registration 
Board in each State.
Two important features of professional training emerge from this survey. (a) Training is carried out at a university or allied institution and leads to a degree or equivalent qualification. Thus the typical professional course is of four to six years' duration following matriculation. (b) Registration is compulsory before the member is allowed to practise. These two features, university training and registration, need further examination.

At the university the course of professional training is laid down by the appropriate Faculty working in liaison with the Registration Board and to a lesser extent with the professional association concerned. The location of professional training at a university is in the main historical and traditional; but it is doubtful whether

\[\text{(II) 'It dates back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries when there was a wave of enthusiasm to form groups in all forms of social life, particularly in the carrying on of specialised crafts. In fact this was one of the events which influenced the formation of universities, for we are told that teachers and students, after the manner of mediaeval traders and craftsmen, banded themselves together into exclusive societies which may fairly be described as gilds of learning. Every such association controlled and supervised the training of its members, so that in the 'teaching gild' or university, the possession of a degree was merely the authority to exercise the function of teaching. The centuries that followed witnessed the parallel evolution of gilds of learning into the universities as centres of learning and scholarship - and the emergence of professional associations from the gilds of surgeons, apothecaries and such like. The teaching, training and research activities of the universities, have in varying degrees remained.'}
Maxwell Lyte, R.C., History of the University of Oxford, 1886 as quoted by Carr-Saunders and Wilson, p.289.\]
it can now be maintained that the university provides a good, cultural education as a basis for university training. (12)

The fact that the university is prepared to accept the training of a particular group pre-supposes that there is an extensive and organised body of knowledge about the subject, the result of experiment and experience over the years. Moreover this body of knowledge is essential to the acquisition and proper use of particular skills or techniques. Ultimately this background of knowledge distinguishes the professional man from the 'technician' and the 'expert'.

The fact that certain occupation groups gravitate towards the university for their training may be due in part to the courses provided and the recognised standard of those courses, and partly due to the prestige which a university degree bestows.

(12) One modern thinker sees the professional man of today as the new barbarian, more learned but more uncultured, 'a laggard behind the contemporary civilisation, archaic and primitive in contrast with his problems, which are grimly, relentlessly modern'.

Registration is the second characteristic of the professional model in this field of training. It is noticeable that all members of a professional occupation must be registered before being allowed to practise. Such registration has been enforced by the State, because the professional man possesses a skill for rendering to the public a service which might have serious consequences if any but the proved competent were allowed to practise. Some pressure has also come from the profession itself for legislation insisting that only those qualified and registered should be permitted to hold themselves out as members of the profession.

The importance of registration as a distinguishing mark of a profession in Australia is conveyed by an examination of the appropriate statutes. The Acts relating to medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law, architecture and surveying in Victoria may be taken as typical of those statutes concerned with the registration of this group of occupations in Australia.

The Medical Act of Victoria (13) sets up a Medical Board of nine qualified members of the medical profession to control and regulate aspects of the occupation. The Board

(13) 19 Geo. V, No. 3730, Medical Act, 1928 (Victoria)
must keep the Medical Register of qualified and registered Medical Practitioners, and cause a copy of the Register to be published annually. A schedule to the Act details the qualifications which may be recognised by the Board; but the Act itself stipulates that five years or more of training are necessary before registration, (S.14(1)). The Medical Board also has power to remove from the Register the names of those found guilty of certain forms of conduct.

The Medical Act also constitutes a Dental Board of seven members of whom at least three are registered dentists and two are legally qualified medical practitioners. The Dental Board may make regulations regarding training and it is authorised to keep the Register of Dentists. It also has power to remove from the Register the name of any dentist found guilty of unprofessional conduct.

The Medical Act authorises a similar pattern of control and registration for pharmacists. The Pharmacy Board is to consist of seven members, all registered pharmacists and all elected by duly registered pharmacists. This body also supervises aspects of training and examination as well as registration.

The legal profession in Victoria is also governed by a number of Acts. The Legal Profession Practice Act 1928

establishes a Council of Legal Education, consisting of senior members of the profession, members of the Law Faculty of the University and representatives of the Law Institute of Victoria. This Council makes rules for the courses of study to be pursued by intending students. All legal practitioners must be registered and the Roll is kept by the Supreme Court. A separate Act, the Law Institute Act, 1928, sets up a Statutory Committee of six legal men, appointed by the Chief Justice to investigate complaints against barristers and solicitors and where necessary to recommend that the names of those found guilty of such conduct be struck off the Roll.

Architects are governed by the Architects' Act. There is an Architects' Registration Board of seven members to control matters of examination and qualification, registration and expulsion. Two members of the Board may be nominated by registered architects, one by the Melbourne University Council and one by allied institutions such as the Victorian Institution of Engineers.

Under the Land Surveyors' Act 1942, there is set up a Surveyors' Board, including the Surveyor-General.

(16) 7 Geo.VI No.4939 Land Surveyors' Act 1942.
and three licensed surveyors as nominated by the Victorian Institute of Surveyors. This Board also prescribes the course of training, keeps the Register and generally controls and disciplines the occupation.

From this brief survey it is apparent that there is a deeper pattern of control inherent in registration. Registration necessitates an authority set up by statute, and it is noted that this authority consists of responsible members of the occupation itself. If such an authority is to register the competent, it is inevitable that it must be concerned with standards of training and qualifications, and with the expulsion of certain members from the register. This, in effect, means that there is an authority governing the major aspects of the profession and as that body consists of members of the profession itself, the profession is said to be self-governing.

Having provided such machinery for organising the occupation and ensuring that there are adequate safe-guards to protect both the public and the profession, the State, in the sense of Parliament, steps out of the picture, leaving the profession free to regulate its own procedure in matters professional. Such a set-up removes the occupation from the immediate political influence of governments; indeed, it is rare to find government representatives on these statutory bodies. The regulating body is responsible,
not to a Minister of the Crown or to the Public Service Board, but to the Governor-in-Council or to Parliament.

The second set of conclusions relating to training thus concern registration. Requirements for registration are laid down by a statutory board which consists of members of the occupation itself, working in liaison with representatives of training institutions and in some cases of the professional association. Members must be trained, tested and registered before being permitted to practise. The statutory body keeps the Register of the qualified and may strike off the names of those guilty of certain forms of conduct.

Since training is the first important element in building up this professional model and since that training demands recruits of fairly high intelligence, the question arises whether such costly, lengthy, university training restricts entrants to the professions to a particular social or economic group in the community. This problem (17) was investigated in 1939 by Henderson, who examined the

backgrounds of a number of graduates at the Melbourne University. He found that of 292 graduates, 71 were from State schools and 221 from private schools, a percentage distribution of 24.3 and 75.7 respectively. Thus, despite the fact that 75 per cent of all Victorian school children were in State schools, this section provided only 24 per cent of university graduates. In other words, the proportion of State school children completing a university degree was only 1/9th of those from private schools. Assuming that educational ability is spread evenly over the whole system, there appears to be some evidence to support Henderson's conclusion that university graduates, and hence entrants to the professions, are more likely to come from these private schools than from State schools.

Henderson went further and looked at individual professions. In medicine, 50 out of 55 doctors qualifying were from these private schools; 21 out of 30 lawyers; 20 out of 23 graduates in commerce, 6 out of 9 in agricultural science, 5 out of 5 in music and 2 out of 2 in architecture. In Arts, the one course where fees were

(18) This assumption is sometimes disputed, the theory being advanced that intelligence is related to social status, that in general persons of higher intelligence are more likely to be found in the higher social classes.
low and part-time evening attendance was possible, 17 out of 52 were from State schools; but this proportion dropped to 8 out of 33 in Honours Arts, where full-time attendance was necessary.

There is some evidence to support Henderson's conclusions that entrants to the professions tend to come from the private schools; but Henderson did not go further and show whether students at these schools came from a particular social or economic group in the community.

About the same time La Nauze made a similar survey in South Australia, his results indicating that boys from State schools played a progressively smaller part at each stage towards university education. Their numbers decreased rapidly beyond the minimum school leaving age and their numbers were proportionately smaller at the university than those from private schools. Graduates from the State schools were in the minority in all Faculties in the University of Adelaide, except in those leading to teaching. Even then, teachers tended to do their Arts course in the evening, part-time.

The years since 1939 have brought many changes in the educational opportunities for all students. The Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, the increased provision of scholarships and bursaries, all set against a background of relative prosperity for parents and a tendency towards a levelling of incomes, have in part, at least, broken down most of the financial barriers confronting those who would train for the professions. It must be admitted, however, that lack of finance is still a factor restricting some from entering the professions.

This has been overcome to a certain extent by increasing the alternative routes to the professions. Technical colleges have part-time courses leading to degrees or to the University of Technology, particularly in the engineering occupations. Those who enter the profession in this way suffer no loss of status compared with the university-trained man. It must be noted that medicine and dentistry have no alternative routes to qualification, other than the long university course, full-time.

Whether there is a social ingredient necessary for entry to, and success in, the professions in Australia, is a question which would demand closer sociological investigation. There was probably such a factor in the
days when the influence of the 'Old School Tie' was strong, but popular opinion has it that this influence has declined. In England, it is apparently still necessary to have the right social background for success in the professional life, a qualification which is not provided by the maintained secondary school and the provincial university. Professional advance depends there on social cum professional acquaintances and connections, 'a freemasonry of the public schools and the universities'.

In so far as the professional model in Australia is concerned, the social factor in recruitment or for success in the professional life can be ignored.

Training and the Professional Model, Summary of Conclusions.

Thus far, the training requirements of a number of occupations of the professional kind have been analysed and certain conclusions drawn about the characteristics of that training. These might now be summarised.

(i) There is an organised body of knowledge about a particular field of learning.

(20) Floud, J., 'Educational Opportunities and Social Mobility'. The Year Book of Education, 1950, Evans Bros., Chap.V.
(ii) This is an essential background to the acquisition of a highly specialised technique.

(iii) Training to acquire both the knowledge and the technique requires a high degree of intelligence. The course of training is long and costly.

(iv) Training is carried out at a university or allied institution at university standards, and leads to a degree or equivalent qualification.

(v) Training requirements are laid down by a statutory body working in liaison with the training institution and the occupational association.

(vi) The statutory body consists in the main of representatives of the occupation itself and it must keep a register of the qualified and strike off the register those guilty of certain forms of conduct.

(vii) Members of the profession must be trained, tested and registered before being permitted to practise.

**Part II Professional Associations**

A review of these occupations of the professional group suggest that they contain two seemingly contradictory features: the strength of group consciousness and the intense individualism of the practitioner. The first is seen in the existence of powerful professional associations, the second in the demand for individual independence in matters professional. These two features are complementary rather than contradictory, for the one exists to reinforce the other. The consciousness that they are professional and belong to a professional group is a pervading influence
which binds them together even though by the nature of their work they are individualists.

This group consciousness takes practical form in such professional associations as the British Medical Association, the Law Institute, the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, and so on. The organisation and function of these bodies must be examined to discover what contribution they make to the professional model.

It is important to note, however, that the professional association is distinguished from the statutory authority set up to control aspects of training and registration. In some cases the professional association does have representatives on the appropriate board but not in the case of medicine. In no State is the British Medical Association referred to in the composition of the Medical Boards. Membership of the B.M.A. is so high (90 per cent), however, that medical men on the Boards would almost certainly be members of the B.M.A., even if not officially representing it.

Similarly, other occupations have their professional associations which must be distinguished from the statutory authority. In the case of the legal profession it has so happened that the State has made use of the professional association by vesting it with statutory
authority to act as the disciplinary body for the occupation. Thus what was once the Queensland Law Association has become the Queensland Law Society Incorporated.

Thus it is true to say that the professional association, as such, is not directly responsible for training and testing, registration and discipline. When these are put to one side the actual functions of a professional association may be seen more clearly. As the B.M.A. is often looked upon as the professional association par excellence it will be useful to commence by analysing it.

The strength of any such organisation depends on five factors: the number of the whole profession who are eligible for membership of the association, the percentage of these who do in fact become members on a voluntary basis, the percentage of members who take an active part in the activities of the association and the manner in which the group is organised to carry out policies which represent the opinion of the majority.

Membership of the B.M.A. is open to any qualified medical practitioner registered in any State of the Commonwealth. The strength of the membership was
(21) estimated at ninety per cent in 1953. The relevant feature of the B.M.A. for this study is its organisation and its activities.

The B.M.A. in Australia is part of the parent body, the B.M.A. in Great Britain. It is a federation of local medical units known as divisions or branches of which there is one in each State. Each division has its own administration and rules within its own area. It has the right to become incorporated under the Companies Act of the particular State. Each division or branch may elect its own Council although much of the work is done by standing committees. Affiliated with the N.S.W. Branch of the B.M.A. are eight local and fourteen country associations which are also self-governing, except that they must not make rules which conflict with those of the Branch. There is also a Federal Council of the B.M.A. in Australia, an incorporated body registered in N.S.W. as a company not for profit. Its constitution gives the Council power to act for and on behalf of the branches in respect of matters affecting the profession as a whole. This Council of 15 members, appointed by the State Branches, carries on negotiations with the Federal Government on

(21) From a private communication from the General Secretary of the B.M.A., Sydney.
such matters as the National Health Service, provision of pharmacy benefits, and so on. The Federal Council also sends delegates to meetings of the British Commonwealth Medical Conference and of the World Medical Association.

Two points stand out in this brief analysis of the B.M.A.:

(i) There is but one association which unites all medical men, wherever they are employed or whatever their status within the profession. This unity extends beyond State and even national boundaries.

(ii) Each branch and each regional association has a measure of autonomy in the conduct of its affairs. There is no sense of any hierarchically controlled organisation yet there is a strong sense of unity in the occupation.

Other occupations have endeavoured to copy this type of organisation. Thus the dentists have a Dental Association in each State with a federal body, The Australian Dental Association, to which they are affiliated. Physiotherapists have a branch in each State and a federal body, The Australian Physiotherapy Association. Occupational Therapists have recently organised themselves on a similar basis with a Division in each State and an Australian Association. The professional association for pharmacists is the Pharmaceutical Society, to be distinguished
from the Federated Pharmaceutical Services Guild which is the Master Chemists' (Owners) Association that looks after commercial matters.

Membership of these associations is open to all fully qualified members of the occupation; each branch has its own constitution and usually becomes incorporated as a company not for profit; the federal body is usually drawn up to bind the branches together and to provide uniformity within the occupation, rather than to control the State organisations.

Architects and engineers provide some differences from this type of professional organisation, reflecting therein something of their history and tradition. Each State had an Institute of Architects until 1929 when the Australian Institute of Architects was formed. This was not a federation of State Institutes but an organisation to which individual members of the State Institutes might belong. In 1930 this body was incorporated as The Royal Australian Institute of Architects. It consists of Organised Chapters in four States, but the Victorian and South Australian Institutes have become affiliated as corporate bodies.

Although there are numerous organisations to which engineers might belong, the one which is most like the
professional association is The Institution of Engineers, Australia. This was founded in 1919, incorporated in 1926 and granted a Royal Charter in 1936. It is organised on an Australia wide basis with Divisions in each capital city. In the case of this organisation it is the Commonwealth body which controls the State Divisions. There are also seven grades of membership according to status.

It is noticeable that those occupations such as engineering and accountancy which lack the unity of a single occupational association also have problems in making themselves look like the professional model.

The organisation of these professional associations, though important in itself, must be regarded as merely the most convenient and satisfactory framework in which the objectives of the group are realised. The objectives of such associations as the B.M.A., the Law Institutes, the Institute of Architects are remarkably similar and may be noted in general terms.

(22) There are, for example, separate associations for civil, electrical, mechanical, aeronautical, mining and radio engineers.
(23) Accountants may belong to the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Australia, (I.C.A.A.), the Commonwealth Institute of Accountants, (C.I.A.), the Federal Institute of Accountants (F.I.A.), the Association of Accountants in Australia, (A.A.A.), the International Institute of Accountants, (I.I.A.), the Australian Institute of Cost Accountants, (A.I.C.A.), and others.
(i) To re-inforce group loyalties and attitudes by meeting together in a friendly atmosphere.

(ii) To advance the quality of the service by providing facilities for members to keep abreast of current developments in the occupation.

(iii) To watch over the interests of all members of the profession by suppressing any unfair and dishonourable practices among individual members, by enforcing an Ethical Code.

(iv) To advance the interests of the occupation as a whole by discussing matters likely to affect its future.

(v) To protect the public from 'unprofessional' actions of any members of the association.

In order to obtain these objectives, the professional associations do not now normally adopt the methods of trade unions. Of course, there is plenty of evidence that in nineteenth century England, boycott, blacklisting, strike, and pressure tactics were frequently used by them. Today, however, the professions maintain that they have more responsibility towards the public and so refrain from inconveniencing them by cutting off
essential services. At the same time it must be realised that the professions are not organised as a combined professional body, nor are they allied to a particular political party, two factors which bring considerable strength to industrial groups and trade unions. Therefore the professions are not in a position to use trade union methods, so when the occasion demands they must use more indirect, and sometimes more subtle methods, to obtain their objectives. One method, for example, is by having members at all strategic points where matters of policy affecting the profession are decided. Thus members are found in Parliament, in Government Departments, on University Faculties and Councils and on similar Boards and Committees. The B.M.A., as a group, has also intervened on important medical issues by taking the matter through the Courts, and by lobbying and even by a policy of non-co-operation with the government.

Characteristics of Professional Associations

The characteristics of professional associations may now be summarised.

(i) They have a territorial comprehensiveness in that there is usually only one major association within each State.
(ii) There is a federal body to give uniformity to, and to co-ordinate, State organisations.

(iii) Membership is voluntary, but fairly high.

(iv) There is a functional comprehensiveness in that all qualified members of the profession are eligible for membership of the association.

(v) Professional associations acquire legal personality by becoming incorporated under the Companies Acts or by Royal Charter.

(vi) The major stated aim of the professional association is to advance the standard of the occupation and thereby to improve the service to individuals.

(vii) The activities of the association may be noted by indicating first of all those matters with which it is not directly concerned. It is not regulatory. It does not train or test members. It is not the registering authority. It is not the disciplinary body for major breaches of conduct and is not responsible for striking off the register. Its activities are not directly economic or industrial, and as an organisation it plays no part in such problems as those related to inflation, standard of living and so on. It is not connected with the Trade Union movement nor is there any similar body of professional organisations to which it might belong. It is not connected with any political party, and as a corporate body does not intervene in politics nor does it have a policy on political issues, except on those directly concerned with the occupation.

(viii) On the positive side its activities are centred round improving the standard of the service. It provides facilities for keeping the member up-to-date. It publishes a journal, professional and technical in character. It supervises certain aspects of the members' conduct by enforcing an
Ethical Code. It regards itself as the body best qualified to advise on problems relating to the professional function. The association may indicate a scale of fees to be charged by practitioners. It does not use the methods more common to trade unions in obtaining its objectives but has a wide representation on all important Board and Committees.

Part III  Professional Codes

Origin and Purpose

The older professions such as medicine and law have long been concerned with the standard of conduct of their members. While this concern over conduct may be related to the early connection between professions and the Church, and to the later idea that professions were occupations fit only for gentlemen, it derives in practice from the legal relationship between the professional man and his client.

This relationship is regarded by the law as one of trust and responsibility. The very nature of professional man's position presents opportunities for conduct which would be to the disadvantage of the client and to the detriment of the profession. Some such actions may be unlawful and in those cases the offender may be dealt with by the law, i.e., by statute or common law.
On the other hand other actions may be lawful yet they ought to be suppressed in order to protect the client and to preserve the honour of the professional group.

These two purposes behind the standard of professional conduct - to protect clients and to uphold the honour of the profession - have frequently been emphasised by the Courts.

Determining authorities

The standard of conduct of the professional man is largely determined by

(i) a professional association which sets up a Code of Ethics, and

(ii) a statutory committee set up to regulate aspects of the profession, including the conduct of members.

(24) 'It is the supreme duty of this Court to protect clients from the kind of conduct we have in evidence here..............we are further called upon to guard the honour of a great profession in such a manner that the public may understand that the Court does not in any circumstances indirectly sanction such dealings.......but on the contrary, does all that it can to uphold the honour and purity of a profession on the integrity of which the public of necessity has to place so much reliance.'

In re Lunden (1918) 37 N.Z.L.R. 193.
Codes of Ethics

The Ethical Code of the British Medical Association places restrictions on the commercial and competitive propensities of doctors. In addition it lays down the procedure for members in their dealings with the unqualified, and it indicates the conduct to be observed in relation to patients, fellow colleagues, newspaper reporters, etc. (25)

Rules of Conduct, particularly applicable to the legal profession, are laid down by Law Institutes or Law Societies in each State. In some States the Law Institute has been vested with additional statutory authority to make rules binding on all members of the profession, whether members of the association or not. Solicitors must not tout, or attract business unfairly, must not advertise except in the Law List, must not cut costs to attract more custom, must complete the client’s case as soon as possible and must not

unnecessarily pile up costs for the client.

Other occupations of a professional type, believing that a Code of Ethics is part of the pattern of being a profession, have written into the constitutions of their associations some reference to the standard of conduct required of members. This is usually accompanied by a code which sets forth the main principles of conduct.

It is apparent that these Ethical Codes cover areas of conduct which in themselves may not be unlawful; but the professional association has decided, for the better rendering of its service to the public, that certain principles should govern such

(26) Rules of conduct for solicitors in Victoria are laid down by Solicitors (Professional Conduct and Practice) Rules 1946. For the powers of the Queensland Law Society see s.4 of the Queensland Law Society Acts 1927-1941. This section provides that the Law Council may make rules to define the objects of the Society and that once these are approved by the Governor in Council they have the same force as if part of the principal Act.
conduct. These principles do not cover every situation

(27) Codes of Ethics which have been adopted by other occupations:

Architecture: 'Any member conducting himself in a manner which in the opinion of Council is derogatory to his professional character, or which is likely to bring the Institute into disrepute or to lessen the confidence of the public in the Institute or in the profession or is contrary to the standard of ethics and professional practice . . . . may be liable to reprimand suspension or expulsion by the Council.' (The Constitution of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects).

The Code prohibits certain practices relating to advertising, receiving commission other than as laid down in the Scale of Professional Charges. It also lays down the mode of conduct to be observed in relation to fellow architects and clients.

Physiotherapy: '... a breach of the following ethical principles shall be deemed detrimental to the honour and interests of the profession of physiotherapy and shall render any member or associate member guilty thereof liable to expulsion or suspension of membership.' (Constitution of the Australian Physiotherapy Association Rule 28).

The list of Ethical Principles follows closely the Ethical Code of the B.M.A. Advertising and commercialising are considered unethical, so also is acting in a professional capacity except under the direction of a Registered Medical Practitioner.

Engineering: '... all members of the Institution (of Engineers) shall be bound by the Code of Ethics ...' The Code states that at all times a member shall so order his conduct as to uphold the reputation of the Institution and the dignity of the profession of engineering. The Code indicates the standard of conduct expected of him in relation to client, colleagues and to the public. Above all 'an engineer's responsibility to the community must at all times come before his responsibility to the profession and to other engineers'.

Journalism: See the Constitution of the Australian Journalists' Association, N.S.W., District and the Code of Ethics for Journalists.

Occupational Therapy: See the Constitution of the Australian Association of Occupational Therapists.
which might arise in practice, so that the professional association usually has a Practice or Ethics Committee before which members may place facts and ask for a ruling. Once given, this decision becomes part of the Ethical Code. It is published in the Journal and disseminated to all members of the profession. Breaches of the Code are dealt with by a Committee within the association, which has authority, according to the constitutions, to inflict penalties, ranging from censure and fine to expulsion from the association. This, in itself, does not prevent the member from continuing to practise, but lack of recognition by his professional brethren can seriously affect his career as well as his economic status.

Where the member's conduct is so serious that it is a breach of the rules or principles laid down by the statutory committee, it calls into question his fitness to continue as a member of the profession. Under these circumstances the association may report the matter to the statutory committee which has authority to strike the offender's name off the register.

The Authority of the Statutory Committee

In modern times occupations of the professional type have been granted statutory authority to keep a register of the qualified and to remove from the register not only
the incompetent but also those guilty of certain breaches of conduct.

The Medical Act of Western Australia, for example, vests control of the medical profession in that State in a Medical Board consisting of members of the profession itself. This Board keeps the Register of qualified medical practitioners and may remove from the Register the names of any person guilty of a felony or misdemeanour and of 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'. Thus a doctor found guilty of the larceny of drugs while acting as locum tenens was also found guilty by the Board of 'infamous conduct in a professional respect' and his name removed from the Register. Another found guilty of having committed adultery with a patient was also struck

(28) A similar provision exists in the Medical Act of each State, although the constitution of the disciplinary tribunal may vary. In Victoria and Western Australia the Medical Board is the Disciplinary Tribunal; in New South Wales and Queensland a special Tribunal is constituted consisting of medical men with a Judge of the District Court as Chairman; in South Australia disciplinary action may be taken by a Judge of the Supreme Court on a motion of the Medical Board.

off the Register. A doctor who published newspaper articles about medical men and their methods was held guilty of 'infamous professional conduct' and his name removed from the Register, for it was considered by his fellow doctors that this was not the way doctors behave. The method of conducting an operation, while not unlawful or even negligent, may be regarded as 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'. A doctor who induced patients under his care at a hospital to see him privately so that he could get more money under The Workers' Compensation Act was found guilty of 'discreditable but not infamous conduct'.

The conduct of members of the legal profession is also governed by a Statutory Committee in each State, usually consisting of members of the profession appointed

(30) G.M.C. v Spackman 2 All E.R. (1943) 337.
(31) Allinson v The General Council of Medical Education (1894) 1 Q.B. 750.
(32) Epstein v The Medical Board of Victoria (1945) V.L.R. 309.
(33) Hartnett v The Medical Board of Victoria (1941) V.L.R. 289.
the
by/Chief Justice. The Committee set up by the Law
Institute Act of Victoria is empowered to hear
complaints from any person or organisation aggrieved by
the conduct of a member of the profession. If the
Committee finds the member guilty of any 'misconduct' it
must make a report to the Supreme Court where the final
decision for striking off the Roll resides.

The legal profession is so closely connected with the
law which is regarded as the basis of the social order that
members of the occupation must be assumed to support, and
conform to, existing law. Therefore any conduct which
would bring discredit on the law or any conduct which
would suggest that the member had scant respect for it,
would certainly be of concern to the Statutory Committee.
Solicitors found guilty of stealing from their clients
are not only dealt with by the Courts, in which case their
breach of a position of trust brings heavier punishment,
but they may also be struck off the Roll as not being fit
and proper persons to practise. Failure to keep proper
books of account even though mere carelessness and not

(34) Law Institute Act of Victoria, 1928, s.15.
fraud also resulted in a solicitor being struck off the Roll. Another solicitor was found guilty of 'gross and culpable neglect', and it was held that this amounted to 'unprofessional conduct'. Where a solicitor was found guilty of having used insulting words to a policeman who had prosecuted his client it was held that such conduct was calculated to degrade the profession and called for severe censure.

Other occupations have followed a similar method of control over the conduct of members by a statutory committee which has power to strike off the register of those found guilty of 'infamous conduct in


(37) In re R --. A Practitioner in the Supreme Court S.A.S.R. 58 (1927).

(38) Re a Solicitor (1952) 69 W.N. (N.S.W.) 56.

For additional cases illustrating the standard of conduct required of the legal profession see 12 Australian Digest pp. 1170-1202.
a professional respect'.

(39) Dentistry: The Dental Board of N.S.W. is the statutory body set up to control aspects of the occupation in that State. It consists of at least four qualified dentists and has power to strike off the Register those convicted of felony or misdemeanour or if guilty of 'misconduct in a professional respect'. Without limiting in any way what this conduct is, the Act enumerates some types of conduct which falls in this category. (Act No. 10 of 1934). For cases illustrating such conduct see In re Kennelly, S. R. (N.S.W.) 1912 at 319; Thomas v The Dental Board of N.S.W.S.R. (N.S.W.) 1916 at 369.

Physiotherapy: Under the Physiotherapy Act of South Australia, (Act No.38 of 1945) control over conduct of members is given to the Physiotherapy Board of which three of the five members are registered physiotherapists. The Board has power to de-register members for certain offences and if guilty of 'unprofessional conduct'. For a case illustrating de-registration see In re Ward S.R. (1953) at 308.

Pharmacists: Under the Medical Act of Victoria 1928, a Pharmacy Board of seven members, all registered pharmacists, is set up to control, among other things, the conduct of members of the occupation. The Board has power to remove from the register the name of any member found guilty of improper conduct or of any other offence which, in the opinion of the Board, would render him unfit to practise. See Re Roush (1938) 2 S.R. at 235.

Nursing: In South Australia, for example, the Nurses' Registration Act 1920 sets up a Board of seven representatives of the nursing and medical professions to keep the register and to remove the name of any nurse found guilty of 'disgraceful conduct in any professional respect'.

Optometry: The Opticians' Registration Act of Victoria 1934 gives the Opticians' Board power to strike off the Register for 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'. See Levy v Francis (1935) 52 W.N. (N.S.W.)

Veterinary Science: A Veterinary Surgeons' Board of seven members of the occupation has similar control over the conduct of members. See Act No. 3800 of 1928 (Victoria).

Architecture: In Tasmania, for example, the Board of Architects has power to remove from the Register the name of any architect found guilty of serious crime or of improper conduct. The Act lists some practices which are prohibited. 20 Geo.V No.42 of 1929 (Tas.).

Surveying: See Act No. 220 of 1935 (South Australia).
The Standard of Professional Conduct

The Codes of Ethics of professional associations and the decisions of statutory committees indicate that there is a general obligation on all members of a profession to act at all times in a manner which would be approved by the group as a whole. From this general principle, illustrated in some cases by specific examples, the member must himself decide what is 'right' conduct. Conduct which falls short of this may be described as 'unprofessional conduct', 'professional misconduct' of more frequently 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'. This has been defined as 'conduct where a medical man, in pursuit of his profession, has done something in regard to it, which would be reasonably regarded as disgraceful or dishonourable by his professional brethren of good repute and competency'. (Allison's case, supra.)

This interpretation of 'infamous conduct in a professional respect', though originally applied to the medical profession, has been applied by the Courts to other occupations where a similar standard of conduct has
been laid down.

From the judicial interpretation of this standard of conduct several important points about professional conduct become clear.

In the first place there must be a standard of conduct accepted and approved by members of the profession who must in practice abide by this standard. The Ethical Code of the professional association and the Rules of Conduct of the Statutory Committee must relate closely to what is, in fact, the accepted standard. If a code sets standards that have never been attained by the majority of the group, then a breach of the code can not be construed as 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'. A pharmacist, for example, was charged with a breach of the Ethical Code in that he advertised improperly and carried out various methods of treatment. It was proved that these were

(40) 'In our view "unprofessional conduct" is not necessarily limited to conduct which is "disgraceful or dishonourable" in the ordinary sense of those terms. It includes, we think, conduct which may reasonably be held to violate or to fall short of, to a substantial degree, the standard of professional conduct observed or approved of by professional men of good repute and competency'.

(In re R-, A Practitioner of the Supreme Court (1927) S.A.S.R. 58 at 60-61).
common practices among pharmacists so that his standard was, in fact, the standard of the group. As such, it was not 'infamous conduct'.

In the second place this standard of conduct is not imposed on the group but is one which evolves over a long period of time. The older professions of medicine and law have reached a stage where members have agreed upon a standard of conduct appropriate to the profession. The more recent occupations which aspire to professional status have yet to stabilise their ideas about the standard of conduct of the group. This, in effect, was the point made by the Full Court of South Australia in reviewing a decision by the recently constituted Physiotherapy Board in suspending a member for 'unprofessional conduct'. In the course of his judgment Abbot J. reviewed the standard of professional conduct which had been evolved by the original professions of divinity, law and medicine; and he pointed out the difficulties facing a Board set up to regulate a 'new' profession. He went on to state:

'In my opinion, the task of the earlier boards of this and any other similarly established profession,
in controlling the professional conduct of its practitioners, may be expected to be difficult of performance for the first twenty-five years of its existence, and during that time considerable tolerance, tact, and wise internal guidance and education will be required, until the profession has arrived at the stage when the views of the professional brethren of good repute and competency may have become clarified and will have so far prevailed as to have gained the confidence and support of the majority of members of the profession.'


In the third place the prevailing standard of professional conduct is that practised by 'professional men of good repute and competency'. Therefore any tribunal set up to consider a breach of this standard must be composed of such men who are aware of the standard and who, in fact, practise it. It will be observed that this principle has been followed by the Statutory Committees for those professional type occupations previously examined. The principle of having such tribunals composed of 'professional men of good repute and competency' has been endorsed by the Courts whenever cases of

(42) 'The category of professional misconduct is not closed, since ideas as to what amounts to professional misconduct change from time to time and it is the function of the Queensland Law Society to define what is professional misconduct'. (Re A Solicitor (1953) Q.S.R. 149 at 163). See also In re a Solicitor, Ex parte The Incorporated Law Society (1894) 1Q.B.254.
professional misconduct have come up for review. e.g.

'The Legislature has thought fit to entrust these powers to a special tribunal, and it seems a most appropriate tribunal—...a tribunal more likely to be familiar with the matters which might be considered as amounting to professional misconduct, and more able to properly consider and deal with such matters than the ordinary tribunals of the country, consisting of a judge or of a judge and jury'.

(Hill v Clifford (1907) 2 Ch. 250).

In the fourth place the standard of conduct of a professional man is not related solely to his sphere of professional activity. It embraces an area which falls beyond the immediate relationship with client or patient. The standard of professional conduct is indivisible and extends to all places at all times. Thus any lawful or unlawful act, wherever or whenever committed, is potentially a matter of concern to the professional body, for it may indicate a standard of conduct which is lower than that of members of the profession. Thus a solicitor, employed for the time being on non-legal work, was convicted of attempting to obtain a bribe. He was also struck off the Roll for conduct which showed an absence of moral standards such as to make him unfit to practise as a solicitor. (37 Qld. Law Reporter 526). A doctor, convicted of drunken driving, was also reprimanded by the
Medical Disciplinary Board in New South Wales, because a doctor's conduct must be such that he is in a position to treat the sick at all times. Where a solicitor was landlord of premises, which to his knowledge, were used as brothels, and it was an offence by statute knowingly to be such a landlord, he was struck off the Roll (Re Weare, (1893) 2 Q.B. 439). Being a bookmaker is regarded as not being compatible with the professional conduct of a solicitor (22 T.L.R. 127).

