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Conclusions. Making sense of professionalism and social change

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Abstract

The post-industrial transition, along with globalisation and digitalisation, has transformed professions and professional groups. However, these changes are not fully comprehensible if we do not take into account neo-liberalisation as the process through which neo-liberalism has redirected social change by redesigning institutions. The success of neo-liberalism has challenged collegiate professionalism and has facilitated the rise of a new model of professionalism among emerging professions. This concluding chapter uses the WBB model –the analytical framework developed in this edited book– to make sense of the changes that are condensed in "neo-liberal" professionalism, in which members are increasingly exposed to market risks, heterogeneous working conditions, and precarious jobs. To do this, it summarises the key findings that have emerged from the analysis of the cases presented in the twelve chapters, and tackles the job of putting the pieces together. To conclude, the authors make a reflection on professions as systems of inequality, either institutionalised or market-based.

Keywords: Connective professionalism, Collegiate professionalism, Emerging professions, Neo-liberalism, Deregulation, Inequality

1. Back to the idea behind the book

This book takes its inspiration from an ambitious theoretical challenge: to study professionalism in its interaction with social change over the last fifty years. To do so, we put together a simple but heuristically effective analytical framework based on three "irreducible" –that is, mutually interrelated– dimensions: the "within" dimension, concerning the internal dynamics of a professional group; the "between" dimension, pertaining to the relationships between professions or professional groups; the "beyond" dimension, focusing on the reciprocal influence between professions and society. From now on, we shall refer to this analytical framework of within-between-beyond as the WBB model.

The aim of these conclusions is to put together the pieces of the puzzle presented in the Introduction (CH 1). To do so, we need to remind our readers of our starting point and to emphasise why we need new analytical tools.

A key occurrence in the recent history of Western societies has been the rise of the post-industrial society and the subsequent tertiarisation of the economy (see Touraine 1969; Bell 1973). These changes, along with the growing importance of knowledge as a production factor and the related increase in the number of expert occupations (see Machlup 1962; Drucker 1968; Bell 1973), make up our initial focus. We identify the post-industrial transition as the main engine of the processes of change that are considered in this book; this includes the de-standardisation of employment and the feminisation of labour markets. We also consider the effects of globalisation and increasing international mobility, as well as technological change in the specific form of

digitalisation (CH 1). However, a careful reading of the findings of the selected studies reveals the extent to which the transformation of professions and professional groups is not only a matter of *quantity* of expert labour but also of *quality* in terms of differential integration into society.

That said, these changes are not fully comprehensible if we do not take into account *neo-liberalisation* as the process through which *neo-liberalism* has transformed the economy and has pervaded society. As a matter of fact, neo-liberalisation has become intertwined with other macro-processes and has thus permeated and redirected social change by redesigning institutions. As such, it has promoted the rise of a new model of professionalism.

2. Neo-liberalism: the missing piece

Neo-liberalism is here intended in its most common-sense meaning: the progressive market deregulation and state withdrawal that took place in Western societies during the 1980s and 1990s as an expression of neo-liberalism as an ideology.

The neo-liberal ideology –which quickly spread across the entire Western world– makes the moral and ethical assumptions that the market is the most efficient and effective way of organising human actions, and that public regulation should be limited, to instead favour a free market (Mudge 2008). Its dominance in Western culture implies that economic actors (public and private) operate to minimise regulation in economic relationships – even including those that affect the regulation of professions. Neo-liberal agents share a fundamental cultural trait: trust in the power of the market.

As we have already mentioned in the Introduction to this volume (CH 1), the erosion of barriers to access professions has implied the consolidation of several processes of change that are directly connected to neo-liberalism.

Despite the authors not explicitly mentioning neo-liberalism or neo-liberalisation among their key analytical elements, a cross-cutting analysis of the results of the twelve chapters reveals that most of the contributions refer to their main components: managerialism and marketisation. *Managerialism* assumes that the market provides a more effective and cost-efficient allocation of resources than the state. Its variant as new managerialism or new public management has introduced "business-like" methods and market mechanisms into the public administration (see Hood 1991; Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Pollitt 1993). The diffusion of managerialism in the public sector and protected domains such as professions implies *marketisation*, which involves privatising some services, increasing competition among service providers (either public or private), and focusing on "customers".

