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Úvodník *Editorial*

The first issue of Historia scholastica Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



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Examining the "Deprofessionalization" of Secondary Teacher Education in Hungary – A Systematic Literature Review¹

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Abstract Highly trained professionals are essential for the functionality of a modern industrial society. This paper seeks to unveil the usage of the deprofessionalization notion in the international literature to offer an interpretative tool for research examining secondary teacher education in Hungary in the interwar period. In the investigation, a systematic literature review was employed based on the PRISMA protocol with an automatised screening in databases of ERIC and WoS. Three research questions are to be answered. First of

all, how the notion of deprofessionalization emerged within the research of professionals. Secondly, to which direction of deprofessionalization research is heading? Lastly, how the notion is used as an interpretative frame in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories? The analysis has revealed that the notion is linked to both branches of professionalization theories, which had a consequence on its application forms. Papers within the trait approach emphasize the autonomy of professionals. Historical studies within this theory illustrate processes leading to deprofessionalization. In contrast, the critical approach considers deprofessionalization as a reversed professionalization process. Theoretical definitions enable the analysis across multiple levels of the deprofessionalization process of professional groups.

Keywords deprofessionalization, critical approach of professional theories, deprofessionalization of teacher professions, deprofessionalization as an interpretation framework

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1. Introduction

In the operation of modern societies, professionals play a vital role account for their expertise, which offers personalised services alleviating almost all aspects of life. Professional proficiency offers the certainty of overcoming everyday-life-connected challenges of clients Evetts, 2003, p. 397). Essentially, members of modern societies are dependent on professionals to such an extent that modern life cannot be conceived without them. As a result of the early recognition of this phenomenon, sociologists began investigating the role of professional groups in societies.

For a long time, the prevailing public perception of professions has highlighted their ongoing prosperous development, which had commenced with the liberal epoch of national development in the 19th century and continued in subsequent eras preserving their political and social roles. This depiction of professional groups, however, failed to recognise that the development of human societies is uneven. Consequently, unfavourable political and economic conditions have evolved several times in the history of humankind providing harsh circumstances for the operations of professionals.

This contribution aims to explore the application patterns of a theoretical component that seems crucial to planned research. In this investigation, the development of the secondary teacher profession in Hungary in the interwar period is examined through the investigation of the history of institutions connected to theoretical preparation (Hungarian Royal Secondary Teacher Training Institution of Budapest, STTI) and the certification of teachers (Hungarian Royal Secondary Teacher Examination Committee of Budapest, STEC). The initial point of the research presupposes that adverse political and social conditions evolved during the interwar period, affecting the operations of professional institutions (Garai, 2022a, 2022b, 2023).

To underpin this theoretical case in point, however, it is necessary to uncover how the professionalization theories and related notions, particularly deprofessionalization are evolved. The primary aim of this systematic literature review is to disclose how deprofessionalization emerged in connection with the two main professionalization

theories, namely the structuralist or "trait" approach and the critical or power concept of professionalization. Another objective is to identify the patterns in which authors use the notion as an interpretive framework within the two professionalization theories to determine, which patterns would fit the research into the history of secondary teacher education in Hungary.

In the first part of this paper, I present a brief historical overview of the emergence of the Hungarian secondary teacher training institutions and the abrupt halt of their continuous development in the 1920s, endeavours of which a theoretical interpretation is required. Therefore, not only the development of the professional institutions is presented but also the theoretical possibilities, by which this historical phenomenon could be interpreted. In the subsequent section, methodological considerations related to the systematic literature review are detailed. Then, a thematic analysis of the findings are to be elaborated under the results segment in three subchapters. Finally, the application possibilities of the results of the systematic literature overview in the investigation of secondary teacher education institutions are also touched upon briefly.

2. Historical and Theoretical Considerations

The emergence of modern secondary teacher education is traceable back to the period between 1849 and 1853 when university reforms based on the Humboldtian University training model of 1810 were implemented in Hungary. Similarly to the university model of Berlin, the philosophy faculty was transformed and elevated to the same rank as that of other faculties, whose main task was to train philologists and secondary teachers introduced along matching lines in the same epoch. Professors of the faculty were meant to form and scrutinize the theoretical knowledge deemed necessary for teachers to acquire. Their professional control was asserted through the examination and qualification processes of teacher candidates who could take the exams at STEC established in 1862. Comprised of full professors, the committee

exercised authority over candidates and determined who could embark on teaching careers (Garai, 2022a, pp. 52–56).

Teacher examinations rested on cooperation and consensus between the governments and professors. The STEC determined the teacher examination requirements, which in turn were recognised by the state authority in the form of a qualification enabling graduates to perform in secondary schools. To increase the corporate theoretical and practical knowledge of secondary teachers, further institutions were established in the 19th century.

The 1870-founded STTI was responsible for elevating the collective theoretical and practical preparedness of teachers (professionalism). This aim was achieved by offering further theoretical courses and practical preparation in the secondary practising school of the STTI, which formed the individual practical skills of teacher candidates along uniform protocols. The practical preparation contributed to the formation of their individual practical skills determining the way they performed in the classroom environment (professionality) (Garai, 2023, p. 494; Horn, 2016, p. 132; Evetts, 2003, p. 399).

The consequences of the Great War profoundly impacted the connections between the state and the professional groups including the institutions dedicated to secondary teacher education. Not only did their financial support become remarkably unpredictable but the government also recurringly intruded in their inner operation by appointing government-affiliated individuals into leading roles, unilaterally transforming the hierarchy of the institutions and thereby systematically depriving professionals from specifying the parameters of their operations (Garai, 2023, 2024). This type of transformation in the connections between professionals and state authorities was not unprecedented in the Central-Eastern European region (McClelland, 1991, pp. 175–177; Jarausch, 1990, pp. 13–14). Nevertheless, it seems necessary to reveal how the altered relationship could be interpreted theoretically. Professional theories seem apt to offer a theoretical interpretation possibility of the decay of professionals in the interwar period.

