

## *Feminization and professionalization in Hungary in the late 19th century. Women teachers in professional discourses in educational journals (1887-1891)*

### *Feminización y profesionalización en Hungría a finales del siglo XIX. Mujeres profesoras en los discursos profesionales de revistas educativas (1887-1891)*

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**Abstract:** Hungarian historians of education paid a considerable amount of attention to the history of women's education in the last two decades. They investigated the history of women in general (Pukánszky, 2006) as well as their changing roles in the 19th century (Kéri, 2008). They explored, to give an example, some career-stories of 19th century female teachers (Hegedűs, 2003), women's roles in Hungarian new education movements (Sztinkóné, 2005), or how university diplomas widened women's social opportunities (Bíró, 2014). Some critiques (Thun, 2012) note though that these historical studies don't draw on the results of feminist historiography. Another widely explored topic in Hungarian historiography of education has been the professionalization of teaching. The role women played in the professionalization, however, hasn't been researched yet.

The aim of our research was to explore the «female side» of professionalization. Our research questions were whether women teachers participated in professional discourses, and if they did, in what extent were they in a position to shape them. We used educational journals as sources.

**Keywords:** feminization; professionalization; professional discourses; educational journals; 19th century.

**Resumen:** Los historiadores húngaros de la educación han prestado una considerable atención a la historia de la educación de las mujeres en la última década. Han investigado la historia de la mujer en general (Pukánszky, 2006), así como su papel cambiante en el siglo XIX (Kéri, 2008). El trabajo de las mujeres en los nuevos movimientos educativos húngaros (Sztinkóné, 2005), o cómo los diplomas universitarios amplían las oportunidades sociales de las mujeres (Bíró, 2014), ejemplos de historias profesionales de profesoras del siglo XIX (Hegedűs, 2003). Algunas críticas (Thun, 2012) señalan que estos estudios históricos no se basan en los resultados de la historiografía feminista. Otro tema ampliamente

explorado en la historiografía húngara de la educación ha sido la profesionalización de la enseñanza. Sin embargo, aún no ha sido investigado el papel desempeñado por las mujeres en la profesionalización.

El objetivo de nuestra investigación fue explorar el «lado femenino» de la profesionalización. Nuestras preguntas de investigación fueron si las profesoras participaron en discursos profesionales, y si lo hicieron, en qué medida estaban en condiciones de darles forma. Utilizamos revistas educativas como fuentes.

**Palabras clave:** feminización; profesionalización; discursos profesionales; revistas educativas; siglo XIX.

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## 1. Feminization in international context

Feminization is a widely used term in social sciences. When it refers the feminization of education, it describes «the phenomenon of large-scale entry into the teaching profession by women ...» (Wylie, 2000, p. 1 quoted by Kelleher, 2011, p. 1). Three different meaning of the term can be distinguished: «a) a statistical meaning, used in calculating percentages of men and women in a given profession; b) a meaning related to the effects of the weight of numbers; and c) the rate of access of women into a profession» (Kelleher, 2011, p. 1).

Studies often have the (usually not directly expressed) assumption that feminization is a process of catching up, during which women teachers' level of professionalism converged with their male peers. Therefore, the latter two aspects mentioned above are often neglected.

The research on them, however, would be essential in understanding the underlying processes of feminization. As an example, we can refer to Strober and Lanford's classic study, where they highlight some important consequences of feminization:

gender segregation produces at least two deleterious effects. First, it inhibits men and women from choosing jobs that match their talents and skills, encouraging them instead to choose in accordance with societal stereotypes. Such constrained choices lessen both individual satisfaction and potential economic output. Second, occupational segregation is responsible for most of the wage and salary differential between men (Strober & Lanford, 1986, p. 213).

Previous historical studies explored the feminization in many regions. Trouvé-Finding analyzed the impact of the admission of women to elementary teaching in England and France in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Trouvé-Finding, 2005). In her fundamental book, Clifford explored the social history of women teachers in America until the end of the 20th century (Clifford, 2014).