Finally the law regards the professional man as being in a position of trust and responsibility. Therefore it exacts a higher penalty for a breach of this trust than it does if a similar act is committed by a person not in such a position. This principle, of course, applies to all trustees. In equity a broken contract is something more than a breach of faith. The criminal code also lays down heavier penalties for schoolmasters who commit certain offences against their pupils. Judges, in exercising discretion as to penalties, tend to be more severe on those who have betrayed a position of trust and responsibility. Such conduct, whatever the Court's findings, may bring further punishment by the statutory committee.
Professional Conduct. Summary of Main Principles

(i) The professional man is in a position of trust and responsibility so that a very high standard of conduct is expected of him in his professional capacity.

(ii) It is mainly delegated to the profession itself to interpret and supervise the standard of conduct evolved by the group. This is done partly by the disciplinary body set up by statute and composed of members of the occupation, and partly by the professional association through its Code of Ethics.

(iii) The Statutory Committee is concerned with major breaches of conduct, for it must determine whether the offender is a fit and proper person to practise.

(iv) The Ethical Code of the professional association lays down general principles, supplemented by specific examples and by the rulings of a Practice Committee, to guide members in their professional activities. In general this Code regulates business practices to avoid commercialisation and over emphasis on profit. It also regulates conduct between colleagues and between the professional man and his client.

(v) The Code is effective because it is widely disseminated among the group and accompanied by a definite procedure for reporting and handling breaches. It is also effective because there is usually only one professional association, and expulsion from that association can affect the economic status of the member.

(vi) The power of the Statutory Committee to strike off the Register is an effective sanction against those guilty of unprofessional conduct, for it is unlawful to practise unless on the Register.
(vii) Overall there is a general obligation cast on all members of the profession to act at all times so as not to bring dishonour to the profession. The standard of professional conduct is not defined by objective principles, but it is the considered opinion of fellow colleagues 'of good repute and competency', as to how a member of the profession would, in fact, behave. Any lesser standard of conduct is regarded as 'infamous conduct in a professional respect'.

Part IV Professional Incomes

Whether a particular level of income is characteristic of a profession in Australia is a difficult question to answer, mainly because of lack of evidence. There is an apparent relationship between income and professional status which suggests that this problem needs closer investigation.

In the absence of information about incomes it is common in our society to measure other people's incomes by the presence of visible and tangible things which money can buy. There are, of course, dangers and limitations in this approach; but the fact remains that it is a common practice. Doctors, dentists, lawyers and other professionals are judged by such objective signs as the type and location of house, the possession of a
late model car, the superior cut of suit, the employment of a maid or servant, the kind of education provided for their children, and so on. From these the inference is commonly made that professional people must receive a high income.

This may not necessarily be true. There is, for example, the possibility that while the general practitioner or solicitor may not earn more than a business man or shopkeeper, he may distribute it according to different social values. There are no sociological or economic studies in Australia to throw light on this point. Investigations in England have been concerned with income groups rather than occupation groups, or solely with working class budgets rather than with those spread over a range of classes or occupations.\(^{(43)}\)

The Report of the Commissioner of Taxation does give some information about the range and distribution of the incomes of the professional group of occupations. However, the interpretation of professional in the


\(^{(44)}\) The Thirty-First Report of the Commissioner for Taxation. (The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia.)
Taxation Reports is a very wide one, including not only the recognised professions, but many occupations in the field of health, education, literature, music and the arts. The Report gives information not only about the incomes of the professional group but also of other occupational groups, such as primary producers, and of those in industry and commerce.

The numbers of taxpayers in various 'actual income' ranges for these particular occupation groups, both for employees and for non-employees are set out in Table 4 below.

Table 4
Numbers of Taxpayers by Broad Income Ranges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual income range</th>
<th>Non-Employees</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ - £</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-400</td>
<td>55,424(28%)</td>
<td>25,340(32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-1000</td>
<td>76,783(39%)</td>
<td>41,813(53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-5000</td>
<td>60,909(31%)</td>
<td>11,574(15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5001+</td>
<td>4,911(2%)</td>
<td>331(4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198,027</td>
<td>79,038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For Income Year ended 30 June 1949)

(The Thirty-First Report of the Commissioner of Taxation, page 36. In the professional group above only those totals set out in Code 51 have been included.)

(45) 'Actual income' for taxation purposes represents income after business deductions but before concessional allowances and tax.
These statistics are illustrated by Figures 2 and 3. Admitting that there are many concealed factors in these statistics and that it would be unsafe to draw many firm conclusions, the following general statements about professional incomes relative to the incomes of other occupation groups for that particular income year, 1949, might be made:

(i) The professional group, widely defined, does not receive a uniform income, whether members be employees or non-employees.

(ii) In the non-employee group the proportion of the professional group in the top income bracket of the population (over £5,000 per annum) is very small but little different from other population groups, (except primary producers, but the high income of this group might be explained by particular events such as the good wool clip for that year).

(iii) In this same non-employee group the proportion of the professional group in the next income range (£1001-5000) is greater than that of any other occupation group.

(iv) The percentage of the professional group on the lower income range (£1-401) is much the same as that for other occupational groups in the non-employee class.

(v) In the employee group of occupations there is a marked similarity between the professions and other groups in income range and distribution.

(vi) As between the non-employee professional and the employed professional the former presents a higher proportion of the group on a wider range of income than the latter.
Figure 2

Distribution of Taxpayers by Broad Income Ranges

1948-49

NON-EMPLOYEES

Primary Producers

Industrial

Commercial

Professional

Figure 3

Distribution of Taxpayers by Broad Income Ranges
1948-49

EMPLOYEES

Incomes of Professional People. Other Evidence.

Other evidence is available which gives additional information about the incomes in some profession for particular periods. The Melbourne University Appointments Board made surveys of a number of occupations, including law, engineering, architecture, agricultural science and accountancy and in those surveys made some reference to prevailing salary and income ranges.

During 1949, for example, a typical Victorian solicitor would earn £500 p.a. in his first two years as a principal, and £750 p.a. in the next three years. Opportunities to break into a higher income bracket came slowly and even after ten years as a principal only a very small percentage of solicitors could hope to have a net annual income of £1500. In the same period, the

(46) University of Melbourne Appointments Board.
(v) A Survey of Conditions Within the Professions of Bacteriology and Biochemistry in Victoria, pp. 32.
(47) Law Institute Journal, June 1949, pp. 75-85.
average income for architects with under ten years’
experience was £755 p.a., rising to about £1500 p.a.
after 30 years’ experience. The average income of the
245 architects surveyed was £1,157 for the 1948/49
year. The incomes of agricultural scientists refer to the 1949/50 income year. In that period the survey revealed that the average income of an agricultural scientist with ten years experience was £776 p.a., rising to a little over £1,000 at twenty years and to a maximum of about £1,300 at thirty-five years. The incomes of accountants refer to the 1950/51 income year. In that period the survey revealed that accountants (with university degree) at the ten-year mark averaged £948 p.a., at twenty years £1,108 and after thirty years experience just over £2000 p.a. The survey by the Appointments Board had not covered the medical profession, and information as to incomes of medical men is very difficult to obtain. It is observed that the General Secretary of the Federal Council

(48) 'A Survey of the Profession of Architecture', supra.
(49) University Appointments Board, University of Melbourne. Eighteenth Annual Report, pp. 40-47.
(50) University Appointments Board. Twentieth Annual Report, pp. 47-51.
of the British Medical Association, in an official reply to the Director of Navy Medical Services, estimated the 'average net income' of a general practitioner in private practice as £3,000, presumably in the period 1951/52. These figures do little to equate any particular income range with professional status but they will provide useful comparisons when teaching is compared with the professional model on the basis of income.

These incomes conceal a very important and relevant feature about professional incomes, namely the difference between a self-employed professional and a salaried professional. The former must set up a practice which is in fact a business, and like all businesses the initial capital outlay is heavy. The doctor who has bought a practice, purchased equipment, established a house-cum-surgery and invested in a new model car has already made a capital outlay of some ten thousand pounds. A dentist finds he must purchase very expensive equipment. The lawyer, the dentist, the architect must set up an office in the business area and employ staff. Stationery, wages, drugs, materials, current professional journals (especially

in the legal profession), membership of professional associations, and so forth, all add up to considerable running costs. Some of these such as depreciation of plant, expenses of motor car used in business, bad debts and subscriptions, may be allowable deductions under the Income Tax Act. On the other hand there are the usual business risks of a self-employed man, and the need to provide for old age and retirement.

Salaried professionals do not have this initial capital outlay, they have practically no overhead and no running costs. The firm, or the Government in the case of the Public Service, provides the equipment, the office space, the staff, the materials, and even arranges for the clients or patients to be on tap. In addition the salaried professional, like most employees, has such benefits as regular hours, holidays, sick leave, long

service leave, continuity of employment, superannuation. Therefore any general statements about professional incomes must take into account the employment status of the professional, i.e. whether self-employed or employed on a salary.

Salaries offered to professional groups employed in the public service provide firm evidence for making some comparisons between professional and other incomes. In the Commonwealth Public Service, a Medical Officer on entering the service, went immediately into the salary range £1,132-1874, (including £198 c.o.l.); architects, surveyors, engineers, pharmacists were all in the £948-1106 range. For comparison an adult clerk in the Fourth Division was in the £622-818 range.

In the Victorian Public Service, June 1952, doctors and dentists received a commencing rate or £1491 p.a.

(53) The doctor in private practice may not work a five day forty hour week of regular hours. A recent American survey of the hours of work of 55,000 doctors revealed that some worked up to 90 hours per week, with an overall average of 55 hours. The B.M.A states these figures would not be uncommon in Australia. Solicitors are not likely to be called upon at all times as are doctors, but their work is bound by the strict time table of the Courts. Of 330 solicitor-principals in Victoria, 82 per cent claimed to have worked more than 40 hours per week for 50 weeks of the year.

Law Institute Journal, June 1949, pp.75-85.
the solicitor, architect and surveyor, £1034, the chemist and engineer £386, and the four year trained teacher £647, all including £378 p.a. cost of living allowance.

In the armed services, doctors, dentists, engineers and lawyers receive both the honorific reward of high rank and the material reward of high rates of pay. A doctor, for example, received £1409 as a Surgeon Lieutenant, £1455 as a Flight Lieutenant and £1477 p.a. as a married Captain in the A.R.A. (June 1952).

A definite pattern is observable in the salaries paid to professional groups in the Public Service and in the armed services. Doctors and dentists appear to be the most highly paid of the professional group. They commence at relatively high salaries and advance to a fairly high maximum. Below them, but still higher than clerks and even university graduates who are not professionals, is another group of professionals, the solicitors, architects, engineers and pharmacists.

**Professional Incomes and Salaries.** Conclusions.

(1) No significant generalisation can be made about the relationship between professional status, widely defined, and income. However, some reasonable conclusions might be drawn.
(ii) Evidence from Taxation Reports indicates that there is a wide range of income among professional groups whether they be in the self-employed or employee category.

(iii) The same Report reveals that the percentage of self-employed professionals earning more than £1,000 p.a. at that time was greater than that of any other occupational group.

(iv) Employee professionals, on the other hand, had a smaller percentage in the over £1,000 bracket than the self-employed professionals, but as against other employee groups, the employee professionals showed little difference in income range and distribution.

(v) Ancillary evidence re-inforces popular opinion that some professional people receive incomes generally considered as 'better than average'.

(vi) In the Public Service and in the armed services salaries paid to doctors and dentists are higher than those paid to other professionals, such as solicitors and architects, while the salaries paid to professionals as a group are higher than salaries paid to non-professionals.

Part V. The Size and Distribution of the Professional Group.

Professional skill is comparatively rare in a community because of the difficulty in acquiring it; it is difficult to acquire because of the time, money and degree of intelligence needed to acquire it. These factors operate to limit the numbers of those likely to acquire the skill and be admitted to the profession. It is often asserted that
there are other factors which limit the number admitted to the profession and that the profession itself endeavours to control the number in the group in order to maintain for its members a high economic status. This assertion is difficult to prove. However it should be noted that the number of persons in an occupation and the probable demand for their services are important factors in determining the size of individual member's incomes. Not every person requires the services of a doctor or lawyer or architect every day, as everyone does of the baker or milkman. The professional man possesses a specialised skill which most people will need at some time in their lives. The more highly specialised the skill, the less likely will it be needed, hence the larger the population needed for this professional man to make a living. A small town may support one doctor, but it takes perhaps a city to support one or two eye specialists, and a whole state to support a plastic surgeon.

It will be relevant to inquire what is the relative size of professional groups in Australia, what is the proportion of professional persons to the total population, and what is the geographical distribution of the professional group.
A Queensland study provides evidence to answer some of these questions. The number of registered practitioners in certain professions per 100,000 of population in Queensland is set out in the table below.

Table 5
Registered Practitioners per 100,000 of Population (Qld)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional persons</th>
<th>Metropolis</th>
<th>Other Cities</th>
<th>East of 150E</th>
<th>West of 150E</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors G.P.</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med. Spec.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemists</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optometrists</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vet. Surgs.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barristers</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitors</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Engrs.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyors</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub. Accts.</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Table does not give any indication of the degree of saturation in any one profession. The numbers shown do not indicate whether these represent the needs of the community. The Table is merely an indication of the

number in each occupation which the community is supporting at the present time; but it does not show what the resultant income for the professional groups this represents. The Table does, however, throw some light on the distribution of professional services within the State. The percentage of each group located within the metropolitan area, in the provincial cities and in the remaining area of the State is shown in the following Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Metropolitan</th>
<th>Other Cities</th>
<th>Rest of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors G.P.</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med. Spec.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optometrists</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vet. Surgs.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barristers</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitors</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Engrs.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyors</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub. Accts.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemists</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This distribution of professional people in Queensland is significant. It appears that the professional people
are most likely to be located in the metropolitan area and least likely to be found in those rural areas outside the provincial towns. Moreover this is not merely following the distribution of the population. According to the 1947 Census, 36.36% of Queensland's population lived in the metropolitan area, 23.42% in the provincial cities and 40.12% in rural areas. Thus it appears that the metropolitan area attracts more professional services than the proportion of the State's population would suggest. The provincial cities also attract more than their proportionate share and the rural areas much less. In other words the distribution of professional services does not follow the distribution of the population.

The dispersion of individual professions in Queensland

The Queensland study also throws some light on the distribution of individual professions in that State. Medical Practitioners

It is indicated that doctors follow a pattern in their careers. Immediately after graduation 88 per cent of them are located in the capital city where they are presumably gaining hospital experience. After the second year 50 per cent still remain in the city, and thereafter
there is a gradual exodus to country districts. However the tendency is for them to return to the city, so that 70 per cent of doctors with 25 years experience are in Brisbane, 15 per cent with that experience in the country towns and only 15 per cent in the remainder of the State. As doctors get older the percentage of doctors in the city and in rural areas falls, while the percentage in the small cities rises. This probably indicates a preference for retirement in the many smaller coastal cities of Queensland.

Medical Specialists

As specialists, in order to obtain patients, must cater for a larger population than the general practitioner they tend to congregate in the capital cities, often in the same street. They rely on patients to come to their 'rooms', and apart from honorary work at city hospitals they rarely visit patients in their homes.

Nurses

This group, on the other hand, offers a much less specialised service and its members frequently perform their service in the patient's home. Therefore they tend to reveal a distribution closer to that of the population. The
improvement in ambulance services and the erection of large base hospitals in country towns, however, is tending to concentrate the group in the larger areas of population.

**Dentists**

Dentists are forced to disperse their services more than doctors, for people in the country may well treat their own toothache but not an appendix. They will travel a long way to see a doctor but not to see a dentist. Thus the percentage of dentists in the metropolitan area is less than that of doctors, while it is greater in the country towns. Dentists also tend to arrange particular visiting days for small settlements located near to the larger country towns.

**Chemists**

This group follows a similar distribution to that of dentists. As most of them tend to make a living from other 'lines' than mere prescriptions they are forced to follow the distribution of the business people and settle in country towns and even smaller areas.

**Optometrists**

This occupation is highly concentrated in the metropolitan area and in the larger towns, with very few in the remainder
of the State. It may be that the city dwellers need spectacles more than country people for their work. On the other hand most rural workers will probably wait until their next visit to the city to have their eyes tested. Meanwhile the optometrist has a ready market and has no need to disperse his services.

**Veterinary Surgeons**

On the distribution of the animal population one would expect an even greater dispersal of 'vets' to country areas. The Queensland writer suggests that the greater percentage of this occupation in the metropolitan area may be accounted for by the unduly pampered pet population of the city areas.

**Legal Profession**

As barristers find their employment in the Supreme Courts, it is inevitable that they establish chambers in the headquarters of the three Supreme Court Districts of Queensland and serve the outlying area on circuit. As solicitors, on the other hand, serve intimate and urgent needs of people, from wills and divorce proceedings to sale of land and mortgages, they disperse much more than barristers. They are found in the city areas and in
the country towns; but it is not necessary for them to spread to outlying rural areas. They rely on clients visiting them when in town.

Architects and Engineers

As these are concerned with building construction they need a central office, yet they must be mobile in order to be able to inspect the job at first hand. As most building projects are located in the city areas, architects tend to be concentrated there. Engineers tend to disperse more to country towns where they can visit outlying areas and construction projects.

Surveyors

The nature of their work calls for more work 'in the field' and so they tend to disperse a little more, but not beyond the large country town. While they may have work on farm subdivisions and construction works, such work can conveniently be done from an office located in the nearest large centre of population.

Public Accountants

The commercial houses of the larger cities provide scope for most of these persons, so that there is little need for them to disperse. At most, some will be found in country towns.
This Queensland study was based on the official registers of the occupations concerned. In other words, it includes those in private practice as well as those in the public service. There is no evidence to show the distribution of professional men in the public service; but one suspects that they would be even more centralised than those in private practice. Doctors in the Commonwealth Public Service, for example, are mainly employed in the Repatriation Institutions near the capital cities. The State Health Departments employ doctors on work in the main cities, while Education Departments have a few for examining members of the teaching staff. Some may also go on tour examining school children. Dentists in the public service would also follow the same pattern. Architects are employed by the Housing Commission and Public Works Departments; but their offices are located with the Department concerned. Engineers and surveyors may be employed by Shires and Municipalities and visit (per Government transport) works in progress.

There are strong reasons for believing that professional men in the public service tend to cluster around the administrative departments; and as these are usually located in the capital city it follows that these
professional men are likely to be located in the city.

This pattern of distribution of the professional services in Queensland becomes clear. The tendency is for them to be located in the capital city and large towns and not in the smaller settlements. This conclusion is confirmed by an analysis of the Regional Tables of the Commonwealth Census of 1947. These Tables also indicate that this distribution of professional services is similar in the other States. The greater concentration of population in the capital cities of the other States would seem to indicate that the concentration of professional services in those cities would be even greater than in Brisbane.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Urban Metropolitan</th>
<th>Urban Provincial</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>49.72</td>
<td>22.23</td>
<td>27.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>59.70</td>
<td>11.26</td>
<td>28.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>23.42</td>
<td>40.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sth Aust.</td>
<td>59.21</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>30.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West. Aust.</td>
<td>54.22</td>
<td>10.31</td>
<td>34.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>29.78</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>41.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>50.72</td>
<td>17.98</td>
<td>31.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Census Bulletin No.1 of 1947, pp.6-7)
There is much work for the sociologist yet to fill in this picture of the professional life. How long do doctors and solicitors stay in country towns? How often in a lifetime do they commence another practice in a different locality? What is their standard of living? What kind of houses do they live in? These and other questions still require to be answered. However, from the location of the professional services it is possible to draw some conclusions. Because the professional man is likely to live in the larger cities he has the advantage of the amenities which are to be found there. He is not found in the small village or hamlet. He does not live in a crude bush cottage. He does not board with one of his patients or clients. He does not have to put up with the inconveniences of the outlying areas - no electricity, poor shopping facilities, lack of transport and bad roads, and so on. He is located, at worst, in a country town, where he is able to make use of the facilities which other professionals offer. If he is a doctor he will probably look for a better than average home, which he regards as part of his capital outlay. Other professionals in private practice probably regard it as important to the
business to have good accommodation. The probability is that professional men in the country towns outwardly present the signs of a high standard of living. At the same time, increased experience will eventually bring him back to the city, probably at the time when his children need secondary or tertiary education.

This picture of the professional career needs much more evidence to support it, but it is probable that the professional man, by virtue of the location of his service, has the opportunity and the facilities for enjoying a standard of living which is denied some other occupations.

**The Professional Model**

It was observed that teachers made conflicting statements about their occupation in relation to professional status. Much of their confusion has arisen from the fact that, although they frequently compare themselves with medicine and law, they have never analysed these occupations carefully to discover the characteristics which make them a profession. Therefore these two occupations, together with others which are commonly regarded as being professions, have been examined and a model constructed, against which the claims of teachers regarding the status of their occupation will be measured.
Mr. Polly went into the National School at six, and he left the private school at fourteen, and by that time, his mind was in much the same state that you would be in, dear reader, if you were operated on for appendicitis by a well meaning, boldly enterprising, but rather overworked and underpaid butcher boy.

Mr. Polly. H.G. Wells.

A particular type of training was regarded as essential to the professional model, and the characteristics of that type of training have been observed and stated. As teachers claim to be like the model, their type of training must now be examined and measured against professional training.

Teacher training in Australia may be viewed first of all by noting the various training institutions

(1) See page 56.

(2) A detailed study of teacher training was made in 1943 by Turner, although he was not concerned with evaluating it according to professional standards. Post-war developments in education have also produced some changes in the system of training teachers as he described it.


See also: Education News, Vol. 5 No. 1, Feb. 1955.
and their place within the administrative framework of education.

**Teachers' Colleges. State.**

The Minister for Education in each State is responsible for the State's educational programme, the greater part of which, in practice, is carried out by a government Department of Education. This Department, among other things, is responsible for training teachers, for which purpose it has established Teachers' Colleges. The one exception is Tasmania, where the Department of Education has transferred to the University the responsibility for training teachers.

Departments of Education, in conjunction with Public Service Boards, employ and control large numbers of teachers, from whom are drawn, in most cases, the staffs of Teachers' Colleges. These appointments

are made in the same manner as appointments to other institutions within the State's education system, generally by advertising within the teaching service. The officer in charge of the College is the Principal who forms part of the administrative hierarchy of the Education Department, being responsible to the Chief Inspector or to the Director. 

The training syllabus for each College is determined by a Committee within the Department, usually consisting of the Principal and representatives of the Department and of the University. In New South Wales, for example, there is a **Standing Committee on Teacher Training**, comprising the Principals of the Teachers' Colleges, the Professor of Education at the Sydney University, the Director-General of Education, a Staff Inspector of the Department and an Officer of the Public Service Board. In Western Australia a representative of the Teachers' Union is included. The content of the training syllabus must, of course, conform to the overall educational policy of the

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(4) For the place of the Principal of the Teachers' College in the departmental organisation, see *Review of Education in Australia, 1940-1948*, pp.2-7.
government, so that any fundamental changes must be referred through the Permanent Head to the Minister.

These State Teachers' Colleges provide the major course of training for primary school teachers and for specialist teachers in infant work, domestic and manual arts, etc. Sydney and Armidale Teachers' Colleges also provide training for secondary school teachers; but it is usual for this type of training to be conducted at the University. In Victoria, the Department of Education supervises the training of secondary teachers through the Secondary Teachers' Training Centre, which it has recently established in the Melbourne University grounds. Primary and secondary teachers thus receive different kinds of training at different types of educational institutions.

The expenditure involved in maintaining these Colleges is met from consolidated revenue. No fees are charged to students, except to a few who may be accepted from 'private' sources. In fact, the practice

(5) The total expenditure of the New South Wales Department of Education on Teacher Training for 1951 was £810,026, or 4½ per cent of the Department's Budget.

The total for all six States in the 1952-53 financial year was £2,759,000, or approximately 6 per cent of the expenditure of State Education Departments.
is to pay students a living allowance while they are in training, in return for which they enter into a bond to serve the Department for a specified period after completion of training.

Besides establishing Colleges for training teachers to reach a standard laid down by the Department, the Department itself acts as a training and testing authority for teachers in other ways. It conducts classes and issues certificates to teachers who have been successful in such subjects as swimming and lifesaving, horticulture, drawing, singing, voice production, etc. In Victoria, for example, there are thirty-three such certificates available for teachers. The Department may also act as the examining authority for literary requirements which it has prescribed for particular certificates associated with promotion. It also conducts refresher schools and courses, arranges seminars and workshops, and by means of Inspectors, gives advice and tuition of a practical nature to teachers. In three States, Education Departments have

(6) Regulations of the Victorian Education Department 1950, Reg.VI.1(a).

(7) 'In-Service Training'. For a more detailed account of this aspect of the Department's activities see article under this title by H.G. Henry in The Journal of Inspectors of Schools of Australia and New Zealand. Dec. 1952, pp. 24-33.
also published journals devoted solely to professional topics, designed to assist the teacher in the practice of teaching.

It is not intended to evaluate at this stage what the State does in training its teachers; but the following summary of the facts so far established will be relevant.

The State, through the Department of Education:—

(i) establishes and maintains Teachers' Colleges,
(ii) appoints the staff from its own teaching service,
(iii) prescribes the syllabus for training,
(iv) provides free training for the teachers and pays them an allowance,
(v) lays down the standard required for teaching,
(vi) tests teachers for this standard,
(vii) prescribes different forms of training in different institutions for primary and secondary teachers,
(viii) conducts in-service training for the teachers it employs.
(ix) employs the teachers it has trained and tested.

(8) For discussion on matter of teachers' journals, post page 191.
Teachers' Colleges. Roman Catholic.

The Roman Catholic Church has established its own Colleges for training teachers for its own system of schools. The larger Colleges, such as St. Patrick's in Sydney, train teachers for schools of a particular Order throughout Australia; the smaller Colleges train teachers for smaller Orders within the State. These Colleges are financed and staffed by the Church and as such are quite independent of the State. It is important to note, however, that most States do exert in one form or another some control over teaching and training standards at these Colleges.

In Victoria, for example, there is statutory provision for all teachers in Non-State schools to be registered, and that registration requires approved training. In order to have their Colleges approved as training institutions the Principals must produce evidence to the Victorian Council of Public Education that 'the courses of instruction and tests of proficiency, the practice of teaching ...... and the general management and arrangements are suitable for the purpose of training
Thus eleven of the Roman Catholic Colleges are registered by the Council of Public Education in Victoria. In Tasmania these Colleges must conform to the requirements of the Teachers' and Schools' Registration Board in the standard of training. In other States there is no statutory requirement for registration or inspection of these Colleges, although control over standards is exerted in other ways. In New South Wales, for example, Non-State schools desiring pupils to be eligible for bursaries and scholarships and for presentation for Intermediate and Leaving Certificates must be certified as institutions where regular and efficient instruction is carried out. Control by demanding efficient standards of teaching in schools is an indirect method of controlling standards of teacher training in the Colleges.

(9) Regulations of the Council of Public Education, Victoria, pp. 5-6.
For the function of this Council and its relationship to the question of registration of teachers see post page 135.

(10) 'The larger teachers' colleges of the Roman Catholic Church compare favourably in size, organisation and standards with the State teachers' colleges, though, from their nature, all teachers' colleges of this Church place more specific emphasis on religion than do the State teachers' colleges.'

Compulsory Education in Australia.
(UNESCO Studies on Compulsory Education III, 1951, p. 68.)
Teachers' Colleges. Other than State and Roman Catholic.

In addition to the State and to the Roman Catholic Church a number of denominational and private organisations have established Colleges for training teachers. These have been closely surveyed, but some reference is relevant to this study.

The Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria has its own training centre at Mercer House, Melbourne, where non-resident students may take courses in junior, secondary, primary or sub-primary teaching. The successful students qualify for registration and may teach in Victorian private schools.

The Australian Missionary Society conducts a Training College at Cooranbong, New South Wales, for primary teachers in schools of the Seventh Day Adventist organisation. This College is also registered by the Council of Public Education in Victoria.

The Kindergarten Union of Australia has its own facilities for training teachers in infant and nursery school work, with a College in each State, maintained by funds provided by voluntary organisations.

(11) Turner. supra, pagel10.
Throughout Australia there are other agencies which provide training for teachers in pre-school and nursery work. There is the Nursery School Training College, for example, established by the Sydney Day Nursery Association. Where these are established in Victoria and Tasmania they must conform to the requirements of registration.

**Teacher Training Institutions. The Universities.**

The Universities are also institutions where teachers may be trained. They are not part of the State Education Department, nor are they part of any religious organisation. They are independent bodies governed by a Council or Senate on which sit government nominees and representatives of university and community interests. They are financed partly by students' fees, partly by gifts and bequests but mainly by government grants.

The Universities provide courses of training for a number of occupations, including medicine, law, architecture and engineering. Until recently they did not provide courses of training specifically for teaching. They did, it is true, provide courses in Arts and Science which were useful for numerous occupations, including teaching. Such
courses were regarded by Education Departments as suitable for teachers in secondary schools provided they were followed by a short course of teaching methods organised by the adjacent Teachers' College. In time this short course became centered at the University and developed into a one year post-graduate Diploma of Education.

Today, universities provide not only Arts and Science courses which are essential for secondary teachers, but also courses which are part of a teacher's training. Universities have established Departments or Faculties of Education which may be regarded as training institutions for secondary teachers, but not exclusively so. As well as the Diploma of Education, higher degrees in education are now available. Melbourne University has a two years' post-graduate Bachelor of Education course, while the Western Australia University has initiated a four years' first degree course in education.

(12) There is no general agreement among educationalists as to which of these two kinds of education degree is preferable. Indeed there is no agreement as to whether teacher-training should be conducted at the universities or at teachers' colleges or as to the most desirable relationship between these two institutions.

Primary teachers may, and do, in some cases, take these degrees; but this would be unusual. In these cases they would be taken by teachers who have had many years practical experience, but who desire higher academic qualifications for administrative posts such as Inspectorships, or in order to improve their status by becoming eligible for transfer to secondary schools. With the exception of South Australia, where certain parts of the course for primary teachers are provided at the University, and of Tasmania, where the University conducts the whole course, the training of primary teachers does not require attendance at the University. Even the close physical connection with the University, which Teachers' Colleges once had by being established in the University grounds, is passing as newer Colleges are built in the provincial cities.

(13) There has always been a close connection between Teachers' Colleges and the Universities apart from the proximity of the buildings. Formerly it was the custom to have as Principal of the College the Professor of Education at the University. While this gave the College added dignity and prestige the dual position became untenable for the incumbents. As Principal, the Professor found that he was bound by Public Service Regulations forbidding criticism of education as administered by the Education Department. As Professor of Education he regarded such infringements on his right to criticise educational practices as an infringement of academic freedom. However, the growth of Departments of Education within the universities and the growth of Teachers' Colleges have necessitated the separation of the two offices.
The distinction between the State Education Department and the Faculty of Education must be emphasised, and their respective spheres in the training of teachers realised. The Professor of Education and his staff are not members of the government Department of Education, but employees of the University. In some cases, of course, the Department of Education may permit some of its teachers to assist the University staff in the practical training of teachers. While the Department of Education has established institutions for the training of primary teachers, it must make use of an independent institution - the University - for the training of its secondary teachers. It still exerts some influence on training standards by having representatives on Faculty Boards and Committees. The final picture is that the University provides the course with its own staff and the Education Department arranges for students to take that course. The qualifications thus obtained are recognised by the Education Department as the requirement for certain positions within the Department, such as certification as a secondary teacher, requirement for classification or promotion.
The standard of entry required for students entering a State Teachers' College for the primary school course is Leaving Certificate in four States and Matriculation in Tasmania and Queensland. This entry standard is subject to Ministerial control and may be varied according to the circumstances. In the post-war years, when not sufficient recruits could be obtained at this level, the entry standard was lowered. Western Australia recruited from a lower academic standard and in New South Wales a number of students were admitted to training with only Intermediate Certificate, although they were given a preliminary examination 'equivalent in standard to the Leaving Certificate.' The Tasmanian Education Department, which had handed over to the University the responsibility for training teachers, found that insufficient teachers could be recruited at the level of university entrance so it set up an emergency training centre with lower standards of entry.

(14) From a private communication from the Principal of the Sydney Teachers' College.
Teachers for secondary schools must pass Matriculation and proceed to university training. This entry standard is not controlled by the Minister of Education and is not subject to periodic fluctuations.

**Length of Training Course.**

At present the length of the training course for primary teachers is two years at a State Teachers' College. Events in the post-war years have shown that it is also a simple matter to vary this period. In New South Wales, for example, the course was reduced by one term in 1950 in order to get teachers into schools to relieve a shortage of teachers. In Victoria, where the course had only recently been increased from one to two years, the government reduced the period from two years back to one year for older applicants, many of whom were failures in university courses. In Queensland the course was reduced from two years, first to one and a half years, then to one year. In South Australia in 1948, while discussions were under way to extend the course from two to three years, it was in fact reduced to one year for mature students. Then fifty temporaries, without any training, were appointed to the metropolitan area on the approval of the Minister. As the demand for teachers increased so the course was gradually reduced
until, in 1953, it was estimated that there were over 1,000 temporaries in the service who had received only six weeks' training.

Thus in general it could be said that the length of the course of training for primary teachers is two years, subject to variation.

The length of the course of training for secondary teachers as prescribed by the University is four or five years. As this course is controlled by the University, it is not subject to periodic variation. However, teachers may be permitted to teach in secondary schools with shorter periods of training. In Victoria, for example, many teachers are classified on the secondary teachers' Roll with four subjects - the equivalent of one University year - to their credit.

The length of training which teachers have had is reflected in general terms by their qualifications, so these must also be examined.

(15) The Journal of the South Australian Institute of Teachers July 1949 p.3 and August 1953 p.3.
Qualifications.

The qualifications of 7899 Victorian teachers, State and Non-State, were investigated by Kydd in 1948. The percentage of this group holding various degrees is set out in Table 7.

TABLE 7.

Percentage of Victorian Teachers Holding Certain Maximum Qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>8.0 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. (Hons)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dip.Ed.</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed.</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric.</td>
<td>53.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16) The Qualifications of Victorian Teachers 1945-46
According to Kydd's study 37 per cent of all Victorian secondary teachers (State) held degrees, but only three per cent of primary teachers. Only 11 per cent of the whole group of teachers examined held at least one degree. Leaving Certificate without Matriculation was the highest qualification for 69 per cent of primary teachers, while seven per cent held only the Intermediate. Women, in general, were not as well qualified as men. One thousand of 3,300 male primary teachers had passed departmental examinations for promotion to the top of the service. Teachers in Non-State schools were not as well qualified as teachers in State schools. The staffs of the larger private schools were better qualified than those of the smaller private schools.

