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**The relationship to work of secondary school teachers: a comparative analysis
between generations in a context of reform and socialisation.**

العلاقة بالعمل لدى أساتذة التعليم الثانوي:
تحليل مقارنة بين الأجيال في سياق الإصلاح والتنشئة الاجتماعية

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Abstract:

Since 2003, Algeria has undertaken a reform of the educational system, by adopting the competency-based approach, with the aim of transcending old pedagogical methods and practices, by establishing a new philosophy of learning and of the school. This redefines the roles of the secondary school teacher, shifting from the sole transmitter of knowledge to a facilitator in the educational process. This consequently imposes a new socialisation, a new relationship with work, and a crisis of professional identity. We therefore consider that the nature of the relationship to work among secondary school teachers is contingent upon the factors of change associated with the reform, and varies according to generation (pre-reform generation, transitional generation, reform generation). Our objective is to compare this relationship with the profession, focusing on the meanings attributed to work, which reflect their ways of acting and their professional identity. **Keywords:** Educational reform – Socialisation – Relationship to work – Generations of teachers – Identity crisis.

المخلص:

شرعت الجزائر منذ سنة 2003 في اصلاح المنظومة التربوية، وذلك بتبني المقاربة بالكفاءات، بُغية تجاوز الأساليب والممارسات البيداغوجية القديمة، بإرساء فلسفة جديدة للتعلّم وللمدرسة. هذا ما يُعيد تعريف أدوار أستاذ التعليم الثانوي، بالتحوّل من ناقل وحيد للمعرفة إلى مؤطر في العملية التعليمية. مما يفرض تنشئة اجتماعية جديدة وعلاقة جديدة بالعمل، وأزمة الهوية المهنية. لذا نعتبر أن طبيعة العلاقة بالعمل لدى أساتذة التعليم الثانوي رهينة لعوامل التغيير المرتبطة بالإصلاح، وتختلف حسب الجيل (جيل ما قبل الإصلاح، الجيل الانتقالي، جيل الإصلاح). هدفنا هو مقارنة هذه العلاقة بالمهنة، مع التركيز على المعاني المسندة إلى العمل، والتي تعكس طرق تصرفهم وهويتهم المهنية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإصلاح التربوي – التنشئة الاجتماعية – العلاقة بالعمل – أجيال الأساتذة – أزمة الهوية.

1. INTRODUCTION

For the sake of being in tune with an increasingly globalised world, and to address the challenges of social transformations, Algeria, like developing countries, has decided to embrace the idea of modernisation by initiating educational reform, notably through the introduction of the competency-based approach from the year 2003 onwards. The objective being to break with old pedagogical practices, the school must change, through the establishment of a new learning philosophy, by means of sound content and the use of effective methods that are consubstantial with knowledge, know-how.

Consequently, the implementation in the field of the new principles of this educational reform, centred essentially on the notion of competence, calls for the redefinition of the role of the teacher and the learner, and the overcoming of the traditional pedagogical practices of the profession to which one has become accustomed. This inevitably implies the emergence of a new relationship to work, likely to be manifested in what Claude Dubar describes as an identity crisis (George. A.L, 2003). Indeed, the teacher shifts from the posture of the principal, or even sole, transmitter of knowledge, to that of a facilitator in the learning process.

In this article, we proceed from the idea that the nature of the relationship to work among secondary school teachers is primarily contingent upon the factors of change associated with the reform, and varies according to the generation, which we have defined according to the socialisation context that characterises it. We have principally defined and retained three types of generation of teachers still in service: the pre-reform generation, the transitional generation, and finally the reform generation. Our aim is to be able to compare the relationship to work and to the profession between the different profiles of teachers, according to their belonging to the three aforementioned generations. For we consider that the concept of the relationship to work is essentially reflected in the meanings that teachers attribute to their work, and which shape their identification with the profession and their ways of acting. It is thus expressed in their practice, their representation, and their professional experience (Oumelkhir. T, 2007). And which is determined and defined according to two major dimensions, namely: job satisfaction and the meaning that the latter holds for those who practise it.