Theoretically, it is possible to establish a parallelism between the neo-liberalisation process (specifically, managerialism and marketisation) and the de-standardisation of employment. These two developments have combined to produce increasingly deregulated labour markets, bringing with them a continued increase in temporary employment and self-employment. Neo-liberalisation is also linked to digitalisation, and more significantly, to the rise of new technologies and work platforms. As a matter of fact, digitalisation has brought the idea of marketisation to a higher level, allowing the principles of managerialism to be applied to create new business models such as work platforms. In addition, it has introduced new forms of controlling workers' activities, eroding the autonomy of professionals. Both processes are linked to feminisation: while neo-liberalisation and digitalisation have created new job opportunities for women, they have also given rise to new forms of gendered inequalities. Neo-liberalisation is also linked to globalisation. Indeed, country-based neo-liberal policies, that pursue the retrenchment of public spending and the deregulation of professional labour markets, have created labour shortages in some countries and have facilitated the international mobility of professional workers – mainly from the Global South to the Global North, but also across countries where the same language is spoken. Combined, these processes outline the essential traits of what we call *neo-liberal professionalism*, which originated in deregulation policies, leading to its members becoming increasingly exposed to market risks, heterogeneous working conditions, and precarious jobs.

The cultural turn imposed by neo-liberalism thus challenged how professions had been studied up to the 1980s – that is, as occupational groups whose boundaries are determined through mechanisms of social closure that rely on self-regulation and peer control (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001). This model of professionalism, labelled as "collegiate" professionalism, which is an expression of "guild-like" professionalisation (Reed 2018), has progressively lost its capacity to explain the way occupational groups have been developing and consolidating

their professional status. In fact, the rhetoric of neo-liberalism opposes any regulations or limitations being imposed on the market: the organisation of peers that is behind professional groups is at odds with the neo-liberal ideology, and as such is something that is becoming progressively questioned.

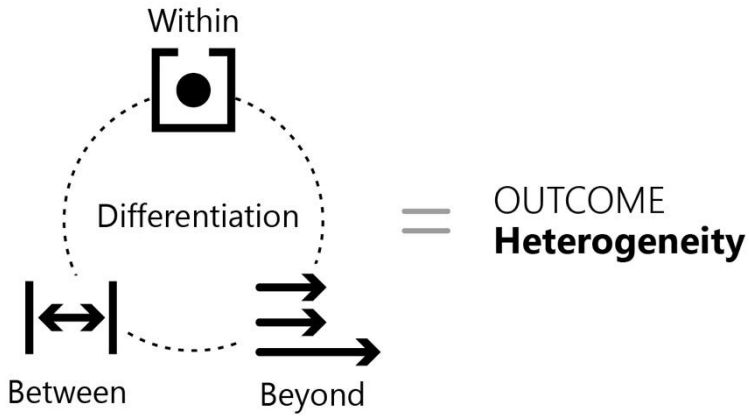
Making this affirmation does not mean refuting the value of professionalism as a heuristic; on the contrary, it encourages us to widen our perspective as sociologists of professions and look at what lies beyond the collegiate model. Professionalism per se is not disappearing, but it is reconfiguring itself (Noordegraaf 2020). That is, all the processes of differentiation analysed in this book can be understood along the lines of their impact in terms of reducing barriers to accessing professional work and increasing professionals' connections with the various actors that participate in their markets. Collegiate professionalism continues to retain its importance for traditional professions (e.g., law and medicine), but a new model of professionalism is gaining ground in emerging professions (Maestripieri and Cucca 2018). This is a model in which professionalism is created in relation to and in connection with the actors that surround professionals, such as clients, stakeholders, and society at large. Noordegraaf (2020) has called this "connective" as opposed to "protective" professionalism.

3. Using the WBB model to study neo-liberal professionalism

As we have seen, the success of neo-liberalism has somewhat eroded the heuristic capacity of collegiate professionalism. Yet the debate in the sociology of professions continues to revolve around theoretical and analytical frameworks that were developed during the twentieth century and can thus only partially intercept current trends. The toolbox to study professions needs to be renewed in order to guide the analysis of changing professionalism and to shed light on ongoing processes of differentiation. Specifically, we need new analytical tools to interpret neo-liberal professionalism. The WBB model takes up this challenge and tries to look beyond the way that professions have been studied up to now.

After this brief definition of the scope of our book, we now need to remind our readers of its main implications. As explained in the Introduction (CH 1), the barriers to accessing professions are being eroded, leading to the consolidation of several processes of differentiation. Analysing the findings in the chapters demonstrates the importance of two (interrelated) processes: for private-sector professions, the increasing deregulation of their activities; for public-sector professions, the pervasiveness of new public management, where managerialist principles are transferred to the context of the public administration.