Canada is also a thoroughly explored area. Sager (2007) offered an overview of women teacher's positions in Canada from 1881 to 1901, building on such work as Janet Guildford's study (1992) in which she studied the feminization of

teaching in Nova Scotia. In his study, Sager highlights some important factors concerning women's career-choices:

There is no ecological fallacy in the conclusion that there is a fruitful synergy between district-level patterns discerned through multivariate techniques, and the more scattered textual evidence on individual motivation and perception. Women chose to become teachers, and they did so when they confronted a set of limited but changing opportunities in the communities in which they lived. Decisions about whether to become and whether to remain a teacher were made when personal desires and familial need intersected with specific job markets and conditions: the number of teaching jobs available; the number and availability of male competitors for such jobs; and the degree to which the participation of women in paid labor outside the home had become culturally acceptable (Sager, 2007, pp. 235-236).

Narciso de Gabriel analyzed the entrance of women into the teaching profession in Spain. He found strong links between feminism and feminization with some unexpected results:

The progressive incorporation of women into the teaching profession is directly related to feminist demands. Feminism vindicated the right of girls to an education as well the right of women to paid work, and it was precisely the education of girls that would enable women to exercise one of the first professions to which they would have access. But the figure of the female teacher was also built upon patriarchal thinking, which provided arguments for an achievement that would question some of the foundations of the patriarchal system itself. Paradoxically, the education for dependence that girls were to receive at school would help women gain access to a profession that would grant them autonomy (de Gabriel, 2014, 353-354).

In his fundamental comparative paper Albisetti argues «a shared cultural and religious heritage along with relatively similar economies did not necessarily produce similar levels of feminization» (Albisetti, 1993, p. 256). In the rapidly developing and highly protestant Germany the percentage of women teacher in education was 20.9%. Among the protestant Scandinavian countries Denmark had similar numbers: 28% in 1895. In Sweden, however, 66% of teachers were women at the turn of the century. Norway fell between these two values with 34%.

We can't identify common patterns among catholic countries. The percentage of women teachers in France in 1906 was 46%. This value is like the one in Belgium (49% in 1896) and in Portugal (49% at the turn of the century). In Austria, however, only 29% of the teachers were women (many of them unqualified), while in Italy their proportion was 68%. This latter data is closer to some such culturally dissimilar countries including Russia (approximately 70-75%), England (73% at the turn of the century), the USA (75%) or Canada (65% in 1880 and 80% in 1905).

While cultural and economical background doesn't justify the differences, Albisetti identifies three factors that might explain the differences: the creation of formal procedures for the training and certification of women teachers, marriage bans for women teachers and the urbanization. The more formal the requirements were (like in Germany) more they discouraged women from entering the professions. Although explicit marriage bans existed only in few areas, the married women teacher's employment rate was considerably lower. And in urban areas the level of feminization was higher than in rural ones (Albisetti, 1993). As a conclusion, he highlights «the large number of factors affecting levels of feminization, including economic conditions, law, religion, cultural traditions, gender ideologies, length of schooling, urbanization and wars, militates against any simple explanations» (Albisetti, 1993, p. 213).

Although there's still a lot to explore about feminization, we can be certain, that feminization, alongside professionalization, is a core process of the development of modern western educational systems

## **2. Professionalization of elementary teaching in Hungary**

My research relies on the researches that explored the professionalization of elementary teaching in Hungary. Although many previous studies explored phenomena that can be associated with professionalization, András Németh was the one who introduced the theoretical background to the Hungarian historiography of education. In his research, he investigated the professionalization of secondary school teachers (Németh, 2005, 2007) as well as elementary teachers (Németh, 2000, 2008, 2013).