In order to better grasp our object of study and to contend with its complexity, we have opted for a qualitative and comprehensive approach, which aims to account for the meaning that actors attribute to their actions (Alain Beitone et al, 2007). We wish to emphasise that this article stems from our still very extensive research work, of which we address here only one dimension of the relationship to work, namely: the identity dimension. The aim is to understand the meaning that teachers attribute to their work and the relationship they maintain with their profession. In other words, we attempt to understand how they identify differently

with their profession, and what the explanatory factors are, in accordance with the socialisation context.

2. The Relationship to Work as a Dual Truth:

In sociology, the concept of the relationship to work encompasses two complementary aspects, namely: the instrumental aspect, which refers to a vision that is often of an economic and materialistic order, wherein occupational activity is considered as a source of income and a means to achieve an objective, rather than as a means of self-fulfilment in work. As for the expressive aspect, it rather reflects the identity dimension in work, particularly in terms of self-definition and identification with the profession. These two aspects are subject to evolution and change, under the effect of social, cultural, economic and technological transformations (Meda.D, Vendramin.P. 2010). In this article, the concept of the relationship to work presupposes an understanding of the attitudes of generations of teachers defined according to the context of socialisation and under the effect of reform, which thus allow us to highlight the meaning that secondary school teachers attribute to their professional activity, and under which factors the manner in which they identify with their profession is explained? We proceed here from the idea that the relationship to work is constructed through lived experience at work, throughout the process of socialisation, which permanently redefines identity at work. (Dubar. C, 2015).

3. Methodology:

In considering the principle of saturation of field data, our survey sample is distributed across a number of 23 secondary school teachers, who are still in active service. And whom we chose according to a

logic of reasoned sampling, in conformity with the objectives of the study and taking into account the criterion of diversification of profiles (Michelat.G, 1975, p. 231) and according to precise characteristics such as: date of entry into the profession, length of service, sex, type of contract, subject taught, adequacy of the qualification with the subject taught. We nevertheless emphasise that the number of respondents was determined according to the principle of saturation of field data. The principal generations defined and retained in our study present themselves as follows:

- 1- The generation prior to the reforms: contains a total of 6 teachers, of whom 2 are women and 4 are men. It refers to the generation of teachers having entered the profession in a context of socialisation prior to the introduction of pedagogical reforms, notably, the competency-based approach (CBA). These are those who were recruited before the year 2003.
- 2- The transition generation: contains a total of 7 teachers, of whom 3 are women and 4 are men. Refers to those whose access to the profession coincided with the beginning of the implementation of educational reforms. This concerns the period between 2003 and 2010.
- 3- The reform generation: contains a total of 10 teachers, of whom 4 are women and 6 are men. Relating to those who were socialised, then recruited, in a context where the reforms are fully entrenched and generalised. From the year 2010 onwards.

The reasoning that we adopt here is broadly inspired by the definition of Karl Mannheim, according to which, the notion of generation cannot be founded solely on the criterion of age (biological factors) but it is necessary to take into consideration the sociological elements that determine it (Alain Beitone et

al, 2007). That is to say, of similar experiences.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Identity dimension and relationship with the teaching profession :

1.1. Initial training and the extent of compatibility of obtained qualification with the subject taught:

According to our analysis of the answers relating to the questions we posed concerning the first dimension of the concept of the relationship to work among secondary school teachers, namely the identity dimension and the teacher's relationship with the teaching profession according to their belonging to the three generations we adopted in this study, it becomes clear to us that the majority of the answers we obtained from the individuals in our study population, through the question posed as follows: "Does the educational qualification you hold correspond to the subject you teach?" affirm the existence of compatibility between the educational qualification obtained and the subject taught, as illustrated by the statement of this teacher belonging to the transitional generation: "Yes, I am a graduate of the University of Tizi Ouzou and I hold a bachelor's degree in the classical system in Amazigh language and culture, specialising in Amazigh literature, and since 2003 I have been teaching the Amazigh language subject at the secondary school in Tazmalt" (Interview 7, male). This is also illustrated by this teacher belonging to the reform generation (new): "I am a university graduate specialised in biology and I have been teaching the natural sciences and life subject in secondary school for more than five years" (Interview 14, male). The same applies to this female teacher from the reform generation: "I hold a Master's degree in English language, specialising in English literature, and I have

been appointed as an English teacher since 2012" (Interview 16, female).