In the history of the examination of professional groups, the first to emerge was the structuralist approach, also referred to as the "trait model" in the international literature. Talcott Parsons, a key theorist of the approach, believed that the most important development of the emergence of modern industrial societies is the rise of professional groups (Parsons, 1954, pp. 34–35).

In the early phase of this line of research, it was intended to grasp the social functions of professionals by investigating their deliberately created organisations. The exposure of the characterological aspects of these groups stood at the forefront of research endeavours. Autonomy based on professional competencies, and altruistic behaviour towards the society were the main characteristics identified by this approach. These characterological traits, however, were established by examining the ethical codes of professional groups that basically contained the self-descriptive characteristics of their services. Moreover, key importance attributed to physicians was ascribed in the identification of traits, as this occupation was perceived as the "prototype" of all professional groups. As a consequence, characterological aspects associated with doctors were generalised and applied to the description of other professional groups, assuming that professionalization followed roughly the same patterns in all modern industrial societies. Consequently their development resulted in similar characteristics (Johnson, 1972, pp. 10–11). Even though Parsons outlined in his early publications that there was a fine balance between social structures and professional groups, a claim which remained unreflected until the 1970s (Parsons, 1954, pp. 47-48).

In this period, general dissatisfaction and mistrust of professionals was to emerge resulting in changes in the examination of their social function and leading to the abandonment of uncritical perceptions. This development led to a shift from theoretical perspectives to at least two directions. The first could be registered in the emergence of the critical approach. Its initial assumption was based on attributing professions a monopolistic nature, by which solutions to the challenges were enforced upon clients through discretional specialisation. This claim is based on the investigation of the nature of work and working conditions of professionals instead of their organisational attributes that prevailed in the trait approach (Freidson, 1971, 2001). The specialised

theoretical and practical preparedness of professionals enables them to adjust their services to the needs of their clients. The satisfactory handling of requests posed by the public contributed to their endeavour to control the service market along a service ideology. The critical approach affiliated authors often associate professional groups with service ideologies, which enables them to gain control of the markets and thus render their services exclusive. The exclusivity of service offers is justified by the long preparation for the professional status in higher education institutes and the standardized offer of services, which conveys an image of merit-based selection and training process for potential consumers. Thus, the service ideology not only helps professionals to socially legitimize their services but also provides them with a powerful tool for establishing monopole positions against rival groups and marginalising the presence of competitors in the service domain (Larson, 2017; McClelland, 1991). Additionally, more emphasis was put on the role of state power in creating conditions for establishing a monopoly for professional groups and thus questioning whether professional development phases followed similar patterns in modern societies (Hesse, 1968; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 2017).

The second shift in the investigation of professionals involved taking issue with the unilateral development model of the trait approach. Certain social, economic and technical changes were to create severe conditions for the operations of professional groups. Their social privileges were threatened and, thereby, their professional authority was challenged. Furthermore, even clients gained access to the theoretical knowledge previously exclusive to professionals, enabling them to exert certain control over professionals (Haug, 1972, 1975).

In Hungarian sociological literature, the developments of the new approaches since the 1970s are not uncharted territories. Overviews related to the main branches of professionalization theories and the concepts of deprofessionalization are available, providing detailed explanations for their emergence. However, it is not discussed how these notions were linked to the main approaches of professional theories (See Kleisz, 2002, pp. 43–45; Pokol, 2004, pp. 146–149). Applying deprofessionalization as an interpretative frame could be registered

only in a few cases. Hand in hand with the investigation of physicians (Kapocsi, 2004), the deprofessionalization of solicitors (Navratil, 2014), tourism-related (Formádi, 2009) and kindergarten professionals (Szőke & Geambaşu, 2023) was employed as a theoretical tool. Its incomplete utilization as an interpretative frame in historical research could be regarded as a hiatus in literature (See Garai, 2022a, 2022b, 2023). Therefore, this literature review aims to examine the emergence of deprofessionalization and offers perspectives on its workability in historical research by exploring patterns of how the trait and critical manner of professionalization theories utilise the notion.

3. Materials and Methods

Three research questions are derived from the research gaps and research aims identified as the result of the literature review:

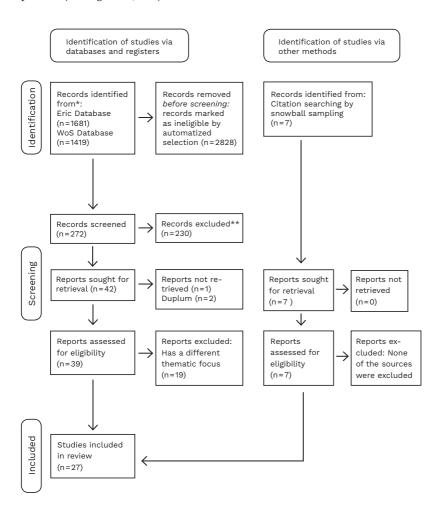
- How does the notion of deprofessionalization emerge within the research of professions?
- Could deprofessionalization be connected to the trait or critical approach of professionalization theories?
- How do authors of historical papers utilise deprofessionalization as an interpretative frame in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories?

