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Academic Performance and Other Psychological, Social and Family Factors in Compulsory Secondary Education Students in a Multicultural Context

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Academic Performance and Other Psychological, Social and Family Factors in Compulsory Secondary Education Students in a Multicultural Context

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Abstract

This work aims to transfer research on academic achievement in compulsory secondary education (CSE) students (12-18 years) from personal factors to others of a psychosocial or sociological type, in a Spanish center with a high level of immigration, which welcome students from twenty eight nationalities whose percentage is about 60%. A second objective was to develop a brief measurement instrument to predict academic achievement, being the main dependent variable the number of suspended subjects in all three course evaluations, finding an “optimal constellation of variables” which may be more likely to achieve better academic achievement. 317 students of Secondary Education were part of this research in a public center of Zaragoza (Aragon-Spain) who were given an “ad hoc” Family Settings, Psychosocial and Contextual Questionnaire” whose factorial analysis yielded three factors: Context Immigration, Family Settings and academic autobiographical history and study habits. Finally, we analyzed the differences found among students from different continents, trying to find sociocultural foundations and optimal conditions that can explain these differences. Further analysis allows us to glimpse a configuration of the most important variables that point to a hypothetical “academic success” in this educational field where there is great ethnic and cultural diversity.

Keywords: academic performance, compulsory secondary education, ethnic and cultural diversity, family settings, contextual variables
Rendimiento Académico y Otros Factores Psicológicos, Sociales y Familiares en Estudiantes de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria en un Contexto Multicultural

Miguel Ángel Broc
Universidad de Zaragoza

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Resumen

En este trabajo se intentó abordar el problema del rendimiento académico en alumnos de educación secundaria obligatoria (12-18 años) desde perspectivas más sociológicas, psicosociales o contextuales relativamente alejadas de modelos personales-endógenos, con el fin de encontrar variables o factores supuestamente más relacionados con las culturas y costumbres de los alumnos de un centro público de enseñanza secundaria de Zaragoza (España) multicultural, con alto nivel de inmigración y con alumnos de hasta veintiocho nacionalidades distintas. 317 alumnos formaron parte de esta investigación diseñándose un cuestionario “ad hoc” de Configuraciones Familiares, Psicosociales y Contextuales cuyo análisis factorial arrojó tres factores: Contexto de Inmigración, Configuración Familiar e Historia autobiográfica académica y hábitos de estudio. El programa Lisrel arrojó unos índices de bondad de ajuste del modelo justos pero suficientes. Finalmente, se analizaron las diferencias existentes encontradas entre los alumnos de los distintos continentes, tratando de extraer las condiciones óptimas donde puede ser más probable conseguir un hipotético éxito académico, mostradas a través del análisis de varianza de un factor.

Palabras clave: logro académico, educación secundaria obligatoria, diversidad étnica y cultural, configuraciones familiares, variables contextuales.
The search for causal relationships between independent variables and academic performance is a complex and elusive issue as smoke that looks, smells, feels, but when you want to catch fades and you are out of hand. Although from a historical point of view, initially many empirical studies have been carried out starting from inherent to the subject endogenous independent variables, from the psychology of traits (Broc, 2015; Schuerger, 2005), or from prospects intelligence and skills based on a differential and psychometric approach (Andrés, 1996), many studies based on these approaches, which correlate certain variables with other not usually arrive generally overcome explaining about 50% of the variance of change in the dependent variables (in our case performance), from independent, so a new search for factors and variables that help explain the relationships from paradigms or more ecological approaches (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) believe necessary, cultural (Bruner, 1990; Cole, 1992, 1999) or contextual (Valsiner & Winegar, 1992; Cohen & Siegel, 1991; Lacasa, 1994), which provide new data to progress in the construction of new more comprehensive theoretical models and integrators in this line.

The issue of academic performance has always figured prominently in the social and educational countryside and its relationship with certain mediating variables such as self-concept (Broc, 2000, 2014; Harter, 2012), motivation and volition (Broc, 2006, 2012), or from more complex theoretical models (Broc, 2011, 2017), etc., which supposedly affect it, still many factors that influence, reaching the conclusion that this relationship is multi-causal and affects different planes or levels of analysis. The number of publications on this construct is very high and we do not intend here to make any systematic review and meta-analysis studies, but to clarify the incidence of other more peripheral or secondary variables but no less important. A set of family, psychosocial and contextual variables "a priori" are considered, which can affect performance so this study be framed within a closer evolutionary paradigm to ecological perspectives and life cycle arises in this work, but also with elements of quantitative and correlational approach ("ex post facto").