However, despite this notable compatibility between the educational qualification and the subject taught among the majority of respondents belonging to the three generations adopted in this study, we have recorded two cases of incompatibility, particularly concerning the pre-reform generation. This discrepancy can be explained primarily by a significant shortage in certain specialisations such as mathematics, languages, and physics in the past, which compelled educational institutions to open recruitment based on competitive examinations without considering the specialisation criterion, with the aim of covering the shortage and adapting to the crisis.

What we observe in the case of this French language teacher, who belongs to the pre-reform generation, is that although he trained in sociology and graduated in the late 1990s, he was nevertheless able to join the teaching profession as a French language teacher and continue his training individually after the recruitment phase, acquiring experience through the ongoing practice of the profession. We understand from his statement that this career transition became possible thanks to his qualifications and his mastery of the basic foundations of the French language, firstly, and the shortage suffered by educational institutions at all levels, in terms of the sufficient availability of teachers specialised in foreign languages such as French. This led to the adoption of a flexible recruitment policy by the supervisory authorities of the education sector: "In truth, I am not specialised in the French language; I am a university graduate with a bachelor's degree in sociology. In my time, there was a significant shortage of French language

teachers, and the recruitment policy at that time was somewhat unconstrained in terms of specialisation. It was necessary to adopt a certain flexibility in recruitment criteria in order to cover the shortage. The entrance examinations for the position were open to all specialisations; it was sufficient to be qualified and to succeed in the competition" (Interview 4, male).

From this, we conclude that the majority of respondents in this study, by virtue of their belonging to the three generations, satisfy the criterion of compatibility between the educational qualification and the subject taught, with the exception of the two cases mentioned previously. This is what reinforces the cognitive legitimacy in specialisation for the teacher, which may play a prominent role in strengthening his professional identity. Professional identity may also become fragile and somewhat unhealthy, as long as the teacher lacks this legitimacy, which is considered an essential condition for building a sound professional identity. Although the development of the world of work and its increasing complexity has led to a greater focus on skills rather than qualifications, and the construction of professional identity is no longer merely a matter of matching qualifications with the position held by the individual (Dubar C, Tripier P et al, 2015).

Still in the context of our endeavour to understand and grasp the identity dimension and the teacher's relationship with his profession, we also deemed it appropriate to direct our questions to find out whether practising teaching was a voluntary choice for the three generations or, on the contrary, occurred by chance.

1.2 Professional aspirations before employment:

Our aim is to understand the teacher's perception of the professional future during

the schooling phase, which serves as an initial indicator of the formation of professional identity. Through our endeavour to ascertain whether the educational path, particularly at university level, for the different generations of teachers, contributes to preparing them for the teaching profession during secondary socialisation, similar to certain training institutions such as the Higher School of Teachers. According to our analysis of the various answers, it is clearly evident that with the exception of teachers belonging to the reform generation (new), we find that those from the pre-reform and transitional generations, in their majority, acknowledge that they had long dreamt of practising the teaching profession during their academic and university paths. This is due to the respected symbolic value that the teaching profession holds in the collective perception of society. For example, the phrase "the teacher was almost a messenger" has long been enshrined by Arab-Islamic culture, considering the teacher as a model of knowledge and guidance and a fundamental factor in consolidating educational values within society.

In this context, this teacher from the pre-reform generation recalls, stating: "Perhaps my inclination towards the teaching profession is strongly linked to the environment in which we grew up, both in its family aspect and through my academic path. Despite the fragile social conditions, particularly in terms of material resources and capabilities, the family was always a great support in our academic path, encouraging us to always succeed in study and work to ensure a prosperous future and a better standard of living. On the other hand, in our social values, the teacher symbolises role-model, discipline, education, and knowledge; his behaviour commands respect

from society. Naturally, we were influenced by this socio-educational model derived from the family and society, and also through the academic path, as we were trained by teachers who embodied these values. Becoming a teacher in the future holds great significance in our culture; it is success in itself" (Interview 4, male).