To answer research questions, a systematic literature review following the PRISMA protocol was performed through automatised screening of the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) and Web of Science (WoS) (Page at al., 2021). From a methodological point of view, the systematic literature review is a relatively often employed method in education sciences (See Szabó, Soós, & Schiller, 2025), while papers with a history of education scope still utilize it scarcely. Therefore, this research aligns with recent publications that advocate for the use of this methodology (See Akmal, 2022; Kearns-Sixsmiths, 2024). Search terms were as follows in both databases: "professionalization", OR "professionalisation", OR "deprofessionalization", OR "deprofessionalisation". During the search, it was a genre constraint that only papers published in peer-reviewed periodicals or edited volumes were included in the corpus. As a result of the application of search terms,

1681 in ERIC and 1419 matches in WoS were found (See the 'Identification' section of Figure A.1)

The list of results was further screened by the application of research in the abstracts of papers. Research terms were "history" OR "historical" OR "deprofessionalisation", OR "deprofessionalization". In ERIC, 118, while in WoS 154 results were found. This list of papers was further

Figure A.1. The flow diagram of the systematic literature review following PRISMA protocol (See Page et al., 2011).



narrowed by a manual selection of abstracts, which resulted in 31 articles in ERIC and 11 in WoS. During this filtering phase, the inclusion criteria were the application of deprofessionalization and the historical character of the papers. Constraints were not applied regarding the geographical and cultural aspects of the professional groups investigated. The 42 elements in the corpus were further narrowed by the selection of professional groups, which did not seem to be in line with the proposed research, since the aim was to find examples of interpreting the professionalization process of secondary teachers. Therefore, papers not connected with secondary education or tertiary education spheres were excluded from the further analysis. Due to the different focus, 14 contributions were excluded from the list of the ERIC and a further five from the WoS results. In the narrowed list, a duplicate copy occurred in both databases and a paper proved to be inaccessible. Thus, 20 papers were comprised in one part of the corpus (selection process is displayed in 'Screening' section of Figure A.1). The other part consists of seven volumes and papers representing the critical approach of professionalization theories (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001; Larson, 2017) and inventories of the notions of deprofessionalization of professions (Freidson, 1984; Haug, 1972, 1975). These publications were identified and involved in the analysis by a snowball sampling of references (see under 'Identification of further studies via other methods' of Figure A.1). Aligning with the research questions of the systematic literature review, the main approaches of professionalization theories and the application of deprofessionalization are detailed within these studies and volumes.

Consequently, 27 papers and volumes have been chosen for the analysis (see the 'Included' section of Figure A.1). After an overview, five thematic categories were set up for thematic analysis. During the creation of thematic categories, two main aspects were considered for forming thematic groups. First, literature was thematised as to whether it belonged to the realm of sociological theory, history or historical aspects were partly included in the focus. Papers and volumes belonging to sociology theory discuss solely the key definitions related to the emergence of professional groups which were relegated to the

first thematic group. Two more categories were created in the case of studies with a full historical scope or focus with a limited historical perspective. Studies were divided in terms of whether sociological definitions appeared reflected or unreflected as interpretation frames. By reflected employment, I understand the referred usage of sociological definitions to contain at least one reference to a theoretical work in sociology, whereby professionalization — and deprofessionalization —connected notions appeared in a definitive and reflected way throughout the papers. Studies of a contemporary and historical scope were distinguished as to whether the investigation of a historical process stands in the focal point of the paper or the historical perspective appears only and serves the purpose of getting a detailed understanding of the contemporary social relations in the preparation period of the paper.

Five thematic categories were created along the perspectives as detailed above:

- Theories on professionalization—deprofessionalization, the emergence of the critical approach to professionalization theories and their connection with the notion of deprofessionalization,
- Reflected usage of deprofessionalization and the profession theories in papers with a contemporary focus and limited historical perspective,
- Refleced usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories in papers with a full historical angle,
- Unreflected usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories for the analysis of contemporary social relations with a limited historical scope,
- Unreflected usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories for the analysis of historical processes.

These five thematic categories are relegated to three chapters discussed in the Results part, which also reflects the research questions. In the first part, the emergence of the deprofessionalization notion and its connection to the trait and critical approach of professionalization theories are discussed. In the second part, those papers are analysed, which could be associated with the trait approach of professionalization theories due to the undefined usage of deprofessionalization. The third part of the paper investigates the reflected usage

of deprofessionalization attached to the critical manner of professionalization theories. The final chapter of the paper briefly considers how the findings from the systematic literature review can be applied to investigating secondary teacher education in Hungary during the interwar period.

3.1. Characteristics of the Publications Included in the Analysis Publications in the corpus can be described as based on five characteristics: the year of publication, the geographical areas investigated, their genres as scientific products, the types of data collection and analytical methods used, and their distribution among thematic categories.

Considering the year of publication, six items in the corpus were published before 1990, and eight were released between 1990 and 2010. The remaining 14 texts were issued after 2010, which also indicates that contemporary literature tended to employ the notion of deprofessionalization.

The geographical focus of the corpus is distributed across Asia, Europe, and North America (primarily the US, but also with an international outlook relegated to North America). The paper by Larsen (2010) does not fit neatly into any specific geographical area due to its international perspective. The international character of the corpus might help to reveal a cross-cultural differences in the usage of deprofessionalization.

As far as the data collection and employed methods are concerned, half of the corpus used archival and legislative sources, as well as secondary literature, parsed through document analysis. Eleven papers primarily based their analysis solely on secondary sources. Meanwhile, three contributions employed a mixed-method design, in which survey and interview data were analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Regarding the distribution of the publications between the thematic categories, the most numerous category proved to be the first, in which the emergence of the critical approach of professionalization theories was detailed (displayed as 'first – emergence of the critical approach' in Table 1). In the second category (reflected usage with

a contemporary focus), four articles were relegated (mentioned as 'second–reflected with contemporary focus' in Table 1), while seven were assigned to the third detailing the reflected employment of deprofessionalization with a full historical angle (appears as 'third–reflected deprofessionalization' in Table 1). The fourth and fifth thematic categories, which represent the unreflected usage of deprofessionalization in contemporary and historical analyses comprise six and three publications, respectively (occur as 'fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis' and 'five–unreflected historical analysis' in Table 1).