**Objectives**

1) Design and test the effectiveness of a measuring instrument family-
psychosocial variables, and context in compulsory secondary education students designed "ad hoc" and reduce the dimensions by analysis of categorical principal components, or in its ordinary case.

2) Empirically detect independent variables that enter into the equation predicting academic performance, detected by analyzing categorical or linear regression, based on an analysis of previous correlation between them.

3) To analyze the impact of family and contextual on academic performance and find variables, if possible, a constellation of "best" variables to predict a greater likelihood of success in school students and families in which they appear.

Methods

Design

The design of this study is retrospective "ex post facto" because the independent and dependent variables are already given in advance and try to find or reconstruct the events back, possible causes or independent variables that have caused the response (León & Montero, 1998; Fontes de Gracia, García Garriga, Pérez-Llantada & Sarriá, 2001).

Participants

The Center where conducted this research (IES El Portillo) is located at an average, medium-low area of Zaragoza capital and is representative as a public secondary school, one of the most diverse student presents all the Autonomous community. 317 high school students participated in this study, of whose 163 were men and 154 women. The racial courses were: 1 = 79 (M = 48 and 31 W); 2nd = 88 (44 M and 44 W); 3rd = 78 (34 M and 44 W); and 4 = 72 (37 M and 35 W). The proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

The distribution by country of origin of the students was as follows: Algeria (1, 3%), Brazil (2, 3%), Bulgaria (1, 3%), Chile (3, 9%), China (7, 2.2%), Colombia (6, 1.9%), Costa Rica (1, 3%), Cuba (2, 6%), Dominican Republic (11, 3.5%), Ecuador (24, 7.6%), El Salvador (2, 6%), Spain (145,
45.7%), Gambia (12.3.8%), Ghana (19, 6%), Guatemala (4, 1.3%), Guinea (6, 1.9%), Honduras (5, 1.6%), Mali (1, 3%), Morocco (4, 1.3%), Mauritania (1, 3%), Nicaragua (12, 3.8%), Pakistan (1, 3%), Palestine (1, 3%), Romania (42, 13.2%), Senegal (2, 6%), Tunisia (1, 3%), Uruguay (1, 3%), Venezuela (1, 3%).

Students grouped by Continents and sex were: Spain: 145 (76 M and 69 W); Eastern Europe: 42 (23 M and 19 W); Asia: 9 (5 M and 4 W); Central and South America: 74 (34 M and 40 W); Africa: 47 (25 M and 22 W). The number of immigrant children or children of immigrants is 175 (55.2%) and native of 142 (44.8%), not being significant difference in favor of either group (\( F = 3.061, p = .081 \)). It can be said that the proportion of immigrants and natives is about the same. The number of students per course depending on the Continent is presented in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>1st CSE</th>
<th>2nd CSE</th>
<th>3rd CSE</th>
<th>4th CSE</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12.9%)</td>
<td>(7.9%)</td>
<td>(12.3%)</td>
<td>(12.65%)</td>
<td>(45.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.9%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>(3.2%)</td>
<td>(2.2%)</td>
<td>(13.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.6%)</td>
<td>(0.9%)</td>
<td>(0.6%)</td>
<td>(0.6%)</td>
<td>(2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(8.8%)</td>
<td>(5.7%)</td>
<td>(3.8%)</td>
<td>(23%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4.4%)</td>
<td>(4.1%)</td>
<td>(2.8%)</td>
<td>(3.5%)</td>
<td>(14.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>África</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24.9%)</td>
<td>(27.8%)</td>
<td>(24.6%)</td>
<td>(22.7%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Materials and Variables**

The material used is a questionnaire Family, psychosocial and contextual settings 30 issues whose variables take different values depending on their dichotomous nature or polytomous nominal, ordinal or interval, and is presented in Annex 1. The results of a exploratory factor analysis principal component, considering all the variables, ultimately, as numerical and
categorical analysis of other major components (CATPCA) optimal scaling type being subsequently presented fairly similar results.