In the same context, this teacher of history and geography, belonging to the transitional generation, indicates: "In secondary school and even at university, I was greatly influenced by my teachers, particularly in the cognitive and ethical aspects, and even in their way of dealing with us from a human perspective, and their teaching style. Honestly, they were always a reference for me, and I always wished to become like them" (Interview 10, male).

Based on these statements, the important role played by the process of primary and secondary socialisation in professional identification becomes clearly apparent. The central role of the family in guiding the professional path through the process of primary socialisation (Alain B ET Aut, 2007). This is the product of the social esteem for the teaching profession and its role in society, as it symbolises knowledge, respect, success, etc. The family works to transmit these norms and values to its members through internalisation, from the primary socialisation stage, which contributes to the formation of individual identity through the process of internalising social norms and values (*habitus*) (Etienne J, Bloess F et Aut, 1995).

In the social context that characterised the primary and secondary socialisation of these two generations, the teaching profession enjoyed great status and prestige within the system of prevailing values in society, transmitted through the family and school. It

carried an ethical and cognitive dimension more than anything else.

As for the teachers of the reform or new generation, through the analysis of their statements, we perceive a clear difference in opinions and attitudes compared to the two previous generations, due to social change in terms of prevailing values and norms that has affected society and its institutions, and the spread of individualism and materialism in the structure of social relations.

The decline of the family's primary role in the social guidance process has inevitably led to the hybridisation of primary socialisation among the new generation of teachers, which is translated through the declining social value of the teacher and his profession as transmitted, making future choices more individual than guided by the family institution and society.

This change in the social system, from traditional to modern logic, is manifested in the content of the statements of some teachers from the reform generation, such as this female teacher's statement: "Throughout my academic path up to university, I never once imagined myself practising teaching. Everything came by pure chance; the choice is not always in our hands in a world where professional integration has become extremely difficult. I had other ambitions, such as entrepreneurship or emigrating abroad in order to achieve greater autonomy" (Interview 18, female).

From this, we conclude that for the reform generation, the teaching profession was not a proactive choice, nor did the family play a role in guiding their professional path; rather, it was an involuntary individual choice. The social change that consecrated other norms and values redefined the individual's perception of the reality of work and his professional future, and even in terms

of socialisation. The socio-economic context that does not offer professional future prospects weakens the role of the academic path in determining the professional future and the formation of future professional identity.

From this, we conclude the importance of the role played by the socialisation context in determining the professional path of the different generations of teachers adopted in this study.

1-3 Factors shaping the relationship with the profession under reforms:

In light of the transformations that have affected the profession as a result of the educational reforms adopted in recent years, mainly represented by the implementation of the competency-based approach, we deemed it appropriate to understand how this change contributed, for the teacher, to redefining his role, his relationship with the learner, and what manifestations reveal his professional identity.

Through the respondents' answers in this context, we observe that there is a noticeable difference in terms of self-representation at work between the reform generation compared to the other two generations (pre-reform and transitional). For example, a teacher from the reform generation answered as follows: "Initially, I did not teach in the old model, but I think the competency-based approach model requires certain conditions for its optimal implementation, including the provision of the internet and computers. Despite this, we adapt to the situation. What matters now is to build a good relationship with the students and the administration as an employee in the education sector" (Interview 20, male).

We conclude that the subject of professional identity among the new generation, which we have called the reform

generation, is based mainly on the factor of social relations, the capacity for adaptation, and the sense of belonging to the institution and the education sector. Their professional identity is primarily based on the factor of flexibility and pragmatism, which creates for them an adaptive relationship to work compared to the attitudes of the other two generations, which are characterised by much negative criticism and even dissonance towards their professional situation under the implementation of the competency-based approach model. This is illustrated by the statements of this teacher belonging to the pre-reform generation: "We have become like factory workers. The competency-based approach project is an improvised idea with superficial implementation, like the mountain that gives birth to a mouse. It neither taught us anything nor gave us anything to implement in a practical manner" (Interview 6, male).