4. Results

4.1. Theories on Professionalization-deprofessionalization, the Emergence of the Critical Approach to Professionalization Theories and their Connection with the Notion of Deprofessionalization The attitude of highly trained intellectuals towards democracies has always been ambiguous in Western societies, since their origins are traced back to epochs well before the appearance of democratic political structures. Thanks to their special expertise, professionals preserved some of their social privileges even in democratic circumstances (Larson, 2017, p. XIX).

This vague relationship was complicated even further by several independent circumstances, which strengthened each other in their effects. Among these elements, the war waged by the US in Vietnam, the revolt of university students which erupted in Europe in 1968 and permeated also US campuses, and the embroilment of professionals into criminal cases had a devastating effect on the reputation of highly trained intellectuals (Abbott, 1988, p. 28; Freidson, 1984, p. 3; Freidson, 1984, p. 3). However, in the form of the "new career" movement, professionals had to face a direct challenge. Individuals in this movement formerly belonged to the less affluent strata of society. Due to their employment with professionals, their desperate situation was to improve. Despite the improvement of their social status, they still preserved contact with the classes they were born in. Exploiting

Papers	Thematic group	Associated with the trait or critical professiona- lization the- ories	Analysed under the section of the Results part
Abbott, 1988	first-emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Bérbué & Ruth, 2016	fourth-unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Bottery & Wright, 1997	second-reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Cornu, 2015	fourth-unreflecte d contemporary analysis	trait	second
Freidson, 1984	first-emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Freidson, 2001	first-emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Garai, 2023	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Gillard, 2005	five-unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Hamon & Lebeaume	five-unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Haug, 1972	first-emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Haug, 1975	first-emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Horn, 2016	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Jarausch, 2016	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Lai, Du, & Li, 2014	fourth-unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Lai & Lo, 2007	fourth-unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Larsen, 2010	fourth-unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Larsen, 2017	first-emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Popkewitz, 1994	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Scott, 2014	second-reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Simola, Kivinen & Rinne, 1997	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Smaller, 2015	third-reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Stairs & Hatch	fourth-unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Torren, 1975	first-emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Tsang & Qin, 2020	second-reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Wähler & Hanke, 2020	five-unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Wronowski & Urick, 2019	second-reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third

Table 1. Categorisation of the corpus of the systematic literature review.

the unfolding general mistrust towards professionals, they offered a new service ideal with personal orientation (Haug, 1972, p. 198).

The changing social perception of professions also affected sociological research. An investigation led by Robert K. Merton was initiated to reveal the social function of professionals, since the connection between society and professions was to change to such an extent that self-definitions of professionals used in the trait model no longer offered a valid depiction of experts. One of the results of this research was the "Profession of Medicine" by Eliot Freidson, in which it was revealed for the first time that physicians worked not only to cure their patients but also to attain the economic and social rewards for the maintenance of their status arising from their special preparedness (Larson, 2017, p. XXI).

This revelation inspired "The Rise of Professionalism" by Magali Sarfatti Larson originally published in 1977, which could be considered to be the volume laying the principles of the critical approach of professionalization theories. Investigating also the history of physicians, Larson concluded that professional groups formed monopolistic structures. Monopolies were created through their services based on their expertise, which were practised along the service ideology determined in ethical codes. State power also contributed to achieving domination in a market area by legislative measures, which helped the process of "market closure". Thereby, endeavours of professional groups were aimed at excluding rivals from the service area and, concomitantly, strengthening their distinctive position. The achievement of this unique position was also a result of their special relationships with universities, as special training facilities, higher education institutions guarded the theoretical and practical preparation of professional candidates. Furthermore, universities played a vital role in strengthening the social legitimacy of professionals by promoting the accessibility of professional knowledge, thereby facilitating upward social mobility (Larson, 2017, pp. 8–11, pp. 40–44, pp. 221–224).

The volume by Larson was to galvanise researchers who thought the trait model could be surpassed to apply the concept of monopoly in describing professional groups. As a result, even Eliot Freidson referred to Larson recurringly in multiple papers (See Freidson, 1984, 1988). Instead of emphasizing the organisational peculiarities of professionals, he increasingly focused on the formation of their theoretical knowledge and its practical applications, which resulted in their monopoly. In a late volume by Freidson, professional work is understood as a discretional specialisation, which helped professionals to put to use their theoretical knowledge on a situative basis, following and satisfying the needs of their clients. Freidson attributed an exclusive role to universities in developing this special skill through theoretical and practical training and their state recognition in the form of certificates, which also functioned as an operating licence (Freidson, 2001, pp. 31–32, pp. 96–100).

While the critical approach depicted professionalization as a process of market control and an exclusion of rival groups from a service arena, another approach emerging in parallel questioned the axiom of constant and one-directional development of professionals. Under the influence of the social movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Marie R. Haug raised the prospect in a hypothetical paper that the autonomy and the service ideology of professionals might be challenged (Haug, 1972, p. 197).

Haug traced back the deprofessionalization of professional groups to three main reasons. First, members of the new career movement were able to perform certain aspects of the professional tasks without qualification since they had acquired knowledge and competence during practice. Secondly, the new service ideal of the movement raised the self-interest of clients and sparked an organised outrage against the practice of professionals, which culminated in the claim of exerting client-side control over professional work (Haug, 1972, pp. 204–206). Lastly, the spread of personal computers and their permeation through all sectors of the economy and society combined with the general increase of literacy of the population posed a threat to the knowledge monopoly of professionals. Computers could store the whole of theoretical knowledge of experts and provide accessibility for anyone at any time (Haug, 1972, pp. 200–201).