Many studies investigated the various aspects of professionalization of elementary teaching in Hungary. The history of the training in general, and teacher training colleges respectively are widely investigated (see for example Kelemen, 2007; Donáth, 2008a, 2008b). Béla Pukánszky demonstrated the modernization of elementary teachers' professional knowledge with the analysis of textbooks used during the training (Pukánszky, 2005). In our previous research, we investigated history of education textbooks from the 19th century and the role they played in elementary teacher's self-identification (Nóvik, 2006). Baska, Nagy and Szabolcs (2001) depicted elementary teachers' everyday life by the investigation of period educational journals. Baska (1998) analyzed the workdays and holidays, and gave an insight into the formation of elementary teachers' identities. Later she researched elementary teachers' social prestige through the analysis of metaphors used in a deceased elementary teacher's commemorations. (Baska, 2011). Szűcs (2012) analyzed eulogies published in educational journals giving an insight into the processes of hero making.

The beginning of the professionalization of elementary teaching can be traced back to the late 18th and early 19th century. The first teacher training college was established in 1819, the second one in 1828. The Public Education Act of 1868 had a great impact on the professionalization of elementary teaching by making teacher training colleges mandatory. Also, the law established state training colleges, raised the duration of training to three years and regulated the requirements of training and the qualifications. A ministerial decree raised the duration of training to four years in 1881. The structural reform of church colleges, however, stalled until the turn of century (Szakál, 1934).

These reforms raised the numbers of training colleges too. There was 39 teacher training colleges in 1868, while 64 in 1900. One reason of this growth was the establishment of new teacher training colleges for women. There was 5 such college in 1868 and 16 in 1900 (Kékes & Szabó, 2003).

Although teachers, teacher organization, politicians and various other agents of education constantly criticized the quality of training, the unification of content and the requirements of training definitely raised the level of elementary teachers' professionalism.

The Public Education Act obliged teachers to join teachers' associations. These associations served as locales for professional discourses and played fundamental role in publishing educational journals. In many cases they distributed the modern educational ideas (Nóbik, 2000).

Not only the growing numbers shows, however, the rising level of elementary teachers' professionalism. Research suggests the specialized knowledge distributed in textbooks and educational journals got more modern by the last decades of the 19th century (Németh, 2000, 2008, 2013). Images of childhood differentiated (Hegedús & Szabolcs, 2010; Szabolcs, 2011) and the first results of pedology (child study movement) appeared in various publications (Szabolcs, 2002).

Pukánszky, researching the images of childhood of 19th century teacher training textbooks, also found fundamental changes. He argues the slow transformation of the images of children perceptible clearly in the textbooks. The image that had its roots in the 'dignity topos' of the humanism and enlightenment and in the 'child centeredness' of romanticism faded by the end of the 19th century and gave its place to a more 'puritan', pragmatic image of children. (Pukánszky, 2005).

András Németh analyzed an encyclopedia (Encyclopedia of Elementary Education) published in three volumes between 1911 and 1915. Describing its content, he concludes that elementary teachers' knowledge became increasingly professional. This knowledge breaks away from the romantic image of children and ceases to be a mere summary of practical experiences and guidance. The

modernized professional knowledge of the early 20th century involved some elements of new education movements and a Darwinist, evolutionist and positivist worldview (Németh, 2008). In a previous study of ours we found the spread of these modern ideas began as early as the 1870's (Nóvik, 2000).

Educational journals created an important space for professionalization by distributing elements of desired professional knowledge. At the same time, they created opportunities for teachers to share and discuss their ideas. In our research, we regarded educational journals as the discursive spaces of professionalization.

Publishing of educational journals flourished in Hungary between 1868 and 1918 (Nóvik, 2014). In these fifty years, different publishers produced at least 382 educational journals, and approximately 25 in those five years that are explored in this research. Although we can identify 104 settlements where journals were published, one third of the periodicals were printed in Budapest. The average lifespan of the journals was, however, low. 59% of the journals didn't live past their 5th birthday.