More differentiation implies more heterogeneity among professions and professionals (Parding et al. 2021). By *heterogeneity*, we mean professionals growing increasingly different from each other. There is plenty of evidence of heterogeneity illustrated in the chapters: first, the number of people who define themselves as professionals today is higher than ever; second, an increasing number of expert occupations now fall outside traditional models of professionalism and professional practice; third, the composition of the professional labour force has become progressively diversified in terms of employer organisations and employment conditions, as well as social groups and geographies. In Figure 1, a graphic representation is offered to explain how the WBB model works to interpret professional change in its interaction with social change, with *processes* of differentiation operating along three ideal *dimensions* –within, between, and beyond– to produce heterogeneity as an *outcome*.



Source: authors. Design: Jaume Badosa (http://www.jaumebadosa.cat/).

Fig. 1. A graphic representation of the WBB model

In our view, professionalism is a "discourse" that encompasses the social norms, values, and worldviews that define what is necessary for individuals to be considered competent and valuable members of a professional community (CH 1). When there is a change in the membership base, work content, workplace, and regulating institutions, this means that professionalism changes. If we merely adopted conceptions of professionalism as relying on the idea of social closure as a set of mechanisms that "detaches" professions from the rest of the world, this would not be possible. In turn, new conceptual tools are needed to understand changing professionalism.

In fact, there is nothing new about highlighting the need for a redefinition of concepts. In the recent past, several theoretical constructs have been proposed to interpret these changes, such as organisational, hybrid, and connective professionalism. Independently from the term we might choose to use, we argue that the WBB model is flexible enough to make sense of the changes brought about by neo-liberalism, which implies differentiation and increasing heterogeneity among professions and professionals.

In our work as editors, we see ourselves as artisans of empirical research into the professions: our toolbox consists of simple concepts that identify the direction and outcome of change –that is, differentiation and heterogeneity– and the ideal dimensions along which change occurs: within, between, and beyond, (see again Figure 1, above). That said, the novelty of the WBB model does not lie in the concepts themselves but in how they are combined. In the following section, we present an overall interpretation of our results.

4. Key findings by analytical dimension

In the chapters collected here, the authors have taken up the challenge of studying professionalism in the context of social change, and they have applied the WBB model to their specific cases, which involve various professions in different countries (see Table 1 below).

In this section, we will summarise the key findings along the three dimensions of the WBB model that emerged from the analysis of the twelve cases collected in this edited book. We will proceed dimension by dimension, without focusing on each specific case but trying to reveal the connections within each dimension of the WBB model.

Tab. 1 Descriptive features of the twelve chapters

Chapter	Analytical dimension	Professions studied	Countries
Bataille et al.	Within	Academics	Switzerland
Bonnin	Within	Textile designers	South Africa
Insarauto et al.	Within	Lawyers	France, Switzerland
Arcidiacono et al.	Within	Architects, lawyers, journalists, psychologists	Italy
Parding and Berg Jansson	Within	Nurses, teachers	Sweden
Bédard and Massana	Between	Doctors, engineers	French Canada
Choroszewicz	Between	Lawyers	French Canada, Finland, Poland
Parcerisa et al.	Between	Teachers	World
Lucciarini and Pulignano	Between	Photographers, video makers, lighting and sound technicians	Italy
Adams	Beyond	Self-regulating professions	British Canada
Gjata et al.	Beyond	Architects	United States
Sedda and Husson	Beyond	Social media influencers	France

4.1. The "within" dimension

The first analytical dimension under scrutiny is the "within" dimension. This dimension focuses on the differentiation that is occurring inside professions. From this perspective, the most important driver of change appears to be the proliferation of different work settings. This is directly connected with the easier access to professions caused by the relaxation of the regulations that govern professional labour markets. By work setting, we refer to "the combination of type of organization in which the professionals perform their work and their employment status" (Maestripieri 2019: 358). Indeed, the story of professions in contemporary society is a story of changing organisational logics and deregulation – in line with the cultural change introduced by neo-liberal ideologies taking root.