Nina Torren identified sources of deprofessionalization in professionalization itself. In her paper, a critique of the trait model appeared but the professionalization process was determined along the development of charactheristic attributes. Among these, service ideals and competence base were particularly vulnerable to professionalization. If the service ideal was applied in the form of routinised work, the number of situations needed to take a certain risk would be reduced leading to the disillusionment of professional work. When the competence-base came under assault by clients or government intrusions, the working autonomy of professionals became fragile (Torren, 1975, pp. 329–335). Contradictory effects of bureaucracies and the dynamic historical illustration of professionalization were also raised in the paper. Torren (1975, pp. 334-335) convincingly argued that professional groups could deteriorate into a previous stage of their development as a result of deprofessionalization, which provides a more accurate and dynamic historical analysis of professionals overall.

It was noticeable in the papers of Haug and Torren alike that, despite referring to Eliot Freidson, a key author in the emerging critical approach, and connecting deprofessionalization to the deterioration of working control, the notion of deprofessionalization was basically determined as either the disappearance or the reduction of characterological traits and the loss of working autonomy. These notions were to serve as key terms in the trait approach of professionalization theories.

In a paper published by Haug in 1975, the definition of deprofessionalization through trait-related notions got slightly altered. Theoretical parts of the papers were introduced by the criticism of the trait approach and an analysis was presented on the social stance of professionals in various cultures. In this overview, it was concluded that the main mark of professionals was their social position derived from their unique expertise. This special stance was threatened by social-technical developments in Western societies discussed in her previous paper. As a consequence, a status equalisation process had begun between professional groups and their clients in a way that made the latter more powerful. They turned out to be consumers of professional services, which reduced their vulnerability and even secured some scrutiny

over professional work (Haug, 1975, pp. 198–201, pp. 210–211; Torren, 1975, p. 332)

Abbott (1988) defined professions through jurisdiction and maintaining the clout of jurisdiction in the public sphere. In his volume, deprofessionalization was mentioned and used recurringly. It was defined after the analysis of literature as a reverse process of professionalization, but could be applied only to individual professionals not to a whole professional group (Abbott, 1988, p. 326). Having said that, there are parts in the volume where deprofessionalization of groups or deprofessionalization initiated by state intervention was mentioned (See Abbott, 1988, p. 55, p. 61, p. 98, p. 101, p. 186, p. 277). On the individual level, deprofessionalization was connected with the degradation of working conditions and the loss of professional status (Abbott, 1988, p. 128, p. 130).

Despite his previous reluctance (Freidson, 1984, pp. 7–8; 18), Freidson also attempted to define deprofessionalization and thereby incorporate it into the critical approach. Discretional specialisation could be acquired only by pursuing studies at universities. However, high-level training would have been insufficient to monopolise a field of interest. To achieve that, recognition of the state was also essential, which was incorporated into the training. The symbolic expression of the balance between professionals and the state is the qualifying exam and the state-recognised certificate. That is why governments supported the academisation of professional training. In special historical circumstances (revolutions or momentuous cultural transformations), professionals could suffer deprofessionalization along five dimensions. When 1) the state suspended the distinctive labour market position and thereby the social status of professionals, 2) paralysed the supplementation of experts, 3) restricted or demolished the validity of professional certificates, 4) unilaterally banned or modified the service ideology, or 5) abolished professional institutions, with the monopoly of professional groups over their field was shaken. Complete deprofessionalization, however, was not in the interest of even totalitarian regimes with a view to preserving the functionality the of society. Therefore, these systems handed over the direction of professional

groups to state-affiliated collaborators in a process which could result in deprofessionalization in the long term (Freidson, 2001, pp. 128–130).

It can be concluded that the critical approach and the notion of deprofessionalization emerged as the result of social movements affecting professionals. These concepts developed in parallel and influenced each other in certain ways. In the early phase of the research, deprofessionalization was rather well connected to the trait model and then linked to the critical approach through the specific definition of professionals and the nature of their work. Reflections of the critical approach-affiliated author were rather dismissive towards deprofessionalization in the 1970s and 1980s. Thanks to Freidson (2001), deprofessionalization was incorporated into the critical approach with an applicable typology in the historical examination. The claim of Torren who believed that the application of the notion provided a dynamic historical frame in which professionals could be examined more accurately also appears as key (Torren, 1975, p. 334).

4.2. Undefined Usage of Deprofessionalization Associated with the Structuralist Approach of Professionalization Theories

Popkewitz observed that notions connected to professionalization theories are hard-wired into British and US culture and were to become known in other parts of the world owing to globalisation (Popkewitz, 1994, pp. 1–2). Therefore, the authors did not explicitly define professionalism-related concepts, inadvertently aligning their research with the structuralist approach invented by Parsons due to its prominence in English-speaking countries. This claim is supported by the observation that deprofessionalization is defined as the decay or loss of autonomy in the papers within this chapter, which is a central concept of the structuralist-functionalist approach to professionalization (Parsons, 1954, p. 38).

Regarding the thematic scope of papers affiliated with the trait approach, the majority of the studies applied professionalization-related notions for the analysis of contemporary social relations with a limited historical scope (Lai & Lio, 2007; Lai, Du & Li, 2014; Stairs & Hatch, 2008; Larsen, 2010; Cornu, 2015; Bérbué & Ruth, 2016), while

some of the authors utilized these notions for investigating historical processes (Wähler & Hanke, 2020; Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016; Gillard, 2005). The two thematic groups differ from each other in the way historical perspectives are adopted. In the case of the contributions with a contemporary focus, historical aspects do not form the main logical framework but rather appear within the literature review or to provide a reader with a broader context to better understand contemporary relations under investigation. In contrast, papers with a historical scope prioritize the historical perspective and thus historical phenomena are discussed through the unreflected usage of professionalization-related notions.