An examination of the Reports of the Ministers of Education verifies Kydd's findings and reveals

(17) N.S.W. : The Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1950, p.27.
Qld. : Seventy-Sixth Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction 1951, p.15.
Tas. : Education Department. Report for 1951.
(For a summary of teachers' qualifications according to these Reports see Appendix C ).
that there has been little change since 1945-46. Moreover, the Reports show that what Kydd found about the qualifications of Victorian teachers is generally applicable to teachers in all States. If the possession of a university degree is a measure of professional training then the percentage of teachers who failed to qualify on this count, according to the Ministers' Reports for 1951, was: New South Wales 80, Victoria 85, Queensland 88, South Australia 78, Western Australia 71, and Tasmania 83. The Reports are not uniform in recording the number of teachers holding the Diploma of Education. However, if the possession of a Degree in Education is an indication of full professional training then, (excluding Victorian secondary and technical teachers whose totals are not distinguished from those holding only Dip. Ed.), only 61 teachers out of more than 30,000 teachers could claim full professional training according to their qualifications.

**Equivalent Qualifications**

It has already been noted that the Universities have not until recently provided courses for teachers, so that teachers have had to qualify by passing examinations.
conducted by Teachers' Colleges and by the Education Departments. The argument is sometimes raised that these courses, though they do not end in degrees, are equivalent in standard. If the length of the course is considered, then the teachers' argument is that a two years' post Leaving Certificate course is equivalent to one of three or four years' post Matriculation. This argument is obviously untenable. If the academic standard of the course is considered then the teachers' argument is that in certain subjects they reach a standard in a Teachers' College course which is equal to the standard reached in some university course. One could imagine such a comparison between say, mathematics or chemistry at a technical college and at a university, but it is not possible to compare subjects in the Teachers' College course with university subjects in this way.

The teachers' argument about equivalent qualifications has another side to it. It is maintained that all the certificates obtained by passing departmental examinations add up to the equivalent of a university degree. This again is clearly a false argument. These certificates do not represent the study of an organised body of knowledge; and no matter how useful and necessary the information
acquired may be in teaching, they can never, by their nature, add up to a university degree.

The Qualified Teacher and His Certificate

The professional man pursues a course of training until he obtains the certificate which indicates he has the minimum standard required for qualification. There is usually only one standard, one certificate and one method of qualifying for all members of the occupation.

It is not easy to define the qualified teacher in this way. A review of teacher training reveals a multiplicity of certificates and a variety of standards. Teachers may be trained for varying periods from six months at a Teachers' College up to five years at a University, while others may teach without any training or certificate at all. All the teacher training institutions referred to may issue certificates stating that the holder is 'qualified to teach'. State Departments of Education, through systems of classification, may indicate, with or without certificates, that a teacher is 'qualified to teach'. At the same time the State may employ teachers who are not so qualified.
The search for the qualified teacher becomes most confusing. In N.S.W., for example, after the Teachers' College course is satisfactorily completed and the teacher has served a probationary period in the field, he is awarded a Teachers' Certificate, i.e., he is certificated. Those who fail to qualify may continue teaching but are classified as conditionally certificated. There are those teachers who entered the service when standards were lower and have never officially qualified. These are regarded as uncertificated. However, the certificated, the uncertificated and the conditionally certificated teach side by side, and to the outside world all are presumably qualified to teach. In the other States, while there may be a certificate or classification which is recognised by the Department as qualifying the holder to teach, in practice the Department also employs teachers with lesser qualifications.

The Content of Teacher Training

The content of the Teachers' College course may be summarised thus:—

(a) Knowledge of subject matter. Primary teachers must have knowledge of the subject matter they are to teach
in primary schools. The amount of knowledge acquired by these teachers in passing their normal secondary course to Leaving Certificate is usually sufficient for this purpose. Therefore building up knowledge of subject matter occupies only a small part of the training for primary school teachers. Some subjects of a specialised nature, which a student might not have followed in a secondary course, such as nature study, handwork, hygiene, may have to be included in the Teachers' College course for knowledge of subject matter.

(b) Method of Teaching a Subject. Each subject of the school curriculum has an accepted method of presentation, based on educational principles. Thus a large part of the course is devoted to 'Methods'.

(c) Educational principles and educational psychology. A major part of the course is the study of the principles of education and of the psychological factors underlying learning. This ranges from problems of individuals to the study of factors associated with classroom management and control.

(d) Practical Teaching. Teachers spend short periods at selected schools under the supervision of experienced teachers learning the practical application of the
Methods' and the principles of education. This may lead to the study of other factors associated with successful classroom teaching such as blackboard writing and voice production.

(e) General Education. Another part of the training course aims to improve the teachers' general education. This covers subjects such as literature, biology, musical appreciation, dramatic art, social problems, etc.

(f) Educational Philosophy. Education is also studied in its widest perspective, with some discussion of the aims of education, the relation of education to society and so on.

The content of the primary teachers' training course is thus very wide in its scope, although of necessity the treatment of some aspects must be superficial in the short time available.

The course of training for secondary school teachers at the university covers a similar field; but the emphasis is on the acquisition of knowledge of subject

(18) The subjects and time allotment in a two years' course at the largest Teachers' College in Australia, Sydney Teachers' College, are set out in Compulsory Education in Australia, supra, p. 65.
matter. Thus the first three years of the university course is devoted to this purpose. The fourth year, which is usually the Diploma of Education course, is very similar in content to the Teachers' College course, but it is only one year in length. In that period it covers such subjects as methods of teaching, practical teaching, educational psychology and philosophy of education. The Diploma course averages seven or eight subjects for the year. Courses for higher degrees in education are also available, involving more specialised study of education and some educational research.

(19) The recently introduced course in education at the University of Western Australia is of a different pattern. It is a concurrent study over four years of subject matter, education and practical teaching.

(20) For details of education courses available at the major Australian Universities:
Calendar of the University of Sydney, 1954, pp. 157, 165, 740.
The University of Melbourne Calendar, 1953, pp. 129-132.
The University of Queensland Education Faculty Handbook, 1952-4.
Calendar of the University of Adelaide 1953, pp. 410-411.
The University of Western Australia Calendar, 1954, pp. 101-113.
Calendar of the University of Tasmania, 1953, pp. 59-60.

See Appendix B.
Registration

Only two States, Victoria and Tasmania, make provision for registering teachers. Under the Victorian Education Act, a Council of Public Education is set up with certain powers, duties and functions, mainly to advise the Minister on educational matters. The Council has two main duties, to keep a Register of Schools and a Register of Teachers, in the form of a Schedule to the Act. This is delegated by the Council to a Registration Committee of nine on which there is a balance of representation between the Education Department and the Registered Schools.

This registration requirement affects only Non-State teachers and schools. No person may conduct a school or teach in a school unless such school is registered. No head teacher may employ in a school any teacher who is not registered. No person may teach in any school unless he is registered. The penalty for contravention is a fine of up to fifty pounds.

(21) 19 Geo. V, No. 3671 of 1928, Education Act (Victoria).
(22) For the composition of the Council S 83(2).
(23) For the composition of the Registration Committee, S 90 (2).
No person may obtain registration unless he produces evidence which satisfies the Committee of 'his fitness to teach' (§.93(1)). There is also provision for the removal of a teacher's name from the Register for improper conduct. It is laid down that a copy of the Register and alterations thereto must be published in the Government Gazette at the direction of the Minister.

In Tasmania, similar provisions requiring teachers to be registered are found in the Education Act. The Teachers' and Schools' Registration Board performs a similar function to the Council in Victoria, although its composition is slightly different.

In other States there is no provision for a Register of teachers. It must be observed that the Register referred to above contains the names of teachers qualified to teach in Non-State schools. There is no Register of teachers in State schools.

It was also noted that doctors, lawyers, architects and other professional persons are protected by law to the extent that no unqualified person (meaning, in fact, a person not on the official Register) may use the title or

hold himself out to be what the title implies. There is no such provision protecting either the title or function of the teacher.

Teacher Training Compared with the Training of the Professional Model

One characteristic of professional training was that there was an organised body of knowledge related to the professional activity, and this body of knowledge was regarded as essential to the acquisition and proper understanding of a technique by which the professional man rendered a service to individuals. In the medical course, for example, there are subjects such as anatomy and physiology; in the legal course, jurisprudence, torts and equity; in architecture, building construction, design and surveying. In these occupations the body of knowledge is necessarily large because it represents a cumulative mass built up over a long period of time, and the knowledge is continually increasing. The absorption of this knowledge takes time and presumably intelligence to master, hence it is organised into a university course of some four to six years.

What is the comparable body of knowledge in the teachers' training course? One is tempted to state that
it is knowledge about the history and philosophy of education; but this occupies a very small part of the teachers' training. Moreover, this part of the course can be, and in fact is, deleted when it is desired to shorten the course, so this cannot be regarded as the body of knowledge in the sense referred to in professional training.

The analysis of the content of teacher training suggested that knowledge to teachers meant a number of things. First of all there was knowledge of the subject matter it was desired to teach, for without that the teaching process could not take place. The extent of knowledge of subject matter required will vary according to the standard at which it is desired to teach. The teacher of senior mathematics will obviously need a greater knowledge of subject matter than the teacher of simple arithmetic in the primary school. Thus the secondary training course involves three years more study than that for primary teachers, and this extra period is devoted to acquiring extra knowledge. In this sense secondary training is closer to the professional model and primary training further removed from it.

(25) The National Union of Teachers holds that even Infant Teachers should have a university degree.
But knowledge to teachers means more than knowledge of subject matter. It was observed that the training course included knowledge about the methods of teaching and the educational and psychological principles underlying those methods, some knowledge of the aims of education and of its social implications, and some more general knowledge about cultural subjects. All these might be added together to make the 'body of knowledge' which forms part of teacher training.

Therefore the acquisition of knowledge to the teacher is something quite different from the acquisition of knowledge to the professional man. It is knowledge in a wide field, not always in depth; knowledge to the professional man is knowledge in a narrow field, usually in depth.

The second characteristic of professional training was that this body of knowledge was regarded as essential to the acquisition of, and the proper understanding of, a technique by which the professional man rendered a service to individuals. The technique of the physician and surgeon is primarily a method of diagnosis and treatment, the technique of the lawyer is the method of solving a legal problem and of carrying out a legal process.
The technique is but a method of translating relevant knowledge to the solution of an individual's problem. The acquisition of knowledge is thus an important part of professional training; but on the other hand specific training to acquire the technique is limited. The lawyer acquires his technique by being associated with an established member of the profession, the doctor spends a small part of his course at a training hospital, architects and surveyors learn much of their technique 'on the job'.

Training to acquire the teaching technique is much more closely intertwined with the body of knowledge. The method of teaching a subject and the practical application of that method, the educational and psychological factors underlying the learning process, problems associated with classroom management, all this could be regarded as part of the teaching 'technique'.

It could be argued that training to acquire the teaching technique is wider in its scope and far more exacting than that required in professional training. This is an indication, however, that there is a difference between teacher training and professional training in this matter of knowledge and technique. With the professions, the
major part of the training is concerned with the acquisition of the body of knowledge and less with specific training to acquire the technique; with teaching, the position is reversed, for the body of knowledge occupies a smaller period of time, while more of the training is devoted to the technique.

This difference in training between teaching and the professional model is closely connected with another characteristic of professional training. It was noted that training to acquire both the knowledge and technique required a high degree of intelligence and lengthy, costly training. It has been observed that the essential body of knowledge was so organised that it involved a university course, which in itself implied a degree of difficulty and a certain level of intelligence to master. The level of intelligence required to complete a university degree has been estimated by the psychologists, and at this stage of the argument it can be broadly stated as being fairly high.

Where it is not the body of knowledge but the technique which is an important part of the training, as in teaching, the problem arises whether a 'fairly high'
degree of intelligence is required to acquire the technique. This is still an open question, because as yet there appears to be no satisfactory criterion for measuring success in the teaching technique. For example, it is realised that the personality of the teacher is an important element in success, and some persons, even with a 'fairly high' degree of intelligence, must be regarded as unsuitable for teaching.

When it comes to comparing the teaching group and the professional group on standards of intelligence required to qualify, many problems emerge, outside the field of this study. It must be noted, however, that many more teachers are required than for all the recognised professions together. In order to get such a number, the standard of entry is lower than that required for the professions. One would expect in such a large group a much wider range in intelligence than in a

(26) One of the most recent investigations carried out on this problem:—
For a further discussion of this point see pp.335-37, post.
smaller group, already selected on the basis of higher intelligence.

Another characteristic of training in the professional model was that the training requirements were laid down by a statutory authority, consisting of representatives of the occupation itself, working in liaison with the training institution and the professional association. This single control over training made for uniform standards in qualification and registration. The control and administration of teacher training is on quite a different basis.

The State, through its government Department of Education, controls the standard and prescribes the requirements for qualification, for only a part of the teaching group. In practice, this does not make for uniform standards. Training requirements for teachers in the Departments of Education are laid down by a committee within the Department; training requirements for teachers outside the Department in Victoria and Tasmania are laid down by a separate authority, while training requirements for these Non-State teachers in other States are determined by denominational and private organisations. It is true that these organisations tend to model their courses on
those of the State Teachers' Colleges and that the State, by various means, attempts to supervise their standards.

Nevertheless, compared with professional training, there is a lack of unity in the control of teacher training. There is no single authority in each State which lays down the training requirements for teachers, whatever their future employer. Doctors, lawyers, dentists, architects and surveyors have this unity of training, teachers do not. Professional men do not have one training authority and one standard for those employed by the State, and another authority with a different standard for those employed privately.

The composition of the teachers' training committees also differs from those of professional groups. Unlike the professional training boards, the teacher training committee within the Education Department is not solely composed of practising members of the occupation. It is composed of public servants, departmental officials and administrative officers of Teachers' Colleges. This difference may be more apparent than real. Most of these are ex-teachers or specialists in education, in touch with the latest developments in education and in teacher training. Moreover members are usually aware of the
current opinions of practising teachers, even though the latter are not always represented, either as individuals or as an association, on the committee.

Control of professional training by a statutory committee of members of the occupation itself has two advantages for the profession. In the first place control is removed from the immediate political scene and no political party may alter standards without bringing the matter before Parliament. The statutory authority is not responsible to a Minister or to a government department but to the Governor-in-Council. In the case of teaching the Minister of Education is vested with wide powers. Evidence shows that when the government considers it politically expedient to get teachers into classes quickly, the quantity and quality of teacher training may be reduced accordingly.

The professional training authority is able to set a standard and maintain it, despite pressure from other sources; control by the State over teacher training leads to erratic lowering of such standards as there are.

The second advantage which comes to the professional group by having control over its training vested in a statutory committee of its own members is that this committee is not the employing authority, nor are employers
represented on it. In the case of teaching the State is both the training authority and the main employer of the teachers it trains. Thus there is a tendency to manipulate the training requirements according to employment needs; courses of training are shortened and parts of the course which are regarded as essential one year may be regarded as superfluous the next.

Thus there is another difference between teacher training and the professional model, and it has been shown that this difference has far reaching effects on a group which claims to be like the model.

Then there is the matter of registration. After completion of training, the professional man must satisfy the controlling body that he is qualified, and have his name registered on the appropriate Register. Unless and until his name is on the Register it is unlawful for him to practise. Only in two States is there a Register for teachers which might be compared with the Register kept by professional authorities. However, it does not signify the qualified in the whole occupation. It registers only those teachers not employed by the Department of Education and ensures that they have reached a standard determined by the Registration Committee.
State teachers are not registered, presumably on the assumption that the State would only employ teachers trained and tested to a similar standard; but this has not always been the case.

There are other features about this Register which distinguish it from the typical professional Register. It is not kept up to date and published in full each year. Once on it a member remains on it for life, unless his name is removed because of serious misconduct. Finally, exclusion from it is not the end of his teaching days, for there are opportunities for teaching in the other four States where teachers, whether employed by the State or in private schools, need not be registered.

This is not the picture of a professional occupation given statutory authority to set up and keep a Register to distinguish the qualified from the unqualified, whatever the nature of their employment. Registration of teachers in Victoria and Tasmania is merely a procedure by which the State sets minimum standards for a minority of teachers, without committing itself to standards for the majority of the group for whom it is both the training and employing authority.
It was noted that in the case of the professions there was another method of protecting the public and the occupation from the activities of the unqualified, apart from the Register. The professions sought the assistance of the law in protecting the title and function of the professional man. Whatever the reason may be, no such attempt has been made to protect the title and function of the teacher.

Another characteristic of professional training was that after the professional man commenced practice, the professional association provided facilities for keeping him abreast of current developments. With State teachers it is the Department of Education, not the Teachers' Union, which is concerned with in-service training. It was noted that the Department arranged refresher courses and provided most professional literature. The inspectorial system provides a further check on teachers and their methods. As inspectors' reports are related to classification and promotion and hence to salary, there is always pressure on teachers to keep their methods up-to-date; and this is another respect in which teaching differs from the professions.
The procedure for keeping professional people up to date is entirely voluntary, while for State teachers there is a compulsory mechanism. It is not easy to gauge the relative effectiveness of these two methods. There is little evidence on which to generalise whether teachers as a group are any better or worse than professional people in this respect. There is frequent criticism that some teachers do not keep up with modern developments, or, if they do, they do not put them into practice.

The Committee of Inquiry into education in South Australia for example, made this criticism of teachers:

'It is equally disturbing that some of the principal officers of the department have given evidence that one of the obstacles to educational progress is the inability of a proportion of teachers to adapt themselves to the outlook and methods required.'

McKaskill's study produces a comment by a Headmaster which is even more definite on this point:

'Teachers would like to be classed socially as professional men, but a very large body of teachers are merely semi-skilled tradesmen. They have not kept abreast of developments in their own profession.'

(27) Education Inquiry Committee, South Australia, First Report May 1945, p.9.

Perhaps the same criticisms could be made of some doctors and some lawyers.

Up to this point a comparison between teacher training and the training pattern exhibited by the professional model has been made and this shows that there are differences. These differences, however, are not differences which are easily recognisable by the general public. For this approach it is necessary to look to measurable differences in qualifications, length of training and so forth. The evidence about these aspects of teacher training reveals these major differences in comparison with the professional model:

(i) The standard of entry required for primary teacher training, Leaving Certificate, is lower than that required for professional training, Matriculation.

(ii) The length of the course for primary teacher training, one or two years, is less than that required for professional training, three to six years.

(iii) The academic qualification obtained on completion of the Teachers' College course is not a university degree nor is it equivalent to a university degree. The certificates awarded to teachers for in-service training are not the equivalent of a degree.

(iv) The minimum qualification required before being permitted to teach is lower than that required before being permitted to practise any profession.

(v) The training for secondary teachers resembles professional training in entry standard, length of
course and qualification obtained, but the number of teachers so trained is comparatively small. Secondary teachers may, and do, teach with lower qualifications.

The professions have set a standard in training. Teacher training has been measured against that standard. The conclusion is quite plain that in training, at least, teaching does not measure up to the standard of the professional model.

(29) For a further discussion of the points raised in the concluding pages of this Chapter, see pp. 328-35.
Chapter Four

TEACHERS' UNIONS AS PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

'In reply, I am instructed to acquaint you that the Council declines to receive the deputation, or to recognise any organised body of teachers, for the discussion of such subjects as those specified in the resolution; but that the Council is prepared to consider the representations of any teacher on matters in which he is personally interested.'

Reply of the Council of Education to the Teachers' Association of N.S.W. 1873.

'The teachers' associations (in Australia) have concentrated their efforts during recent years principally on ensuring the material well-being of teachers through pressing for increases in salaries, ............... Though these associations also hold and express views on educational policy, they do not appear to be as professionally minded as their counterparts in other countries.'

The Year Book of Education, 1953.

There is no teachers' association which unites all teachers of any one State. The largest association in each State is that for State school teachers, while there are numerous smaller associations for groups of teachers in Non-State schools. There is no federal body which has
any direct control over State associations.

The Non-State Teachers' Associations may be reviewed first. It is noted that these associations have usually been established on the basis of the teachers' ranks, or on some sectional interest, as the names of the associations themselves indicate:

The Queensland Assistant Masters' Association
The Headmistresses' Association
The Association of Headmasters of the Associated Grammar Schools (Victoria)

In some States there has been an attempt to combine these various associations into a form of confederation, such as

The Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers (Victoria)
The Teachers' Guild (N.S.W.)

Membership of these associations is rigidly defined, on the basis of rank or religion, according to the purpose of the association. A rise in status may well disqualify a teacher from membership. Should a member of the

(1) There is the Australian Teachers' Federation, to which State Teachers' Unions have become affiliated. However, since the State School Teachers' Case, (post p. 160 ) it has become a loosely knit organisation and not strictly a federal organisation of State Teachers' Unions.
Queensland Assistant Masters' Association, for example, discharge the duties of Headmaster, then his membership of the association automatically lapses. He becomes eligible, of course, to join the appropriate Headmasters' association.

These smaller associations have objectives directly concerned with teachers' salaries and working conditions. Thus the Queensland Assistant Masters' Association aims 'to watch over and advance the interests of all non-governmental assistant masters in Queensland'. The larger associations, such as The Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers (Victoria), have aims related to the improvement of education generally.

In practice, these associations have little contact with the larger State Teachers' Unions. In numbers they are small and they are divided among themselves, hence they are not a powerful influence on the standard of education provided by the State. It would be true to say that they show very few marks of professional associations and for the purpose of this study they can be disregarded.

(2) Some further references are made to these Non-State teachers' associations in the following pages but merely to contrast them with State teachers' organisations.
It is the State Teachers' Unions which must be closely examined to see whether they are professional associations, according to the model.

With the exception of Victoria, there is now one teachers' association within each State for State teachers. These are:

The New South Wales Public School Teachers' Federation
The Queensland Teachers' Union
The South Australian Institute of Teachers
The State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia (Incorp.)

The Tasmanian State School Teachers' Federation

In Victoria, the major association is the Victorian Teachers' Union, but secondary teachers have recently formed an additional body, The Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association. There is also the Victorian Labor Teachers' Union, an unrecognised, obscure body linked with the Melbourne Trades Hall and The Victorian Branch of the Australian Labor Party.

In the 1870's teachers' associations were not recognised by Departments of Education. Today, State

(3) This Union is associated with the political wing of Catholic Action. For a comment on its work and influence, Sunday Telegraph (Sydney) 23 January, 1955, p.3.
Teachers' Unions are officially recognised by Education Departments as organisations which can assist in the \[(4)\] provision of the education service. As well as obtaining administrative recognition in this way, some of these associations have won statutory recognition. They have been given certain rights by statute, particularly in connection with the machinery for adjusting teachers' salaries. In Tasmania, for example, the Education Act states that one member of the Teachers' Salaries Board must be a person elected by the Tasmanian State School Teachers' Federation. \[(5)\] In Western Australia, the Public Service Appeal Board, in considering matters which concern the Education Department only, must have on it a representative of the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia. \[(6)\] In other States, while the Teachers' Union is not specifically referred to in the

\[(4)\] The extent to which Education Departments do in fact make use of Teachers' Unions in this way is discussed later in this Chapter, page 184.
\[(5)\] Act No.11 of 1952 Education Act, Part IV B, s.46H (2) (iii).
\[(6)\] The Public Service Appeal Board Act 1920-49 s.2(aa) (iii)(b)
relevant statutes, provision is generally made therein for representation of the appropriate union of employees on particular committees and tribunals. Thus in New South Wales, the Crown Employees Appeal Board, which determines appeals against certain promotions and against disciplinary penalties throughout the Public Service of that State, must include a representative of the appellant's staff association.

Some of these State teachers' associations have gone further than merely winning recognition by administrative bodies and being granted rights by statutes. In some cases, either by registration under Trade Union and Industrial Arbitration Acts or by seeking incorporation under other Acts, they have acquired legal personality.

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation is registered as a trade union, under the Trade Union Act of 1881. This Act, modelled on the English Act of 1871, preserves the legality of agreements entered into by the association, which might otherwise have been void for illegality under common law. The Queensland Teachers' (7) Act No.15 of 1952, The Crown Employees Appeal Board Act, s.3 (4). (8) Act No.12 of 1881 Trade Union Act (New South Wales).
Union is also registered as a Trade Union under the (9) Trade Union Act of 1915 in that State, while there are also similar Trade Union Acts in the other four States, Teachers' Unions in these States have not become registered.

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation and the Queensland Teachers' Union are also registered as industrial unions under the respective State Conciliation (10) and Arbitration Acts. These Acts confer rights and duties on trade unions additional to those conferred by Trade Union Acts and by common law. In Queensland, industrial unions are, for the purposes of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1916, corporate bodies. In New South Wales, the Industrial Arbitration Act stops

(9) 6 Geo. V. No. 31 Trade Union Act 1915 (Queensland).
(10) The N.S.W.T.F. was registered in 1920 as an Industrial Union of Employees under the Industrial Arbitration Act 1912. The Queensland Teachers' Union was registered as an Industrial Union of Employees under the Industrial Arbitration Act 1916.
(11) S.41 (1) Incorporation of union:—
'Every industrial union shall, upon and during registration, become and be, for the purposes of this Act, a body corporate by its registered name, having perpetual succession and a common seal'.
short of making industrial unions corporate bodies; but the New South Wales Teachers' Federation has followed trade unions in going through the double process of registration as a trade union and as an industrial union. While there exist similar industrial and arbitration Acts in South Australia and Western Australia, with provision for the registration of industrial unions, Teachers' Unions in those States have not so registered. In Victoria and Tasmania there are no such Acts for the registration of industrial unions; but in these States teachers' associations have established their own Wages Boards or salary fixing authority on which they are represented. The State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia provides the one example of a State Teachers' Union becoming incorporated, other than as an industrial union. In this case the Union has obtained full legal personality under The Associations Incorporation Act, 1895. On the other hand The Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria is incorporated under the Companies Act 1890 (Vic.) as a company limited by guarantee.

(13) 59 Vic. No. 20. The Associations Incorporation Act, 1895.
The remaining State Teachers' Unions, The Victorian Teachers' Union, The South Australian Institute of Teachers and The State School Teachers' Federation of Tasmania, are neither registered as trade unions nor as industrial unions, nor are they incorporated under any statute. They remain as unincorporated associations and as such they have no legal personality. This means that they cannot sue or be sued as an association and they suffer other legal disabilities. They must, for example, hold property behind the screen of the trust.

At the Commonwealth level, State Teachers' Unions do not come within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, following the judgment in the State School Teachers Case. This decision is one reason why no federal body of teachers has developed,

(14) The Federated State School Teachers' Association of Australia had obtained registration with the Federal Arbitration Court in 1922, and in 1928 this organisation had filed a plaint with the Court alleging an industrial dispute extending beyond the limits of one State, in that there was a dispute as to the salaries and conditions of employment of teachers employed by the State in Victoria and Tasmania. The High Court held that 'the carrying on of a system of free, compulsory education by a State is not the carrying on of an industry. Therefore a dispute between an organisation of persons engaged in teaching in State Schools is not an industrial dispute', within the meaning of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The Federated State School Teachers' Association of Australia v State of Victoria and others. 41 C.I.R. (1928-29) 569.
as it would have no power to make use of Commonwealth industrial machinery for settling disputes regarding salaries and conditions of employment for State teachers.

This survey reveals that Teachers' Unions exhibit variety in their legal form. In two States they have adopted the legal status of trade unions, in another State the Teachers Union has become incorporated under a general Act, while in the remaining three States the Teachers' Unions are unincorporated associations. They thus differ from the professional associations which invariably have corporate status. These associations are incorporated, either by Royal Charter as in the case of the Institution of Engineers, or under the Companies Acts as a company not for profit, as with the British Medical Association and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects. The Law Institute of Victoria is incorporated under a special statute.

Professional associations also differ from trade unions in their method of obtaining legal status. As the former are not usually exclusively employer or employee groups they

(15) 10 Geo. V No. 3714 Law Institute Act 1928 s. 4(5)
cannot legally register as trade unions or industrial unions. On the other hand trade unions may not legally become incorporated under the Companies Acts by which professional associations are incorporated. The various trade union and industrial Acts already noted, however, do give trade unions corporate or quasi-corporate status. This means, in effect, that professional associations and trade unions follow different legal routes to obtain a similar kind of legal status.

This difference in method reflects something of the difference in origin and purpose between a professional association and a trade union. Industrial workers formed trade unions to secure higher wages and better working conditions. Under common law they were at first regarded as criminal conspiracies and their actions construed as in restraint of trade. Later, Trade Union Acts made them lawful associations, and more recently, Industrial and

(16) The Industrial Arbitration Act (N.S.W.) 1912 makes provision for the registration of an incorporated company as an individual union, provided that in the previous six months it has had an average of not less than fifty employees per month. (s.6)

(17) In Ex parte Bread Manufacturers Ltd. (54 W.N. (N.S.W.) 98), the Full Court held, inter alia, that a trade union within s.31 of the Trade Union Act of N.S.W., purporting to be registered under the Companies Act, had no existence as a corporation. Under s.5 of the Trade Union Act the registration of any trade union under the Companies Act shall be void.
Arbitration Acts have given them additional rights and duties, while at the same time such legislation has had the effect of giving them legal personality. In the case of professional associations, which began as social clubs and learned societies, there was never any doubt about the legality of their objectives. Later, when economic interests were included in the associations' activities, some of the methods used by the associations to promote these economic interests were held by the Courts to be in restraint of trade. However, this in no way challenged the legality of the association as such. These professional associations were able, by various means, to promote the economic activities of their members without recourse to legislation or to the Courts. Moreover as their members were self-employed, they did not have to deal with

(18) Carr-Saunders and Wilson, supra pp. 298-304.
(19) Pratt v B.M.A., 1 K.B. (1919), a threat to expel members if they failed to boycott certain non-members was held to be in restraint of trade. In Thompson v B.M.A. (1924) A.C. 764 a rule for the boycotting of an expelled member was not in restraint of trade because its object was 'the maintenance of the honour and interests of the medical profession'.
employers, and problems associated with working conditions did not arise. Initially, professional associations acquired corporate status as a convenient method of holding property.

The different legal routes by which professional associations and trade unions have obtained legal status is merely an indication of the importance which they attached to different objectives. In the case of Teachers' Unions the question arises whether their legal status, as examined, does classify them either as trade unions or professional associations.

Teachers' Unions in New South Wales were founded on the traditional lines of professional associations. In the 1870's the emphasis in these teachers' organisations was on social gatherings and the reading of papers on matters of educational interest. The shifting of emphasis to salaries and conditions of employment was a later development. The holding of property has never been a problem for Teachers' Unions except in Western Australia, so there has never been any necessity to become incorporated

as the professional associations have done. Members of Teachers' Unions are not self-employed but employees of the State. For this reason Teachers' Unions have found that matters concerning salaries and working conditions are of major importance. Thus they have tended to adopt the legal status of trade unions rather than that of professional associations.

While legal status, of itself, does not classify Teachers' Unions as either trade unions or professional associations, it does indicate that there is an underlying difference between Teachers' Unions and professional associations. In order to find out more precisely what that difference is, it will be necessary to look closely at the organisation and activities of Teachers' Unions.

Constitution, Organisation and Membership of Teachers' Unions

State Teachers' Unions, with the exception of The South Australian Teachers' Institute, follow a fairly uniform pattern in their constitution and organisation.

(21) For the Constitution of the State Teachers' Unions:
The Victorian Teachers' Union. Constitution and Standing Orders 1952.
The Queensland Teachers' Union. Constitution and Rules.
The South Australian Institute of Teachers. Rules.
Constitution and Rules of the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia.
Tasmanian State School Teachers' Union. Constitution.
Ultimate authority resides in the Annual Conference, which usually consists of delegates from branches and sectional associations, elected on a membership scale. In Tasmania, where the number of teachers is smaller, the Annual Conference is open to all members. Between Conferences, the affairs of the Union are managed by a Council, which is bound in its actions by policy determined at the Annual Conference. The Council consists of the President and other senior officers of the Union, elected by either all the financial members of the Federation as in New South Wales, or by delegates to the conference as in Victoria. Certain of these officers constitute the Executive for carrying out Council business. Teachers' Unions vary in the relationship between the central body and the sectional groups or branches. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation, for example, is a confederation of local and sectional teachers' associations, which are themselves self-governing units, subject to Federation policy. The Victorian Teachers' Union, on the other hand, is organised into local branches which are more closely controlled in their activities by Council.

Eligibility for membership of Teachers' Unions varies from State to State. In New South Wales it is
fairly wide, being 'teachers, supervisors and lecturers in pre-school, infant, primary, secondary or tertiary education controlled or subsidised by the Government of New South Wales; education officers and inspectors of the Child Welfare Department; students in Teachers' Colleges'. Membership of the Victorian Teachers' Union is a little narrower, as only teachers or supervisors in schools controlled by the Victorian Education Department are eligible. Queensland membership is even more restricted, being 'teachers who are solely engaged in teaching, and who are employed by the Department of Public Instruction'. In Western Australia, the basis is much the same, for only those 'teachers employed by the Education Department' are eligible. Tasmania has an additional restriction on membership in that only those teachers on a salary exceeding £268 per annum are eligible. South Australia has probably the widest membership provisions, for in addition to a category which includes teachers, supervisors, lecturers and inspectors in infant, primary, secondary or tertiary education in government schools, it makes provision for 'all other persons engaged in any branch or form of teaching'.
Membership is voluntary in each State except in New South Wales where there is compulsory unionism (although the legislation is still being challenged in the Courts) and in Queensland where there is absolute preference to unionists. State Teachers' Unions maintain a fairly high membership on a voluntary basis, estimated by those bodies at between 70 and 90 per cent of those eligible.

(22) In Queensland, every teacher on commencing service with the Department of Public Instruction is handed this directive: 'I have to advise you that Cabinet has decided that all officers of the Public Service are required to become members of some registered industrial union if they are not already members. You must therefore become a member of a registered industrial union within one month from the date of your taking up duty. You should advise this department as to the action which you are taking to become a member of a union.'

For several years before the introduction of compulsory unionism in New South Wales successive Labour Governments brought pressure on all teachers to join a union. See The Education Gazette, New South Wales. May 1942, p.94.

(23) Membership figures and percentage of possible membership for 1953, as quoted by these Unions: N.S.W. 15,875 (96%); Vic. 9,459 (70%); S.A. 3,398 (90%); Tas. 1,447 (70%).

No figures are available to indicate the strength of Non-State teachers' associations. Should compulsory unionism become effective in N.S.W., Non-State teachers would be required to join a union. The question has been raised whether The Teachers' Guild of N.S.W. might develop into such a Union for Non-State teachers, other than Roman Catholic.