We understand from his statement a kind of implicit rejection of the idea of the competency-based approach. The comparison to a factory worker carries great significance from a sociological perspective, in terms of the loss of meaning of work and autonomy in performance. This description reflects the decline of the teacher's status. After being a transmitter of knowledge, he finds himself obliged to implement prescribed directives, which may reduce the margin of autonomy in performing his tasks that he had previously enjoyed. From the phrase "like the mountain that gives birth to a mouse," we understand a kind of mockery towards the implementation of the competency-based approach in the education sector, as it no longer, according to them, benefits the teacher, whether in the pedagogical or material aspect. We can say that this change in the pedagogical and

professional model was not easily accepted or understood by this generation of teachers, leading them to adopt a position of resistance to change. This reminds us of the sharp critical debate that resulted from the implementation of Taylorism in capitalist industrial units, which led to the development of many theories in the field of the sociology of work.

Meanwhile, we perceive a less severe critical perspective from the transitional generation: "Logically, any reform and modernisation in all fields cannot be considered useless, especially in the field of education. However, things are done when conditions are met, not only institutionally but also societally. The education and teaching sector encompasses all areas of society; it is cultural, social, economic, etc. Reform must be comprehensive and requires a great deal of time to be consolidated. We are doing our utmost to adapt to all situations; we have no choice" (Interview 13, male).

We observe that the teacher adopts a comprehensive vision in consolidating reform, regardless of his affirmation that reform in itself is a positive thing, as he links the reform of the education and teaching sector to comprehensive reforms at the societal level. We can conclude that this generation's relationship with its work and profession is built on several elements through which its professional identity is formed, such as the comprehensive vision of educational reform, adopting a critical-optimistic position in analyzing professional reality, and adapting to and accepting the situation despite all shortcomings.

Finally, through the comparison of analyses relating to the three generations, we conclude that there is a notable difference in the nature of the relationship to work and professional identity. For the generation

preceding the implementation of the competency-based approach reform, it adopts a position characterised by sharp criticism in its relationship to work, and its professional identity is also characterised by a kind of resistance and rejection towards its professional situation under the recent reforms that have affected the education and teaching sector. This shows the extent to which its professional identity is linked to the traditional model inherited through its social upbringing, as it tends to preserve its symbolic status as a primary transmitter of knowledge, which we can describe as a paternalistic tendency in the way of identifying with the profession.

On the other hand, the transitional generation is characterised by an adaptive relationship to its work and a kind of resignation towards the lived situation in general and the professional situation in particular. As for the reform generation, its relationship to work is characterised by a kind of pragmatism and flexibility in the adaptation process.

With regard to the transitional generation, whose recruitment coincided with the implementation of the competency-based approach in education since 2003, we perceive from its statements the following: "My role as a teacher is to always exercise patience in performing my professional duty for the benefit of the students, by developing their cognitive and practical competencies according to what social and professional circumstances dictate. However, the teacher's role for me is not limited only to performing 18 hours per week in the classroom; why not contribute and participate in cultural activities that would also benefit society as a whole?" (Interview 12, male).

We observe that his relationship with his work and his role as a teacher is linked to

the element of patience when performing tasks, which indicates resilience in the face of professional pressures. From a subjective perspective, he attaches great importance to the effort invested towards students in terms of transmitting the knowledge and competencies necessary to benefit them in their academic and social paths. We also observe that their professional identity is based on the element of comprehensiveness of the teacher's role in society through participation in cultural activities outside working hours, which indicates an identity that is both adaptive and flexible at the same time.