Papers with a contemporary focus tend to treat academic institutions and professionals employed within them as autonomous and independent entities operating separately from government structures. Alterations in the cultural or social policy of governments that might have a consequence on the academic sphere and secondary teacher education within it ultimately influence the autonomy of professionals, which leads to its systematic erosion. Authors identified neoliberal-inspired education policy and accountability as key factors that breached the autonomy of professionals identified as deprofessionalization (Lai & Lo, 2007; Lai, Du & Li, 2014; Larsen, 2010). In these cases, the forms of the appearance of deprofessionalization are identical: professionals could not dedicate enough time to their teaching-related obligations and, consequently, to teacher education, which would fundamentally affect the theoretical and practical preparedness of future teachers. The unsatisfactory performances of teacher educators led to a further crisis of teacher education in the long term due to ensuing and expectable social dissatisfaction (Larsen, 2010, pp. 216-222).

A further form of deprofessionalization is diagnosed by Stairs and Hatch (2008) whose paper outlined that government measures aimed at deregulating the qualification requirements of teachers could also be identified as a form of deprofessionalization. In that case, the decrease in academic standards could be perceived as a sophisticated tool for preserving social inequalities (Stairs & Hatch, 2008, pp. 456–457).

Therefore, deprofessionalization affects not only professional groups but also individuals who rely on their services.

Government political changes could also deprofessionalize teacher education by ways of implementing institutional changes in the academic sector or fostering and maintaining the existential insecurity of professionals (Cornu, 2015; Bérbué & Ruth, 2016). Unifying various levels of teacher education in harmony with government expectations to establish a "common pedagogical culture" for both primary and secondary teachers raises the question of whether the theoretical and practical preparedness of secondary teachers could be guaranteed to reach the same level prior to the institutional changes (Cornu, 2015, pp. 295–301). Similarly, the financial vulnerability of professionals and its prolongation affects the quality of training since the most talented and qualified professionals would change their careers leaving teacher education with decaying quality standards (Bérbué & Ruth, 2016, pp. 215–216).

In a similar manner to papers with a contemporary focus, historical articles also find the main reasons for deprofessionalization through changes in government policies or in its direct intervention into the inner operation mechanisms of professionals, which breaches their autonomy (Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016; Wähler & Hanke, 2020). A further similarity can be identified in the perception of deprofessionalization, which appears as a condition of certain outcomes of historical processes (Gillard, 2005).

Employing the notion of deprofessionalization or implying the decay of professionals (Wähler & Hanke, 2020, p. 18) are not integrated into the interpretation of historical process but rather serve to identify those structural causes that lead to the condition identified as deprofessionalization. Consequently, the historical overview of the decreasing autonomy of teachers (Gillard, 2005, pp. 175–178), the alteration of teacher training requirements resulting in the disappearance of certain specializations (Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016, pp. 1267–1270) and the state-initiated and scrutinized teacher competitions designed to enhance the professional awareness of in-service teachers (Wähler & Hanke, 2020, pp. 1–9) aim to illustrate certain historical circumstances.

In these cases, the concept of deprofessionalization illustrates a condition that evolved as a result of historical developments. Hence, the concept is less of an analysis of historical processes but rather more of a depiction of a given condition through the lens of historical developments.

As a result of the undefined usage of deprofessionalization and the exacerbated focus on autonomy, two consequences can be drawn: first, the trait approach could identify various forms of deprofessionalization (government intrusions, and meddling deregulation, and existential uncertainties) on a system level but the detailed analysis of the professional institutions and professionals within them remains mainly uncharted. Secondly, this approach frames deprofessionalization as a static condition rather than a process. Even in historically focused papers, historical developments are presented as leading directly to this static condition of deprofessionalization as an inevitable outcome of processes. By portraying deprofessionalization as a fixed condition, its key components remained veiled and unidentified.

4.3. Defined Usage of Deprofessionalization Connected to the Critical Manner of Professionalization Theories

In papers where deprofessionalization is defined in association with the critical manner of professionalization theories, the service ideology of professional groups and their connections to the state are central to the investigation. Freidson (1971, 2001) and Popkewitz (1994) argue that through the investigation of the service ideology not only the collective level of professionals could be grasped but also other parts of their inner hierarchy. Additionally, the connections between governments and professionals are reconceptualized since societies with centralized bureaucracies are deemed as incorporating professionals within government spheres. This involved a sophisticated approach to the investigation of professionals and even to the introduction of new theoretical notions, by which their specific connections with government entities and hence also with the rest of the societal structures could be revealed (Freidson, 1971, pp. 473–474).

Papers with a contemporary focus but defined usage of professionalization tend to find the main cause of deprofessionalization in neoliberal government policies and its transformative consequences in the service ideology of teachers (Bottery & Wright, 1997; Wronowski & Ulrick, 2019; Tsang & Qin, 2020). As a result, instead of professionals, it was political technocrats who influenced decisions on the directions of professional services and, therefore, political objectives were to prevaile over professional considerations (Bottery & Wright, 1997, pp. 8-9; Scott, 2014, p. 19). This led to an increase in administrative tasks depriving teachers of their core mission of caring for students, which is a responsibility central to their service ideology (Wronowski & Ulrick, 2019, pp. 6-11). The uniliteral transformation of the service ideology is further interpreted theoretically through the introduction of "ideological" and "technical" disempowerment. These theoretical notions allow the analysis to reveal the permeation of government initiatives into professional brought pressure to bear on hierarchies of teacher educators and in-service teachers (Tsang & Qin, 2020, pp. 3–5). Since neoliberalism-driven government measures also intruded into the knowledge-construction processes of teachers, the ability to determine theoretical principles of operation has been compromised (Scott, 2014, pp. 28-29).

Even though most of the contemporarily focused papers view deprofessionalization as a condition, it cannot be considered static thanks to the systematic theoretical description of the processes that have culminated in deprofessionalization (Bottery & Wright, 1997; Scott, 2014; Tsang & Qin, 2020). Furthermore, by focusing on the alteration of the service ideology and its impacts on the professional hierarchies, a more nuanced understanding of deprofessionalization beyond the upper structural levels has been achieved.