The dependent variable was operationalized in two ways: a) Sum of scores (quantitative, continuous, numerical interval, with a range of 11 to 110, since there are eleven subjects and the minimum score on each is one and the maximum ten); b) Number of failures, quantitative, numerical ratio, with the rank of zero-no suspense at-all eleven failures). The variable "number of failures" sheds \( M = 2.67 \) and \( SD = 2.99 \); the variable "sum of scores" an \( M = 51.60 \) and \( SD = 18.64 \), and the same variable "typified sum of scores" an \( M = 0.00 \) and \( SD = 1 \). Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for a sample applied to this variable in triple format a statistics throws 20 (\( Sig., \ p < .00 \)) .06 (\( Sig., \ p < 0.00 \)) and .06 (\( Sig., \ p < 0.00 \)), respectively (correction Lilliefors in significance), adjusting to a normal curve.

**Typology of Independent Variables**


**Procedure**

The questionnaire was designed considering contextual variables and peripheral struggling with the guardians of all courses of the ESO and modifying some items that might be somewhat confusing or unclear was designed. Subsequently, all prospective students of the Center administered at end of year (June 2015) mainly in tutorial hours. If a student / a it was not in the institute warned him and when he came to the beginning of the next course (several months later), was administered under the same conditions, in order to avoid the largest number of lost cases. The data was entered into the editor of SPSS, version 22, and proceeded to make all relevant statistical analysis. The final scores of students were obtained with the permission of the management team, the Board of teacher evaluation and reports of some students or their parents who did not consent to those who were asked in writing prior to administration discarded.
Results and Discussion

In this research we used the statistical programs \textit{Spss} (version 22) and \textit{Lisrel} 8.51. First they were conducted a principal component analysis of the questionnaire, both categorical (CATPCA) and regular (EFA), in order to compare the results. Three main components are hypothesized. Later regression analysis all variables were performed, and after the most important on the dependent variable sum of qualifications and number of failures. Finally, analysis of variance of each variable was conducted separately, depending on certain factors, in order to deepen and better understand these variables. As the scaling level of the variables was numerically and the results were clearer, it chose to present data from the analysis of linear main components (exploratory), although the results were quite similar to those obtained by CATPA.

Principal Components Analysis Exploratory twenty eight and twelve variables

For all variables the $KMO = .76$, with Bartlett test of sphericity, with a Chi-square approximation of 2824.557, and $df = 378$; $Sig. = .00$, advised a factorization, to a solution of three factors. In a second analysis for the twelve variables selected with higher factor loadings, the $KMO$ was similar to perform a factorization ($KMO = .749$; Bartlett test of sphericity = 1827.589, $df = 66$, $Sig = .00$). Results obtained using variables 28 and 12 (in brackets) are shown in Table 2 (Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis; Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization).

One could conclude that a reduction of 28 items to 12 increases the total explained variance of 35% to 62% and that these elements can be grouped into 3 main factors: Factor \textit{Context of Immigration}, with four items including continent of origin, born or not in Spain, being an immigrant or child of immigrant versus native and time in years of residence in Spain in three sections (1-6, 7-12 and 13-19 years). The second factor \textit{Family settings}, that would include three items: family size, number of siblings and ordinal place that occupies at birth. The third and final factor called \textit{Academic autobiographical history and study habits}, with five items that include daily hours of study, whether or not repeat a course in primary
and/or secondary education, whether or not study weekends and finally, negative attitude towards motivating study. The goodness of fit indices of the model are presented in Table 3.
Table 2.
Principal Components Analysis of 28 and 12 variables, and their corresponding structure matrix (correlations of the reduced matrix in brackets).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% of Variance</td>
<td>Cumulative %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.09 (3.77)</td>
<td>18.19 (31.39)</td>
<td>18.19 (31.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.51 (1.98)</td>
<td>8.95 (16.52)</td>
<td>27.14 (47.91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.17 (1.67)</td>
<td>7.76 (13.91)</td>
<td><strong>34.89 (61.82)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Component 1</td>
<td>Component 2</td>
<td>Component 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of brothers</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>,73 (.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy place</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>,50 (.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade level</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>,25 (.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continent</td>
<td><strong>.86 (.88)</strong></td>
<td>.35 (-.29)</td>
<td>,25 (.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Nationality</td>
<td><strong>.93 (-.96)</strong></td>
<td>.32 (-.28)</td>
<td>,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant or son of immigrant</td>
<td>-.93 (.95)</td>
<td>-.34 (.30)</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated parents</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>,35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family size</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>,76 (.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast (yes or not)</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>,07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents are gone</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>,24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents help the study</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and mother return home late</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>,36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily hours of study</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.62 (.69)</td>
<td>,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same daily hours of study</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>,19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the same hours</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study room</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>,27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father or mother help</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education repeated (one year)</td>
<td>-.24 (.22)</td>
<td>-.40 (.42)</td>
<td>-.33 (-.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education repeat (1 or 2 years)</td>
<td>-.28 (.27)</td>
<td>-.53 (.63)</td>
<td>,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week-End study at home</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.62 (-.74)</td>
<td>,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like to study</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to stop studying</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.58 (.67)</td>
<td>,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon I’m alone</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>,45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I live with my parents</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother works (or not)</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>,40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father works (or not)</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence time in Spain</td>
<td><strong>-.80 (.82)</strong></td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>,10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3