At this stage it will be useful to compare Teachers' Unions with the model of the professional association in the matter of organisation and membership. It was observed that membership of Teachers' Unions in most States is not open to all qualified, practising members of the occupation. In every State except South Australia, Non-State teachers are not eligible, while in some States teachers have to relinquish their membership once they become Headmasters and Inspectors. This restriction on membership has far-reaching effects on the achievement of objectives by Teachers' Unions. For example, they lose the prestige of having senior members of the occupation in the Union and they lose the experience which these men could bring to their deliberations. They also lose the opportunity of having as members of the Union departmental officers who have much influence in the control and direction of education. Doctors, lawyers and architects who take up administrative and professional positions in the Public Service do not thereby forfeit membership of their professional association, provided they are on the Register and hold a current practising certificate. Indeed they are regarded as valuable members of the association. It was
observed that much of the strength of a professional association was derived, not by direct attacks by the association but by having members on all committees and boards and at all strategic places where policy likely to concern the profession was formulated. In this regard most Teachers' Unions differ from the professional model.

Apart from this membership question there is little difference between Teachers' Unions and the model professional association in the matter of constitution and organisation as examined up to this point. If a careful investigation were made it would probably disclose that there are many more smaller branches and sectional associations within a Teachers' Union than is the case with a professional association. This is related to the size and dispersion of the teaching group and as such forms a separate chapter in this study. Apart from this there is nothing in the machinery of the organisation which prevents Teachers' Unions from acting like professional associations. This, of course, makes no reference to the objectives and methods of

(24) Chapter Seven, post pp. 286-305.
Teachers' Unions; and it is with these that the next part of this study must be concerned.

Objectives and Activities of Teachers' Unions

The published aims of State Teachers' Unions reveal a variety of objectives. For the purposes of this study they may be grouped as:-

(a) social,
(b) industrial and economic,
(c) those pertaining to the advancement of education.

This classification is not entirely satisfactory, for it will be seen that there is a close connection between all three. Nevertheless it is a convenient basis on which to summarise the aims of Teachers' Unions.

(a) Social. All Teachers' Unions aim to strengthen group loyalties and build up fellowship among members by fostering social activities. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation, for example, aims 'by means of social and other gatherings to encourage "esprit de corps" among teachers'. It also provides for the establishment of a Club for members. It might be said at this point that all Teachers' Unions have in varying degrees carried out the usual social activities in pursuit of this aim. A Teachers' Union is something more than a social club, however, so that other aims
and activities are of greater importance in determining whether Teachers' Unions are like the model professional association.

(b) Industrial and Economic. As all State teachers are employees, some aims of Teachers' Unions are concerned with:

(i) conditions of employment,
(ii) salaries.

Teachers' Unions aim to improve the conditions of employment of their members by watching 'the administration and working of the various Education, Teaching Service and Public Service Acts and Regulations'. (Victoria)

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation sees the industrial problems of teachers in a much wider relation. The objectives of this Federation are listed in eleven sub-divisions of the first major section of the Constitution, summarised by a blanket clause:

'To watch over and protect the industrial interests of its members and to consider and deal with all matters affecting them in their industrial relations.'

It is also a major aim of all Teachers' Unions to seek proper and sufficient remuneration for their members.

(25) New South Wales Teachers' Federation. Constitution 3 (a) (i).
(c) Those pertaining to the advancement of education.

All Teachers' Unions are agreed on this objective of advancing education in the widest sense of the word. They aim to hold teachers' conferences and have a general objective 'to provide means for their collective opinion on matters affecting the interests of education and of the teaching profession'. (Victoria).

For the advancement of teachers and for keeping them abreast of modern techniques in education, Teachers' Unions aim to establish libraries, publish journals and to arrange meetings and demonstrations. In some States, Teachers' Unions also aim to set standards of conduct and to supervise that standard, hence they aim to establish Codes of Ethics.

(26) Objectives of Teachers' Unions which are related to the advancement of education in general and of teachers in particular:

N.S.W.: 'To promote the cause of education in N.S.W.'

'To provide for the holding of conferences for the discussion of questions of educational interest.'

'To initiate and control schemes for the intellectual and professional advancement of teachers.'

Vic.: 'To improve the condition of education in Victoria.'

'To maintain a high standard of qualification, and to raise the status of the teaching profession.'

Qld.: 'To deal with all matters appertaining to the advancement of education.'

S.Aust.: 'In every possible way to further the interests of Education in South Australia.'

W.Aust.: 'To provide lectures, essays and model lessons....'

Tas.: 'To provide opportunities for the discussion of questions of educational interest.'
It has been observed that there are difficulties in distinguishing objectives of Teachers' Unions classified as economic and industrial from those which relate to the advancement of education. This difficulty is clearly illustrated when the activities of Teachers' Unions in furtherance of these objectives are examined. These activities may be examined according to the following provisional classification, although there will, of necessity, be some overlap.

(i) activities associated with the furtherance of economic and industrial objectives,

(ii) those activities associated with advancing education,

(iii) those activities which might properly be considered as associated with both (i) and (ii) above.

(i) The industrial and economic problems facing teachers as a group of employees are much the same in principle as those facing any other group of employees. These refer to the conditions under which the work is performed and to the remuneration offered for the service rendered. Teachers' Unions have found through experience that it
is not easy to achieve industrial and economic objectives by a direct approach to the employers of their members, i.e., to Departments of Education and to Public Service Boards. Some Teachers' Unions believe that such matters can only be settled by industrial action, backed by the strength of the Trade Union Movement. Nevertheless, teachers are divided on this question of affiliation with such an organisation.

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation is, however, affiliated with the Trades and Labour Council and with the Australian Council of Trades Unions. The Queensland Teachers' Union, on the other hand, has kept aloof from any such affiliation. The State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia has affiliated, while a referendum on this question conducted by the Victorian Teachers' Union was lost. It is evident

(27) There are at least two local explanations for this decision of the Queensland Teachers' Union not to affiliate. In the first place, there has been a strong left-wing influence in the Brisbane Trades and Labour Council. In the second place successive Labour Governments in Queensland have given strong support to denominational schools.

(28) Voting figures:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In favour of affiliation</th>
<th>1,007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>2,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority against</td>
<td>1,986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from reports of discussions by teachers on this matter that there is a considerable body of opinion among them that affiliation with the Trade Union Movement is incompatible with their idea of a professional association.

The same argument is advanced by many teachers when the question of using the strike as a means of improving economic and industrial conditions is considered. There have, in fact, been only two recorded instances of a strike among State School teachers in Australia over the last thirty years. In 1921 the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia conducted a strike which resulted in better conditions for teachers, including the setting up of the Public Service Appeal Board as the final arbiter on teachers' classifications which determine salaries in that State. There was also a minor strike in 1951 when Teacher Trainees in Sydney vacated their lecture rooms and marched to Parliament House to protest against low training allowances. Although Teachers' Unions have advanced the argument that it would be 'unprofessional' to strike, the fact is that they lack the essential conditions for
using that method with success - the automatic support of other unions, the support of a political party and the ability to cause serious disruption to society by withholding the service.

Thus while Teachers' Unions aim to improve the economic and industrial conditions of their members, they do not favour affiliation with the Trade Union Movement as a means of achieving this aim, nor do they favour using such methods as the strike, which is more commonly associated with trade unions. It will be relevant therefore to inquire whether Teachers' Unions engage in political activities and election campaigns as an alternative to these methods.

It is exceptional for Teachers' Unions to advocate social and political changes outside the field of education. They do not claim to have any avowed political objectives, such as social or constitutional reforms; they do not consistently support one political party. Nevertheless, the pursuit of economic and industrial objectives, as well as professional objectives, has often involved them in political activities as corporate bodies. This is partly due to the fact that teachers as individuals are restricted in their political activities. As public
servants, teachers must not criticise the administration of any government department. If teachers wish to stand for Parliament they must resign before beginning their election campaign. In their classroom teaching they must also avoid commenting on political events. Of course, some Teachers' Unions have at times become involved in political activities because they have been used as vehicles by groups with political objectives, both within and outside the Union. 

A very good example of a Teachers' Union using political means to improve the economic and industrial conditions of its members is provided by the campaign fought by the Victorian Teachers' Union in 1945 for the establishment of a Teachers' Tribunal. The draft of the proposed Bill setting up the Tribunal was

(29) For restrictions on teachers in their political activities, post pp.220-21. See also my unpublished thesis 'Some Aspects of the Legal Status of the Teacher in the Victorian Education Department 1950', (Faculty of Education, Melbourne University).

(30) For examples of groups endeavouring to use Teachers' Unions for political purposes, see Annual Reports of N.S.W.T.F., 1950-1953. See also reference to the Victorian Labour Teachers' Union, supra p.155.
unacceptable to the Teachers' Union, so pressure was brought to bear on the Dunstan-Hollway Government (Country Party with Liberal support) by means of deputations, letters to Members of Parliament and an extensive press campaign. In the next election the Teachers' Union entered the election campaign against the Dunstan-Hollway Government, seeking support for a Bill which embodied their own amendments. The Teachers' Union distributed leaflets setting out their case, advertised widely in the press and gave talks over radio stations. Grants of money were made by the Union to teacher committees to carry out the organisation of the campaign. The Government was defeated at the election and the Victorian Teachers' Union claimed that their activity tipped the scales in eight electorates and helped to make the return of five other Labour members a certainty. One of the first measures of the

(31) 'From the information in our possession, we believe that Union activities in St. Kilda, Dandenong, Glen Iris, Ivanhoe, Preston and Box Hill had decisive results, and in the country we can claim that at Mildura, Gippsland North, Barwon, Evelyn, Portland, Goulburn, and Wonthaggi the successful candidate owes his success largely to the work of local committees of teachers'.

newly elected Cain Labour Government was the setting up of a Teachers' Tribunal on the lines advocated by the Union. An attempt was made to defeat the Bill in the Upper House; and to those Members who supported the measure, the Teachers' Union gave its official support at the following Legislative Council elections. (32)

Teachers' Unions are directly concerned with the economic conditions of their members because teachers are all employees. Teachers' Unions are now recognised by salary-fixing authorities as the representative bodies to conduct negotiations on behalf of teachers. In some cases, teachers are represented on these tribunals, often by an elected member. (33) Not only salaries are involved in such activities, but also questions of classification and promotion, superannuation and long service leave, equal pay for women teachers and similar economic problems. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation has gone further than other State Teachers'

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(33) For more detailed discussion of teachers' salary fixing authorities, Chapter Six, post page 240. For details of teachers' salary fixing mechanisms and the place of teachers' associations therein, see Appendix E, pp. 284-88.
Unions in interpreting how far their activities should lead them in promoting the economic welfare of their members. They are not merely concerned with the teachers' remuneration but with the conditions in society which determine it and which determine its value. Thus the Annual Report for 1951 makes the comprehensive statement:

'If the living standards are not to be further depressed, and educational developments not to be adversely affected, it will be necessary for teachers and other citizens to take action against inflation, the Federal Budget, and to strive for the halting of the drive to war.'(34)

In the Basic Wage-Standard Hours Case of 1953, in which Employer Organisations had made certain claims before the Arbitration Court, most Teachers' Unions gave lukewarm support to the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the main opposing body. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation, however, openly intervened in the proceedings, an Officer of the Federation opposing all sections of the Employers' demands. (35)

(34) Annual Report N.S.W.T.F., 1951 p.3.
(35) Education (N.S.W.) 20 May 1953, p.43.
Thus it is clear that in order to achieve objectives relating to the industrial and economic well-being of their members, Teachers' Unions must consider using such methods as affiliation with the Trade Union Movement, the strike, political action and in some cases intervention in the Court. Of course these are not the only means by which Teachers' Unions achieve their economic and industrial objectives. There are others, such as consultation with departmental officers and representation on departmental committees. As these means are also used for promoting objectives relating to the advancement of education they are considered in the third section of this discussion of the activities of Teachers' Unions.

(ii) Some activities of Teachers' Unions relate directly to the advancement of education. The Victorian Teachers' Union, in conjunction with the Education Department, has supported an Education Week in which parents and citizens are invited to the schools to see for themselves the standard of the service provided. This activity has now been followed in other States. By bringing the needs of education before the public in this way, teachers' associations hope to gain greater interest in, and support for, education both by the public and by governments.
The Teachers' Union of Western Australia convened a Citizens' Education Conference in 1946, attended by representatives of social, industrial and political groups in the State. Out of this grew The Progressive Education League to initiate and co-ordinate plans for educational reform in Western Australia.

The New South Wales Teachers' Federation has arranged periodic regional conferences. A central town is selected and the co-operation of civic and social bodies is obtained; educational problems are discussed and the citizens invited to attend and participate. As a result there is often definite action for improving educational facilities.

Adequate finance also has a bearing on the standard of education provided by the State. Therefore all Teachers' Unions have been forced to formulate a policy on, and to take some action about, the present Commonwealth-States financial set-up. Most of them back the demand by

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(37) 'New Deal for Education'. *Annual Reports N.S.W.T.F.*, 1949-52.
State Premiers for more money from the Commonwealth. The N.S.W. Teachers' Federation organised a large public meeting which urged the Federal Government to make money available.

Then once a year Teachers' Unions hold an Annual Conference, attended by delegates from local branches. The Minister of Education, the Director and other leaders in education are invited to address the meeting. While many domestic issues are discussed, there is always keen discussion about ways and means of improving the service of education.

(iii) The third group of activities of Teachers' Unions are those which might relate both to economic and industrial objectives and also to the objective of advancing the service of education.

Teachers' Unions have obtained representation on a wide range of departmental committees, including Promotions, Syllabus, Soldier Teachers' and Subject Revision, (N.S.W.);

(38) The Twenty-Eighth Annual Conference of the Victorian Teachers' Union was addressed by the Minister of Education (Hon. A.E. Shepherd), the Director of Education, (Maj. Gen. A.H. Ramsay) and the President, (Mr. G.C. Whitworth).
Residence Selection, Free Milk, Education Week and Regulation Revision, (Vic); Teachers' College Selection Board, Teacher Training, and High Schools Advisory Board, (W. Aust.). The Tasmanian State School Teachers' Federation claims that it has representation on all important departmental committees. Representation on these committees means that the Teachers' Union has been woven into the administration and is able to exert influence not only on teachers' working conditions but on the standard of education provided.

In addition Teachers' Unions take the initiative in presenting the views of teachers to officers of Education Departments. This is done, sometimes on an informal basis, but more often formally by letter or by official consultation. Consultation between Teachers' Union representatives and senior officers of Education Departments take place at regular intervals in some States, at irregular intervals in others. In the first half of 1954 the Victorian Teachers' Union, represented by its

(39) 'Practically every Departmental committee operating in this State has teacher representation. In many cases the Federation has as many representatives as Departmental representatives, and, in addition, some of the Departmental representatives on the committee are members of the Federation.'

President and Secretary, had two discussions with the Minister, four with the Director and eight with other departmental officers. Matters raised at such conferences may be those which relate to the improvement of the education service, such as the shortage of school accommodation, problems associated with the school curriculum, raising the school leaving age, etc. On the other hand they are more likely to be those which relate to the teachers' working conditions, systems of classification and promotion, size of classes, accommodation, and so on.

Although Teachers' Unions endeavour to place teachers' views before Education Departments, the Departments do not always seek the prior advice of Teachers' Unions on matters of educational policy. Prior consultation is not a right, nor is it automatic in any Australian State. In Western Australia, an amendment to the Promotions Appeal Board Act, dealing with the important question of seniority for teachers, was passed.

(40) The Victorian Teachers' Journal, June 1954, p. 117.
(41) Teachers' Unions have the right of prior consultation in some countries. In New Zealand no new legislation is introduced without consultation. The Educational Institute of Scotland also has the right of prior consultation.
through the Legislative Assembly. The Teachers' Union maintained that apart from sending their proposals to the Public Service Commissioner, they were not asked to discuss the matter further with either the Education Department or with the Public Service Commissioner. They knew nothing further about the Act or its contents until they learned in the press that the Bill had passed all stages.

In New South Wales, the Murrumbidgee Regional Area, the first of its kind in that State, was established without any prior consultation with the Teachers' Federation. The following Annual Conference of teachers in New South Wales adopted in its report this statement of policy:

'Before important changes in policy and administration are undertaken in education, and which therefore affect the lives and conditions of teachers and pupils, consultation should take place with the organisation of the public school teachers of this State, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation.'

Despite this strong statement, the right of prior consultation was not established. In 1951 the Federation first read in the press of the establishment of further

area directorates; in 1953 the Education Department of New South Wales suddenly announced, in the middle of the school year, a change in the procedure for the Intermediate Examination. No prior consultation had been held with the Teachers' Federation in either case. In Victoria, the Minister for Education had promised to discuss with the Teachers' Union the scheme for insuring schoolchildren against accidents. When the representatives of the Teachers' Union arrived for the discussion 'it immediately became clear that the scheme had been finalised and was ready for implementation'.

As well as using representation and consultation as a method of approach Teachers' Unions sometimes use the deputation, particularly as a method of approach to Members of Parliament. In 1953 a deputation from the Queensland Teachers' Union waited on the Minister of Public Instruction, advocating a Teaching Profession Act, the setting up of a Teachers' Tribunal and the abolition of the Department of Education in favour of an Education Commission. In Victoria, the school building lag created a shortage of accommodation for pupils, so the

(45) The Queensland Teachers' Journal, October, 1953, pp.6-1.
Victorian Teachers' Union headed a deputation to the Premier and Minister of Education urging immediate action. When finances for State education became a major issue in post-war years, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation organised a deputation to the Federal Minister for Social Services advocating more Commonwealth aid for education.

Teachers' Unions often find that the normal procedures of conferences, consultations and deputations fail to bring results. Therefore they are forced to publicise the matter either in their own journals or in the press. Publicity has become such an important method of achieving objectives that some of the larger Teachers' Unions have appointed their own Publicity Officers.

In Queensland conditions in State Schools became so bad in 1953 because of the lack of necessary school materials and equipment that the Editorial of the Teachers' Journal was addressed: 'An Open Letter to the Premier of Queensland Concerning the Disgraceful Conditions in the State Schools of Queensland'. The editorial trenchantly

criticised the government for 'crass and unprecedented neglect'. There followed a bitter newspaper controversy between the Teachers' Union and the Minister and the resultant publicity effected some improvement in school conditions. 

There is evidence that in some States, criticism of educational policy by Teachers' Unions is not always welcomed by the Department or the Minister. In 1939 the Minister of Education in New South Wales took exception to a discussion by the Teachers' Federation on educational policy and expenditure. He declined to meet representatives of the Federation and refused to deliver the opening address at the Annual Conference of the Federation. The teachers' stand was fully explained in their Journal. In 1950 the Education Department attempted to prevent criticism by the New South Wales Teachers' Federation of conditions at the Hargreave Park School. When the Federation publicised facts about the conditions at this school, the Minister for Education attacked the Federation for its criticism.

(49) Education. (N.S.W.), 11 Dec. 1939 and 15 Aug. 1940.
The Public Service Board also questioned the President of the Federation and the Headmaster of the school about an alleged breach of Public Service Regulations by these officers in making such public comments.

Closely linked with activities of Teachers' Unions designed to achieve objectives relating both to the economic and industrial problems of teachers and to the advancement of education is the publication of a union journal. These journals and their contents may be very briefly surveyed.

'The Victorian Teachers' Journal'. Most of the space is devoted to reports dealing with the work of the Council of the V.T.U., on matters relating directly to the material well-being of teachers, such as salaries, classifications and promotion. A rural work programme is published monthly.

but rarely any articles on method or on items of current educational interest.

'The Queensland Teachers' Journal.' About half the space is given over to topics directly related to the service of education and the remainder to questions of salary and teachers' working conditions.

'The Journal of the South Australian Teachers' Institute.' This journal differs from the other journals above in that it deals mainly with matters of educational interest and rarely with the activities of the Institute and its work for teachers.

'The Western Australia Teachers' Journal.' This journal devotes most of the space to the economic status of the teacher and to matters concerning the teachers' conditions of employment. There are no articles on method or accounts of interesting experiments or of the results of research in education.

(51) Some recent articles on matters relating to the service of education and to the technique of the teacher: 'The School Leaving Age'. 'British Education'. 'The Marking of English Composition'.

(52) Such topics have included in recent issues: 'The Future of Secondary Education'. 'Craftwork in Primary Schools'. 'The Report of the Education Inquiry Committee'.
Thus Teachers' Union Journals are in the main a medium for disseminating information about the activities of the Union in promoting the economic and industrial welfare of teachers. It is exceptional in these journals to find a great amount of space devoted to information and articles which are concerned with improving the teachers' technique or which are related to the discussion of problems in modern education.

Departments of Education, which assume responsibility for the in-service training of teachers, have realised that this gap in educational reading for teachers should be closed. They, too, have entered the field of publication. For a long time the official gazette was the major publication in each State and its main purpose was to convey instructions, advertise vacancies and to provide other official information. In some States it was the practice to include in the official gazette, articles which would be of value to the teacher in keeping him abreast of modern educational thought. However, Departments of Education are now tending to develop this aspect as a special activity of their publications branches. In three States the Departments are now publishing, usually as a supplement to the official gazette, a magazine entirely
given over to articles and information of this kind. 'The Educational Magazine' (Victoria) contains reprints of articles in educational journals from overseas as well as original contributions from members of the departmental teaching service in Victoria. 'Tasmanian Education' appears to have more local colour than the Victorian magazine and to provide more articles on particular aspects of classroom teaching. 'Education' (W. Aust.) is the most recent of these departmental sponsored educational magazines. In the words of the Director on its initial appearance:

'It's contents will include articles of a practical value to the class teacher, covering discussions on method and interpretation of curricula; but in addition it will include matters of interest relating to education beyond the State. (53)'

In the field of educational journals the position of the Non-State teachers must be noted. As they are not eligible for membership of Teachers' Unions they naturally have little to do with their journals. In any case, in view of the contents already analysed, the journals would be of little interest to them. Neither the official gazettes nor the departmental magazines are disseminated widely enough.

(53) Education (W.A.) Vol.1, No.1 November, 1952, p.3.
to reach them in any quantity. Moreover there are many factors which make it extremely difficult for them to produce an educational magazine of the kind referred to above. 'The Australian Teacher' is one exception, a magazine mainly for Non-State teachers, containing articles by men of standing in the educational world.

The discussion up to this point has centred round certain methods used by Teachers' Unions, such as representation on departmental committees, consultation and conferences with departmental officials, deputations to Members of Parliament and publicity through Union journals. It was observed earlier that these methods could be used either to promote the industrial and economic objectives of teachers or to improve the service of education. In practice, however, Teachers' Unions have used them almost entirely for the former purpose. This is an indication that there are differences between Teachers' Unions and the model professional association, as examined, and these differences may now be stated.

(54) Produced by the Teachers' Guild of N.S.W.
Teachers' Unions as Professional Associations

There are some obvious differences between Teachers' Unions and the model of the professional association previously examined. Professional associations have a territorial comprehensiveness in that there is usually one association for each State of the Commonwealth, whereas there are numerous associations for teachers. Professional associations also have a functional comprehensiveness in that all registered members of the profession are eligible for membership of the association. Membership of the smaller Non-State teachers' associations on the other hand is determined by rank within the occupation, while the larger State Teachers' Unions also have a restricted membership.

Nevertheless, there are many respects in which Teachers' Unions are like the model of the professional association. On the negative side neither Teachers' Unions nor professional associations are training or testing authorities and they may not necessarily be represented on these organisations. Neither Teachers' Unions nor professional associations are the disciplinary bodies for major breaches of conduct, though they may deal
with breaches of an ethical code set up by the association. On the positive side, Teachers' Unions are like professional associations in that their aim is to improve the standard of the service, in their case the service of education. This they aim to do by conducting activities similar to those of the professional associations, by arranging meetings and discussions to keep the teacher abreast of modern techniques, by publishing a journal, by providing libraries for teachers and by setting up a code of ethics to regulate their conduct.

Despite these similarities in their aims it is apparent that there is an underlying difference between Teachers' Unions as examined and the model professional association.

When Teachers' Unions are contrasted with the model professional association, the most obvious difference is that Teachers' Unions are organisations of employees, whereas the model professional association is an organisation of self-employed persons. This means that Teachers' Unions in their activities and stated objectives will give more prominence to improving the remuneration and working conditions of their members than will the model professional
association. In this respect the Teachers' Union will behave more like a trade union than will the model professional association. This is further illustrated by their legal status and by their affiliation with the trade union movement in some States.

It is, however, important to note that although Teachers' Unions function in some respects like trade unions they are nevertheless concerned with the advancement of education. In this respect they are not substantially different from the model professional association in its concern for advancing the profession.

However, the means by which Teachers' Unions seek improvement of standards among teachers differentiates them from the model; and this difference in means relates to the fact that teachers are employees. To say that teachers are employees is another way of saying that the responsibility for providing the service of education rests with the State, the Church or with some other body, and not with the teachers themselves.

In so far as State teachers are concerned, the State provides the service of education. The State provides the buildings and equipment; the State determines the demand by making the service compulsory between certain ages;
the State trains, appoints and pays the teachers; the
State determines the nature of the service by prescribing
the curriculum; the State supervises the quality of the
service by appointing inspectors. Above all, the State
charges a government department with the responsibility
for organising and administering the service.

When the professional model is examined, it is clear
that the service is provided by individual members,
assisted by the professional association. The group
itself provides the personnel, the equipment, and the
organisation around which the service is built. The
professional association ensures the standard of the
service by seeing that members are competent, up-to-date
and honourable of character. It was noted that the
professional association has such control over individual
members that it can achieve its aim to improve the
standard of the service without reference to other authority.

As Teachers' Unions do not provide the service it
is not possible for them to raise their standards
merely by promoting certain forms of collective activity
among their own members, in the same way as professional
associations. Indeed, the recognised activities of a
professional association which Teachers' Unions aim to
carry out become superfluous or ineffective. They may set up a code of ethics, but have no authority to discipline teachers; they may aim to keep teachers up-to-date, but in fact the Education Department carries out in-service training; they may publish journals, but individual teachers must not criticise the department either in union journals or in the press; they may use deputations, conferences, public meetings and be represented on departmental committees, but the result is often ineffective; they may consult the department to suggest improvements, but have no right of prior consultation.

It has been said above that to say that State teachers' organisations are employee organisations is merely one aspect of the fact that the State accepts responsibility for the provision of the education service. It could also be argued that merely by acting as trade unions and seeking better working conditions and higher wages teachers are in fact achieving an improvement in professional standards. That is, in the case of teachers' organisations there is no sharp differentiation between activities aimed at improving working conditions and salaries, and activities aimed at raising professional standards. The building of more modern schools, the
lowering of the size of classes and the provision of better equipment, for example, would improve teachers' working conditions and at the same time raise professional standards.

It should be noted that the comparison made here is between teachers' organisations and a model professional association described in Chapter Two. Whether the actual development of professional associations is taking them away from this model towards a type of organisation more closely resembling that of the teachers' is a matter for discussion later in this study.

Finally it must be said that the professional standards of service for teachers and the standard of education provided by the State are interdependent. Therefore Teachers' Unions seeking to raise professional standards can only do so by exercising a persuasive influence on the State and its instrumentalities. Under these circumstances they assume the role of a pressure group against the State and use methods which make them quite unlike the model professional association.
Chapter Five

THE TEACHERS' CODE OF CONDUCT

"Teachers must be sought for the children who are free from scandal in their lives, who are unimpeachable in their manners, and in experience the very best that may be found. For to receive a proper education is the source and root of all goodness............."

Plutarch. The Education of Children - Moralia. c.46-120 A.D.

It has already been observed that the service rendered by a professional man to his client is affected not only by his technical competence but also by his (1) standard of conduct. Thus his behaviour at all times, in his relationship to his client and in his private life, must conform to a certain standard, determined in part by a code of ethics of a professional association and in part by decisions of a disciplinary tribunal set up by statute for that purpose.

Teachers' conduct must now be examined to see whether it conforms to a similar pattern. It will be convenient to separate four important areas of the

(1) See pp. 67-85.
teachers' conduct, i.e., conduct

(a) as a teacher in the classroom,
(b) as a public servant,
(c) as a member of a Teachers' Union,
(d) in his private life.

The various controls over his conduct in these capacities must be ascertained and an attempt made to compare the overall standard of conduct with that exhibited by the professional model.

(a) As a teacher in the classroom

In relation to his pupil, the teacher is regarded at common law as being 'in loco parentis'. This is true whether the teacher is employed in the Public Service or in Non-State schools or as a governess or tutor. For teachers in the Public Service there are additional controls over their conduct in the classroom and these are examined separately.

(2) 'In loco parentis': This legal status arises when the parent surrenders temporarily some of his exclusive rights to control and educate his child, as, for example, when he places his child under the care of a teacher, scoutmaster or cub leader. At law, this person stands in place of the parent, having the same rights and duties as the parent, but only as is necessary for the welfare of the child under those circumstances. Shepherd v Essex C.C. (1913), 29 T.L.R., 303 Fitzgerald v Northcote (1865) 4 F. & F. 656

(3) post, page 207.
Being 'in loco parentis' gives the teacher a certain measure of authority over the child but it is in effect a delegated authority. Whatever authority a parent has over his child may be exercised by the teacher, provided that the parent has not withdrawn that authority in whole or in part. A parent may direct that a child is not to receive corporal punishment, for example, and a teacher who subsequently inflicts such punishment may be guilty of assault. On the other hand even the parent has not the right to inflict on his child punishment which is excessive and unreasonable, so he certainly could not delegate such authority to a teacher. The mere consent of the parent to severe punishment of the child by the teacher will be no defence should the teacher have to stand trial for aggravated assault or manslaughter.

(4) In one case the schoolmaster wrote to the parent requesting permission to beat the child for obstinacy and the parent consented to excessive punishment. The teacher inflicted the punishment and the child died. The Court held that the master must stand trial for manslaughter.

For a more detailed treatment of the legal aspects of teachers' conduct see my unpublished B.Ed. thesis, 'Some Aspects of the Legal Status of the Teacher in the Victorian Education Department, 1950'. (Melbourne University Education Library.)
Being 'in loco parentis' not only gives the teacher certain rights over the pupil but it also imposes on him certain obligations. The teacher owes a duty of care towards his pupil and the test is that of a 'careful father'. While every father is likely to have an accident happen to his child at home it is less likely to happen if the father is careful and takes reasonable precautions. Thus a teacher may be sued for damages if a pupil is injured as the result of the teacher's negligence. While the Education Department may be joined in such an action, (except in Victoria), it has been held in a New South Wales case that the teacher's responsibility towards his pupil arises not because he is the servant of the State but because he is 'in loco parentis'. In this particular case the teacher was

(6) The Liability of the Crown in Victoria. See 11 A.L.J. 402, 22 A.L.J. 415 and 22 A.L.J. 102. The position briefly is that the Crown Remedies and Liabilities Act (1928) gives any person in Victoria the right to claim against the Crown but such claim must arise out of contract. Some Government authorities such as the Railways admit limited liability, but the Education Department retains the immunity of the Crown. The Minister is also protected by Statute against any action or suit in connection with his duties. (Education Act 1928 s.10).
preparing for a chemistry lesson and asked a pupil to bring a glass containing liquid from another room. The pupil, thinking it was dirty water, splashed some of it on to another boy. In fact it was sulphuric acid and seriously damaged the boy's eye. In an action for damages the father was awarded £431 against the Department. On appeal the Full Court held that the responsibility was the teacher's not the Department's. In the judgment of the Chief Justice, Sir William Cullen:

'The teacher, in the exercise of his special functions of imparting instruction and maintaining discipline, acts, not as the servant or agent of the Government, but in the exercise of an authority delegated to him by the parents of his pupils.'

This legal status of being 'in loco parentis' is regarded by the Courts as one of trust and responsibility. Thus there are higher statutory penalties prescribed for teachers who break this trust. Under the Crimes Act, (8) (Victoria), the penalty for certain sexual offences is laid down as imprisonment for not more than ten years' gaol but if the offender is a school master and the girl is his pupil, then the penalty is increased to not...

(7) Hole v Williams (1910) S.R. (N.S.W.) 6.
(8) 19 Geo.V No.3664, Crimes Act 1928 s.44 (1) and (2).
more than fifteen years' gaol. On lesser charges the penalty is prescribed as not more than three years imprisonment but in the case of the teacher, this is increased to not more than five years. The Courts also tend to look more seriously at teachers who break this trust of being placed in charge of young children. In the exercise of their discretionary powers judges tend to inflict heavier penalties on teachers found guilty of such offences.

Thus in the first instance the standard of conduct required of a teacher in relation to his pupil derives from common law and that standard is the standard of conduct expected of a reasonable parent. The teacher, acting in place of the parent, is in a position of trust, and if he break that trust he will receive heavier penalties.

(b) The conduct of a teacher as a public servant

The conduct and discipline of public servants in each State is governed by particular Public Service Acts
and Regulations under those Acts. In three States these provisions also apply to teachers. (9)

In all States, teachers' conduct is further controlled by Education and Teaching Service Acts and Regulations and Instructions issued under those Acts. (10)

(9) Public Service Acts and their applicability to teachers:
N.S.W.: The Public Service Act 1902-49 and the Public Service Board Regulations. Both applicable to teachers.
Vic.: Public Service Act 1946-51 and Regulations under the Act. Certain sections apply to teachers under s.60 of the Teaching Service Act 1946-50.
Qld.: Public Service Acts 1920-50 and Regulations under the Act apply to teachers.

Teachers are exempt from the provisions of the Public Service Act (South Australia) 1936-53, the Public Service Act (Western Australia) 1904-50 and the Public Service Act (Tasmania) 1923-52 and the Regulations under those Acts.

(10) Education and Teaching Service Acts applicable to teachers:
N.S.W.: Public Instruction Act 1880-1944.
Vic.: Education Act 1928-50.
Teaching Service Act 1946-50.
Qld.: State Education Acts 1875-1951.
W. Aust.: Education Act 1928-1943.
Tas.: Education Act 1952-.

Regulations and Instructions to teachers issued under these Acts:
N.S.W.: Public Instruction Act. Regulations and General Instructions to Teachers.
Vic.: Teaching Service (Governor in Council) Regulations 1951.

Regulations of the Education Department 1950.
Qld.: Regulations of the Department of Public Instruction 1934, General Instructions for the Guidance of Teachers and Others, Instructions to District Inspectors of Schools.
S. Aust.: Regulations under the Education Act 1915-48 and the Consolidation of Regulations. Act 1937. (March 1949)
Tas.: The Education Regulations, 1950.
In the Public Service Acts and Regulations there is a general principle that a public servant must not be guilty of any improper or disgraceful conduct or any conduct unbecoming a public servant. This principle is supplemented by specific and detailed regulations in the form of duties, any breach of which would constitute improper or disgraceful conduct.