The papers with a defined usage of deprofessionalization and a historical scope are also characterized by a detailed theoretical definition of deprofessionalization. These studies depict deprofessionalization as a reversed process of professionalization by providing a dynamic theoretical approach for the description of the alterations in the status or inner hierarchies of professionals and their training institutions

(Abbott, 1988; Torren, 1975). Popkewitz (1994) identified two types of deprofessionalization techniques of teacher professionals: one characterized by direct intervention and the other by a more subtle intrusion into the internal mechanisms of professional matters. Direct interventions are typically marked by structural and often institutional changes resulting from government decisions, whereas sophisticated forms of deprofessionalization manifest themselves through curricular changes or anomalies in the academisation of the theoretical knowledge of professionals. Popkewitz (1994, pp. 7–9) claims that historical processes progress from direct intrusions toward more sophisticated forms of intervention.

Konrad H. Jarausch (2012) investigated the operation of professionals including secondary teachers in the era of the Third Reich. For a more detailed analysis, a multiperspective scope is applied in examining and thus comparing numerous professional groups. Multiperspectivity in this case also meant examining the influence of the totalitarian regime on the internal hierarchy of the professionals (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 157–159). Despite the various forms of direct intervention secondary teachers were exposed to, their operation continued (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 160–165). Reasons for maintaining their services are traced back to the inherited weaknesses of professionalization manifesting in the endeavour of preserving their distinguished social status, putting organizational self-interest in the first place of their agenda and even over and above serving the public good. Ethical formalism enables professionals to follow their regulations without reservations even when prescriptions breach moral conventions (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 178–183).

Not only totalitarian regimes but authoritarian political systems are prone to also threaten professional development (Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022; Garai, 2023). Those political systems whose stability tends to be reinforced by alignment with a given church, which is often expressed in its cultural ideology is also inclined to systematically intrude into the institutional developments (Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022, pp. 38–39, p. 43). That is achieved through targeted personnel appointments, the politically motivated screening of teacher candidates and the transformation

of the whole teacher education system, which guarantees tight control over professionals (Garai, 2023).

Sophisticated forms of deprofessionalization, however, occur also in democratic circumstances. Since teacher professionals have also been under strict government scrutiny, their ability to detail activities from an intellectual point of view have gradually faded away, which is exemplified by the theoretical notion of de-skilling (Smaller, 2015, pp. 1–5). Supporting the academisation of certain teacher educator groups in exchange for their services risks creating an overly close relationship between professionals and state entities, which could lead to the complete subordination of the whole teacher education to state interests (Simola, Kivinnen & Rinne 1997, pp. 886-888). Horn (2016) also contemplated the professional character and academisation of the theoretical knowledge of teachers. By defining the professional qualities of their occupation, the prospect of deprofessionalization was raised in connection with the training of individual teacher candidates due to the lack of preparedness in theoretical aspects of education sciences. Their professionality was not formed by practical experience and its theoretical explanation but by the interpretations of the head teacher who elucidated certain situations that occurred during the practical teaching period (Horn, 2016, pp. 137–138).

4.4. Some Considerations on the Utilisation of Results Derived from the Systematic Literature Review

Since the altered relationship between professional institutions of secondary teacher education and the state entities is planned to be investigated from a historical perspective, maintaining the historical scope intertwined with the reflective usage of deprofessionalization appears apt to be followed. Theoretical definitions offered by the critical approach of professionalization provide a nuanced understanding of the consequences of the systematic state meddling with the operational mechanisms of the STEC and STTI.

The theoretical approach provides concepts for interpretations at both the level of the internal operational mechanisms of individual institutions and also for the analysis of the teacher education system as a whole. As for the interpretation of their inner operation mechanisms, the multiperspective lens introduced by Jarausch (2012) offers the possibility of comparing and interpreting the career patterns of professionals within the STEC and STTI between the 19th century and the interwar period. Organisational self-interest and ethical formalism could also be applied to the institutional level to reveal the reasons for the continuous operations of institutions in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In this epoch, the discriminatory and repressive Hungarian legislative measures targeted the Jewry. Not only did this affect the supplementation of teacher candidates but some professionals of the STEC and STTI also were forced to abandon their careers and later were sent to concentration camps.²

Changes in the teacher education system could be interpreted by theoretical frames offered by Horn (2016) whose deprofessionalization concept is attached to the unsystematic practical preparation of candidates. In the case of the Hungarian developments, this approach helps identify one aspect of deprofessionalization connected to the 27th Act of 1924. This legislation was aimed at systematizing the practical preparedness of teacher candidates in the whole country along unified protocols. However, the necessary institutional capacities were unavailable in the interwar period resulting in the apparent abandonment of the unified practical training principles of candidates in 1942 (Garai, 2024).

The typology of Freidson (2001) reveals further two aspects of the deprofessionalization of teacher education. The first aspect is connected to the recurring state intrusion into the leadership of both institutions by appointing government flunkeys in key positions after 1920. This befuddled the ability of professional institutions to determine

² Tv. 1931/1943–1944. Zsirai Miklós ügyvezető alelnök levele Szilágyi László belügyminiszteri osztálytanácsosnak [Letter of the vice-president of the STEC to László Szilágyi, the secretary of the Interior Ministry]. Budapest, June 1944. Unit 14/e, Box 7 (Documents of the Presidency of STEC, 1943). Archives of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

the parameters of their operations since the directorate of the STEC and STTI prioritized complying with the expectations of the government.³

The second perspective involves a sharp decrease in the recruitment of teacher candidates due to the low social status of secondary teachers upheld by the government during the interwar period. The extent of the paralysis of the supplementation of candidates could be depicted by the sharp decline in the number of first-year students. In the academic year of 1929/1930, 419 students began their studies in STTI (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai Tanárképző Intézet Évkönyve az 1929–30. tanévre, 1930, p. 56), which almost halved in the year 1937/1938 with 230 enrolled students (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai tanárképzőintézet Évkönyve az 1937–1938. tanévre, 1938, p. 49). By 1939/1940 their number was to drop even further to 197 and never returned to the levels seen before the Great Depression (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai tanárképzőintézet Évkönyve az 1939–1940. tanévre, 1940, p. 44).