| Goodness of fit indices of the three factor model and twelve variables |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| $\chi^2$        | Df  | $\chi^2/2$ | RMSEA | GFI | AGFI | RMR | SRMR | NFI  | NNFI | CFI  |
| 51.39           | 44  | 1.17      | [0.0-0.023] | 0.97 | 0.95 | 0.067 | 0.042 | 0.97 | 0.99 | 1.00 |
|                |     | < 3       | 0.046]   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

The $p$-value = 0.207 (must be greater than .05) and the quotient between the Chi-square value and the degrees of freedom is less than three (1.17), and all other parameters conform to the established norm by Hooper, Coughlan and Mullen (2008), so it can be maintained that this model, in general, seems to fit quite well. A path diagram is shown in Figure 1.

![Path Diagram and model fit indices](image)

Chi-Square=51.39, df=44, $p$-value=0.20684, RMSEA=0.023

Figure 1. Path Diagram and model fit indices
Correlation Analysis

Correlations between independent variables and the dependent variable number of failures and sum of scores are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Correlations (Pearson) between independent variables with number of failures and sum of scores as dependent variables (N = 317)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Number of failures</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>Sum of scores in matters</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of brothers</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy place</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country-Continent</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.33**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish nationality?</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.35**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmigrant/or son/daughter of</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence time in Spain</td>
<td>-.33**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.38**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With whom I live at home?</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated parents?</td>
<td>-.15**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of separated years</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total family members</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother works?</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father works?</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I eat breakfast every day?</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.27**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents are gone</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents return home late</td>
<td>-.25**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study hours</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study the same hours</td>
<td>.13*</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study at the same times</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study room</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.26**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents help the study</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education repeat (a year)</td>
<td>-.26**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education repeat (one or two years)</td>
<td>-.41**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.50**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week-End study at home</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.35**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like to study</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to stop studying</td>
<td>-.40**</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.38**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon I’m alone</td>
<td>-.15*</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Significant Correlation, p < .01 (2-tailed)
* Significant Correlation, p < .05 (2-tailed)
Regression Analysis

If you select the dependent variable "number of failures", a regression analysis yields a model that includes 6 variables with a $R^2 = 0.358$, standard error of estimate = 2.41 and a change in the significance of $F = .03$ (Durbin Watson = 1.98). The beta coefficients and the corresponding prediction equation are:

Number of failures = 10,807 - 1.75*(I want to stop studying) - 1.29 *(Repeated secondary education) - .62 *(Residence time in Spain) + .93*(Week-End study at home) -.99 *(Repeated primary Education) - .67 *(Parents return home late).

With the independent variable "Sum of grades" in all academic subjects, the model is as follows:

Table 5. Summary of Model$^h$ of predictor variables on academic performance (Sum of grades)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>Std. Error of estimate</th>
<th>Change $R^2$</th>
<th>Change in F</th>
<th>df1</th>
<th>df2</th>
<th>Sig. F Change</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>16.12</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>104.86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>15.29</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>35.91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>14.72</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>26.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>14.21</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>23.49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>14.07</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>7.31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>13.93</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>7.07</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>.67$^g$</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$g$. Predictors: (Constant), Repeated Secondary Education, I want to stop of studying, Residence time in Spain, Repeated Primary Education, Parents return home late, Father works, Week-End study at home