The extent to which the conduct of a teacher in his private life is conditioned by the fact that he is a public servant is examined separately. The extent to which being a public servant influences a teacher's conduct in his official capacity as a teacher is best seen by an examination of his relationship to one Department in the Public Service - the Education Department.

As a teacher in the Education Department he is a member of a bureaucracy in the technical sense of the term as used by Max Weber. It is typical of a bureaucracy that there is a series of hierarchically

arranged offices each of which contains a number of obligations and privileges clearly defined by specific rules. In this organisation the teacher finds that the conduct expected of him is prescribed in detail in various regulations and instructions.

It will be relevant to examine three offices in this hierarchy, those of teacher, head teacher and inspector, and to note the conduct laid down for each in relation to the Department, to senior and junior members of the teaching service, to pupils and parents and to the public as a whole.

Towards the Department the teacher has certain definite duties which are set out in Departmental Instructions and Public Service Regulations. In general, he must be loyal, obedient and efficient. In Queensland loyalty to the Department means, among other things, that he must not 'actively take part in public meetings for the discussion of the merits of the State system of education or its administration'. The teacher must acquaint himself with Regulations and

(13) Queensland Regulations 73.
Instructions. He must 'obey promptly all instructions that may be given to him....' He must maintain as confidential all matters and information which he acquires in the course of his official duties, and not divulge this to any person not officially entitled to it.

There are no specific regulations governing the conduct of a teacher towards his colleagues on the assumption that they are his equals. The bureaucratic structure of the organisation necessitates a superior-inferior status as between each and every member. There is, of course, a general instruction to all officers not to use political influence to gain promotion or other advantage. 'They will be appointed, promoted, and transferred on a due consideration of their claims and merits'. The conduct expected of a senior to a junior teacher is that the former must adopt 'methods of control which shall ensure respect and willing

(14) e.g., Western Australia Regulations, 70.
(15) Victorian Teaching Service, Reg. 2, para. 3.
(16) Victorian Teaching Service, Reg. 2(6).
(17) Queensland Regulations 74.
co-operation'. In turn, every member must pay 'proper deference and respect to his seniors in the teaching service'.

The teacher's conduct towards pupils is governed by detailed instructions and regulations covering almost every conceivable contingency. These rules supplement a general principle which is explicitly stated in some States to the effect that teacher's personal conduct ought to be an example to his pupils. Other regulations supplement his common law status of being 'in loco parentis' by detailing his authority in regard to corporal punishment, detention, expulsion, supervision and general control over pupils.

Even a teacher's relations with School Committees are specifically prescribed. Towards parents and to the public he must be courteous and civil. He must

(18) Victorian Teaching Service, Regulations 2 (4).
(19) Victorian Teaching Service, Regulations 2(5).
(20) South Australia, Regulations, Part XVIII (1) and (2) '...all teachers are to endeavour to control their pupils, as far as possible, by the force of their personal influence'.
(21) Tasmania, Education Regulations, 17, 18, 19.
(22) Queensland, Regulations 24-34; South Australia, Regulations, Part 1.
(23) Queensland, Regulations, 34; Victorian Teaching Service, Regulations 2(5).
'carefully refrain from the expression of opinions calculated to offend the religious or political views of either the pupils or their parents'.

The Head Teacher, whose responsibility is of course, much wider, is subject to instructions even more numerous and more detailed. Like the teacher, he finds his conduct is clearly defined in terms of duties. In general, he is responsible for the management of the school and has particular duties in regard to the staff and pupils. He must not, for example, find fault with the teacher in the hearing of pupils, and he must not make any report on a teacher without first showing him the report.

Inspectors, too, have their instructions on how to act towards those above and below them. They must adopt 'a friendly attitude towards children to gain their

(24) South Australia, Regulations, Part XXIX (5).
(25) e.g. Duties of Head Teachers are set out in Queensland Regulations, 97; South Australian Regulations, Part XXIX, Div. 2, Tasmanian Regulations, 21.
(26) e.g. Queensland, General Instructions, p.114.
(27) e.g. Duties of Inspectors: Queensland, 'Instructions to District Inspectors, p.120; Western Australia, Regulations, 138-153; Tasmania, Regulations p.71,(2)-(9).
confidence', they must be courteous towards teachers and treat them with kindness and consideration.

'Inspectors, in their intercourse with teachers shall have respect for their office and sympathy with their labours.' Towards the Department, Inspectors must be frank and conscious of their responsible position.

Being a public servant demands of teachers a very high standard of conduct at all times, even on such occasions as meetings of Teachers' Unions. This is illustrated by the 'Leslie Case' in New South Wales. A Deputy Headmaster, at a meeting of the Teachers' Federation, allegedly made certain comments referring to the conduct of the war in Korea. His remarks were reported to the Public Service Board, and he was suspended, charged with disgraceful and improper conduct. At the subsequent inquiry the charge was not sustained, but the Board commented:

'The Board takes the view that the expression would be grossly improper if used by an officer of the teaching service to refer to any force of the United Nations to which this country is contributing its share ........... If we were satisfied beyond reasonable doubt, there would be no room for Mr. Leslie in the Public Service of this State.'

(28) Western Australia, Regulations, 149.
(29) New South Wales Teachers' Federation Files. See also Annual Report of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, 1950, p.23.
Enough has been said to show that teachers are in the same category as public servants, so that any conduct deviating from the official code is regarded as 'conduct unbecoming a public servant'.

It must be observed in passing that teachers who are not public servants are not governed by these statutes and regulations. Where they are employed in Church schools, however, it is assumed that they will at all times set a very high standard of conduct.

The procedure for reporting breaches of conduct is very carefully laid down in regulations. One part of the behaviour pattern of a teacher as a public servant is to report to the Department whenever he is involved in any matter before a Stipendiary Magistrate, or in legal proceedings; Head Teachers must also report inefficiency, misconduct, incompetence, insubordination, neglect of duty, immoral conduct and breaches of regulations by any teacher. In addition, the Education Departments and Public Service Boards have other sources of information about the conduct of a teacher, such as parents' complaints, newspaper reports,

(30) e.g. Tasmania, Regulations, 14, p. 72.
(31) Reporting of breaches : Victoria, Regulations, 2(11); Queensland, Regulations, 90; Tasmania, Regulations, p. 72 (14); South Australia, Regulations, XXIX (38).
School Committees and so on. Such complaints may be investigated by the Inspector, the Director, the Minister and the Public Service Board or Teachers' Tribunal.

Where complaints about a teacher are made to the Head Teacher he may investigate them himself and if he considers that they are of a minor nature he may settle the matter personally. If, however, the complaint is serious or indicates that the teacher has infringed regulations or instructions he must report the matter to the Director.

In some States the Director requests the District Inspector to investigate the complaint and, if need be, conduct a departmental inquiry. In Tasmania, where this procedure is followed, the teacher may be represented by a member of the Teachers' Federation. The report of the District Inspector and his recommendations are then considered by the Director and the Minister with whom the final decision regarding penalty, and appeal against that penalty, usually lies.

(32) e.g., Tasmania, Regulations 7.
In other States, particularly New South Wales, the Public Service Board plays a more important role as the disciplinary body for all public servants, including teachers. The New South Wales Public Service Act provides for various methods in dealing with complaints against public servants. The teacher may be temporarily suspended and the matter referred to the permanent head of the Department. The permanent head may hear the allegations and if he considers the matter not of major importance, may reprimand or caution the offender and remove the suspension. If he considers the matter to be more serious he may report it to the Board. If the teacher does not admit the truth of the charges against him the Public Service Board then conducts an inquiry or appoints some other officer or officers to do so.

In Victoria a similar procedure is followed except that there is now a Teachers' Tribunal, which, among other things, performs the disciplinary functions of the Public Service Board in relation to teachers. This Tribunal includes a representative of the teachers.

(34) Public Service Act, New South Wales, s.56 (2).
(35) Act No.5125, Teaching Service Act, 1946, s.5.
Punishment in all States may be by way of caution or reprimand, fine or demotion, or, in extreme cases, dismissal from the service.

(c) Conduct as a member of a Teachers' Union

The conduct of a teacher as a member of a Teachers' Union is the same as that expected of any member of a voluntary association, and that is, adherence to the rules of membership. If any member is guilty of conduct subversive to the objects of the association or of breaking the rules he may be dealt with in the manner laid down in the constitution of the association to which he assented on becoming a member. If the rules of a Teachers' Union state that a teacher may be expelled from the Union or refused membership if guilty of certain conduct then the association has power to carry out such conduct.

(36) Ibid, s60(c), 'if any charges are admitted or are found by the Tribunal to be proved the Tribunal may according to the nature of the evidence reduce such teacher to a lower rank in the teaching service or to a lower salary or deprive him of any future annual increments he would otherwise have been entitled to receive or any part thereof or of his leave of absence during such time as the Tribunal thinks fit or dismiss such teacher from the teaching service or dispense with his services or request him to resign.'

penalties. If the rules include adherence to a code of behaviour then a member must keep to the code or be penalised.

Only three Teachers' Unions have an ethical code included in their constitutions, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, the Queensland Teachers' Federation and the State School Teachers' Federation of Tasmania. These codes lay down specific rules relating to the conduct of a teacher vis-a-vis other teachers. The four major rules so laid down are:

(i) a teacher must not criticise another teacher's work to persons outside the Department,

(ii) he must not criticise another teacher's work in the hearing of pupils,

(iii) he must not submit adverse reports on teachers without first informing them, and

(iv) competition between teachers at the expense of the pupils is to be avoided.

There is no particular method of reporting breaches of the code. If any cases arise they are considered by the Executive of the Union. There are no Practice Committees. Penalties are simply a fine
or cancellation of membership.

(d) **Conduct of a teacher in his private life**

The conduct of a teacher in his private life is also an important part of the total picture of the teacher's standard of conduct.

Because he is a teacher he has no particular privileges or protection in his private life. On the contrary, if he is a public servant he does not have all the rights and duties of an ordinary citizen. He is exempt from the law requiring jury service. He must not comment on or criticise the administration of any government department. A teacher in New South Wales wrote a letter to a newspaper in his capacity as a citizen and as secretary of the local Progress Association. The letter detailed efforts of the association over a number of years to have a school built in the area, and criticised the inactivity of Ministers of Education in that period. The teacher was questioned by an officer of the Education Department and warned that his action was an infringement of

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(38) e.g., Act No. 3707, Juries Act, 1929 (Victoria).
(39) e.g., Act No. 3660, The Constitution Act Amendment Act, 1929 (Victoria) s. 433 (3).
Regulation 17(a) of the Public Service Regulations. It was suggested that he relinquish his position as secretary of the association. In Queensland, teachers may not act as local correspondents of newspapers. In all States restrictions are placed on the political activities of all public servants, including teachers. The procedure to be followed by teachers should they desire to contest State or Federal elections is carefully laid down. It is usually provided that they first resign before commencing the campaign and if not elected they may be re-instated.

Other activities, though lawful in themselves, may be denied the teacher because they might impair his moral influence over his pupils. He may not, for example, be a bookmaker or a publican in his private life.

(41) Regulations of the Department of Public Instruction, Queensland, No.73.
(42) In Victoria, Act No.5308 Public Service-Commonwealth Elections Act, 1940, s.2 and Act No.4334, Parliamentary Elections-Railway Employees and Civil Servants Act, 1935, s.2.
(43) All States have similar provisions as contained in s.52 of the Victorian Public Service Act 1946 by which outside employment is prohibited.
In any case, he may not engage in any business or private practice of any kind without the express permission of the Minister. (44)

He must also exhibit in his private life such qualities as financial stability and solvency. If his estate be sequestrated, either voluntarily or compulsorily, he must report such fact to the Education Department or Public Service Board, and give an explanation of the cause. In New South Wales bankruptcy is itself an offence under the Public Service Act and the teacher may find his services dispensed with, 'unless he prove to the satisfaction of the (Public Service) Board that his pecuniary embarrassment has not been caused or attended by any fraud, extravagance, or dishonourable conduct'.

Although a teacher obeys the same laws as any other citizen, a breach of these laws by a teacher, even in his role as a private citizen, is viewed by

(44) 'A member shall not engage, even indirectly, in any business which would have the effect of impairing his moral influence over his pupils or in the community generally.' Victorian Teaching Service, Regulations 2 (10).
(45) Victorian Teaching Service, Regulations 2 (14).
(46) There was a recent case in New South Wales where a teacher had come out from England at considerable expense. He was appointed to a country town where housing was very difficult, and was forced to purchase a house. This cost, plus the high cost of living and the low salaries then paid, brought him to bankruptcy. The Public Service Board was about to take action under S 61(2) of the P.S.A. when the teacher resigned. - (N.S.W.T.E. files.)
the Courts more seriously, because a teacher is expected to set a high standard of conduct in the community.

In a recent case in New South Wales, for example, a teacher and his son who had been fighting in their own home were convicted at the Court of Petty Sessions on a number of charges, including one of using obscene language. The Stipendiary Magistrate said, inter alia,

'It was shocking language for a teacher to use near a public street. In view of the position you hold your reprehensible conduct could only be regarded by decent citizens with contempt and contumely. You are not a fit and proper person to be in charge of school children.'

Unlawful acts committed by a State teacher in his private life are also of concern to the teachers' disciplinary body.

(a) Commission of serious crime or felony by any public servant, including teachers,

brings summary dismissal.

(47) From files made available by the New South Wales Teachers' Federation.

(48) A similar provision to this applies in all States, e.g., The New South Wales Public Service Act 1902 s.61(2):

'If any officer is convicted of any felony or other infamous offence he shall be summarily dismissed.'
(b) Lesser breaches of the law by teachers in their private lives also bring additional penalties from the Public Service Board or Teachers' Tribunal.

Just as the drunken doctor driver was reprimanded by the Medical Disciplinary Board so the drunken teacher driver was reprimanded by the Public Service Board of New South Wales for 'disgraceful conduct', although the principle underlying each case is slightly different. A doctor must be in a position to treat the sick at all times so 'being drunk' was the disgraceful conduct. A teacher is expected to set an example to the rest of the community, so 'being drunk' and 'being drunk while driving a car' constitute in effect two examples of disgraceful conduct. A teacher who was fined by the Court for being drunk at a football match on a Saturday afternoon was also fined by the Public Service Board for 'conduct unbecoming a teacher'. Another teacher was fined by the Court for negligent driving and with failing to stop after an accident. The Public Service Board warned him that in
in future 'his conduct must be above reproach, for as a teacher he must set an example to the rest of the community.'

The conduct of the teacher in his private life is also influenced by the fact that the community expects him to set a high standard. Such influence is indirect in Australia and rarely takes the form of direction and control of teachers' private lives by individuals or groups in the community as it does in some other countries. There are no restrictions on their friends or associates. They may freely belong to clubs and societies, they may smoke and drink and gamble. It is left to the teacher to set his own standard in such matters but it is expected that he will be guided by the responsible position he holds.

(49) New South Wales Teachers' Federation Files.
(50) In some American States teachers may not smoke in public, may not appear in the streets without a jacket and may not drink alcohol even in their own homes. Year Book of Education 1953, p.225.

A recent inquiry in Canada instance the following restrictions on the private life of rural teachers by local communities: smoking, drinking, choice of companions, attendance required at church, playing cards, dancing and going away at week-ends. Canadian Education, 1949, p.117.

(51) 'In the employment of officials and teachers of the school system, the State may very properly inquire into the company they keep.' Sherman Hinton, J. in an appeal against the Feinberg Law of New York State, 1952. Adler et al v Board of Education of the City of New York, U.S. Reports, Vol.342 at 482.
Such expectation by the community does act as a measure of control over the standard of conduct of a teacher.

The standard of conduct expected of a teacher in his private life becomes, for a teacher in the public service, the standard required of him according to public service regulations. This is summed up by the general principle expressed in the Regulations of the Victorian Teachers' Tribunal, that a teacher

'must not, even out of school hours, be guilty of any action unbecoming a person holding his position.' (52)

Teachers' Conduct and Professional Codes

It has been shown that the conduct of teachers is determined by common law and statutes, by regulations and instructions of the Education Department, Public Service Board or Teachers' Tribunal, by rules and codes of Teachers' Unions, and by the teacher's own conception of the standard expected of him. All these are re-inforced by the expectation of the community that a teacher ought to set an example in his conduct.

The standard of conduct required of members of the older professions of medicine and law is also determined by common law and statute, but the rulings of a

(52) Teaching Service Regulations 2(10).
Statutory Committee and the ethical code of a professional association in fact play a major part in determining that standard.

Thus there is obviously a difference between teaching and the professional model, not necessarily in the standard of conduct, but in the pattern of control over that standard. In that regard it seems clear that in the case of teachers the ethical codes of Teachers' Unions and the rulings of Statutory Committees perform a different function in determining the teacher's standard of conduct. These must therefore be examined separately.

Although some Teachers' Unions have ethical codes, these are not well known to teachers and even less so to members of the public. They form no part of the teachers' training programme and no attempt is made by the Teachers' Unions to keep members informed of the content and purpose of the code. The code makes no reference to teachers outside the Union or to those outside the State teaching service. Indeed, neither the Unions nor their members have power to enforce principles of conduct on teachers who are not members of the association. In this respect teachers' associations differ from the British Medical Association or the Law Institute. (53)
The procedure for reporting breaches of the code to Teachers' Unions is weak and ineffective. There is no Practice Committee to which teachers might appeal for a ruling on particular issues. The Unions do not have a special committee set up to deal with breaches of the code; this is in fact done by the Executive Officers of the association in their normal capacity as office bearers. In so doing, they do not determine standards of conduct, they merely decide whether a member has broken a rule of the association. It could not be maintained that these officers perform the same function as the Ethics Committee of the British Medical Association or the Practice Committee of the Law Institute.

The ineffectiveness of the ethical codes of Teachers' Unions is further demonstrated by the penalties and sanctions imposed. Expulsion from the association is the severest penalty. In contrast with expulsion from a professional association, this penalty is unlikely to affect the teacher's salary nor his career in the Education Department. The Education Department takes no cognisance of the matter unless such conduct is also an infringement of departmental regulations. Nor
can union members refuse to co-operate with the
expelled member in the performance of official duties,
for their conduct is also bound, in turn, by depart-
mental regulations. Of course, in New South Wales,
where there is compulsory unionism, and in Queensland,
where there is absolute preference for unionists,
expulsion from a union does raise some difficult
problems. The expelled teacher would have to join
another union, such as the Australian Workers' Union,
as some members have done in Queensland. In Tasmania,
where the Teachers' Union has an ethical code and there
is no compulsory unionism, and no preference to
unionists, then expulsion from the association merely
saves the member the expense of membership.

The most that can be said about the ethical codes
of Teachers' Unions is that they are on the records
and have been peacefully there for years. Whatever
purpose they might serve in keeping up the appearance
of a profession, the fact remains that they have no
influence whatsoever in guiding the conduct of teachers.

While it is true that the ethical codes of
Teachers' Unions do not play any part in formulating
the standard of conduct of a teacher, corresponding
in importance to the part played by the ethical
codes of professional associations, nevertheless the
importance of the code of conduct being developed by
the Public Service Board must not be overlooked. This
could well become a code of conduct far more exacting
than the professional codes of medicine and law.

The other medium for controlling and supervising
the conduct of members of a professional group was
a Statutory Committee, consisting of members of the
profession itself, with authority to strike off the
Register those found guilty of 'infamous conduct in
a professional respect'.

It has been shown that teaching is not organised
on this basis. There is no Register of teachers in the
sense referred to above and there is no Act of Parliament
delegating to the teaching group authority to supervise
the conduct of members concerned with the activity of
education. The State provides the service of education
and the responsibility for organising and administering
the service of education is vested in a government
department, while authority is given to Education
Departments and Public Service Boards to supervise and
control the conduct of teachers.
These bodies employ teachers, and the terms and conditions of employment include rights and duties which determine to a large extent the standard of conduct required, without the necessity of an ethical code. Moreover, so many teachers are required to provide such an extensive service that they must be organised efficiently, and the efficient organisation takes the form of a bureaucracy, in the technical sense of the term as used by Max Weber. This necessitates the formulation of specific rules for the sake of uniformity in the conduct of all teachers throughout the State.

Then again the Statutory Committee, in deciding particular cases which come before it, and in publishing its findings, tends to build up a body of law which in fact becomes part of the standard of conduct. The Public Service Board, in the case of teachers, does not act in this way for it does not publish its findings. While the standard of professional conduct is the considered opinion of professional brethren of good repute and competency, the standard of conduct of teachers is the interpretation by the Public Service Board and other authorities of numerous regulations and
instructions. These bodies however, do not consist of professional brethren but of public servants, not necessarily ex-teachers. They do not interpret the prevailing standard of conduct among teachers, they decide whether a teacher has broken a specific regulation. In most cases the Public Service Board reviews the conduct of a teacher in the light of the standard of conduct required of all public servants. A teacher is never charged with 'infamous conduct in a professional respect', he is charged with a breach of regulations. This standard of conduct does not emanate from the teaching group and its main purpose is not to protect the honour and interests of the occupation. It is imposed on the group by the provider of the service and the employer, the State, partly in the interests of efficiency and partly to protect pupils by compelling teachers to abide by a high standard of conduct.

The pattern of control over teachers' conduct is thus different from that over the conduct of professional groups. This difference has come about because the modern service of education is rendered on a different basis from that of the older services of medicine and law, and the conditions which created the pattern of conduct for
professional groups are not present in the case of teaching,

It stated, for example, that the professional man was in a position of trust and responsibility. He commanded knowledge and skill and, while still keeping within the law, could take advantage of his position by enriching himself at the expense of the patient or client. It has been shown that much of the ethical code was designed to prohibit practices which placed personal gain before the standard of service. The teacher, it has been noted, is also in a position of trust in relation to his pupil but the trust is based on different considerations. Like the professional man, the teacher has knowledge and skill, but it could scarcely be argued that he would use this to his own personal advantage and to the detriment of his pupil. The teacher is paid a fixed salary, and there is very little scope for practices which would gain for the teacher extra income at the expense of the pupil. Of course, a teacher might recommend to a parent that his child is in need of coaching and then offer to do the coaching himself. This could still occur in Non-State schools but in general the practice is prohibited by
regulation in State schools. Then again it is still the case that in some States a teacher's promotion, and with that his salary, depends to a large extent on the examination results of his pupils. Where teachers have indulged in practices designed to get promotion for themselves, such as teaching pupils before and after the prescribed school hours, the Education Department has usually stepped in and prohibited such practices by regulation. As the motive of enrichment is less likely to be a factor influencing the standard of the teacher's conduct towards his pupil, rules and codes designed by the professional association to prevent the professional man putting financial gain before service to his client cannot normally be applied to teaching. The teacher's position of trust arises because he is standing in place of the parent. This is a legal status carefully

(54) Tasmania, Regulations 91, 1 (d).

(55) c.f. 'Teachers and the Code of Ethics.' A letter to 'Education', 20 March, 1944, in which the writer complains about fellow teachers working overtime to get results for personal advancement.
defined by statute and by common law. There is less need for Teachers' Unions to supplement this with any code of conduct.

In the second place the professional activity was carried on by individual practitioners in self-employment. The relationship between the professional man and his client was individual and personal, and initially it was created on a voluntary basis. The patient was not compelled to see a doctor in the first instance, nor the client a solicitor, and even if an approach were made, the doctor or solicitor was not obliged to accept the case under all circumstances. However, once the relationship was created, it brought obligations to both parties. The doctor became obliged to see his patient when called upon, and the patient agreed not to seek the advice of another doctor without the consent of the first doctor. Teacher and pupil do not come together on this voluntary basis. In education, the parent is obliged by law to accept the service of education for his child, although he has the choice of State or Non-State school. If he accepts the State school, then he has virtually no choice of school or teacher, for his child must attend the nearest school.
and be taught by the appointed teacher. The teacher, on his side, has little choice of school, class or pupil. Because the parent is compelled to accept the service of a teacher, it is necessary to have modes of conduct precisely determined for all teachers. Then again, the service of education is not rendered on an individual basis but on a group basis. There is not the same personal relationship between teacher and pupil as between the professional man and his client. One teacher must carry out the service of education to a group of forty or more pupils simultaneously. He must discuss their work and reprimand them in front of others. Several teachers may be concerned with the education of each child. They compare notes and discuss among themselves the capabilities and character of each pupil. Moreover, they are sometimes required to commit these opinions and other matters to writing in Report Books. Admittedly the Report Book is confidential as between teacher and parent and if the parent publish it to others, that is the parent's responsibility. When this

(56) Watt v Longsdon (1930) 1 K.B. 130.
Hunt v Damon (1930) 46 T.L.R. 579.
relationship is examined closely it becomes apparent that many rules in the ethical codes of professional associations could not be applied to teaching.

Thus it could be said that the differences in the pattern of the teachers' conduct and that of the professional group stems from the difference between a group of self-employed persons rendering a service on an individual basis to those who voluntarily requested it and who were in a position to pay for it, and a group of employees acting under directions to provide a free, compulsory service on a group basis.

The differences which have been observed in the source and method of control over the conduct of teachers and of professional groups do not necessarily indicate a difference in the standard of each, nor whether these standards are based on different values. The search by the professions for values on which to base their conduct has changed ground from time to time. As T.H. Marshall points out, professions were once judged by their compatibility with the good

life. They were judged by their effect on the giving of the service, not on the recipient. Professions in themselves did not corrupt the soul like some other occupations and indeed they contributed to the good life. In modern times professions have had to make money to exist in the commercial world but by their codes they have placed restrictions on this aspect, so that it will not assume more importance than rendering the service to the individual. They now claim that the service to the individual is paramount and this is the principle which guides their conduct.

Right conduct, therefore, according to the professions, is conduct directed towards the interest of the individual client. To a large extent this must be determined by individual practitioners working from a general principle which is demonstrated from time to time by specific cases. Right conduct for teachers is obedience to many detailed regulations administered by a Public Service Board, designed to ensure an efficient service of education.

Thus both the professions and teaching are concerned with standards of conduct in performing a service to the public. Both may claim to be guided
by the same ethical value, even if in practice the method of determining and supervising that standard of conduct is different.

However in so far as the method of determining and supervising the standard of conduct is a distinguishing mark of a profession, it must be admitted that teaching differs from the model based on the older professions of medicine and law.
Chapter Six

TEACHERS AND 'PROFESSIONAL SALARIES'

'That the Australian Teachers' Federation do all in its power, on an Australia-wide basis, and through its constituent organisations, to secure adequate professional salaries for teachers........'

Motion debated at the Annual Conference of the Australian Teachers' Federation, 1952.

It was customary for a professional man to derive his income from self-employment. Although there has been a tendency in recent years for increasing numbers of professional persons to accept employee status, self-employment is still most common for the doctor and lawyer. The Commonwealth Census of 1947 revealed that 65 per cent of doctors, 83 per cent of dentists and 77 per cent of lawyers in Australia were self-employed. Teachers believe a certain level of income is a necessary condition for being recognised as a

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profession, and to a certain extent, this was supported by the evidence on incomes in the professional model previously examined. Teachers maintain that their salaries do not reach this level, so they seek 'adequate professional salaries'. It is not clear what this means. It could mean that teachers believe they ought to receive an income comparable with that received by the self-employed professionals, or it could mean that teachers are seeking a salary comparable with that received by professionals in employment.

Teachers' salaries may be compared in the first place with the incomes of self-employed professionals. The incomes of all self-employed persons in the financial year 1948-49 showed the range and distribution illustrated in Figure 2, and those of the professionals as in Figure 4.

This Figure shows that, in this period, 40 per cent of self-employed professionals had an actual income of over £1,000, while some had an income as high as £5,000 and over. When the range between £1,001 and £5,000 is examined more closely it is found that the income of half of those in this range lies between £1,500 and £3,000.

(3) Ibid, p.126.
Figure 4
Distribution of Taxpayers by Broad Income Ranges
1948-49

SELF-EMPLOYED PROFESSIONALS
(Australia)

£501+ 1 per cent
£1001-5000 39 per cent
£401-1000 33 per cent
£1-400 27 per cent

Source: The Thirty-First Report of the Commissioner of Taxation (Australia), p. 36, Table No. 21, Code 51 only.
The salaries of teachers at this time may be precisely stated, by noting the commencing salary and the range of automatic increments over a period of years before any promotion bar appears. (Table 8)

Table 8

Salaries of State Teachers, June 1949
(Primary Teachers, Male)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>£415-725</td>
<td>(13 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>£275-500</td>
<td>(10 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>£361-501</td>
<td>(8 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Aust.</td>
<td>£360-500</td>
<td>(8 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Aust.</td>
<td>£320-420</td>
<td>(8 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>£473-573</td>
<td>(7 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Sources

N.S.W. Agreement between the Public Service Board of N.S.W. and the N.S.W. Teachers' Federation, 29 April, 1949.

Vic. Teaching Service (Classification, Salaries and Allowances) Regulations 29 December, 1946.


S. Aust. Award of the Teachers' Salaries Board published in The Education Gazette, South Australia, 15 February, 1949.

W. Aust. Reclassification of the Teaching Service as published in the Western Australian Government Gazette, 18 October, 1946.

The above rates do not include the cost-of-living adjustment, which, in most States was comparatively small at that time. e.g. the following amounts should be added to ascertain the gross salary: N.S.W. £8; Vic. £90; S. Aust. £21; Tas. £10.
When these salary rates are compared with the distribution of teachers in their respective classification systems, it is seen that the great majority of teachers were receiving, at that time, a gross income of less than £700. On the other hand, the range and distribution of income of self-employed persons, (Figure 4), showed that 40 per cent of those in professional groups received over £1,000 and most of these between £1,500 and £3,000 per annum.

More precise information is available from one State, South Australia, to make this comparison even clearer. The distribution of State teachers' salaries may be compared with the distribution of the salaries of self-employed professionals in Australia. (Figure 5)

When the distribution of the teacher's salary for South Australia is examined, it is seen that no teacher, male or female, received over £1,000, and 91 per cent of men and 100 per cent of women received less than £700. Three quarters of men teachers had salaries between £500 and £700, while 91 per cent of women received less than £500. The teachers' salary rates in Table 8 suggest that these South Australian figures could be taken as an average for all States.

(5) In Victoria, for example, 63 per cent of teachers were in Classes V and IV which would correspond with the automatic salary range referred to in Table 8.
Figure 5

Distribution of Incomes 1948-49

**SELF-EMPLOYED PROFESSIONALS (Australia)**

and

**TEACHERS (South Australia)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£5001+</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£1001-5000</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£401-1000</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£1-400</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£701-1000</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£601-700</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£501-600</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£401-500</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£1-400</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professional Self-Employed (Australia)

State Teachers

Male (South Australia)

Female (South Australia)
On these figures, it is evident that the professional self-employed received at least twice and probably three times as much as a male teacher, and at least three times and probably four times as much as a female teacher.

It has been pointed out in an earlier Chapter, however, that other factors ought to be considered in comparing the incomes of salaried teachers with the incomes of self-employed professionals. Teachers in the Public Service have superannuation benefits while self-employed professionals must look to their income during their earning years to provide for their retirement. Teachers earn their salary from a regular working week with shorter working hours than most professionals and with liberal holidays. They have practically no capital outlay whereas the self-employed professional usually has an office and office staff, heavy running costs and a considerable overhead. These factors, when taken into account, suggest that a comparison between the incomes of teachers and the incomes of self-employed persons would be difficult.

A fairer comparison would be between the salaries of teachers and the salaries of employed professionals. Such a comparison, again using the Taxation Reports and the South Australian teachers’ salaries for 1948-49, gives the picture as in Figure 6.
Figure 6

Distribution of Incomes 1948-49

SALARIED PROFESSIONALS (Australia)
and

TEACHERS (South Australia)

Salaried Professionals (Australia)

£5001+ (1%)
£1001-500 (3%)
£401-1000 (37%)
£1-400 (59%)

£701-1000 (9%)
£501-700 (21%)
£301-500 (50%)
£1-300 (15%)
£1-400 (5%)

State Teachers Male (South Australia)

£401-700 (37%)

£1-400 (63%)

State Teachers Female (South Australia)
When a comparison is made between these groups, teachers appear in a more favourable position. Only 5 per cent of male teachers had a salary under £400 compared with 59 per cent of the salaried professionals, and 95 per cent of male teachers had salaries within the range £401-1000 compared with 37 per cent of salaried professionals. Salaried professionals showed to a slight advantage at higher levels, with 4 per cent over £1000, whereas no teachers, male or female, received over £1000.

These statistics force the conclusion that the male teacher's salary in South Australia at this time compared more than favourably in range and distribution with that of salaried professionals in the whole of Australia, while the female teacher's salary followed the pattern of the salaried professionals, except in the higher ranges. In other words, teachers did, in fact, receive professional salaries.

This conclusion does not fit the facts as teachers see them. It has been frequently pointed out in this study that teachers look to medicine and law as their model of a profession, and it is with salaries in these occupations that teachers' salaries must be compared.
The above group of 'salaried professionals', as defined by the Taxation Department, includes a wide variety of occupations, such as the medical auxiliaries, nursing and even teaching itself. The fact that these occupations contain many women on low salary ranges probably explains why the distribution of female teachers' salaries for South Australia so closely resembles that of the salaried professional group.

This group does, of course, include doctors, lawyers and dentists in salaried employment but they represent less than 4000 of the total of nearly 134,000 in the group. As such they do not materially influence the overall picture, except probably in the higher ranges. Thus the comparison between teachers' salaries and the salaries of the professional group widely defined by the Taxation Department is not: ... a comparison between teachers' salaries and the salaries of those in the older professions of medicine and law. It will be necessary, therefore, to look elsewhere for salaries in these occupations. In this connection the Public Service, (7) 1947 Census, pp.1412-1415.
in which teachers, doctors, lawyers and dentists are all employed, should provide sufficient information on salary ranges in all these occupations to provide a basis for a more accurate comparison.

It is realised that there are many difficulties associated with any such comparison of teachers' salaries and the salaries of doctors and lawyers in the Public Service. However, some of these difficulties will be overcome if the working life be divided up into four periods and the relative position of teachers and the professionals under discussion be examined at each stage.

(a) The training period

(b) The period up to 21 years

(c) The period from 21 years to 35 years

(d) The period from 35-65 years

From this analysis, it will be possible to estimate the cumulative earnings of teachers and professional persons in the Public Service over a specific period. This should give some indication of the relative position of the teacher in regard to professional salaries.

(a) The Training Period

Until recent years it was customary for the professional man and his family to provide for the whole cost of his
course and the additional cost of maintaining himself during his period of training. As the course lasted from four to six years the total cost of training represented a considerable outlay. This gave rise to the belief, which had some basis of fact, as Henderson's study indicated, that the professions were recruited from families with high incomes, able to support the student during the long years of training.