The sociology of professions, since Evetts (2006; 2011) and Noordegraaf (2007), has stressed the importance of organisational logics, while it has paid little attention to changing employment conditions – with only a few exceptions (see Murgia et al. 2016; Maestripieri and Cucca 2018; Cross and Swart 2019; Collins and Butler 2020). That said, the chapters collected in the "within" section (but not only in that section) testify that the types of employment status held by professionals are becoming more varied. Temporary employment, economically dependent self-employment, and other hybrid models are on the rise among professionals, who had previously not had to tolerate precarious jobs and poor working conditions. In detail, Chapter 2 by Bataille et al. shows that this phenomenon is due to the de-standardisation of employment in the academic field; Chapter 3 by Bonnin draws attention to the precarious situation of textile designers, once employed as salaried workers, and now exposed to global competition; and Chapter 6 by Parding and Berg Jansson unveils the role of temporary agency work in public welfare professions (nurses and teachers). These chapters show that non-standard employment contracts are gaining ground in professional fields. While extensive research has been dedicated to examining corporate professionalism (see Muzio et al. 2011), more research is needed to explore the diverse work settings where various ways of performing professional work take place.

However, our findings go beyond how the debate over organisational logic has been developed in the field. It is not just a question of traditional partnerships versus professional service firms. Several of the chapters highlight the role of new actors that are entering the field in ways that have nothing to do with professional bodies (e.g., work platforms in Chapter 5; collaboration practices among professionals in Chapter 8; multi-professional mutual aid organisations in Chapter 10). Intermediate bodies in professions are growing in number

and changing, opening new research directions beyond the traditional model of guild-like professions. The rise in new forms of working with one's peers, such as those in Chapters 8 and 10, proves that professionals often form different types of partnerships to protect themselves from market risks, and not necessarily to protect a specific jurisdiction or pursue a professional project. Multi-professional organisations and plural intermediate bodies are realities that are rapidly taking root – confirming what has already been seen in the field (see Maestripieri and Cucca 2018; Fleischmann et al. 2022).

The way that work settings are becoming differentiated has practical consequences for workers. There are growing inequalities among professionals who do the same job but have different employment conditions. Furthermore, inequalities are distributed along the traditional social fractures in intersectional ways: in the chapters here, young professionals (CH 2), women (CH 4), and migrant workers (CH 7) are those who experience the worst working conditions. The intersectional perspective –derived from gender studies (Crenshaw 1991; Anthias 2001)– helps us read what happens in conditions of multiple disadvantages and examine the consequences of diversity among professions and professionals (Choroszewicz and Adams, 2019). Even though professions are, in theory, more accessible than before, thanks to neo-liberal deregulation, poor working conditions are now reproduced for groups –such as women– that had previously been denied access. The worst conditions are experienced when multiple lines of disadvantages *intersect* in an individual—such as being young and being a woman. Chapter 4 by Insarauto et al. shows how young women give up on the male-centred organisational model because they find it impossible to reconcile work and family life. Chapters 2 and 4 also show how forms of segregation within professions are reproduced based on gender (e.g., in Chapter 4, women specialising in family law) or by a contractual divide (e.g., in Chapter 2, young academics with precarious working conditions adapt themselves to whatever the academic market offers, without achieving a specialisation in teaching, research, or administration).

There is more. In Chapters 3 and 5, for instance, technological change is the main driver behind the destabilisation of professional work settings. In the case of South African textile designers, the transformation of how they perform their work, with tasks that have shifted from crafting handmade designs to using computer-assisted techniques, has eroded the credentials previously requested in the sector, favouring practitioners that have IT skills. In the case of Chapter 5 by Arcidiacono et al., work platforms have replaced professional bodies and associations as the intermediate actors that clients address to hire the experts they need. In both cases, digitalisation creates a fracture between professionals who have the competencies to ride technological change (e.g., self-employed designers who sell their products on Etsy or on Instagram) and those who see their working conditions worsening without being able to protect their status (e.g., professionals dealing with low-paid "gig" work on platforms).

In conclusion, the heterogeneity that emerges empirically *within* professions can be understood as the combined effect of two processes: the de-standardisation of employment (and, specifically, the deregulation of professional labour markets) and technological change in the form of digitalisation. These changes allow new social groups to enter the professions, which leads to the exclusionary processes triggered by social closure mechanisms now being replicated within professions.

4.2. The "between" dimension

The second dimension is the "between" dimension. The analysis of this dimension looks at the multiple "geographies" of professions and professional groups, focusing on the institutional factors that influence their configurations in different contexts. What emerges is that professional systems are increasingly becoming "connective" systems (Noordegraaf, 2020), which are no longer governed by a triadic configuration of actors –state, university, and professional bodies (see Burrage and Torstendhal 1990)– but involve multiple actors who play a regulatory role at different levels: local, national, and international.