$h$. Dependent variable: Sum of grades
Table 6. Beta coefficients of the prediction model over the “sum of grades” dependent variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>95% IC for B Lower Bound</th>
<th>95% IC for B Upper Bound</th>
<th>Corr. Partial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-.519</td>
<td>7.61</td>
<td>-.68</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-20.18</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated Secondary Education</td>
<td>11.26</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>7.79</td>
<td>14.74</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to stop of studying</td>
<td>9.06</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence time in Spain</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated Primary Education course</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents return home late</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father works</td>
<td>-.423</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-2.46</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.71</td>
<td>-.85</td>
<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week-end study at home</td>
<td>-3.61</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-2.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-7.12</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Dependent variable: Sum of all grades

This model with the variable "sum of grades" provides a $R^2 = 0.456$ (ANOVA, $F = 36.89$, $p < .00$) compared to the "number of failures" which is .358, so we opted for the first. The prediction equation the sum final grade will be:

Sum of obtained grades = -.519 + 11.26*Repeated Secondary Education + 9.06*I want to stop to studying + 4.35*Residence time in Spain + 9.16*Repeated Primary Education course + 4.37*Parents return home late – 4.23*Father works – 3.61*Week-end study at home.

Analysis of Academic Performance

The average of the sum of scores (grades) on immigrant students or children of immigrants is lower and statistically significant $M = 45.62$ ($SD = 17.03$) and $N = 175$, compared to that of native students $M = 58.97$ ($SD = 17.92$) and $N = 142$; ANOVA, $F = 45.98$ df (1, 315), $p < .00$ Similar results are
obtained if used as the dependent variable the average number of failures (Spain $M = 1.62$, $SD = 2.44$; Eastern Europe $M = 3.52$, $SD = 3.26$; Asia $M = 1$, $SD = 1.41$; Latin America $M = 4.01$, $SD = 3.25$; and Africa $M = 3.34$ and $SD = 2.81$). There are statistically significant differences in the dependent variable average number of failures (or sum of obtained degrees), depending on the continents of the students or their families come from.

*Levene* statistic $= 7.48$, $df_1 = 4$, $df_2 = 312$, $Sig. = .00$, ANOVA, $F = 11.78$ ($df_4 312$) $p < .00$. Post Hoc test (tests LSD) and Tamhane yield statistically significant differences ($p < .05$) from the following countries: Spain with all except Asia and the latter with all except Spain; Eastern Europe with Spain and Asia but not with America and Africa; America with Spain and Asia but not in Africa and Eastern Europe, and Africa with Spain and Asia but not in Eastern Europe and America. Three sections of variable time period is significant between the first period (1-6) years and two (7-12) and (13-19), but not between the latter two.

Academic performance (number of failures) is statistically significant in terms of the Separated Parents variable (Yes/No). For the children of separated parents ($N = 104$, $M = 3.32$ average of failures; $SD = 3.26$) compared to not separated ($N = 213$; $M = 2.35$, $SD = 2.80$). The way ANOVA shows an $F = 7.443$, $df (1, 315)$, $Sig. = .00$. The *Levene* statistic $= 8.13$, $Sig. = 0.005$, indicating that the variances are inhomogeneous samples between those students. Statistical *Welch and Brown-Forsythe* also showed statistical $p$ values $< .05$.

The average number of failures by course only provides statistically significant differences between the 4th year and everyone else, but not between 1st to 3rd taken in pairs (*Post Hoc Test-LSD*). This could indicate a general tendency of teachers to approve more students in order to promote and obtain the final qualification. It can be seen that the average number of failures is 1.58 in 4th year, interesting fact since obtaining the title is awarded to two subjects not overcome if it is considered that the student has achieved the minimum objectives. For first secondary education course ($N = 79$, $M = 2.73$ and $SD = 3.07$), in 2nd ($N = 88$, $M = 2.80$ and $SD = 2.89$) in 3rd ($N = 78$, $M = 3.46$, $SD = 3.20$) and to 4th ($N = 72$, $M = 1.58$ and $SD = 2.47$).

No statistically significant differences are showed in the variable number of failures by gender. For males ($N = 163$, $M = 2.74$, $SD = 3.00$) and women ($N = 154$, $M = 2.60$, $SD = 2.98$), with $F = .17$, $df (1, 315)$, $Sig. = .68$, 

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**Broc – Academic Performance**
although the sum of degrees variable itself that marks the difference is statistically significant and higher in women with an $M = 53.75$ and $SD = 19.97$, compared with an $M = 49.57$ and $SD = 17.10$ in males, being the value of $F = 4.01$, and $Sig. = .046$.