Time has brought two changes, however, which have tended to bring the cost of university training within the financial means of a wider section of the community.

In the first place all university courses are subsidised to the extent that governments provide grants to the universities which therefore do not have to rely solely on students' fees for their incomes. The percentage of the general revenue of all the major Australian Universities represented by government grants (State and Federal) in 1952 was: Sydney 55, Melbourne 70, Queensland 75, Adelaide 77, Western Australia 83 and Tasmania 91. Students' fees, on the other hand, represented a comparatively small percentage, being Sydney 39, Melbourne 26, Queensland 20, Adelaide 10, Western

(8) See pp. 52-54.
Australia 5 and Tasmania 6. Endowments and donations represented less than 5 per cent of all university revenue in Australia in 1952. Without such a large government subsidy it seems certain that fees for all university courses would be so high that training for the professions at the university would be restricted to persons with a high level of income. Government subsidies to universities means, in effect, that all students, including those training to be doctors, lawyers, and in some cases, teachers, receive the benefit of lower fees.

In the second place there is increasing support for the principle that no student who shows himself capable of completing a university course should be prevented from doing so because his parents are unable to meet the expense of the course. Thus there is an increasing number of scholarships available. Of these the widest in their application are the Commonwealth Scholarships, 3000 of which are awarded annually.

allocated to the States on a population basis. The Scholarships are awarded on the results of the matriculation examination without regard to the income of the student's parents, and the holder receives the benefit of free training at the university, whatever his course. The number of students holding Commonwealth Scholarships in 1953 was 2709 at Sydney University, (representing 39 per cent of all students enrolled); 1958 at Melbourne University (29 per cent); 1042 at Queensland (29 per cent); 778 at Adelaide (17 per cent); 564 at Western Australia (28 per cent); 139 at the University of Tasmania (20 per cent). This means that over a quarter of all students enrolled at Australian Universities in 1953 were holders of Commonwealth Scholarships.

In addition, other forms of assistance were available from other scholarships and bursaries. The statistics show that almost half of the students are in receipt of some financial assistance from one source or another. In most cases this amounts to free tuition and an allowance for books and equipment, but the Commonwealth Scholarship

(10) Ibid.
Scheme however makes provision for a living allowance, subject to a means test.

The statistics do not reveal the distribution of scholarships and other forms of financial assistance in the various faculties of the universities but it is highly probable that about half of those training to be doctors, lawyers, architects at the university receive direct financial assistance in the form of scholarships, while all of them are assisted by government subsidies which tend to keep fees relatively low. Some may receive a living allowance. Those students who take courses in Arts, Science and Education also receive these benefits.

Teacher trainees receive a different kind of financial assistance. It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that most teacher training is carried out at a Teachers' College which is not part of a university but an institution controlled directly by a State Department of Education. Teacher trainees pay no fees and receive,

(11) Maximum allowance for those under 21, £169 per annum, if living at home and £240.10.0 if living away. Increased allowances for married students. Maximum of £344.10.0 per annum for married man, wife and child. Allowances as at May, 1954.
in addition, a living allowance in all cases, irrespective of means. The allowances paid to Teachers' College students in all States in 1952 are set out in Table 9.

Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Living at Home</th>
<th>Living Away from Home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>£156 (1st &amp; 2nd yrs)</td>
<td>£216 (1st &amp; 2nd yrs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£166 (3rd yr)</td>
<td>£235 (3rd yr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£235 (if adult)</td>
<td>£325 (if married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>£352-404</td>
<td>£378-430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>£224</td>
<td>£273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Aust.</td>
<td>£190-210</td>
<td>£260-280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Aust.</td>
<td>£266</td>
<td>£349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>£258</td>
<td>£258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Commonwealth Office of Education, Bulletin No. 19, Revised, June, 1953. Rates include cost of living allowances at November, 1952.)

These amounts paid to teachers while in training must be considered when any attempt is made to compare
the financial position of teachers at the end of their training period with the position of doctors, lawyers, dentists and architects at the conclusion of their training.

Doctors, for example, have a longer course and do not qualify for four or five years after the primary teacher and for two or three years after the secondary teacher. There is only one way for them to qualify and that is by completing the long university course, full-time. Training may not be done part-time and there is no way of learning 'on the job'. The doctor has a chance of some assistance by way of scholarship and a living allowance, but the figures suggest this is a fifty-fifty chance. At least half of them will pay their own way over the long training period. Dentists are in much the same position as doctors. Lawyers, on the other hand, have the opportunity of doing an Articled Clerks' Course and of earning while they are training. It has been noted, however, that the tendency now is for barristers and solicitors to follow the same type of

(12) A Law Clerk in Victoria, February, 1954, received £247 per annum at 16 years, £291 at 17, £390 at 18, and £520 at 19.
training, the law course, as provided at the university.

Thus while some doctors and some lawyers may receive assistance in training by way of scholarships and in some cases a living allowance subject to a means test, all State teacher trainees receive free training and a living allowance without any means test.

This means that when the teacher takes stock of his finances at the end of his training period he finds himself in a favourable position compared with those who have been training for law or medicine. In order to appreciate the actual gains of teachers at this stage in their career it will be necessary to examine the cumulative earnings in various occupations up to the age of 21 years.

(b) Commencing rate and cumulative earnings up to the age of 21 years

Because there have been such frequent changes in the wages and salaries of all occupations since 1948-49 it is difficult to locate a point in time when any comparison between teachers' salaries in the six States or between those salaries and the salaries of other occupation groups would be reasonably sound. However, it so happened that there was a new salaries award for teachers in each State during 1952 and these rates together with the cost of living
as at 30 November of that year form a convenient basis for comparison. The commencing rates under these awards are set out in Table 10.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>666\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>666\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>716\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Aust.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>674</td>
<td>773</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Aust.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>705</td>
<td>643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>773</td>
<td>643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rates include cost of living adjustments as at Nov. 1952)

(13) N.S.W. Agreement between the Public Service Board of New South Wales and the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, dated 18 June, 1952.

Vic. The Teaching Service (Classification, Salaries and Allowances) Regulations, as amended by the Victorian Teachers' Tribunal, 28 July, 1952.

Qld. Award of the Teachers' Salaries Board of South Australia, 7 August, 1952.

S.Aust. Award of the Teachers' Salaries Board of South Australia, 7 August, 1952.


(14) It is assumed that the typical primary teacher will complete training at about the age of 19 or 20 years, and the secondary teacher about 21 or 22. This means that the primary teacher would be regarded as a minor for two years, which, in some States, means that the cost of living adjustment is smaller. All teachers who are graduates may receive an additional allowance in some States, but for the above Table, this has been excluded. The commencing rates referred to represent a normal salary of a teacher just out of training, whether primary or secondary.

Bulletin No. 19 Rev. June, 1953. Salaries of Teachers and other Educationists Employed by State Education Departments in Australia. (Commonwealth Office of Education.)
These rates may be compared with the commencing rates of other groups in the Public Service, particularly those of doctors and lawyers. In Victoria, for example, the following comparisons might be made. While the four year trained teacher commenced on a gross salary of £547, the medical officer and the dentist commenced at £1491, the legal officer, architect and surveyor £103½, the chemist and engineer £886.

In Western Australia, the commencing rate for the four year trained secondary teacher was £883, but that of the doctor was £1359, the dentist £1159, the architect, chemist engineer and research officer £914. In Tasmania, the medical officer had the highest commencing rate, £1433, followed by the dentist £1413, solicitor £1179, engineer, architect and surveyor £841, with the secondary teacher £693 and the primary teacher £643.


(16) Public Service List. Western Australia, 1952.

The picture of the relative commencing rates is much the same in the other States. In general, it could be said that doctors and dentists commence at a rate higher than that of any of the occupations under discussion; then there is an intermediate group of engineers, surveyors, chemists and research officers. In some States architects and legal officers belong to this latter group, while in other States they form a separate group a little lower than the doctors and dentists. Teachers form a still lower group. There is no evidence of any officer in any of the occupations referred to above, with similar training to the secondary school teacher, commencing at a rate as low as the teacher. If the primary teacher be included he trails still further. There are likewise corresponding differences if the salaries of female teachers are compared with the salaries of female professional officers.

A review of the commencing salaries leads to the conclusion that doctors and dentists commence at a rate almost double that of secondary teachers and certainly more than twice that of primary teachers, while solicitors receive considerably more than teachers, though not as much as doctors and dentists.
This lower commencing rate for teachers is evident not only in relation to the commencing rate of certain officers in the Public Service, but also in relation to the commencing rate of officers employed in other government and semi-government authorities.

In its recent case before the Public Service Board for an increase in its award, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation produced evidence as to the low commencing rate for secondary teachers by using the margin of the rate over the basic wage as a basis for comparison with other awards. (Figure 7) While this evidence relates to the commencing rates of graduates most of these graduates are members of professional occupations.

The evidence from all sources is conclusive that the secondary teacher, with four years university training, commences at lower rates than graduates in other occupations, at lower rates than professional groups in the Public Service, and at lower rates than professional groups in other government and semi-government authorities. Primary teachers and female teachers who are on still lower rates are even more adversely placed.
Figure 7

Commencing Margins for Graduates under Various Awards

(Shown as a margin over the basic wage, June 1954.)

1. £345 Government Railways.
2. £330 Council of City of Sydney.
3. £286 Electricity Commission.
4. £241 Department of Main Roads.
5. £241 Hunter District Water Board.
6. £222 Local Government Bodies.
7. £251 Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works.
8. £245 Government Railways.
9. £258 Country Roads Board.
10. £281 State Electricity Commission.
11. £345 Public Service of South Australia.
12. £344 Electricity Trust.
13. £344 Railways.
14. £345 Railways.
15. £330 Main Roads Department.
16. £330 State Public Service.
17. £379 H.E.C.
18. £345 Railways.
19. £225 FOUR-YEAR TRAINED TEACHER, N.S.W.

Source: Education. 16 June, 1954, p.11.
It is important to note, however, that the commencing rate is not always a reliable guide to the relative value of a particular salary, because training courses vary in length, resulting in persons reaching the employment market at different age levels. Primary teachers, for example, complete their training about the age of 19 years, secondary teachers, lawyers and dentists 21-22 years, architects 23 years, doctors 24-25 years.

Therefore, in comparing teachers' salaries and the salaries offered persons in professional occupations, a better indication is given by comparing the cumulative earnings up to the age of 21 years. (Table 11)

Table 11

Comparison of Cumulative Earnings in Various Occupations between the ages of 15 and 21 years, November 1952, Victoria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>Total 15-21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1491)</td>
<td>(1491)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(1034)</td>
<td>(1034)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Teacher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>2146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 Yr. Trd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Teacher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>2520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 Yr. Trd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus if a teacher takes stock again at the age of 21 he is still in an advantageous position financially when compared with most professional people. He is not as well off as those in industry who are able to learn 'on the job' or be trained while employed. These people have earned between £3000 and £4000 up to the age of 21 and their outgoings for training are much less than for the professions. Teachers have had their training free whereas a recent survey by the Professional Officers' Association of the Public Service (18) puts the absolute minimum cost of a five-year university course at £1,550. If the average age for commencing a full-time university course is taken as 17 years, then those students whose courses last only four years will draw their first year's salary at the age of 21 or 22. Lawyers and dentists, for example, would come into this

(18) The New South Wales Teachers' Federation, for example, in support of its salary claim in 1954, showed that while the four year trained teacher earned £1605 up to the age of 21 and the two year trained teacher £2820, bank officers had earned £3870 and bricklayers £4150. Education. Vol. 35, No. 7, 16 June, 1954, p. 11.

(19) As quoted in the Proceedings of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute, supra.
category. Those with longer courses such as doctors and architects will still be in training at this age. The teacher is well off financially at 21 compared with these groups, for the primary teacher in Victoria has earned over £2500 and the secondary teacher over £2000, by this age. At this point in his career the teacher cannot maintain he is worse off financially than the professionals to whom he constantly looks for comparison.

Moreover, the financial commitments facing the teacher are not formidable, for wherever he be employed he has practically no overhead expense. At most, he will require books but these are usually available at his school. He does not need such an expensive library for his daily task as the lawyer, for example, however desirable that might be. He does not need such expensive equipment as the doctor and the dentist. A car may be an advantage for him in the country, but it is not as essential as it is for a doctor. Of course, where all these people are employed in the Public Service their expenses are also practically nil. On the whole however, it is true that the teaching group does not face any formidable expense at 21, and in this regard teachers
are better off than doctors, dentists, lawyers or architects at the conclusion of their training.

(c) The Period from 21 years to 35 years

If the 1952 Salaries Agreements previously referred to are used as a basis, and cost of living adjustments to November 1952 are included, the following facts may be noted showing the salary advances made by teachers between 21 and 35 years.

A four year trained teacher in U.S.W. advances on small annual increments from £842 to a maximum of £1229 which he reaches in fourteen years. A two year trained teacher advances from £792 to £1128 in thirteen years before a promotion bar appears. In Victoria, the secondary teacher advances from £697 to £1060 at about 30 years, while the primary teacher moves to £1035 in the same period. The primary teacher in Queensland advances to £844 in eight years and the secondary teacher to £894. Secondary assistants in South Australia advance to £1051 in ten years and primary assistants to £1011 in thirteen years. In Western Australia, primary assistants move to £927 in ten years, and in Tasmania
assistant teachers advance to £386 in seven years.

This picture of teachers' salaries showing the advance over the period of years up to the age of 35 appears to be fairly uniform throughout the States. Secondary teachers advance by small increments until they receive about £1100 at this age, while primary teachers, if they receive promotion, find themselves round the £1000 mark.

Although teachers have made gains in salary during the past five years the same questions still remain to puzzle teachers. Why is it that in Tasmania, for example, a female dental officer with four years' training enters the Public Service in 1951 at the age of twenty-six (20) and two years later is drawing a salary of £1361, while a female teacher with four years' training commences on £637 and in seven years climbs to £717 and in fourteen years with promotion to £872. If she remain a teacher for the rest of her career she will never reach the dentist's salary at twenty-six. A solicitor at twenty-eight is drawing £1285 but a four year trained male teacher

climbs to only £1076 after fourteen years, during which time he passes a promotion barrier. The Medical Superintendent of a Hospital receives £1712 but the top salary of a Headmaster of a Primary School is £1198 and of a Secondary School £1248.

Teachers see themselves the lowest paid of a group of professional type occupations in the Public Service. They still seek the salary paid to professionals but this 'professional salary' has been most elusive. While teachers have been looking upwards, the margin of their own salaries over those of unskilled workers has steadily decreased. In Victoria, for example, the margin of the maximum salary for a male assistant primary over the basic wage has fallen from 112 per cent to 73 per cent between 1950 and 1954. In N.S.W. it has fallen from 226 per cent to 178 per cent. The higher the position in the Education Department the greater this loss becomes, for as it has already been pointed out, administrative personnel have not retained their margins over the practising teacher. This accounts in some measure for the frustration of teachers

in their chase after salaries comparable to those won by the professions. From their commencing rates to the top salaries they lag behind the professional and now they find themselves being overtaken by the unskilled worker. One study asserts that the average real income of unskilled workers increased 20 per cent between 1938 and 1954 and the real income of skilled workers rose 3 per cent but that of teachers fell 19 per cent.

It is important for the purposes of comparison, however, to note the cumulative earnings at this stage. The N.S.W. secondary teacher has earned approximately £14,500 in this period, the primary teacher £14,000. In Victoria, corresponding totals would be £14,000 for both primary and secondary.

On the other hand, doctors and other professional persons who commenced on a higher salary than teachers, also advance to higher maximum salaries. In Victoria, the doctor and the dentist advance to £1735 at about the age of 35, the legal officer to £1416. In

Western Australia, the doctor moves to £1579 at the age of 30, the dentist to £1259 and architects and engineers to £1109. In Tasmania, the doctor and the dentist move to £1680 and £1530 respectively, while engineers, architects and surveyors advance to £1043 about the age of 35.

If Victoria be taken as an example the cumulative earnings of certain occupations in this period can be ascertained. The doctor has earned at least £17,500 by the age of 35, by which time he has caught and passed the cumulative earnings of primary and of secondary teachers, which, even including their training allowances, amount to about £17,000. The dentist, who commenced earning a little earlier than the doctor, and about the same time as the secondary teacher, has also passed the latter in cumulative earnings. The lawyer is also slightly ahead of the secondary teacher.

Thus it could be said that while those in the professional occupations under discussion generally commence earning at a later age than teachers, they commence at a higher salary and advance to a higher salary by the age of 35. When the cumulative earnings up to this age are ascertained, doctors, lawyers and
dentists have in fact passed the primary and secondary teachers.

(d) The Period from 35-65 Years

The argument is sometimes advanced that teachers have the chance of rising in the Department to high administrative posts which carry a correspondingly high salary.

The chance of the teacher rising in the Department is conditioned by the organisation of the teaching service in each State. In fact the teaching service is organised in the shape of a pyramid with the base much greater than its height. In other words there are a number of grades or classes of teachers but most teachers are in the lower grades. The system of promotion, the availability of higher positions and other factors tend to make it very difficult for teachers to rise beyond a certain point in the Department.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>0.81%</td>
<td>1.12%</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>10.65</td>
<td>11.42</td>
<td>12.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>23.73</td>
<td>25.08</td>
<td>38.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>59.53</td>
<td>58.50</td>
<td>41.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As salary is related to the teacher's classification his chances of obtaining a higher salary are correspondingly small.

The zenith for many teachers will be the Headmastership of a large city school after some thirty years' service. The top salaries for male teachers (including cost of living adjustments) in primary and secondary schools payable under the 1952 Awards are set out in Table 12.

Table 12

Top Salaries - Primary and Secondary Teachers 1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>£1542</td>
<td>£1280</td>
<td>£1093½</td>
<td>£1377</td>
<td>£1407</td>
<td>£1474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>£1642</td>
<td>£1420</td>
<td>£1414½</td>
<td>£1516</td>
<td>£1522</td>
<td>£1474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When these salaries are set against the salaries of professional groups in the Public Service some useful and relevant comparisons can be made. In Victoria, for example, the top teaching salary, primary
or secondary, obtained after some thirty years' service does not reach that offered the medical officer and dentist on their first appointment in their early twenties. In Tasmania doctors and dentists after one increment reach a salary which teachers do not obtain until their fifties.

Further comparisons between the top salaries of teachers and other groups in the Public Service are only possible if the Government Department is viewed as a unit. In the case of the Education Department there is a definite break in the hierarchy between the practising teacher and the administrative official. The latter, from the Inspector to the Director of Education, is usually selected or appointed from the ranks of teachers or from the administrative staff. However, once appointed they are no longer regarded as active teachers, and in fact they do not teach. They tend to be regarded as senior public servants. Thus their salaries are usually determined by the Public Service Board independently of teachers' salaries and they are related to the salaries of senior public servants in other Government Departments.
In recent years, the lower ranks of the teaching group have won salary increases which have narrowed the gap between them and higher officials. The administrative staff whose salaries are computed on a different basis have not been able to maintain their margin over teachers' salaries.

In Victoria, for example, the top primary salary as at January, 1952 was £1025 and the top secondary £1200, plus in each case a special allowance of up to £100. The Assistant Chief Inspector and the Principal of the Melbourne Teachers' College received £1325 and the Chief Inspector £1500. (Excluding in all cases cost of living adjustment which at that time was £295 per annum.)

In Queensland at the same period the salary range for a Principal Grade 1 was £955-1155, the top salaries actually being in advance of the lower range of that for the Directors of primary, secondary and technical education £1165-1305. (Excluding £141 cost of living.)

In South Australia the Headmaster of a Class 1 school (primary) received £1100-1130, the Principal of a High School £1160-1240. At the administrative level Inspectors of Schools were on a range of £1167-1287, Assistant Superintendent of Primary Schools £1237-1387 and the Superintendent of Primary Schools £1387-1537. (Excluding £94 cost of living.)
These salaries may be contrasted with the higher positions available to the professionals. Doctors in Victoria may advance to the position of District Health Officer (£1916-2016), Government Medical Officer £2036-2236, or to Chief Health Officer (£2376-2665). In the Department of Law there are such offices as that of Public Solicitor (£1436-1656), Assistant Crown Solicitor (£1766-2016) and Crown Solicitor (£2141-2341).

If the salaries in these three States be taken as typical of the salary ranges of administrative personnel in Education Departments it is clear that there are very few positions in the entire State education service offering salaries which could be regarded as comparable to those offered to most professional groups in the Public Service.

Even if the teacher reaches the highest rung of the ladder and is appointed the Permanent Head of the Education Department he will probably find that his salary is lower than that of the Heads of other Government Departments.

In New South Wales, for example, the following salaries were payable to Permanent Heads as at 1 July,
1953 (excluding allowances):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner for Railways</td>
<td>£5000 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, Public Service Board</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, Electricity Commission</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, Hospitals Commission</td>
<td>3297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditor-General</td>
<td>3547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner Main Roads</td>
<td>3547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, Housing Commission</td>
<td>3047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Public Works</td>
<td>3047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, District Court</td>
<td>3302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Director-General of Education 2797

Although the heads of these bodies are concerned with administering Government Departments, it would probably be found that they are lawyers, doctors, engineers and other professional persons who have worked their way up the hierarchy of the particular Department. Under these circumstances it is still true that the teacher who works his way up to the Head of the Education Department will receive a lower salary in most cases than the professional who becomes the Permanent Head of some other Government Department.

This differential salary scale which operates to the disadvantage of teachers is further illustrated by the salary offered to the Chairman of the Liquor
Board in Victoria, £3500, compared with that of the Director of Education, £2750, and the Chairman of the Teachers' Tribunal, £2090.

It is quite clear that the top salaries offered to teachers who advance to high administrative positions in Education Departments are not as high as those offered members of other occupations in other Government Departments. Accordingly the teacher's cumulative earnings between 35 and 65 are likely to be less than the doctors or lawyers, even without considering the problems of promotion on which the prospect of obtaining higher salaries depends.

Teachers also point to the high salaries offered professional men in 'outside' employment. A 1953 survey among the Fellows and Associates of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute revealed that 29 per cent of their members were employed on salaries over £1500 and of these 11 per cent were between £1500 and £2000. At the same period only 3 per cent of Victorian State

(25) Proceedings of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute, see p.564.
teachers (male) were drawing salaries between £1000 and £1350 and none over that figure. In fact, 88 per cent were on salaries between £500 and £1000.

Wherever teachers look to salaries paid to persons they believe are comparable to themselves in training and experience they find their salaries inferior. Under the Municipal Officers' Award (Melbourne City Council) 1953, architectural, engineering and surveying assistants, who need not have completed their training, commence on an adult range of £916 and progress automatically to a salary range of £1238, £137 per annum more than the automatic range for teachers at that time. At the top they may reach such positions as the City Engineer £2696, and the City Electrical Engineer £3133 both higher in salary than any position in the Education Department, not even excluding that of the Director of Education.

The Award of the Railway Professional Officers (Victoria) 1954, reveals the same differentiation in the salary scale, with prospects of top salaries greater

than any in the Education Department. The probability is that the cumulative earnings of professional groups in these authorities would be much greater than those of the teacher in the Education Department.
Life Earnings

There appears to have been little work done in comparing life earnings in various occupations in Australia. In America, for example, Clark found that in 1937 the life earnings in teaching ranked eleventh in a group of sixteen occupations. Gould and Yoakam in 1947 estimated that the average life earnings in 'the economically preferred professions' varied from two and a quarter to almost four times the life earnings of public school teachers.

Whether teachers' salaries were in fact low compared with the salaries of comparable occupations formed the basis of an international study by the World Organisation of the Teaching Profession in 1952. Teachers' salaries were compared with national per capita incomes. This study found that while the average earnings of all employed persons in a given country may be of the order of two to three times the national per capita income, professional incomes commonly approach

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five to six times this amount. According to this analysis teachers' salaries compared favourably with the average income from country to country, but did not indicate a level of income which could be properly termed professional.

This conclusion was tested by ranking the economic status of teaching with ten other occupations in 24 countries. The consensus ranking placing teaching in the median position substantiated the estimate of teachers' economic welfare derived by comparing salaries with per capita incomes.

This international study concluded that 'teachers are not receiving salaries comparable to those paid in other professions'.

Some indication of the life earnings in certain occupations in Australia is provided by an investigation carried out by the Status and Emoluments Committee of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute, in which the cumulative earnings of certain groups of employees in the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation were compared. The investigators found that science graduates did not pass the earnings of
clerks until the age of 35. Thereafter the graduate drew ahead but at the age of 60 the research worker had earned only £51,000 in salary compared with the clerk's £37,000 and the toolmaker's £33,000. The Committee found that the scientist would have been just as well off if he had invested the cost of his five years' training and joined the C.S.I.R.O. as a clerk. Similarly, a bank officer who commenced at 18 had earned as much money at 42 as a physicist, chemist, biologist or geologist working directly or indirectly for the State.

If the 1952 salaries award for Victorian teachers (including cost of living adjustments, August 1952) be taken as a basis, the typical primary school teacher would earn, in a normal career in the Education Department from the age of 17 years to retirement at 65, a gross total of approximately £53,000, while a secondary teacher would earn £55,000. The doctor, on the Public Service rates operating at that time, would earn in the vicinity of £80,000. This is not an accurate

(30) Proceedings of the Royal Australian Chemical Institute, April, 1954, p. 564.
comparison between teachers' and doctors' incomes because it is made on the basis of a recent award for teachers. If the teachers' rates just prior to the award be taken as a basis, then the secondary teacher's cumulative earnings would drop to £51,000 and the primary teacher's to about £49,000. Alternatively, if the later award for public servants be considered in estimating the doctor's earnings, his total would advance to almost £90,000.

The conclusions regarding teachers' salaries may now be briefly stated.

Teachers maintain their salaries are low compared with the incomes of professional groups. When teachers' salaries are compared, in range and distribution, with the incomes of self-employed professionals according to the evidence from the Taxation Reports, it was clear that the self-employed professional received (in 1948-49) at least twice and probably three times as much as a male

(31) The Teaching Service (Classification, Salaries and Allowances) Regulations as amended by the Victorian Teachers' Tribunal, 19 January, 1950.
(32) Salary rates for various positions in the Victorian Public Service were consolidated and published in the Government Gazette, 28 January, 1954.
teacher in the Education Department, and at least three times and probably four times as much as a female teacher.

The attempt to relate teachers' salaries to the incomes of employed professionals according to the evidence from Taxation Reports does not lead to any relevant worthwhile conclusion, because the professional group, widely defined, includes many occupational groups on lower salary ranges.

When teachers seek 'professional salaries', it is probable that they mean salaries paid to professional persons in employment. Teachers receive an allowance while in training, while persons in other occupations generally bear the whole cost of their training. At the end of the training period, teachers are in an advantageous position compared with doctors, lawyers, dentists and architects. At 21, teachers' cumulative earnings show that teachers are still in a favourable position compared with professional persons. Teachers commence at a lower salary rate than professional people, but they commence earning some years earlier. Doctors, dentists and lawyers start earning later but they start
on higher salaries and by 35 they have passed the cumulative earnings of teachers. They then command a higher salary with prospects of obtaining positions which carry higher salaries than any corresponding positions in the Education Department. At the very top the salary of the Permanent Head of the Education Department is generally less than that of the Permanent Head of other Government Departments.

When the cumulative life earnings are assessed, secondary teachers earn probably a little more than half the amount earned by doctors in the Public Service while primary teachers and female teachers who constitute the mass of the teaching group, trail still further.

The professional model revealed that a certain level of income was characteristic of doctors and lawyers and it has been shown that teachers in the Public Service do not approach that level. To that extent they differ from the professional model.
Chapter Seven

THE SIZE AND DISPERSION OF THE TEACHING GROUP

'While schools were kept open, parents generally were indifferent to such matters as teachers' conditions; while parents were contented, the Government could ignore the situation,........... Inadequate quarters, and a willingness to accept them, however, led to a lowering of prestige. While teachers submitted to living under poor conditions, their prestige in the community must fall.'

Queensland Teachers' Journal, 1953.

Professions in Australia exhibited certain characteristics which, while not regarded as essential to the professional model, appeared to be closely connected with the recognition of the occupation as a profession. These characteristics related to:-

(a) The number in the occupation group and the probable demand for their services within a given population.

(b) The dispersion of the members in providing the professional service.

The Queensland study indicated the numbers of professional persons per 100,000 of population in that
State, according to the official registers. This did not include teachers as they are not registered in Queensland. However the Census Reports give sufficient information for a comparison of the numbers in certain professional occupations, including teaching, even if the groups are less precise than those in the Queensland study.

Table 13

Numbers of Certain Professional People per 100,000 of Population.

All States and the Commonwealth, 1947 Census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>C/wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vet. Surgs.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiotherapy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One obvious fact emerges from this Table. The teaching group is far larger than any professional group, indeed, larger than all the recognized professions combined.

(1) Chapter Two, see page 99.
The size of the professional group, excluding teaching for the moment, is not necessarily related to the needs of the community for the professional service. A community may well need more doctors. The size relates to the number available to provide a voluntary service to those able to pay for it. The size is to an extent determined by the group itself by its own entry standards. The professional group is sometimes accused of deliberately limiting the size of the group to protect its own economic status, though this is difficult to prove. Certain it is that where the group provides a professional service, the larger the group the lower the probable income of each member, although of course the size of the group must be considered in conjunction with other factors in assessing income.

On the other hand, the size of the teaching group more closely relates to the needs of the community. The needs of the community for the service of education have been determined by the State which has laid down that all children within certain ages must avail themselves of the service. Needs are not restricted by cost, for the State has provided the service free.

Thus the difference between a voluntary service provided by a professional group to those able to pay
for it and a compulsory education service provided free by the State to all children necessitates a much larger teaching group.

The need for a large body of teachers to provide such an extensive service has important effects on their economic status and on the academic standards required for entry to the group.

The teaching group, which is mainly employed by the State, is not as concerned about overcrowding or unemployment as the professions in private practice. In Australia, teachers have security of tenure in the Public Service. The State control of entrants to the State Teachers' Colleges also tends to prevent unemployment for teachers. The size of the teaching group in the Public Service, however, means a large salaries' bill for the State and it is noted that the State endeavours to keep that bill as low as possible. (3)

Not only is the State committed to providing a large teaching group but it must provide for wastage (which is considerable in the case of women teachers who must resign on marriage), and for increasing

(3) Teachers' Salaries. See Chapter Six and Chapter Eight.
demand caused by rising birth rates. Educational developments such as smaller classes, higher school leaving age, increased special services, and so on, themselves create a demand for more teachers. In order to obtain sufficient recruits in large numbers entry standards are usually lower than those of the professions. As the immediate objective is to get them into schools as quickly and as economically as possible training courses are kept to a minimum.

The size of the teaching group produces problems of recruitment and of training, as well as adding to the high cost of providing the service of education. These problems are very closely connected with the difficulties experienced by teachers in attempting to make their occupation look like the professional model, but the discussion on this point must be reserved for the following Chapter. At this point it is sufficient to note the large number of teachers required to provide the service at the present time.

(4) See pp. 322-339.
The second characteristic of the professional model under discussion relates to the dispersion of the group in providing the service. The dispersion of the teaching group might now be considered. In each Australian State education is compulsory for all children wherever they might be living. Although some outback children may take their lessons by correspondence, the majority attend one of the network of schools established by the State. The distribution of schools follows the distribution of the school-age population. Larger and more numerous schools are found in the crowded cities, while small schools of less than ten pupils may be found in country areas.

As schools are staffed on an attendance basis the distribution of teachers follows the pattern of school distribution. Thus groups of teachers are located in cities and towns while individual teachers may be scattered to the schools in small communities. Many of these schools are staffed by only one primary teacher. It will be seen from Table 14 that from 58 to 71 per cent of all primary schools in 1947 were one teacher schools.

(5) e.g. Staffing schedules for primary schools of Victoria are set out in Reg.14, Teaching Service (Teachers' Tribunal) Regs. 1951.
Table 14

Percentage of One Teacher Primary Schools 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Primary Schools</th>
<th>One Teacher Schools</th>
<th>Percentage of One Teacher Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>2390</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>2298</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Aust.</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Aust.</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Education Inquiry Committee South Australia. Final Report 1949, page 19.)

Despite the trend towards consolidation of these small schools in the larger country towns it is evident that most schools are established in areas where there is only a small population, probably more than twenty miles from the nearest town. In addition to these one teacher schools there are also two and three teacher schools in remote districts.

This dispersion of schools indicates a wide dispersion of teachers to provide the service of education, particularly at the primary school level. Secondary schools, on the other hand, tend to be established in the larger centres of population so that secondary teachers tend to be less dispersed than primary.
The distribution of the teaching group offers a contrast to the distribution of the professional groups as evidenced by the Queensland study. Professional persons tend to cluster round the large cities and provincial towns, they are never found in the sparsely settled areas except on occasional visits from nearby towns. The service of education is made available on a more extensive scale than any of the professional services so that teachers are more widely dispersed than doctors, dentists, architects, engineers, and surveyors.

These professional groups, of course, are in private practice, while teachers are in the Public Service. However, even in the Public Service, teachers are more widely dispersed than professional groups. In the Commonwealth Public Service, Medical Officers are mainly employed in the Repatriation Hospitals located near the capital cities. In the State Public Service doctors are employed by the Departments of Health and Education and mostly stationed in the capital cities. Architects are employed by the Housing Commission or Public Works Department. Lawyers are mainly found in the Crown Solicitor's Office. Engineers and surveyors
may at times be stationed on construction works but many are found at the Public Offices in the capital city. Indeed, it is probably true that professional groups in the Public Service are even more centralised than their colleagues in private practice. In order to find any other group in the Public Service as widely dispersed as teachers it is necessary to look at postmasters, stationmasters and policemen, none of whom are commonly regarded as professional.

It is clear that, in order to provide the service of education on a wide scale, teachers are more widely dispersed than any professional group either in private practice or in the Public Service. This dispersion of the teaching group has certain important effects which make teaching appear quite unlike the professions.

The first effect of this dispersion is seen in the matter of the teacher's housing and accommodation, especially in small country districts. Admittedly, little is known about the comparative housing standards of occupational groups in Australia, but the studies of

(6) A local survey, dated by war-time conditions:—
'Housing, Income and Saving in War-Time.'
Wilfred Prest, Department of Economics, 1952, University of Melbourne.
Warner and others in America indicate that housing is a reliable index to status in the community and that persons in higher social classes usually occupy better homes than those in lower social classes. In Australia it may be true that the teacher in suburbia lives in a house indistinguishable from that of the lawyer, dentist, architect or doctor. In the large country town the same may also be true although the reports in Teachers' Journals indicate that teachers believe their housing is inferior to that of professional people.