We must add, though, that the level of professionalism was rather uneven. At one end of the spectrum we can find elementary teachers with highly professionalized knowledge and practice, actively participating in professional discourses, distributing modern pedagogical ideas. On the other end though we can find many teachers struggling with low wages, working in rundown schools and being isolated from professional discourses (Nagy, 2001).

### **3. Feminization of elementary teaching in Hungary**

Although the professionalization of elementary teaching in Hungary is a widely researched topic, women teachers' status and the feminization of the profession is hardly touched. The subject is worth researching though, because, as elsewhere in western countries, feminization was a core process of the development of modern Hungarian educational system.

Amounts of women in the field of elementary education grew steadily. According to census, by 1890 12% of 23382 elementary teachers were women, the rate being 45% in municipalities. Their percentage increased to 20% by 1900 (Nagy, 2001, p. 16). This number is lower than the Austrian one, and similar to the German one.

Lajos Komáromy, a contemporary author, describing the state of Hungarian elementary school system also notes the growing number of female teachers. In 1889-89 266 new appointments were made, he writes, from which women fulfilled 57,51%. In his review, Komáromy describes detailed statistics about women teachers. According to him, 37% of teachers in state elementary

schools were women. The rate was 22% in catholic elementary schools, 22% in municipal, 12% in Jewish 55% in private ones and 61% in those sponsored by private organizations (Komáromy, 1890, p. 77).

The Public Education Act of 1868 didn't differentiate between men's and women's training. According to legislation their qualification had same value and they had the same opportunities to fulfill positions. That was one of the reason behind the steady expansion of teacher training colleges for women (from 5 to 1868 to 16 in 1900). Those 5 colleges had 119 students in 1868, while 16 colleges had 1283 in 1880. Numbers of female students per school increased from 23,8 to 80,2 between 1868 and 1880 (Neszt, 2010).

The educational government, in fear of «overproduction» of elementary teachers and of unemployment, attempted to restrain women's admissions to teacher training colleges. These attempts remained unsuccessful though. The scale of women teachers unemployment was exaggerated, partly because the expansion of schooling provided sufficient jobs for them, partly because they had more «career-opportunities». It was expected of them to marry, although at the end of the 19th century only 23% of the women teachers were married, compared to the 73% of their male counterparts. Since 73% of women teacher were 20-39 years old and only 15% were 40-59 years old in 1900, we might have a cautious assumption that many of the married women left the profession.

The influence of marriage-strategies on feminization, however, is not clear yet. Although legislation didn't officially differentiate between married and unmarried teachers, sources suggest that marital status was indeed a factor maintainers considered before employing a woman. Also, denominational schools were reluctant toward women partly because in most of these schools teachers had ecclesiastical tasks (for example as a cantor) which couldn't be done by women.

The feminization of elementary teaching had several reasons. The dynamic expansion of elementary schooling created so many new job opportunities it was impossible to fill them only with men. Therefore, ministerial decrees obliged state and municipal schools to employ women especially for teaching girls and younger boys. Another reason was the changing status of traditional middle class families. Many of them became impoverished and had to take magisterial jobs. They could support their daughters by providing them profitable professions. The social circumstances and the changing structure of middle class families strengthened this phenomenon, and forced girls to enter employment. Teaching became an ideal profession for them (Neszt, 2010). Middle class girls' admission to teaching profession meant women teacher usually had higher social backgrounds than their male counterparts.

Hungarian historians of education hardly explored the impact of feminization on the teaching profession. Hegedűs analyzed some women teachers' «career stories». She concluded that although women's admission into administrative positions (headmistress) wasn't unusual by the last decades of 19th century, we can find only a few 'powerful' women among them (Hegedűs, 2003).

The feminization of the teaching profession was unstoppable, although there were periods when Ministry of Education attempted to encumber women's admissions into training. These efforts, however, were not successful (Neszt, 2010). Waning prestige is thought to be one of the main consequences of feminization, so much so that the Hungarian term for this phenomenon (elnőiesedés, loosely translatable as emasculation) has a rather negative connotation.