5. Discussion

This paper examined the occurrence and application possibilities of deprofessionalization in the international literature with a view to find theoretical foundations for the investigation of the secondary teacher profession in Hungary in the interwar period. The systematic literature review was performed along three main research questions, with the involvement of 27 sources.

The first research question was aimed at revealing how the notions of deprofessionalization emerged in the historiography of professionalization literature. From the analysis of the theoretical literature, it could be concluded that deprofessionalization connected with the

³ Tk. 1562/1934–1935. Kornis Gyula a budapesti m. kir. középiskolai tanárképző intézet elnökének levele az intézet igazgatótanácsának kinevezése tárgyában [Letter of Gyula Kornis, the president of STEC to the directorate council of STEC about the appointment of the council]. Budapest, 17th June 1935. Fund K 636, Box 624, title 13–6 (Documents of STEC and STTI between 1932 and 1936). National Archives of Hungary, Budapest.

trait approach in the early phase of the usage of the notion. However, the paper by Haug (1975) brought deprofessionalization closer to the critical approach, thus primarily determining status equalisation. In an attempt to define key notions of professionalization, Abbott (1988), a representative of the critical approach described professions by jurisdictional claims and conceived the application of deprofessionalization at an individual level. The typology of Freidson (2001) alludes to the fluctuation between prosperous and less favourable periods in the development of professions, resulting in a more accurate depiction of professionalization processes on the whole in the critical approach. This identification of the dynamism in the development of professionals also aligns with the endeavours of Torren (1975) who was to achieve a more balanced historical analysis of professionalization.

The second research perspective was concerned with whether deprofessionalization connects to the trait or the critical approach of professionalization theories. Due to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of deprofessionalization, it was initially associated with the trait model. Later, the critical approach utilised it for historical investigations as a result of finding and shaping the definitions of professions. This double binding might be the reason for its reflected and unreflected usage in literature involved in the research since the trait approach to professionalization was prevalent in English-speaking countries more due to its cultural origins than the critical one (Popkewitz, 1994). Consequently, when authors linked deprofessionalization to a lack of autonomy, their work was associated unconsciously with the attribute-list approach, invented by Parsons (1954).

The third research question was aimed at revealing how authors utilise the concept of deprofessionalization in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories. As a result of the literature review, it can be concluded that the trait approach reveals several forms of deprofessionalization on the level of the state authorities and professional groups. However, a further analysis at the institutional or individual level of professionals remains unexplored. Papers with a contemporary scope tend to view deprofessionalization as a static condition that emerged due to the diminishing autonomy of professionals.

Similarly, historical studies within this approach also treat deprofessionalization as a condition emanating from historical processes.

As with all research papers, findings of the inquiry could be interpreted by taking into account certain limitations. The systematic literature review presented in this paper is no exception since several factors influenced the outcomes reported in the results section. The first is a methodological constraint. After the automatised screening of databases, only one coder (the author) created the corpus along the aspects detailed in the methodological chapter. Involving a further coder in one part or for the whole process could have strengthened the validity of the outcomes even further.

The second limitation could be connected to the thematic scope of the review. Although all kinds of professional groups were involved in the early phase of screening of databases, at one point of the selection, papers connected to the secondary teacher profession and teacher training were preserved, since the literature review was connected to planned research, in which the secondary teacher training would be investigated in the interwar period. One exception was made with the paper of Freidson (1971) due to its conceptual importance. Using the Jarausch (2012) proposed multiperspective lens approach during the screening and thus involving the analyses of professionalization and deprofessionalization processes of multiple professional groups would have revealed other perspectives that could not appear in this investigation due to the constraints of limited scope.

As a third limitation, a narrow thematic perspective lies in revealing the international usage of the deprofessionalization term, particularly in its connections to the critical approach. Comparing and linking deprofessionalization to other theoretical concepts of professional theories might also uncover new perspectives and application potentialities.

Databases used to gather the corpus of the analysis limited the scope of the analysis from two perspectives. First, apart from one French paper, the search resulted in English-language studies potentially omitting relevant research findings, particularly German language essays, which had relevance for the Hungarian developments due to shared

historical experience. Secondly, the language of the studies influenced the geographical scope of the analysis, which focuses on the US and European countries. Even though Asia was also represented among the included studies, several other areas remained untouched in the paper, e.g. South-American countries, Australia and Africa.

Despite certain limitations, the systematic literature analysis provides a meta-analytical viewpoint on deprofessionalization applied within the trait and critical approach of professionalization theories. From this meta-aspect, two general conclusions could be drawn that might be utilised to further investigate the Hungarian developments in the interwar period. The first is the tendency of authors affiliated with the critical approach of professionalization theories to focus on the service ideology of professionals and its changes throughout time. Although papers with a contemporary focus perceive deprofessionalization as a condition, the theoretically grounded notions applied in the critical research inquiry enable a more detailed understanding that encompasses various levels of professions.

Secondly, papers with a historical focus perceive deprofessionalization as a reversed process of professionalization (Abbott, 1988), which offers the perspective to analyze historical processes in a dynamic theoretical framework. Popkewitz (1994) identified direct and sophisticated forms of intrusions into and meddling with the inner mechanism of professional matters, which could be applied to various historical epochs depending on the methods of state interventions.

In analyzing the Hungarian case represented in the operation of STEC and STTI in the interwar period, concepts by Jarausch (2012) of multiperspective perception, organisational self-interest and ethical formalism offer insights into the micro level of institutional dynamics. Additionally, the typology of Fredison (2001) and the approach of Horn (2016) on deprofessionalization also identify several structural factors contributing to the decay of teacher education institutions.⁴

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