Chapter 7 by Bédard and Massana examines the case of foreign-trained professionals (doctors and engineers) and reveals that recognising their qualifications and competencies is not a prerogative of professional bodies but involves a chain of actors. Similarly, Chapter 9 by Parcerisa et al. shows how educational reforms are carried out by a variable geometry of institutional actors, depending on the specific configuration of professional systems. In addition, Chapter 10 by Lucciarini and Pulignano testifies that professionals – especially those working in flexible organisational domains, such as creatives– can become partners in a way that does not follow traditional patterns within given jurisdictions, but following their own contingent interests – based, for instance, on a shared work setting.

Clients also play a key role in determining how a profession operates. In this regard, the concept of "client professionalisation" was coined to mean that the way that the needs of client organisations contribute to shaping professionalism (Salman 2019). Following this line of reasoning, Chapter 8 by Choroszewicz demonstrates that clients influence professionalism even in an influential self-regulating profession such as law. Indeed, two of the five strategies the author identifies are developed by looking at the client's characteristics.

As highlighted by Chapters 7 and 9, there is nevertheless a contradiction between systems of professions that are country-based and the globalised market of professional services. Multinational corporations, transnational projects, and boundaryless careers go beyond a state's regulation capacity and the reach of professional bodies, giving rise to new challenges that imply further regulation efforts at the international level as professional mobility increases. This calls into question professional power and the related capacity to put pressure on regulatory systems that had once been presided over by professional bodies, and which continue to be organised at the national or sometimes even the local level (CH 11).

Chapter 9 in particular shows how professionalism depends on the institutional system in which professionals are embedded, suggesting that organisational and market logics play different roles in different systems. The authors argue that processes of de-professionalisation and loss of professional autonomy might be at stake in professions and depend on the capacity of professionals to govern the deregulation process. Here, a new line of research emerges that calls attention to how the actors involved manage to translate the new public management into practice and sees this as a critical variable in understanding the possible negative outcomes of this process.

In brief, the empirical evidence provided in this section questions the centrality of the professional project, which is now challenged by neo-liberal professionalism. Professions are now increasingly relying on the market and organisations as the loci of professional dominance. Hybridisation is key to interpreting these changes, and it is no longer possible to view professionalism as something separate from the influence exerted on it that comes from outside professional groups (Noordegraaf 2020).

4.3. The "beyond" dimension

The third dimension is the "beyond" dimension. Using this lens, we focus on the relationship between professions and society. Doing so allows us to "square the circle": it enables us to understand how social change influences professions and, in turn, how professions contribute to shaping social change. As has been pointed out in the Introduction (CH 1), two alternative approaches can be identified here. The first consists of looking at professionals as "institutional agents" –Scott's (2008) "lords of the dance"– who are committed to reproducing or changing institutions. The second implies looking at the role played by professionals in society at large, when they bend their professionalism to "higher" purposes such as engaging in activism or advocating for causes of public interest. In both cases, nevertheless, the discourse of professionalism is –more or less explicitly– laid out as a basis for claiming public recognition.

Falling into the first category, Chapter 11 by Adams shows how the regulation of professions, even self-regulating professions, has been redefined over the years as a result of the interaction of various stakeholders, including consumers, state actors, employers, and other experts – influenced in turn by social change. This contribution brings to light how rising distrust in professions, combined with the neo-liberal rhetoric, has facilitated the introduction of managerialist principles such as accountability, efficiency, and standardisation in professional domains. On the other hand, it provides evidence of the persisting power of professions which, in the long run, have proven capable of reshaping their relationship with the state to preserve and even extend their self-regulating role.

Chapters 12 and 13 have both adopted the second approach, although they each focus on different professions and look at the phenomenon –professionals serving the public– from different perspectives. As a matter of fact, Chapter 12 by Gjata et al. attests that professionals (architects) organise around social problems in different ways, either expanding their professional work into other professional ecologies or translating social justice issues into their own profession. When addressing social problems, they develop relationships across institutional boundaries, which contribute to shaping their professionalism. On the other hand, Chapter 13 by Sedda and Husson, which examines the paradigmatic case of social media influencers –who engender a notion of professionalism that is based on reputation, market success, and personal relationships– shows how

promoting social and political causes can itself be a path toward professionalisation. In this sense, professionals' social influence may favour self-interest over the public interest.