While, as we mentioned, historians of education hardly paid attention to feminization psychologists and educational sociologists made considerable effort to explore the (what they call) challenges of feminization, including the absence of male role models or the discipline problems. (N. Tóth, 2014). Some of them challenged the traditional concept of feminization, and argued that feminization is not the reason but the consequence of the waning prestige of the teaching profession. In their opinion male teachers left teaching through the low wages, the challenging circumstances and the increasingly decreasing prestige. Women filled the positions men left behind, and gained advantage of the expansion of schooling (Fónai & Dusha, 2014).

Another important new aspect of these sociological studies is they emphasize that feminization doesn't mean only the growing number of women teacher. Feminization is also a transformation of requirements and features during which such values (like care giving and empathy) become dominant that are traditionally associated with female roles (Kovács, 2015). The (slowly) changing concept of «being a teacher» could be a significant topic of historical research too.

#### **4. Sources of the research**

The aim of our research was to explore the «female side» of professionalization. Through feminization, women teachers has already been present in the field of teaching. Our questions were: (1) Were women teachers in a position to participate in pedagogical public life? (2) Could they shape professional discourses? (3) If yes, in what extent? (4) Did they reflect on international environment?

We used some educational journals as sources. These journals were Néptanítók Lapja (Journal of elementary teachers), Család és Iskola (Family and School), Nemzeti Nőnevelés (National Women's Education), Evangélikus Egyház és Iskola (Lutheran Church and School), Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai

Lap (Protestant Journal of Church and School) and Kalauz a Népiskolai Nevelő-Oktatás Terén: Katholikus pedagógiai folyóirat (Guide in the field of elementary school education and instruction: Catholic pedagogical journal).

The reason behind the selection of these journals is the diversity of pedagogical areas they represent. Néptanítók Lapja was the official journal of the Ministry of Education, while Család és Iskola was a significant regional (Transylvanian) periodical. The other three journals include a catholic, a Calvinist and a Lutheran one, representing the three largest denominations in Hungary. The explored period is 1887 to 1891. As we saw earlier the professionalization of elementary teaching accelerated after the Public Education Act of 1868. We also saw the feminization of the teaching profession progressed, especially in municipalities, therefore we could expect women teachers' participation in professional discourses. Also, it was difficult to find journals published for at least five years in the same period.

## 5. Female teachers in professional discourses

Proportion of female authors was extremely low, way below their national average. No women published in Evangélikus Egyház és Iskola (Lutheran Church and School), Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap (Protestant Journal of Church and School) and Kalauz a Népiskolai Nevelő-Oktatás Terén. In three out of this five years Néptanítók Lapja didn't feature women.

So, despite women teachers' increasing presence, the state journal and the denominational ones didn't support women's voices in professional discourses.

At the other end of the scale we find Nemzeti Nőnevelés (National Women's Education), where the percentage of female authors was above 20% in each year, and reached 40% in 1891. Nemzeti Nőnevelés was the only journal out of these five that had a female editor in chief.

Mrs. Gyula Sebestyén (nee Ilona Stetina, 1855-1932) was the editor in chief between 1890 and 1915. She was an outstanding personality of women's education. She started to work at a Women's Training College in 1876. In 1885 she was a founder the Maria Dorothea Association, one of the most important cultural organization representing women's interests. From 1889 she served as a vice president of this association. She became a headmistress of a women's secondary school in 1911 (Loutfi, 2006).

Ilona Stetina was qualified to become an editor in chief in her own right. It's worth mentioning, though, that she took over the editorial responsibilities from her husband, Gyula Sebestyén (1848-1911), a famous historian politician and educator. We do not know anything about this change, but we can assume her marriage played some role.