As for the reform generation (new), which was recruited after the reforms relating to the competency-based approach had become established around 2010, it adopts a position characterised by a functional tendency in the relationship with the profession, without underlying considerations. It is based primarily on the element of natural adaptation to the requirements of the profession, through compliance with institutional instructions in accordance with the student's interest: "As a teacher, I am obliged to perform my duty according to the law, to consider the student's interest, and to reconcile my relationship with the student and the institution to which I belong" (Interview 16, female).

1-4 Social representation of profession and job satisfaction:

Still concerning the dimension of the relationship to work and the profession, we sought to understand the symbolic perception of the profession and the status of the secondary school teacher compared to other professions. This is in order to approach the representations of the profession according to the social context, and whether or not it is

considered a form of social advancement in the collective imagination.

In this regard, we refer to the statement of this teacher belonging to the pre-reform generation: "It is a noble profession in origin and a great responsibility, even if the teacher in our time has become like an element in a pathetic play, not at all like the past" (Interview 7, male).

In a different reality, the teacher shows, with regret, the extent of the decline in the status and symbolism of the teacher in the present time compared to the representation internalised in his imagination. His statement reveals the duality of lived reality, between the nobility of the profession which he derived through his socialisation and the deterioration of his status and situation today, which may reinforce a kind of resistant and even withdrawal-oriented professional identity, as illustrated by the statements of this other teacher: "I no longer see myself in this profession; the tsunami of deterioration has swept us away" (Interview.10, male).

The metaphorical expressions such as "like an element in a play," "pathetic," and "the tsunami has swept us away" show the extent of the growing gap between the teacher and his profession, particularly in terms of declining status and the retreat of collective recognition of the teacher and his profession. This has led to the creation of a kind of moral resignation in his relationship with the profession, as an indicator of the existence of a crisis in professional identity.

As for the majority of teachers belonging to the transitional generation in our study, we observe, to some extent, a difference in the vision relating to the representation of the profession compared to the pre-reform generation, particularly in terms of the style adopted in expressing their opinions; it is less severe in criticism, but it

also does not suggest moral or material satisfaction compared to other professions. This is evident in this teacher's statement: "In principle, all professions have their value and specificity in terms of the benefit they may bring to society. However, the teacher's status can socially deteriorate but never disappear, for a simple reason: the embodiment of other professions in society can only occur through the teaching profession" (Interview 10, male).

From this, we conclude that despite the decline in the symbolic and social status of the teaching profession on both the moral and material levels, the centrality of the profession in the teacher's and society's imagination has not completely disappeared. Therefore, the teacher's relationship with his profession is characterised by a kind of legitimate contradiction: on one hand, it is positive from a philosophical and ethical perspective, and on the other hand, it is fragile and negative from a material and realistic perspective.

As for the opinions of teachers belonging to the reform generation, they are divided into two categories: the first consists of severe criticism of the fragile professional situation of the teacher on all levels, which shows convergence in diagnosis with the two previous generations. This is manifested in this female teacher's statement: "Considering the special legal status that further diminishes the worth and value of the teacher, alongside a society that despises him and harms his reputation, being a teacher does not mean much and cannot be boasted about. Reality is a bitter truth, as the teacher has become a fragile element in the equation, unvalued by the supervisory authority, and is the first to be thrown into the fire when things do not go well" (Interview 16, female).

The second category is limited to a neutral position and a kind of moderation in representing the profession. We note here the fragility of the symbolic capital (Bourdieu) of the teaching profession, which suggests a kind of disappointment regarding the situation to which it has come socially, professionally, and institutionally. This rift is evident through the following similes and expressions: (absence of a satisfactory special legal status for the teacher), (diminishing the worth and reputation of the teacher), (society that despises him), (being a teacher does not mean much), (cannot be boasted about), etc. On the other hand, we also observe a kind of admission of powerlessness and a defeatist tendency in changing the situation, through the expression (without weapons) and the victim position through this description (the teacher has become a fragile element in the equation, unvalued; reality is bitter; he is the first to be thrown into the fire), etc.

This is known in sociological analysis as social stigmatisation, which leads to the weakening of the relationship with the profession among teachers and the fragility of their professional identity. This is what Serge Paugam refers to as the breakdown of the professional bond (Paugam S.).