Once the teacher moves to the smaller communities he is faced with more difficult housing problems. The problem is not solely connected with the current housing shortage although this has accentuated the difficulties of teachers. The problem is to find accommodation in country areas which will enable the teacher to present to the outside world the objective signs by which the status of the occupation is commonly assessed.

Much has been written in official reports and in Teachers' Journals concerning the inferior accommodation provided for teachers in country districts. Many of these schools have the legacy of the School Residence
built by the Department of Education in the early days of State education. Today the problem of maintenance is a heavy one and it appears that many are in a bad state of repair. Some might be condemned under local health laws if Government buildings were not exempt from their operation. (7)

More commonly, board is arranged by the School Committee. This is usually at a farm house, often at the home of one of the teacher's pupils. There are disadvantages associated with this practice the most important being that it prohibits what the sociologists term 'social distance'. In Western Australia it has been reported that farmers today are well off and no longer interested in boarding the teacher. The teacher may be forced to board at a hotel or to seek it further afield on the school bus route. As the Report of the Education Department states, this means that the teacher's social life is almost entirely dependent on the activities of the narrow circle of those with whom he boards. (8)

All Teachers' Unions are aware that poor housing is an indication of lack of status. They have pointed

(8) Report of the Education Department (Western Australia) 1950, p.17.
out the unsatisfactory conditions to the Education Department and they have argued that as the Department is providing an education service and in effect compels the teacher to move to remote areas it ought to assume responsibility for providing suitable accommodation for teachers.

In N.S.W. the problem of teachers' accommodation is raised at every Annual Conference of the Teachers' Federation. In 1950 the Federation made a survey of living conditions, board, rental, etc. of teachers and the report revealed 'a very unsatisfactory state of affairs'. Representations were made to the Minister for Education and the Federation was supported in this instance by representatives of the Parents and Citizens' Federation, the Council of Churches and The Country Women's Association. The Education Department, in conjunction with the Teachers' Federation, has taken various steps to solve the problem, such as appointing a Welfare Officer and establishing a Departmental Residences Committee, but it will not agree to accepting responsibility for housing teachers.

'A teacher's accommodation is, in the first instance, a matter for the teacher himself. The Department through its welfare officers, is able to offer
assistance and advice to teachers taking up appointments away from their homes, and consideration will be given to special cases where the accommodation is deemed to be unsuitable.' (9)

In June 1953 the Victorian Teachers' Union made a deputation to the Minister of Education on the matter of teachers' accommodation. The President of the Union gave evidence that many teachers were living in 'deplorable conditions'. Accommodation for women teachers in country areas was particularly bad. He urged that the Government should build residences for teachers and perhaps incorporate them in new schools in the country. More money should also be spent on existing residences to bring them up-to-date. Modern amenities such as hot water services and electricity should be provided. ('In some areas the teacher's house is the only house where there is no electricity')

The deputation summed up the position:

'We believe that teachers do occupy and should occupy an important part in the community, and a teacher and his wife should play a part. It is only fitting that they should occupy a home of a very suitable standard.' (10)

The Minister's reply was that the number of residences which could be built for teachers was determined by the amount of money available. 'I will see what we can get in the next few days from the Loan', he said.

In Queensland where distances are greater and 92 per cent of teachers serve in primary schools, the problem of finding suitable accommodation for teachers appears to be even more difficult, judging by reports in the Teachers' Journal. Each year the Annual Conference of the Teachers'

(11)'Sometimes teachers had almost to go from door to door to find board at a reasonable price.'
'Sometimes the teacher had a room in a private house but had to have meals at a restaurant.'

'In my district teachers are living in houses that have no glass windows........'


'We have had evidence that a woman teacher has had no other habitation than a verandah, winter and summer, that others had had to share a room with one or more of the children they teach; that some teachers have the poorest, if any, facilities for carrying out their professional work and for continuing their studies during the evenings and at the end of the week.'
Education Inquiry Committee, South Australia, 1945, para. 150. See also South Australian Teachers' Journal, Mar. 1949, p. 8-9 for photographs of teachers' residences.
For comments about teachers' accommodation in Western Australia, see The Teachers' Journal, July, 1952, p. 90, Sept. 1952, p. 130 and June 1954, p. 130.
Union discusses the problem and the matter is taken to the Minister for Public Instruction. Each year the Minister is sympathetic and agrees to do everything possible to assist teachers improve their accommodation, the only limiting factor being the lack of adequate finance.

The problem is much the same in the other three States. Accommodation for teachers in country areas is admittedly bad, the Teachers' Unions press for Education Departments to provide suitable residences and while some measures are taken to obtain houses for teachers the problem cannot be solved on a large scale because of the expense involved.

This housing problem for teachers has arisen partly because of the wide dispersion of the group to provide an education service on an extensive scale. This is not the whole explanation. Teachers throughout their working lives suffer from this same problem, wherever they are located. In order to provide a service to every locality at the same standard the State must spread the quality of the teaching service evenly over the whole system. Thus there must be some method of organising the large body of teachers, of appointing, promoting and transferring them
as necessary. Although every teacher on entering the service usually undertakes to serve anywhere and the Minister has the authority to move any teacher in the public interest, there is in all States a set procedure which governs the movement of teachers throughout their careers.

As a result the pattern of the teacher's career is quite different from that of the self-employed professional. The year after training, when the teacher is about 19 years of age, he finds himself appointed to a small country school, unlike the doctors in Queensland, for 88 per cent of them were still in the city the year after graduation when they would be about 24 years of age. The teacher soon finds that his career is dotted with events which entail a move. Changes in school attendances may bring about a reclassification of the school. The teacher usually becomes eligible to transfer after a period of 3-5 years and he often avails himself of the opportunity especially if he is in a remote or unsuitable area. Promotion also looms up at intervals and this usually means a move to a larger school, or a move from a lower position on a large staff to a higher position on a smaller one.
In practice this means that the teacher alternates between teaching in city and country schools although many teachers do give service in country schools for a substantial part of their careers. There is thus a constant movement of teachers. In New South Wales in 1953, 26 per cent of the entire teaching service received transfers. In 1948 the New South Wales Teachers' Federation made an analysis of moves made by teachers over a period of thirty years, and found that on the average teachers moved once every four years of their teaching lives.

This constant movement is one reason why teachers are not likely to purchase their own homes until near retirement when they have settled in the city or country for the last time. A second reason is that the service of education is provided free by the State so that teachers as salaried employees do not have to regard the house as part of the capital investment designed to attract custom, as is the case with the doctor's or dentist's surgery. Thirdly, teachers' salaries have not been high enough to permit teachers to purchase a house.

The dispersion of the teaching group produces other 'occupational disadvantages' for teachers compared with professional persons. Teachers complain that in small districts they are unable to get medical, dental and chemists' facilities. A survey carried out by the New South Wales Teachers' Federation in 1948 revealed that resident medical officers were available in only 15 of 1600 places where there were one teacher schools, 42 of 301 towns where there were 5th class two teacher schools and 37 of 159 towns where there were 4th class schools. This, of course, is simply another way of looking at the dispersion of professional groups compared with teaching and the advantages which accrue to the professional people, who at worst are located in country towns where they can avail themselves of the facilities which members in other professions provide.

Further, this dispersion of the teaching group into many single units, widely scattered, makes it difficult for them to have personal contact with their colleagues. It is difficult for them to meet in large numbers even in branches of the Teachers' Unions. In Western Australia and in Victoria, for example, branches

(13) Ibid.
may be formed of not less than six members. On the other hand branches in Queensland must be not less than 50 members but this means that in country districts a very large district is required to constitute a branch. Difficulties of transport then become a barrier to full attendance at meetings. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation has realised the existence of the problem by creating an Isolated Teachers' Association. Where such difficulties arise in meeting fellow colleagues, teachers must rely on their journals for professional information but it has been shown that there are limitations in this regard for teachers.

Two characteristics of the teaching group have been observed and examined. It is a large group and it is widely dispersed, compared with the professional group which is smaller and more centralised.

The larger the group the greater the cost to the State of training its members, the larger the salaries' bill for the State and the more difficult for the State to obtain sufficient recruits of high intelligence without lowering entrance standards. The teaching group is of necessity a large one because of the extensive education service provided by the State.
The dispersion of the teaching group is also connected with the attempt by the State to provide a service on a large scale. From it flow certain occupational disadvantages to teaching compared with the professions. The pattern of the teacher's career is different and in particular he has constant movement and indifferent housing especially in country areas.

These two characteristics make teachers appear unlike the professional model. They convey the impression that the teacher is a 'bird of passage' content to live in makeshift accommodation until his time comes to move on. Unlike the professional he does not usually stay long enough to identify himself with the life of the town.

The size and dispersion of the teaching group are indicators that the occupation of teaching, as related to the service of education provided by the State, is basically different from the professional model. The point has now been reached in this study when the differences between teaching and the professional model may be brought together and examined more closely in relation to the statements made about the status of teaching.
"But the hard-working dedicated mediocrity who teaches from a more or less standardised syllabus in one of the less progressive secondary modern schools of England or high schools of the United States is neither a 'master' nor a 'Mr. Chips'. He is an adequate but unimpressive member of the undifferentiated horde that walks briskly from subway to office in C. Wright Mills's White Collar."

The Year Book of Education, 1953.

One of the arguments advanced by teachers about the status of their occupation is that

"teaching today is an avocation having all the requisites and hallmarks of a profession." (1)

In this argument the problem of teacher status centres round the lack of public recognition of the teachers' claim to be a profession. This claim has been tested by measuring teaching against a model based on certain characteristics of the acknowledged professions of medicine and law. It has been shown that teaching fails to measure up to this model in such essential characteristics as

training and registration, income, code of ethics and the occupational association, as well as in the organisation and administration of the service. The claim that teaching has all the hallmarks of a profession is therefore not supported by the evidence examined. Thus it is not merely the lack of public recognition that denies teaching professional status; the plain fact is that it does not have the attributes of a professional model based on medicine and law.

The second argument advanced by teachers is contained in the statement that

'the status of teaching is explained largely in terms of its gradual rise towards the position of older professions such as medicine and law.'

In other words, even if teaching is not yet a profession it is making progress along the professional highway, looking always towards medicine and law as the professional model. The argument that teaching is making progress needs closer examination. If it is true then it should be possible to observe some progress in the professional characteristics examined.

No progress has been made by the teaching group in freeing itself from public service control and becoming

a self-governing body, on the lines of medicine
(3) and law. There is no Act of Parliament vesting
authority in the teaching group to control certain
aspects of the service of education. Teaching remains,
as it has remained since the inception of State education
in Australia, closely controlled by Government Depart-
ments and Public Service Boards. The attempt to have
an Education Commission established, on which teachers
would be represented, has not been successful. It
must be observed that State teachers in Victoria are
represented on the Teachers' Tribunal, but this body
differs in function and purpose from the Medical
Board or Law Council.

No progress has been made by the teaching group
in setting and supervising its own standard of conduct.
Some Teachers' Unions have tried to set up Ethical
Codes, in the manner of the professional model; but
it has been shown that these are superfluous and
ineffective in moulding or influencing teachers' conduct.

(3) See pp. 48-51.
(4) Annual Report of the New South Wales Teachers'
Federation, 1951, p. 7.
Queensland Teachers' Journal, May, 1946,
(5) Teaching Service Act, 1946-50 (Victoria).
The standard of conduct required of teachers is laid down in the regulations and instructions of Public Service Boards and Education Departments. No change has taken place in this practice since the establishment of State education systems in the 1870's.

The question whether there has been a strengthening of that section of the teaching group employed outside the State system must be examined. It could be argued that a powerful section of the group employed by bodies other than the State could do much to raise the standards of the whole group. In other words, if that part of the teaching group employed in Non-State schools were strong enough, it could set standards and take the initiative in protecting the interests of all members of the group, wherever they might be employed.

It is noted, however, that the percentage of the teaching group employed in Non-State schools has steadily decreased from 34.6 (1907) to 23.7 (1951). There is no indication that a strong section of teachers in Non-State schools is likely to develop. Indeed, the existence and continued development of these schools, necessary for the building up of a strong teaching body,

(6) For the standard of conduct required of teachers see Chapter Five, supra.
depends on adequate finance. Lack of finance at the present time threatens the existence of many of these schools, and they are now looking to the State for some form of financial assistance.

A State subsidy to Non-State schools could well mean that less money would be available for improving the service of State education. However, the more money the State spends on Non-State schools the greater the measure of control it is likely to exert over them. This is the dilemma facing State teachers - to oppose State aid for Non-State schools and see these teachers decrease in number and influence, or to support it and see the power of the State increase over a larger part of the whole teaching group.

The evidence has shown that the percentage of the teaching group employed in Non-State schools has become steadily smaller, and the indications are that the State will extend its control, directly or indirectly, over a greater percentage of teachers in these schools.

In salary, teachers have made apparent gains in recent years; but opinions differ whether teachers' salaries have increased relative to those of professional
groups. Professor G.L. Wood, by analysing wage variations in the community over the period from 1911 to 1942, demonstrated that, 'compared with other professional sections, the financial status of teachers has steadily deteriorated'\(^8\). However, rapid changes have taken place in the wage and salary structure of the community since then. The evidence on teachers' salaries examined in a previous chapter revealed that in 1954 the margin of the teachers' salary (i.e. gross income before tax) over the basic wage had decreased more than that of any professional group.\(^9\) Other evidence showed that there is still a large gap between the salaries offered to teachers and the salaries of professional groups both in the public service and in private employment.\(^\text{10}\) It could be argued that the effect of differential taxation on higher professional incomes would be to improve the teachers' relative position. A distinction must be made, however, between the probable effect of such taxation policy on the

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\(^9\) See p. 268.

\(^\text{10}\) See p. 270 ff.
higher incomes of salaried professionals and the
effect on the gross incomes of self-employed professionals.
When the salaries of teachers are compared with the net
incomes of professional groups, either self-employed
or salaried, it becomes doubtful whether teachers have
made any significant progress towards what they believe
are 'professional salaries'.

Some advance towards professional standards is
claimed by teachers in the field of training. Despite
erratic changes in standards made by governments during
the depression periods and again in the post-war years,
the general trend in teacher training has been to raise
standards. Training on the job by means of the student-
teacher apprenticeship system has been abolished. Entry
standards in some States have been raised to a level
corresponding with that of university entrance. The
teachers' college course has in the main been increased
from one year to two years. Tasmania has led the way

(11) In the depression periods of the 1890's and 1930's
the Teachers' Colleges were closed or their activities
seriously curtailed. Many teachers were accepted into
the service without training. In the post-war years the
demand for teachers in the schools was so great that entry
standards were lowered to obtain more 'recruits', and in
some instances the course was shortened.
in handing over to the University in that State the responsibility for training teachers. Despite the trend towards raising the standard of teacher training it is apparent from the evidence on teachers' qualifications that only a very small percentage of the teaching group can justly claim to have reached the standard set by the professions in training.

No progress has been made by teachers in closing their ranks to all but the qualified, even at a standard lower than that of the professions. Registration of teachers remains in only two States; and as these States introduced the practice almost fifty years ago, it cannot be claimed that any progress has been made in this direction.

There remains the question whether teachers' unions have made any progress towards the model professional association. To a large extent the answer to this question is closely connected with the progress which teaching makes in other directions; but some general observations may be made. The division in the ranks of teachers, between those employed by the State and those employed by denominational and private organisations has existed since the introduction of State education, and
no progress has been made in establishing an occupational association to which all teachers might belong, irrespective of employment status or religion. Although teachers' unions are not responsible for providing the service of education, it could be said that they have become more like the professional model in their concern for improving the quality of the service. The evidence relating to the activities and methods of teachers' unions showed that there is an increasing tendency by Education Departments, although this varies from State to State, to give teachers' unions a greater share in the administration of the service. On the other hand it was shown that economic and industrial problems arising from the fact that teachers are all employees tended to make teachers' associations unlike the model professional association and more like a trade union.

The most that could be said for the second argument advanced about the status of teaching - that it is making progress towards the professional model based

(12) See pp. 152-201.
on the acknowledged professions of medicine and law -
is that whatever progress there is, is very uneven and
very slow. Overall the claim is not convincing.

This claim merges into a third one made about the
status of teaching, that

'Inherently there does not appear to be any
insuperable impediment to its continued advance
towards a professional goal.' (13)

In other words, if teaching continues to make progress,
there is nothing to prevent the occupation from eventually
acquiring all the characteristics of the professional
model. Despite this claim, there is evidence of a feeling
of frustration within the teaching group. Try as they
may - and the evidence in teachers' journals reveals that
(14) they have been trying for almost a hundred years -

(13) Brown, M.S., 'Towards a Professional Status'. The Forum
of Education, Vol. III, No. 1, August, 1944, pp. 2-9, at p. 3.
(14) A review of teachers' journals over this period shows
that teachers' unions have always been concerned with
such matters as raising salaries, improving training
standards, obtaining better working conditions and raising
the status of the occupation. It is noticeable that
medicine and law are always held up as the model to which
teaching should aspire. e.g., 'When the social position
of the teacher shall have been raised to a par with the
unquestioned utility of his office.... then, and not till
then, shall the teachers be what they ought to be, models
for the imitation of those around them, earnest and
devoted schoolmasters, attached to their schools and
their pupils, as is the doctor to his patients or the
lawyer to his clients.' (Australian Journal of Education,
See also, 'The Status of the Teaching Profession'.
May, 1869.
teachers have been unable to make their occupation look like a profession. They see other occupations arise, model themselves on the older professions of medicine and law and without much difficulty acquire professional characteristics. The teaching group, however, like Alice, appears to be running up and down in the same place, ever faster, yet seemingly not getting anywhere. It is apparent that there are some factors which tend to make its development towards the professional model much more difficult than is the case with other occupations. Therefore, in order to examine this argument, that teaching will eventually become like the older professions of medicine and law, it will be necessary to analyse these limiting factors and to decide whether or not they form an impassable barrier for teachers.

The first obvious factor to be considered is that teachers are all employees. The 1947 Census revealed that professional groups are mainly self-employed, with a smaller percentage in private employment, and a very small percentage in public employment. However, the percentage of certain professional groups in self-employment, private employment or State employment, varies. Doctors, 65, 30 and 5; lawyers, 77, 16 and 7; dentists, 83, 14 and 3, respectively.

(15) The percentage of certain professional groups in self-employment, private employment or State employment, respectively. Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947, Part XVIII, pp.1412-1418.
small percentage in State employment. Teachers present quite a different picture in their employment status, with 76 per cent employed by the State (or 90 per cent, if teachers in Roman Catholic schools be excluded), and 24 per cent employed by private organisations.

It will be observed that, while most professionals are self-employed, this avenue is in practice not available for teachers. Such a situation has arisen because education is an activity that cannot be efficiently and economically performed on the individual basis common to most professional services. Experience has shown that it can best be carried out with groups of children brought together in institutions. This entails capital costs for buildings and equipment, and necessitates the employment of a staff of teachers whose salaries mean large running costs. Capital and running costs are prohibitive for a private individual to run a school at a reasonable standard and keep fees low; they are almost prohibitive for larger groups such as churches. For this reason individual teachers do not own schools nor do they form co-operative societies for the purpose of providing an education service. Teachers must resign themselves to the fact
that in rendering the service of education they must be employees, either of the State or of some private organisation. The Sophists of Athens or the Masters of the Middle Ages could not service the modern system of education.

Employee status for the entire group produces conditions which make the group unlike the professional model as examined. The employer who pays the salary will have some say in matters relating to the standard of the service, the conditions of work and the amount of remuneration. The ethical code will become less necessary because a large part of the conduct of the employee will be regulated by the conditions governing the terms of his employment. The character of the occupational association will also change as the association becomes increasingly concerned with the working conditions and remuneration of its members.

The British Medical Association realised that employee status for all doctors under a National Health Scheme would produce just these conditions in the medical profession, so it sought to avoid employee status for doctors. Doctors on the Health Panel do not regard themselves as employed by the State, although
the money for the service comes from the State and the
Minister of Health may remove a doctor's name from the
Panel. The Law Society in England also sought to
remove the implications of employee status for their
members in regard to the Legal Aid Scheme by obtaining
a block grant from the State from which it in turn
makes re-imbursements to individual practitioners for
services rendered.

It could be argued that a similar arrangement
might be possible for teachers, i.e., an arrangement
by which the State made a block grant to an Education
Commission or a teachers' association, which would in
turn re-imburse teachers for their services. This
would then give teachers an intermediate status between
employee and self-employed. It must be observed,
however, that the Medical and Legal Aid Schemes are
built upon a pre-existing relationship between
practitioner and client, a relationship which was in
existence long before the State became interested in
making the service available to a greater number of
persons in the community. In education, there was no
such relationship before the State provided the service;
teachers were then employed by the Church or some
other organisation. It does not seem practicable for the modern system of education to be organised on any basis which would avoid employee status for teachers.

It appears therefore that employee status for the entire group is inevitable for those engaged in the modern activity of education, and to that extent teaching will always differ from the model of a profession based on the older professions of medicine and law.

If total employee status is a disability for a group aspiring to be like the professional model, then employee status with the State as the largest employer, as in the case of teaching, brings additional difficulties. The State, it has already been observed, employs 76 per cent of the teaching group, or 90 per cent if those in the Roman Catholic system be excluded. It is not as if the State were the largest of many employers, it is almost the only employer. As such it is in a powerful position solely by virtue of its monopoly over the employment of teachers.

The State is also the training authority for teachers. This situation came about because when the State assumed responsibility for providing the service,
there was not in existence any system for training teachers in sufficient numbers or at a reasonably high standard. The situation would be different, if, for example, the State decided to provide a National Health Service. There is in existence a system for training doctors and the State would not necessarily take upon itself the task of training them, although it might modify the existing system. As the State is also the training authority for teachers, it is able to determine the length and standard of training, as well as the number to be admitted to training.

The State is also committed to providing a free and compulsory system of education. The service of education as provided by the State commenced in a very small way as a form of financial assistance to voluntary associations. Later the State entered the field directly by establishing schools and employing teachers to give literacy to specified age groups who paid a small fee. In time the fee was abolished and the service extended. The elementary service expanded to include secondary, technical and even tertiary education, all organised and up to a point subsidised by the State. Special services developed for pre-school children, as
well as for the blind, the deaf, the physically handicapped, and other special groups. Not only is the service of education provided free, but the State contributes in a large measure towards books and equipment; it provides free milk and subsidises transport for school children, and in a dozen other ways provides benefits which were never envisaged when it first entered the field of education.

These features are regarded as worthy attributes of a modern system of education, yet in themselves they produce further difficulties for teachers in their attempts to become like the professional model. The State is in fact committed to providing a service on a large scale and the largeness of this activity of education produces problems of finance and recruitment.

It has been said that the service of education is provided free by the State, which means that no parent pays directly in the form of fees for his child's education at a State school. Of course, there are private schools which charge fees, but they must finance their own service of education. The State education service is financed from consolidated revenue and loan funds to which most citizens contribute directly or indirectly.
No financial support for education comes from local government bodies, no rates or taxes are levied for education, and no special loans are raised for educational purposes. Some assistance may be given by the Parents' Committee at each school in raising money to provide additional equipment and amenities. Not only is the service provided free by the State but the State can expect no immediate financial return. It has been well said that 'education services involve the important but dangerous principle of public finance - a generous outgoing, but little incoming'. Victoria's bill for State education for the financial year 1954-55 is estimated at more than $16 million from consolidated revenue, but the anticipated revenue from the Education

(16) The amounts raised by these organisations are not easily ascertainable, but as a rule they are small compared with the total cost of education as provided by the State. It is noted, however, that in South Australia these bodies raised £100,000 in 1951, an amount equal to four times the total cost of training teachers in that State for the same period. Report of the Minister of Education, South Australia, 1951, p. 22.

Department is only £114,000. The Tasmanian Education Department will return £16,000 for an outlay of £3 million in the same period.

The difference between the method of financing the free education service as provided by the State and the professional service in private practice must be noted. The former involves the State in a large expenditure of public money, while the latter is self-supporting in that the client pays a fee for the service and that fee is estimated to cover the cost of providing the service.

The argument is often advanced by teachers that if the State spent more money on education, teaching would become a profession. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine more closely the amount spent by State governments on education and how that amount is apportioned.

Each Education Department works within a financial framework as approved by Parliament in its budget deliberations. This Annual Vote is apportioned by the

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Department among such items as:

(a) Teachers' salaries, including cost of accumulated leave on retirement, superannuation, etc.

(b) Operating costs, which include school books and stationery, furniture and equipment, school supplies such as chalk and ink, the cleaning of buildings, etc.

(c) Teacher training costs, salaries of training college staff, allowances to students in training, operating costs of training colleges, etc.

(d) Special costs related to particular aspects of the service, such as visual education, school broadcasts, conveyance of pupils, free milk scholarships and bursaries.

(e) Repairs and maintenance to existing buildings and residences.

All these items are met from consolidated revenue; new buildings are met from the general loan account in each State. (Loans for all purposes are now raised by the Commonwealth and allocated to the States; a sub-allocation within each State determines the amount for education.)

Despite this method of public accounting it is not easy to ascertain precisely the amount spent by all States on Education in any particular year. A close estimate of the total expenditure on education by the States during the
financial year 1952-53 would be £60 million from consolidated revenue and £11 million from loan funds. This does not include amounts spent by other government departments on matters closely connected with the service of education and not debited to the Education Department. It does not include money spent by the Commonwealth Government on education nor money spent by the community in relation to private school education. The £60 million spent on education in this period might be compared with the £47 million spent by the States on 'Health, Hospitals and Charities', the £60 million spent by the Commonwealth on child endowment and widows' pensions, and the £72 million spent by the Commonwealth on age and invalid pensions.

(20) See Appendix D.
(21) In Western Australia, for example, expenditure is incurred by such government departments as Public Health, (medical inspection), Aborigines, Agriculture, Mines, Public Works and also by the Treasury. Report of the Education Department for the Year 1951, P.31.
(23) Ibid.
(24) Ibid.
The £60 million represents 1.4 per cent of the gross national product for Australia in 1952-53.

Although teachers argue that more money should be spent on education if teaching is to become a profession, there has been no estimate given as to how much should be spent to achieve this end. Unless some idea of the cost involved is made, then no answer can be given to the question whether it is within the financial resources of the State at the present time, or whether it is likely to be in the future.

Teachers maintain that before their occupation will be recognised as a profession a number of improvements must be made in the service of education, many of them directly related to the teaching group. Assuming that these reforms are necessary for teaching to become a profession, it will be relevant to examine them with a view to estimating the overall cost of providing such an improved service.

It is agreed that many more teachers are required to:

(a) overcome present shortages,
(b) reduce the size of classes to 30,
(c) raise the school leaving age,
(d) reduce the individual teaching load to allow more time for preparation,
(e) allow for study leave at reasonable intervals,
(f) provide for refresher courses,
(g) build up a relieving staff to cover teachers' absences,
(h) allow for four years' training instead of one or two years as at present,
(i) provide for more specialist teachers in music, art, etc.
(j) allow for normal wastage.

The extra teachers required to implement these reforms could well be 30,000 to 35,000, which would mean, in effect, almost doubling the size of the present teaching group.

(27) See Appendix F.
It has been pointed out that the major item in educational expenditure is teachers' salaries. To double the size of the teaching group and to increase their salaries to a level with those offered professional groups would bring the present salaries' bill of Education Departments close to £200 million per annum. Improvements in teacher training would be reflected in additional cost in the salaries of extra staff and increased running costs. Increased emoluments paid to a greater number of teacher trainees must be considered, although it is sometimes argued that if the State paid 'professional salaries' to teachers then it would attract sufficient recruits to teaching without paying them a training allowance.

Teachers also claim that it will be necessary for the State to spend more money on operating costs, and to provide more books and equipment so that they will

(28) One authority estimates that salaries and wages constitute 82 per cent of the annual operating costs of Education Departments.

Compulsory Education in Australia. Unesco, p.31.
not have to take part in money raising activities for this purpose.

The expansion of the education service would also mean an extension of the ancillary services, such as the transport of school children. It would also mean a rise in the overall cost of administration of the Education Department.

Capital works are also involved. A service of education on the lines envisaged by teachers would mean replacing outmoded buildings by modern schools, the building of extra classrooms, as well as assembly halls, music rooms and gymnasiums and providing for extensions to Teachers' Colleges. It is impossible to estimate the cost of these capital works without more detailed information, but it is clear that it will be

(29) State teachers in Queensland regarded such activities as taking part in bazaars and carnivals to raise money for education as 'unprofessional'.

Queensland Teachers' Journal, November, 1953.

(30) The Victorian Education Department budgeted for an expenditure of £1,415,000 on this item for the financial year 1954-55, approximately 9 per cent of the Education Vote, or nearly ten times the cost of providing scholarships and bursaries.
a considerable sum in the expenditure required to make teaching a profession.

When all these items are carefully considered, it would be a reasonable estimate to place the total annual cost of providing such a service of education at about £250 million from consolidated revenue and an unestimated amount from loan funds.

Thus the teachers' argument that if the State spent more money on education, teaching would become a profession, means that the expenditure on education should be increased from £60 million per annum to £250 million per annum. In comparison with other items of expenditure it means spending on education more than the amount spent by the Commonwealth Government on defence in 1952-53, (£215 million) or an amount approaching that spent by the Commonwealth and all State Governments on all social services, including education, in the same period, (£294 million).

In terms of the gross national product it would mean increasing the percentage spent by the States on

education from 1.4 to more than 6.0. This, of course, takes no account of the amount spent by the community on private education. This percentage can be compared with the percentage of the gross national product spent on education in Britain, 2.3, Canada 2.4, New Zealand 2.6 and the U.S.A. 2.0.

It could be maintained that Australia could in fact spend more money on education to bring it into line with other countries. In so doing, it would raise the status of teaching in this country. The provision of this enlarged and improved service of education, however, means raising the percentage of the gross

(32) Gross National Product, see p. 327.
(33) For the total expenditure by Local Education Authorities and Gross National Product see Annual Abstract of Statistics, No. 91, 1954, p. 246 (Table 282), p. 83 (Table 95), p. 86 (Table 102) and p. 89 (Table 109).
national product spent on education from 1.4 to more than 6.0, which would be two or three times as large as that of the countries referred to above. Such an increase might not be impossible over a long period of time; for example, the percentage of the gross national product spent on social services in Australia by the Commonwealth, increased from 1.8 to 4.0, and by the Commonwealth and States, from 4.6 to 6.9 between 1938 and 1952.

Nevertheless, it would appear that unless there is an increase in the overall productivity of the economy or a change in values in the expenditure of public funds, finance is likely to remain a constant, though not insuperable, barrier for teachers in their attempts to make teaching a profession.

The largeness of the activity of education brings not only problems of finance but also of recruitment because of the large number of teachers required. The compulsory nature of the service means that the State must provide for the education of more than one million

(37) Commonwealth Grants Commission, Reports, supra, p. 331.
pupils in 1954. Compulsion has increased the demand for teachers just as it would increase the demand for doctors if there were a compulsory medical standard for all. No one is yet compelled to reach a certain standard of health, although compulsory x-rays and vaccination may be pointing the way. This marks an important difference between the service of education and a professional service and this difference is reflected in the size of the group required. Professional services are optional and occasional, the education service is compulsory and extends over a period of at least eight years. The professional service is required less by the community, which means that fewer persons are required to provide the service and these may be obtained at a higher standard. By setting high entry standards and providing a service which gives a relatively high income to all members of the group, the professions do not usually have problems of recruitment.

It has previously been observed that to service the system of education the State must employ 35,000 teachers and private organisations a further 10,000. By contrast, government authorities had to employ only 336 doctors and 336 legal officers, while in private practice
there were 6,328 medical men and 4,329 lawyers.

The activity of State education is now so large that almost half of the entire Public Service of New South Wales is now concerned with providing the service.

(Figure 8)

This large group is still not sufficient for present needs. Teachers, however, want improvements to the service to bring it into line with what they believe are the standards of the professions. Additions to the group would increase its size to approximately 90,000, if those teachers for the Non-State schools are included. These must be recruited at university entrance and given a university course of four years to correspond with the training standards of the professions. Investigations in Australia confirm the conclusion reached in other countries, that compared with the population at large, university students need a high level of intelligence to be successful in academic work. Tests carried out by the Australian Council for Educational Research in 1943 estimated that 90 per cent of students in their first year at the Melbourne University had an I.Q. of 116 or over

DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF OF THE N.S.W. PUBLIC SERVICE

(Fifty-Third Annual Report of The Public Service Board, N.S.W. June, 1949, p.4.)
compared with 16 per cent in the general population. On the A.C.E.R.'s adult test, mature age students at Melbourne University require an I.Q. of 115 or better to pass. Sanders, in his survey of academic success, came to the conclusion 'it would seem for most purposes the selecting point should be about 115'.

The proposition that teaching would become a profession if reforms were introduced which would have the effect of increasing the size of the group, creates two problems. Are there sufficient persons with such a high degree of intelligence available in the community, and can they be recruited into teaching?

In the year 1950 there were approximately 105,000 persons in Australia in the 16-17 years age group from which teachers might be recruited. Of these, some 16,000 would have an I.Q. which would ensure them success in a university course. Teaching would require some 8,000 of these as recruits, so that statistically the personnel are available in the community.


In practice, however, there are many more difficulties associated with the recruitment of such a large teaching body. In this same year, 1950, for example, only 10,000 of the group under discussion obtained the Leaving Certificate, and not all of these would be capable of completing a university course. Even if the maximum number of the 10,000 did, in fact, complete a university course, that would barely provide sufficient recruits for teaching in this expanded education service. Assuming that this improved education service solved some of the wastage at the secondary school level and that some 114,000 obtained Leaving Certificate, teaching would require more than half of these as recruits. However, the needs of the professions and other occupations requiring Leaving Certificate as a pre-requisite to training must not be overlooked. In 1950, of those who completed Leaving Certificate 1 in 4 entered Teachers' Colleges while the remainder provided recruits for other occupations.

(40) For a brief statement on the problems associated with the recruitment of teachers in Australia, see Education News, Vol. 4, No. 2, April, 1953, pp. 3-5. (Commonwealth Office of Education).
Thus it would seem that teaching could only obtain sufficient recruits by creating shortages among other occupations. Whether so many persons would elect to join the teaching group would depend on teachers' salaries and other factors which determine recruitment. The experience of the post-war years would seem to indicate that the number of personnel required at such a high standard of intelligence is such that they are most unlikely to be recruited.