She, nevertheless, was one of those few women who could publish in these journals. Most of them belonged to the elite of elementary teachers. Laura Binder, Antonina DeGerando, Janka Kasztner, Adél Nemessányi and Adél Schwarz were headmistresses, or they soon became one.

One of the main results of the research is, that only those women teachers had real opportunity to participate in professional discourses in the journals who had institutional powers.

This was strikingly true in the case of *Család és Iskola*. This journal had a column, «Pedagogical Cases» which purpose was to collect and publish elementary teachers' experiences. The column became popular among teachers and it gave space for lively, sometimes fierce discourses and discussions. While many ordinary teachers participated in them, only two of them were women. We will come back to a possible explanation of this phenomenon later.

## 5. The absence of female topics

Women teachers disability for shaping the professional discourses is clearly reflected by the «typical female topics». Women teachers wrote about women's education, methodological issues, discipline and punishment and family-school relationship.

Women, however, didn't dominate discussions about these topics. Since men edited and wrote most of the articles, to which women accommodated, we can't identify typical female voices and topics.

In this regard, we can count those publications that reflected on women's situation in society or in education atypical. One of them was a mere translation of an American article about a Finnish teacher's lecture in the United States. The lecturer mentioned an example of injustice toward women teachers. «It is worth mentioning that they never earn the same salary for the same job. I don't know whether it is true, but I've heard about such rural schools where the village remitted 20 dollars for the supply of the teachers' cow, while the women teacher had to settle for 15 dollars worth of forage. I must confess, I consider it a cruelty toward, which must suffer because its owner belongs to the weaker sex» (Buzogány, 1890, p. 248).

The only «female» article on women teacher's position was Adél Nemessányi's response to a prominent male teacher's opinion about women teachers' work and salary. He argued that women teachers' salary should be lower than men's one, because their profession requires less effort, high salary would lead them to a sumptuous lifestyle, they do not have as many social obligations as men, it is easier for them to gain requisite, if they marry their husbands would also have

salary and their temporary replacement would cost too much for the maintainers of schools. Nemessányi wrote a lengthy, smart and sometimes sarcastic answer, confuting the arguments one by one. Interesting though while she was avid advocate of emancipation of women teacher, she shared her time's conservative view about women teacher's marriage. She stated that marriage and teaching is irreconcilable, and should be allowed together only if a woman cannot have children (Nemessányi, 1890). Her opinion raises questions about the connection between feminization and feminism.

Only a few articles dealt with women's education, among them a few, that described education practice of foreign institutions (The Royal Holloway College, Cheltenham Ladies College).

Although most of the female authors belonged to the elite of elementary teachers, only one's career is comparable to his male peers. In one of the explored journals, *Család és Iskola* (Family and School) Rózsa Czukrász published some articles (see for example Czukrász 1890) on teaching grammar. Later she developed her own method and published textbooks (see for example Czukrász, 1899, 1903, 1934).

Even though female textbook authors were not unprecedented, Czukrász was the only one, who had the power to transform and shape elementary teachers' professional knowledge:

A woman-teacher, Róza Czukrász Tomcsányiné, devised an ingenious method: she introduced movement into the teaching of letter-sound correspondences and blending, especially in the beginning reading period. She named her method phonomimics (in Hungarian: fonomimika), and published her ABC book in 1903. Until 1950, phonomimics was the officially-recommended method in Hungary, and, to the best of my knowledge, Hungary was the only country in which the method was used in public education (Anna A. J., 2003, pp. 149-150).

## 6. Conclusions

Following the research, we can establish women's participation in professional discourses was weak. They could shape trends of only one journal (*Nemzeti Növelés*), in all the other journals their proportion was way below their national average. Their topics were diverse, but they adapted to the main topics of the journals. They made only a few references to women teachers' social status and the international situation.