1-5 Relationship with the profession through the feeling of pleasure in performance:

From the analysis of the statements, it becomes clear that among the pre-reform generation, attitudes are confined between those who view and describe education as exhausting and a source of psychological pressure compared to what it was in the past: "Not like before; over the years, education has become more and more a source of psychological pressure and exhaustion, whereas it used to be a source of self-

fulfilment and knowledge. Education is marginalised from all aspects, in addition to the indiscipline and lack of discipline among students, except for a few of them, and even the parents of students and the administration. The situation is difficult" (Interview 6, male).

From this, we conclude that education today suffers from a crisis of meaning and in the pedagogical relationship. On the one hand, the teacher finds himself obliged to respect the prescribed programme and complete it within the administratively and legally defined deadlines, which generates professional pressure as if urgency is linked to time more than to the pedagogical factor, and the bureaucratic aspect prevails over the educational and cognitive aspect.

Furthermore, the laxity in the student's relationship with learning and studying, considering that school has become a means of obtaining a respectable educational level more than a means of cognitive advancement, where even the parents are responsible in this situation. The educational and pedagogical logic contradicts the logic of bureaucracy and laxity, which leads to deepening the crisis of meaning that shakes the educational and pedagogical institution.

As for the transitional generation, it describes education today, with regret, as routine and a source of exhaustion and pressure, and the difficulty of adapting: "I think things have become more morally exhausting than before; one must have the will to adapt to the currently negative situation in general in order to continue the journey" (Interview 9, male), and another describes it as: "Routine and morally exhausting, as education has lost much of its status" (Interview 10, male).

From this, we conclude that the relationship characterising the transitional

generation with its work, in the face of professional pressures, is a flexible and defensive relationship aimed at adapting to professional reality, which is manifested in the following expressions: (one must have the will to continue the journey). This reveals the extent of tension and instability in the teacher's professional identity.

It also becomes clear through the expressions (routine), (morally exhausting), (has lost its status) that the relationship with the teaching profession is interspersed with a crisis of loss of meaning and socio-professional symbolism, which weakens the teacher's professional identity, which can develop into a more complex level known as professional disintegration.

Also, the attitudes of the reform generation are not free from pessimism: "I see that education is dying; it is a sterile educational system that produces illiterates in three languages. The teacher is frustrated, gagged, and disappointed, and the learner is also desperate, unmotivated, and uninterested" (Interview 18, female).

The expressions (dying, frustrated, gagged, disappointed) show the negativity of the relationship between the teacher and his profession, and the extent to which he feels alienated in his work in the Marxist sense. The same applies to the learner, who is (unmotivated, uninterested, desperate for knowledge). These are among the factors that contribute to shaping the teacher's professional identity and develop apathy in the learner. The expression (produces illiterates in three languages) shows the severity and exacerbation of the crisis experienced by the educational system in the current context.

In this context, we also deemed it appropriate, through our question: "Do you think that the work you do in the field of

education enables you to feel professional pleasure?" to understand the nature of the relationship to work among respondents, through the psychological dimension, such as the feeling of pleasure in performing their tasks. We proceed from the idea that the individual, in the context of his socialisation and according to the circumstances characterising his professional situation, whether material or moral, either develops a negative relationship with his work and profession or, on the contrary, a positive relationship. Consequently, this either leads to a feeling of pleasure or its absence.

2. CONCLUSION

The results obtained inform us primarily of the fact that the relationship to work of secondary school teachers, which we analysed according to the dimension of the meaning of work and identification with the profession, apprehended through factors such as: the adequacy between training and subject taught, the representation and choice of the profession, attitudes towards reform (competency-based approach), social representation of status and professional satisfaction, and professional pleasure, is dependent upon the type of generation and the context of socialisation that determines it.

Consequently, the nature of the relationship to work varies according to the characteristic elements of the context of socialisation and of work experience, in terms of the effects of educational reform, the deterioration of working conditions and of the socio-professional status of the teacher, owing to the transformation of values at the societal level.

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