These cases suggest that professionals do not act in a vacuum but are subjected to external influences, which seems to support Noordegraaf's (2020) main argument about connective professionalism. However, if Chapter 11, and in part Chapter 12, bring evidence to confirm the objection made by Alvehus et al. (2020) that connective professionalism is mostly about strengthening professionalism's protective shields, Chapter 13 proves that, when driven by the market, professionalisation follows less constrictive paths, leading to the formation of communities of interest rather than communities of practice (as professional communities tend to be seen). Accordingly, emerging professions may be regarded as neo-liberal agents, understood as an *epistemic community* –namely "a network of professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area" (Haas 1992: 3)– that promotes the neo-liberal project.

5. Moving towards a fuller picture: concluding remarks and future directions

Coming to the end of this book, we are satisfied that we have met our challenge to prove the heuristic capacity of the WBB model as a flexible analytical framework that allows us to take advantage of theoretical pluralism and to look at a complex phenomenon –professional change in its interaction with social change– from multiple angles. The collected chapters have examined many professions, either established or emerging ones, in different countries and regions of the world, adopting either case-study or comparative approaches. To do so, they have taken up different theoretical perspectives and used various notions of professionalism. Moreover, they have studied different processes of change and forms of professional change. This concluding chapter has tackled the job of putting the pieces together to identify thematic patterns and theoretical links: a challenge within a challenge.

Based on the empirical evidence provided in the twelve chapters and the overall interpretation of it made in this final contribution, we can affirm that professionalism remains an essential conceptual tool in the study of professions in contemporary society. The flexibility of the term enables scholars to crystallise complex aspects of changing professional work in evocative synthetic definitions that are easy to use for interpretive purposes.

However, caution is required when using this concept, as it maintains an implicit normative value. In particular, when it is used to interpret the rise of emerging professions as the professionalisation of occupations at the margins of the professional field, based on market regulation, it may pose a twofold risk: on the one hand, it might have the paradoxical effect of providing new grounds for the legitimisation of an established system of inequality that relies on the distinction between professions and occupations, implicitly admitting the superiority of the former over the latter; on the other hand, it might feed neo-liberal rhetoric and provide justifications for ever-increasing openness to the market, in turn bringing with it new forms of inequality.

The term neo-liberal professionalism that is used in this chapter might suffer from the same contradiction. The adjective "neo-liberal" makes the normative value of the notion of professionalism explicit. Indeed, neo-liberalism has assumed an ideological connotation over the years, suggesting that its possible uses in research mostly have critical purposes (see Boas and Gans-Morse 2009; Venugopal 2015). In our opinion, nevertheless, the benefits of using the term outweigh the risks, although we do need to clarify some points.

When we introduced this term, we did not intend to propose an alternative model of professionalism. As a matter of fact, this concept is compatible with the most well-known theoretical formulations that aim to interpret professional change, from Hanlon's (1996) commercialised professionalism to Noordegraaf's (2020) connective professionalism. Its added value is that it puts emphasis on the underlying regulatory model as the variable that determines the direction of change. Precisely, it assumes *deregulation* as the key to making professional labour markets more accessible, open, and diverse, at the cost of rising inequalities within and between professional groups, and with the risk of establishing an ambiguous relationship between professions and society. In other words, it indicates that professions are becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of employment and working conditions due to a decline in self-regulation and the growing role of market regulation. On the one hand, collegiate professions seem capable of defending their self-regulating power to a certain extent, but can no longer ensure their members prerogatives such as high earnings, autonomy, or job security, due to profound changes in their social composition (Alacevich et al. 2017; Maestripieri and Cucca 2018). On the other hand, emerging professions follow atypical professionalisation paths and even embrace

the ethos of counter-professionalisation (Avnoon and Sela-Sheffy 2021), which means becoming exposed to market risks with no safety nets. Generally, professions today are less monadic. They are more open to the outside world but are more heterogeneous and unequal.

That said, referring to contemporary professionalism as *neo-liberal* professionalism forces us to reflect on a fundamental question. Collegiate professions are *institutionalised* systems of inequality based on exclusionary closure (professions versus occupations), while emerging professions are *market-driven* systems of inequality that rely primarily on reputational and relational mechanisms ("good" versus "bad" professionals). Both are systems that propagate inequality. Moreover, they intersect with other systems of inequality, such as age, gender, ethnicity, class, and many others. As such, they give rise to complex social structures. In light of this, it is not possible to say that one model is fairer than the other. A fruitful way of addressing the problem of inequalities in professions might be to go back to how they originate in regulatory processes.

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