The argument to this stage has been concerned with the third claim made by teachers about the status of their occupation, that there are no insuperable impediments to its advance towards the professional model. It was noted that teachers are all employees and must inevitably remain employees in a modern system of education. To that extent teaching will always differ from the old professional model. Further, it was noted that teachers are employees of the State which has a virtual monopoly of their employment. The State is also the training authority. The State is also responsible for providing a service of education which is free and compulsory, extensive and expanding, and these features of the service produce problems of finance and of recruitment.
These problems show the weakness of the teachers' position. When faced with the problem of finding sufficient teachers to service the extensive education service to which it is committed, the State does not raise salaries of teachers to compete with those offered in the professions, nor does it restrict the service by cancelling the facilities offered to those outside the statutory age limits. It reduces the entry standard and offers training allowances.

The State is able to dilute the teaching group because it has a monopoly over teacher employment, it determines their conditions of employment and it controls training standards. Moreover, the State is in a much more powerful position than say, the Church would be, if it were the largest employer of teachers. Beyond the Church the State could in theory intervene to protect teachers against injustice or maladministration; but the State as employer is backed up by the State as the largest effective group.

The powerful position of the State, and correspondingly, the weak position of teachers, is illustrated by the procedure for adjusting teachers' salaries. (41)

(41) For details of the machinery by which teachers' salaries are adjusted, see Appendix E, pp. 384-388
In general, the Public Service Board is the actual employing authority for all persons employed in the Public Service. In this capacity it often appears as the Crown's advocate at industrial tribunals against increasing wages and salaries in the community generally, because of the eventual increase in the salaries of government employees. With the same personnel in New South Wales, it constitutes itself a salary-fixing authority for many of its own employees, including teachers. In other States, where teachers and the government are represented on the salary-fixing tribunal, the government, through its representative, usually opposes any claims for increased salaries.

The major argument advanced by the government representative is the increased cost to the State. In the Crown case against salary increases for teachers in Queensland in 1948, for example, the Public Service Commissioner pointed out that the increase, if granted, would cost the State an additional half a million pounds per annum. He maintained that the State would have difficulty in finding the money. This of course, can be

(42) Queensland Teachers' Journal. 20 April, 1948, p.1.
regarded as the normal, legitimate procedure for an employer in presenting its case to the salary-fixing authority. The State, however, sometimes uses its position of power to go beyond this normal procedure.

The events which occurred during recent salary claims by South Australian and Victorian teachers illustrate this point. In South Australia, the Public Service Commissioner, the Under Treasurer and the Premier, admittedly working through the official machinery, actually brought about a change in the award already agreed upon by the Teachers' Institute of South Australia had presented its case for an increase. After a month's delay, the government representative gave his reply, opposing the claim. The Salaries Board took into account the recent Galvin Award and refused the higher marginal rates claimed by teachers. On the basis of rates paid to teachers in other States it offered small increases which were not acceptable to the Teachers' Institute. The illness of the Chairman delayed the hearing two months during which new rates were announced in two other States, completely altering the basis of comparison with them. At the same time the Loan Council was meeting in Canberra and if South Australia did not receive the amount anticipated then salaries paid to all public servants, including teachers, could not be increased. However, the Salaries Board eventually agreed to an increase for teachers, and by its constitution its awards are binding on the Minister, subject to money from Parliament being available. At this point additional pressure was brought to bear on the Salaries Board. The Public Service Commissioner, representing the government on the Board, conferred with the Premier and then asked leave to call the Under Treasurer who gave evidence that the State's finances would not bear the increase. The teachers' representative objected, maintaining that the Board's function was to award salaries and thereafter it was for Parliament to find the money. However, as a result of the intervention of the Premier and Under Treasurer, the rates previously agreed upon were lowered.

(South Australian Teachers' Journal, Aug. 1952, pp. 3-4.)
In Victoria, the Premier attempted to influence the deliberations of the Teachers' Tribunal over and above the action of the government representative.

Even if these methods of keeping teachers' salaries down fail, governments usually retain power to disallow

(44) While the Victorian Teachers' Tribunal was still considering the claims of the parties on an application by the Victorian Teachers' Union for an increase in teachers' salaries, the President and Secretary of the Teachers' Union were summoned to the Premier's Office. There they found the Chairman of the Teachers' Tribunal present and the Premier informed the meeting that he desired to acquaint them with the state of the State's finances. The Premier also disclosed that he had already had a discussion with the Chairman and the government representative. The Chairman maintained that if there was to be a discussion of the salary question all members of the Tribunal should be present. The President of the Teachers' Union argued that if the Tribunal were to be truly 'independent' as envisaged by statute, then the Premier had no right to discuss such matters with the Chairman, other than through the government representative on the Tribunal. The Premier reserved to himself the right to discuss such matters with the full Tribunal, although he agreed in future to allow an officer of the Treasury to place financial matters before the Tribunal. Subsequently, salary increases were granted to teachers.

the award, although this power is rarely used.

While it is true that the major argument advanced by the State against increasing teachers' salaries is the increased cost to the State of providing the service of education, the State is able to keep teachers' salaries down because it controls the very factors which eventually determine the price of the teachers' services.

By controlling the length of training and setting a minimum standard at one or two years beyond Leaving

(45) In Victoria, the awards must be implemented unless disallowed by both Houses of Parliament. (Teaching Service Act 1946, s.59 (1)-(4).) In Tasmania, the award of the Salaries Board must be approved by the Governor-in-Council before being gazetted. In South Australia, the award is binding on the Minister, provided that 'the Minister shall be liable to pay any salaries or other sums fixed by an award only to the extent that money voted by Parliament is available for the purpose'.

While there are no examples of teachers' awards being disallowed by Parliament, there have been instances where the power of disallowance has been invoked in the case of other awards, e.g., Commonwealth Public Service Arbitrator's Awards, No. 47 and 48 of 1926 (Child Endowment), Nos. 33-36 of 1928 (Canberra Allowances) and No. 13 of 1932 (Salaries of Adults in Minor's Positions).
Certificate, the State destroys one strong argument which the teachers would have if all their members had undergone a four years' course at a university.

The monopoly position of the State in education, in being the largest, and virtually the only, employer of teachers means that there is not an open and competitive market. Private schools do not have the financial resources to raise salaries to competitive levels with those offered by the State, low as these are. In fact, private schools endeavour to keep their salaries bill down by employing many women teachers at lower rates. Of course, teachers do not usually possess a skill which is marketable at a higher price outside the activity of education. The one exception to this is in the case of teachers of mathematics and science, and it is significant that there is a marked wastage of these teachers from education to industry.

(46) It should be noted that the salaries offered Headmasters of certain of the larger Non-State schools are higher than those awarded any teacher in the State service. These positions, however, are usually filled by overseas appointments or from within the Non-State teaching group.
Thus, in order to provide an extensive service of education at a minimum cost, the State endeavours to keep costs down, particularly costs of salaries which represent such a large proportion of the total cost of education. It is able to do this by keeping training to a minimum, by controlling the factors which determine the price of the teachers' services and by taking advantage of its position of power over and above its position as an employer.

The teachers' position is weak because they are employees of the State, they have no control over the provision of the service or over the factors which determine their market price. Moreover they are not in a position to conduct strikes to improve their position, nor may they even criticise the government or its policy in such matters.

Employee status for teachers in this situation prevents them from achieving the professional status enjoyed by doctors and lawyers.
This, then, is the situation which teachers face in their attempt to be like the professional model. At the present time teaching is not a profession like medicine and law, nor is it making much progress towards professional status of this kind. Indeed, it has been shown that there are limiting factors of such magnitude that it is extremely unlikely that teaching could ever become a profession like these occupations.

Is this to be the ultimate status for teachers? Must there always be a gap between teaching and the professions, a gap expressed in terms of lower standards of training, lower remuneration, with differences in the organisation and control of the service, all combining to give teaching a lower prestige rating in the hierarchy of occupations established by measuring public opinion. Must the teacher be one of the 'dedicated mediocrity', 'an adequate but unimpressive member of the undifferentiated horde that walks briskly from subway to office .........' 

It has been frequently pointed out in this study that the professional model referred to the acknowledged professions of medicine and law. These occupations are never static, however, despite the criticism that they are conservative elements in society. They are continually adjusting themselves to the forces of the time, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes by pressure from the public or by legislative enactments. This process of adjustment is particularly evident in Britain, where, it has been stated, 'to be a professional man or woman today, is to live with uncertainty'. It will be relevant therefore to look more closely at the professional model previously examined to see whether there are any signs of change in Australia.

It has been stated recently that the legal profession is changing in form. The old individual practitioner is being forced out of practice, the Law Clerk is disappearing and the Managing Clerk almost extinct. Legal practice is increasingly being carried on by groups of solicitors forming partnerships and

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(48) Lewis and Maude. Professional People.
by individual solicitors becoming salaried employees. This change has come about for two reasons. On the one hand the amount of knowledge concerning all branches of the law has multiplied so rapidly in the modern State that no member of the legal profession could hope to keep up to date with developments in every field. The tendency is to create a firm of specialists in divorce, taxation, company law, and so on. On the other hand high overhead costs and the relative decline of solicitors' incomes has prompted many solicitors to seek employment, either within the profession itself or with an outside firm. In the latter case the expansion of large business undertakings has created many openings for lawyers where they receive such benefits as a standard working week, superannuation and long service leave. As a result of these changes the professional association is taking a more active interest in the economic problems of its members, seeking such forms of assistance as taxation concessions, higher charges, State subsidies for certain kinds of

litigation, and restrictions on entry to the profession. These problems are reflected to an increasing extent in the law journals which were once devoted solely to professional matters.

There is no indication that either medicine or law is lowering its standard of training. On the contrary it has been noted that the training of barristers and solicitors has tended to merge in fact and in law in all States, and the tendency is for such training to be taken as a university course rather than as a course for articled clerks.

In medicine there has been a gradual differentiation of function. In part this has been due to the increasing amount of medical knowledge which has made it virtually impracticable for a body of general practitioners to provide the entire service. The enlargement of the

(51) Vroland, R.W., 'Law Office Organisation'.
McArthur, R.J., 'Solicitors' Business Management'.
medical service has resulted in three distinct
divisions within the medical group. There are
doctors who have specialised in one field of medicine
or surgery, such as the radiologist, the dermatologist,
the ophthalmologist, the psychiatrist and the heart
specialist. These are clearly members of the medical
profession. At the other end of the scale are the
medical auxiliaries, physiotherapists, nurses,
occupational therapists and speech therapists, all
working under medical direction and performing useful
and necessary tasks, which require lesser training
than that of the doctor. In between these two groups
comes the general practitioner. On the one hand
he co-ordinates the activities of the medical auxiliaries,
particularly if he is associated with a hospital; on
the other he channels cases through to the specialist,
although this practice is not as common as many members
of the medical profession would like.

As the techniques on which the services rendered
by the members of the medical profession become more
fragmented the training becomes longer and more
specialised. As the general practitioner gives way to
the specialist there is an increasing tendency for
doctors to form clinics, just as the lawyers have come together in firms. The longer training, the specialised service, the growth of medical auxiliaries, have all tended to increase the cost of the medical service to the individual. At this point it must be observed that the State has endeavoured to make a medical service available to all members of the community. One way of keeping the cost of the service down is to subsidise the cost of university training for all students, including those in medicine. Another way is to subsidise hospitals and hospital treatment. A third way is to provide some form of national health insurance, either compulsory as in Britain, or voluntary as in Australia.

Whichever methods are used it means that the State is providing money, either directly or indirectly, to finance the service. One can expect that this will lead to the State acquiring closer control over the medical profession and over the standard of the service it is to perform. In the case of the legal profession the State has not yet subsidised the service to the same extent.
It is possible to see in these changes the outlines of a new professional model. Members will be highly specialised in function and subject to a long course of training at a university; some, but not all, will be salaried employees of the State and of private organisations; the average income will be lower and the margin of the professional group over other occupational groups will be less; the ethical code will become less important as members accept employee status; the professional association will be concerned with economic as well as professional problems; the profession will be more dependent on the State for financial assistance in training and for making the service available at a reasonable cost to greater numbers in the community; the State will acquire closer control over certain aspects related to the provision of the professional service probably by having government nominees on the present governing bodies of the professions.

If this be the model towards which the professions are moving, then the problem of teacher status can be viewed in a new light. Although there are seemingly impassible barriers for teachers in their efforts to
be like the old style professional model, it could well be that teaching and the professions could come together in the form of this new professional model. This assumes, of course, that teaching will also make progress towards the new model. It will be relevant therefore to note what changes are taking place in the teaching group itself.

The whole argument relating to teachers' status has so far rested on the assumption that the teaching group was a homogeneous entity which must be lifted as a unity along the path to professional status. There are indications that the teaching group is not a unity and that it is in process of breaking up according to the function of the teacher. This is due, in part, to the development of education itself. Elementary education with one stream of schools taught by one group of teachers who all received the same kind of training made for a unified teaching group. The expansion of State secondary education has brought division within the group and created a new section of teachers. Separate secondary schools have been established, teachers are trained differently and at a higher academic level, and they receive
different rates of pay. In Victoria, secondary school teachers have formed a separate association. At the other end of the educational ladder, there has been a development of specialised education at the pre-school and nursery school stage, leading to the creation of another section of teachers.

This process of differentiation of function cannot be considered without some reference to the standard of intelligence required for particular tasks in education. The argument that the teaching group was a unity meant that in order to become a profession all members of the group had to come within a high range of intelligence in order to complete a university degree. Whether all members of the teaching group need such a high degree of intelligence has been questioned by some educational psychologists. Professor Vernon reviewed some of the findings. An I.Q. of below, say, 110, may be a barrier to success in teaching, but an I.Q. above that.

(52) The Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association; (formerly the Victorian Secondary Masters' Professional Association).

figure makes no difference. However, no definite lower limit has been established. The criteria for success in teaching are not clear, but it is apparent that other traits, such as a particular kind of personality, are important. Professor Vernon comes to the conclusion,

'It is clear that psychological research provides no good justification for the profession continuing to absorb such a large proportion of the nation's superior intellects ....... '(54)

In other words, some, but not all, may require a standard of intelligence high enough to complete a university course. Secondary teachers, who need to master a greater quantity of subject matter at university level, would probably have to come within this range, but they constitute only a small percentage of the teaching group. Primary teachers would have more difficulty in raising their status under these circumstances. Where a body of knowledge at university level is not necessary for the major part of the pupil instruction, then primary teachers would have to claim some special skill in the art of instruction,

(54) Ibid, p.72.
but the general public is not convinced that there is such a skill. Of course, there is no reason why primary teachers should not become specialists in some branch of education, such as music, art, physical education and so on, and by raising standards of training, carry on the process of differentiation.

As teaching becomes more specialised, an educational elite would develop who would be closer to the professional group in training and intelligence. The problem then would be whether other tasks in education could be performed by persons with less intelligence and training, on the analogy of the medical auxiliaries. Teachers are already moving towards this situation by demanding clerical assistance to perform routine work which they claim is not related to their function and which could be performed by persons with less training.

The medical auxiliaries, though skilled in themselves and requiring a degree of training, could not be regarded as professions of the style of medicine and law, but they make the professional service of medicine possible. By improving their standards of training they have raised the status of their occupation. The masseur has become the physiotherapist, the handcraft
worker has become the occupational therapist, and this change is no mere change of name. It discloses the emergence of a technique; the building up of a body of knowledge about the application of the technique; and an attempt by those so qualified to form an association to control standards, and to keep out the unqualified. This differentiation of function, while it leads in the first instance to the emergence of an elite, does not prevent other sections from raising their status to a level not much lower.

These changes in the composition of the teaching group would tend to move it, or some part of it, towards the new kind of professional model. Advancement towards this new professional model, however, will necessitate progress in all aspects of the occupation which have been reviewed in this study. It will be noted that the greatest efforts of teachers' associations in the past have been devoted to raising salaries and improving conditions of work, with less emphasis on the control over standards of conduct and over the administration and organisation of the service of education. The interdependence of all these features in moving the occupation forward has not always been apparent to teachers.
Improvement in training standards and qualifications is one of the strongest arguments for seeking higher salaries; higher qualifications and higher salaries will help to raise the status of the occupation.

Teachers want their occupation to be recognised as one which is high up on the prestige rating of occupations as examined in an earlier chapter. They look to the professions of medicine and law as their model; but it is apparent that they cannot become a profession of this kind. The model, however, is changing, and teaching could come closer to the new kind of professional model. As teaching acquires the characteristics of the new model it will automatically reduce the gap in prestige between it and the professions.

How and why occupations are given prestige ratings in this manner are problems for the sociologists and social psychologists, and as Taft's study indicates, little is known of this problem in Australia. It is probable that all those characteristics of professions

which have been analysed in this study contributed something to their prestige. Doctors and lawyers acquire a skill not easily acquired by members of the public. The fact that it is not easily acquired limits the number of those possessing, or capable of possessing, the skill, which in itself gives added prestige to those who acquire it. No one prizes a skill which every one possesses or which might be obtained with a little effort. To be valued by the public a skill must not only be difficult to acquire and be possessed by a small number, but it must fulfil a definite social need. Moreover the prestige which comes from the possession of a skill is always relative to the needs of society at a particular stage of its development. Of course, the very success of an occupation may tend to destroy its social need and thereby lower its prestige. The spread of popular education has probably destroyed the differential advantage which the elementary teacher had in the days of Goldsmith.

As teaching and the professions come together differences between them in such fields as training, income and the standard of the service will tend to
disappear. For this reason it could be assumed that the prestige rating of teaching based on any or all of these factors will rise. Of course, it may be that some other factor, such as value of the service to the community, may be the basis on which occupations are graded. In that case it is important that the community be capable of evaluating the worth of the service provided. In other words the prestige of teaching will rise as individuals in the community are capable of understanding the value of education. This will be possible only over a long period of time, for, in teaching:

there is none of the dramatic and emotional intensity of the surgeon's deft incisions. Life does not drain out in an awful, conclusive, irrevocable stream when the teacher fails. Children grow up, read, write, marry and work - and it is only when social institutions crumble under the tread of a totalitarian Fuhrer, or when the silent wasting of a great depression is witnessed, that people realise the failure of their schools to prepare for full citizenship."(56)

The teaching group in its modern form is a mere eighty years old. In that short time teachers have

come from anonymity through suspicion and even dislike to respectability. They aim to go on to 'professional status', which they believe will give them high prestige. Teachers have not always realised the social implications and the social realities inherent in this claim for higher status. Professional status is a much more involved process than the comments in teachers' journals would seem to indicate. An understanding of the problem is essential if teachers are to improve the prestige rating of their occupation.

In the past professional status has been a will-o'-the-wisp for teachers because the old professional model has been unattainable, yet it is only by striving to be like that model that teachers may hope to meet the professions in a new place which will be determined by the forces of social change.
APPENDIX A

TEACHERS' COLLEGE COURSE FOR PRIMARY TEACHERS.

CONTENT AND TIME ALLOCATION
## Appendix A

### TEACHERS' COLLEGE COURSE FOR PRIMARY TEACHERS

#### Content and Time Allocation

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1 The optional subjects are: art, craft, dramatic art, literature, geography, history, mathematics, modern languages (French and German), music, nature study, physical education, physics, and also broadcasting, child guidance, English drama, visual education.

(The above course is in operation at the Sydney Teachers' College, New South Wales, the largest teachers' college in Australia. Source: Compulsory Education in Australia. Unesco Studies on Compulsory Education III, 1951, p.65.)
APPENDIX B

'PROFESSIONAL-TYPE EDUCATION
COURSES AVAILABLE AT MAJOR AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES 1953
Appendix B

'Professional-Type' Education Courses Available At Major Australian Universities 1953

1. New South Wales, Sydney University.

**Arts Course:** Educational subjects may be taken as part of course for degree of Bachelor of Arts, spread over three years.

**Diploma of Education:** One year post-graduate course includes the subjects of educational psychology, principles and methods of teaching, school hygiene, observation and practice if class teaching.

**Master of Education:** Any two of principles of education, history of education, educational psychology, organisation of education, methods of teaching. A thesis is also required.

**Master of Arts (Education):** Available as an alternative to M.Ed.

(Calendar of the University of Sydney, 1954, pp.157, 165, 740.)
2. **Victoria, Melbourne University.**

**Bachelor of Education:** Two years' post-graduate course.

First year - history and principles of education; educational psychology; organisation of education; methods of teaching; practical teaching; comparative education.

Second year - experimental education; one of history of education or philosophy of education or modern developments in educational practice; educational investigation and thesis.

Higher degrees in education also available.

(The University of Melbourne Calendar 1953, pp. 129-132.)

3. **Queensland, Queensland University.**

**Bachelor of Education:** Two years' post-graduate course.

Section A - principles of education, elementary educational psychology,
general school methods, Australian educational systems and recent history. Also one of elementary statistical methods, history of education, and educational psychology.


(The University of Queensland. Education Faculty Handbook 1952-4.)

4. South Australia, University of Adelaide.

Diploma of Education: One year postgraduate course.

Psychology, education, hygiene, educational psychology, principles of education, practical teaching.

(Calendar of the University of Adelaide, 1953, pp. 410-411.)
5. Western Australia, University of Western Australia.

**Bachelor of Education:** First degree course of four years.

**First year** - Education I, Psychology I, English I, General Science.

**Second year** - Education II, Psychology II, Optional (two subjects).


**Fourth year** - Education IV. Two optional subjects.

Educational investigation and thesis.

Practical work in teaching spread throughout the course.

(The University of Western Australia. Calendar for 1954 pp.101-113.)

6. Tasmania, University of Tasmania.

**Diploma of Education:** One year post-graduate course.

Education IIA or IIB

Education IA, IIIA, IIIB.

(Calendar of the University of Tasmania, 1953, pp.59-60.)
QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS
### Degrees Held by Teachers in the Department of Education 1950

(excluding Teachers in the Department of Technical Education)

(Male and Female)

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**Total number of State Teachers**: 13053

**Total number of degrees and diplomas**: 2703

**Source**: Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1950, p. 27.
## Victoria: Qualifications of State School Teachers. Primary Division 1950

(Maximum academic qualification held)

(Male and Female)

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### Students in Training

| Total       | 338+378      |

### Grand Totals

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**Total number of teachers in above Division**: 6,700

**Total number of degrees and diplomas**: 320

**Victoria: Qualifications of Teachers. Secondary Schools Division 1951**

(Highest Academic Qualification Held)

(Male and Female)

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Total number of teachers in above Division: 1413

Total number of degrees and diplomas: 862

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Total number of teachers in Division: 668
Total number of degrees and university diplomas: 113

Queensland: Graduate Teachers (Excluding Administrative Staff) 1951

*(Male and Female)*

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Total number of State Teachers: 4985

Total number of degrees and diplomas: 621

Source: Seventy-sixth Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction, Queensland, for the year 1951, p. 15.
## South Australia: University Degrees and Diplomas Held by Teachers, Department of Education, 1951

### (Male and Female)

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Total number of teachers: 3,484

Total number of degrees and diplomas: 1080

Western Australia - Degrees and Diplomas Held by Government School Teachers, 1951

(Male and Female)

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\[ 193+106 \quad 2+0 \quad 7+0 \quad 155+90 \quad 3+0 \quad 58+5 \quad 8+0 \quad 82+33 \quad 2+0 \quad 1+0 = 541+234 \]

Total Number of State Teachers in Western Australia = 2597

Total Number of degrees and diplomas = 775

Tasmania: Degrees Held by Teachers 1948. (Excluding Administrative Personnel)

(Male and Female)

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<td>10+1</td>
<td>78+43</td>
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<td>1+0</td>
<td>22+5</td>
<td>1+0</td>
<td>15+3</td>
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<td>0+1</td>
<td>1+1 0+1 155 59</td>
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Total number of teachers: 1237
Total number of degrees & diplomas: 214

Source: Education Department Report 1949, p. XVII
Some of the difficulties associated with educational finance are discussed briefly in *Review of Education in Australia 1940-48*, Chapter 10. The most convenient source is the Report of the Minister of Education in each State, but in two States the Report covers the calendar year and in four the fiscal year. There is no uniformity between States in the dissection of educational expenditure.

In New South Wales, the *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction* for 1953 includes a section showing the expenditure on education (Tables 5.0 and 5.1) for the calendar year 1953. In order to discover the amount spent in the financial year it is necessary to examine the *Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure 1953-54* or *Auditor-General's Report 1953*. The latter source shows that the expenditure from the consolidated revenue fund by the Minister of Education during 1952-53 as £25½ million, in round figures, (p. 26). This amount includes sums spent on libraries and other activities outside the scope of the education system under discussion. If these are excluded the amount spent on education from the consolidated revenue fund would be
estimated at £24 million. The expenditure from loan funds is also given (p.61) but other sources must be used to exclude the amount spent on university buildings. Loan fund expenditure on school buildings totals £3 million.

The Report of the Minister of Education (Victoria) 1952-53 includes a statement of the amount expended from the Annual Vote, (pp.40-46). This is shown as £14\frac{1}{2} million excluding technical education and capital expenditure. If these are included the total expenditure is shown as £19\frac{1}{4} million, (Table 5.0 p.42) No precise information is given as to the relative amounts from consolidated revenue and from loan fund. The amount also includes sums spent on the Museum and Art Gallery which must be excluded for the purpose of this study. A reasonable estimate would be £16 million from consolidated revenue and £3 million from loan funds.

The Seventy-Seventh Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction (Queensland) for the year 1952 contains a Financial Summary, pp.15-20. This shows that the amount expended from the consolidated revenue fund on education for the financial year 1952-53 was £7 million. The Annual Report of the Auditor-General
1953, discloses that £4 million was expended from other Trust Funds, (p.193) on matters close to this study. The former Report states that the Department incurred expenditure of £1 million on capital works which, however, was charged against the Department of Public Works. The latter Report discloses that the Department of Public Works operated from both the consolidated revenue fund and the loan fund, spending £730,000 on school buildings. For this State the expenditure on education must be set down as £7 million from consolidated revenue and £3 million from loan funds.

The Report of the Minister of Education (South Australia) for 1953 covers the calendar year, so it is necessary to work from the Report of the Auditor-General 1953. If university grants be excluded the amount spent on education could be stated as £5 million from consolidated revenue and £1 million from loan funds.

The Report of the Education Department 1953 (Western Australia) gives the gross expenditure on education as £4.5 million from which some items must be excluded. As well as this amount from consolidated revenue, expenditure on buildings from the general loan fund is shown as £1.5 million (pp.46-47).
The Report of the Education Department (Tasmania) contains no financial statement. It is necessary to examine the Financial Statement of the Treasurer of Tasmania 1953-54, or the Report of the Auditor-General 1953. The latter source shows the expenditure from the consolidated revenue fund as £2½ million and from the loan fund as £600,000.

The overall statement of expenditure from consolidated revenue and loan funds respectively would be:— New South Wales £24 million and £3 million; Victoria £16 million and £3 million; Queensland £7 million and £3½ million; South Australia £5 million and £1 million; Western Australia £4½ million and £1½ million; Tasmania £2½ million and £2 million.
APPENDIX E

SALARY-FIXING AUTHORITIES FOR STATE TEACHERS
Appendix E

**Salary-Fixing Authorities for State Teachers**

**New South Wales**

Under the Public Service Act (1902- ), the Public Service Board is empowered to enter into an agreement with any association representing any group or class of officer or employee within the Public Service in connection with salaries, fees or allowances. Such an agreement binds all in the group and there is no right of appeal by any individual once the agreement is signed. In effect, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation negotiates, on behalf of all groups or sections of State Teachers, with the Public Service Board to reach an agreement regarding salaries. If no agreement is reached then the question is referred to the Arbitration Court for final decision. In view of the important part played by the Public Service Board in fixing teachers' salaries, the following facts about the Board will be relevant. It consists of three members all appointed by the Governor and all holding office until 65 years. The Board is not representative of employer and employees as is the case with teachers' salary fixing authorities in some other States. It should be noted that in these preliminary negotiations with the Teachers' Federation, the Chairman of the Board has a
second or casting vote. The Public Service Board also acts as the salary fixing authority for other groups of public servants and represents the Crown before industrial courts and Conciliation Commissioners whenever proceedings are in progress for variations of awards applying both to employees of the Crown and of private industry. The Public Service Board also has other functions in relation to the administration and discipline of all public servants.

Victoria

The Teachers' Tribunal is the authority for determining salaries for State teachers in Victoria, (Teaching Service Act 1946-51). This consists of a Chairman, a Government Nominee and a Teachers' Representative. The Chairman is appointed by the Governor in Council and holds office until 65 years. The Government Nominee is also appointed by the Governor in Council but holds office for only three years. The Tribunal is authorised to determine or vary salaries either on its own initiative or on a claim made by any representative or accredited group of teachers. There is no signed agreement as in New South Wales. The Chairman has no casting vote and the decision of any two members is the decision of the Tribunal. The Tribunal has other functions in relation to teachers but no functions or duties in
connection with the remainder of the Public Service.

Queensland

Under Section 48 of 'The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts, 1932 to 1953', employees of the Government who are members of an industrial union registered under the Acts are deemed to be employees and the Head of the Department is deemed to be the employer. Any accredited group of employees may negotiate with the Head of the Department on matters related to salary. However in order to co-ordinate all industrial matters concerning public servants in one central authority, all such claims are referred to the Public Service Commissioner, who on behalf of the Government, endeavours to reach an agreement with the unions concerned. Where there is no agreement then the matter is referred to the Arbitration Court. This is the procedure followed by the Queensland Teachers' Union.

South Australia

In this State a special Board has been set up with the sole function of determining teachers' salaries. This Teachers' Salaries Board consists of:

(a) Special Magistrate as Chairman.
(b) Two representatives of the teachers.

(c) Two representatives of the Government.

Under the Act the Board may vary, add to or rescind any previous award or make an entirely new award. (Education Act Amendment Act 1945). The decision of any three members or of the Chairman and any two members is the decision of the Board.

**Western Australia**

In this State salaries are tied to the classification of schools and teachers. (Education Act 1928). The Minister of Education has authority to make such reclassification and this must be gazetted at least once in every five years. Teachers may then appeal against their classification which, in effect determines their salary, to an Appeal Board, (Public Service Appeal Board Act 1920), consisting of:

(a) Judge of the Supreme Court (Chairman).

(b) One member appointed by the Governor.

(c) One member elected by the Teachers' Union.

The decision of any two members of the Appeal Board is final.

**Tasmania**

Tasmania has also set up a Teachers' Salaries Board (Act 1952) which is composed of:

(a) An independent Chairman.

(b) A nominee from the Education Department.

(c) A nominee from the Teachers' Federation.

The decision of the Board is a majority one, but all three members must be present.
Appendix F

THE SIZE OF THE TEACHING GROUP
Appendix F

The Size of the Teaching Group

Authorities place the maximum desirable number for a class at about 30; many classes in Australian schools appeared to be above this figure. A survey by the New South Wales Teachers' Federation of 7894 classes in 1253 schools (1953) revealed that 72.4 per cent had teacher-loads of over 35, 53.1 per cent of over 40, 24.4 per cent over 45 and 10 per cent over 50. (Education, 16 June, 1954, p.5) The number of extra teachers required to reduce all classes to 30 is not easy to determine. The ratio of teachers to pupils is not a reliable guide, because many teachers are not engaged on full-time duties. The New South Wales survey above would suggest that 5000-6000 extra teachers would be required to reduce all classes in all States to a minimum of 30.

Raising the school leaving age to 16 years in all States must also be considered in terms of teachers required. One authority estimates that 98 per cent of thirteen-year-olds, 75 per cent of the fourteen-year-olds,
38 per cent of the fifteen-year-olds and 17 per cent of the sixteen-year-olds in Australia are at school. (The Non-Government Schools of Australia, p.145.) On the 1950 population figures, raising the school leaving age would mean an extra 175,000 pupils, or more than 5000 teachers.

Other reforms suggested must be considered in terms of teachers required. To reduce the teaching load of 35,000 teachers by five periods a week would require at least 4,000 extra teachers; to provide study leave one year in ten, 3,500; to cover refresher courses, relieving staff and more specialists, 4,000; to double the length of the training course and to keep up a regular flow of recruits, 4,500. In addition, allowance must be made for the removal of the untrained or semi-trained, the casuals and temporaries, and for the increased normal wastage.

All these reforms, in terms of teachers, would amount to an additional 30,000 teachers in the State service. This total does not include the numbers required to relieve the present shortage, or to cover the increased demand caused by the rising school population.
STATUTES

(i) Education and Teaching Service Acts

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(ii) Public Service Acts

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(iii) Acts Regulating the Legal Profession

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<td>The Trades Unions Act</td>
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<td>The Arbitration Act</td>
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(vi) **Miscellaneous Acts**

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<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>Architects Act</td>
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<td>Companies Act</td>
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<td>Crimes Act</td>
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<td>Dentists Act</td>
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<td>The Crown Employees Appeal Board Act</td>
<td>1952-</td>
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<td>Jury Act</td>
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<td>Nurses Registration Act</td>
<td>1924-1932</td>
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<td>Opticians Act</td>
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<td>Physiotherapists Registration Act</td>
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<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Architects Act</td>
<td>1929-1939</td>
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<td>Companies Act</td>
<td>1938-</td>
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<td>Constitution Act Amendment Act</td>
<td>1929-1937</td>
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<td>Crimes Act</td>
<td>1929-1949</td>
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<td>Crown Remedies and Liability Act</td>
<td>1929-1946</td>
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<td>Juries Act</td>
<td>1929-1946</td>
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<td>Land Surveyors Act</td>
<td>1942-1945</td>
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<td>Nurses Act</td>
<td>1928-1948</td>
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<td>Opticians Registration Act</td>
<td>1935-</td>
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<td>Parliamentary Elections-Railway Employees and Civil Servants Act</td>
<td>1935-</td>
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<td>Public Service-Commonwealth Elections-Act</td>
<td>1940-</td>
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<td>Veterinary Surgeons Act</td>
<td>1928-</td>
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| S. Aust. | Nurses Registration Act 1920-  
| S. Aust. | Physiotherapists Act 1945-1949  
| S. Aust. | Surveyors Act 1935-  
| W. Aust. | Associations Incorporation Act, 1895-1947  
| W. Aust. | Public Service Appeal Board Act 1920-1950  
| Tas. | Architects Act 1929-  

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(i) **State Teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
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<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>The New South Wales Teachers' Federation</td>
<td>Constitution, 1951.</td>
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<td>The Victorian Teachers' Union</td>
<td>Constitution and Standing Orders, 1952.</td>
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<td>Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association</td>
<td>Amended Constitution, 1953.</td>
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<td>Constitution and Rules of the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia</td>
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<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Tasmanian State School Teachers' Union</td>
<td>Constitution.</td>
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</table>
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