In search for possible explanations for these phenomena we can refer to Mineke van Essen's research on the feminization of Dutch elementary and secondary schools. In her article on strategies that women teachers used for

feminization van Essen identified three such strategies: professionalization, protecting and enlarging the traditional female domain, and fighting for equality. She concluded, that:

many different factors may have contributed to the low level of feminization achieved in The Netherlands. The strategies women teachers used might have been one of them. When their strategies are compared with those of their more successful colleagues in other Western European countries, particularly Germany and Great Britain, which also had a Protestant majority, an important difference can be observed: Dutch women teachers – except those engaged in vocational education – did not deliberately organize themselves on the basis of their gender. (...) Also, they did not build strong informal pressure groups to improve their career opportunities or to protect and enlarge their monopoly in girls' education. Instead, Dutch women teachers preferred to cooperate with men, and they stressed equality instead of difference. (...) Except for some incidental group actions taken to demand equal pay and to resist the introduction of the marriage bar, all the activities described in this article were initiated individually (v. Essen 1999 p. 433).

We couldn't identify any of these strategies in our sources. v. Essen identifies professionalization as achieving equal training opportunities and seeking new ones. As we saw earlier women teachers' training, apart from minor differences, was legally equal with male teachers' training. There was nothing more to achieve in case of training. The protection and enlargement of the traditional female domain is also not applicable to Hungarian, since no such could be recognized. The strategy of fight for equality is also absent from the analyzed journals. Female authors, just like their Dutch colleagues, choose the strategy of cooperation with men. We might assume their goal was not the formation of a community parallel to men's one but to influence them. This might explain the absence of international topics from journals. During a strong fight international examples would have been great arguments, but in the process of adaptation they were useless. Women used this strategy, though, during actions for equality in secondary and higher education.

More precise recognition of reasons behind the strategy of adaptation will require further research. As a preliminary hypothesis, we can assume that main reason, however obvious it might sound, might have been the power differentials between women and men.

In this recent study, we don't have the opportunity to explore the debates around power in full details, therefore we just refer to some possible implications. In social sciences power is understood as the ability to influence others actions to achieve one's goals. The usual interpretations of power revolves around topics like the origin and types of power, the subjection, the idea of power as a social phenomenon, etc.

For a further research Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power could be the starting point:

To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced. Symbolic power, whose form par excellence is the power to make groups (groups that are already established and have to be consecrated or groups that have yet to be constituted such as the Marxian proletariat), rests on two conditions. Firstly, as any form of performative discourse, symbolic power has to be based on the possession of symbolic capital. The power to impose upon other minds a vision, old or new, of social divisions depends on the social authority acquired in previous struggles. Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition. In this way, the power of constitution, a power to make a new group, through mobilization, or to make it exist by proxy, by speaking on its behalf as an authorized spokesperson, can be obtained only as the outcome of a long process of institutionalization, at the end of which a representative is instituted, who receives from the group the power to make the group. Secondly, symbolic efficacy depends on the degree to which the vision proposed is founded in reality. Obviously, the construction of groups cannot be a construction *ex nihilo*. It has all the more chance of succeeding the more it is founded in reality (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23.)

This concept seems easily adaptable to the results of our research. In the period which we explored, all the researched journals, apart from the last two years of *Nemzeti Névelés*, were edited by men. Those men were well-embedded in teachers elite. Being journal editors, teachers and/or principals of teacher training colleges they had a considerable amount of «institutional» and symbolic power. This power allowed them to shape professional discourses and produce professional knowledge. And, most importantly, they were in a position to exclude women teachers.

We could assume women teacher sought other opportunities to express their interests, for example through feminists movements like in the USA (Carter, 2002). This area is hardly investigated in Hungary, but studies don't depict strong relationship between women teachers and feminism (Kereszty, 2011).

The complexity of topic is well illustrated by the fact that the only female editor in chief, Ilona Stetina, opposed women's suffrage, showing that feminism and feminization didn't necessarily walk hand in hand (Loutfi, 2006).

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