Both the number of failures as the sum of degrees are lower and higher, respectively, in students who eat breakfast every day ($N = 214$, $M = 2.08$, $SD = 2.62$, Anova $F$, in number of failures $= 27.33$, $df$ (1 315), $Sig. = .00$ and sum of scores obtained in the subjects, $M = 55.07$ and $SD = 18.21$, $F = 24.47$, $Sig. = .00$), compared to those who do not eat breakfast daily ($N = 103$, $M = 3.88$ and $SD = 3.33$) in the variable number of failures and a $M = 44.40$ and $SD = 17.50$ in sum of scores in the matters. The latter almost double in the number of failures to students whose eat breakfast. Moreover, the percentage of immigrants who eat breakfast is $30\%$ (95) and $37.5\%$ (119) in the local population, and the percentage of those who do not eat breakfast every day is $25.2\%$ (80) immigrants compared with $7.3\%$ (23) in the locals. ($Pearson \ Chi-Square = 31.14$, $df$1, bilateral asymptotic significance $= .00$.

No statistically significant differences in the dependent variables depending on whether the parents are gone or not to work in the morning before the child to go to school can be reported, although the number of failures slightly higher in children whose parents are gone and the sum of obtained scores in the matters lower.

However, significant differences can be reported in the dependent variables depending on whether or not parents help their children in school, look on the other hand, understandable. Children who are helped by one of their parents obtained an average of failures $M = 1.90$, $SD = 2.98$, $N = 77$, compared with an $M = 2.92$, $SD = 2.95$, $N = 240$, in children whose parents they do not help them or cannot help them. ($ANOVA F = 6.93$, $Sig. = .009$).

A similar pattern is observed if the variable Father and Mother come late to work is used. Students whose parents come late to work get a greater number of failures ($N = 101$, $M = 3.77$, $SD = 3.22$) and a lower sum of obtained scores in the matters ($M = 44.57$, $SD = 17.60$), that students whose parents no return late at home ($N = 216$, $M = 2.15$, $SD = 2.79$) in number of failures, and $M = 54.88$ and $SD = 18.23$ in sum of scores obtained in matters, with $F = 21.53$, $Sig. = .00$ and $F = 22.49$, and $Sig. = .00$, respectively.

A surprising fact is the finding of no differences in study hours depending on the course, whose means are not significant between any
course of four that make up the stage. In first of secondary education \((N = 79, M = 1.15, SD = .84)\), in 2nd \((N = 88, M = 1.26, SD = .99)\) in 3rd \((N = 78, M = 1.54, SD = 1.17)\) and in 4th \((N = 72, M = 1.29, SD = .81)\), with \(F (ANOVA) = 2.24, df 3 31,\) and \(Sig. = .08.\) This indicates that students no longer study in subsequent academic years, but in all of them, the average number of hours devoted to the study is the same.

Moreover, students who study the same hours \((N = 137, M = 2.24 and SD = 2.56)\) also obtain a lower average number of failures, versus those who do not \((N = 180, M = 2.99, SD = 3.24)\), with an \(F (ANOVA) = 5.01, df 1 315,\) \(Sig. = .03,\) although the sum of scores does not become significant.

In the variable studying at the same times, statistically significant differences between the two groups of students reappear. Those who have become accustomed to study at the same times \((N = 139, M = 1.78, SD = 2.35)\) obtained a smaller number of failures that those who study at different times \((N = 178, M = 3.17, SD = 3.24)\) with an \(F = 23.64, df 1 315,\) \(Sig. = .00,\) and also get a larger sum of final marks the first \((M = 58.6, SD = 17.06)\) compared to those who study at different times \((M = 46.56, SD = 18.30)\), with \(F = 32.71,\) \(Sig. = .00.\)

A similar pattern is obtained by comparing students to have a room to study in relation to which no. The first obtained an average number of failures lower \((N = 251, M = 2.34, SD = 2.78)\) compared to those who do not \((N = 66, M = 3.91, SD = 3.42)\), \(F = 15.00, df 1 315,\) \(Sig. = 0.00.\) And so does the sum of scores obtained in the matters for those who do have room \((M = 54.04, SD = 17.99)\) compared to those without \((M = 42.30, SD = 18.24)\), with \(F = 22.13, p < .05.\)

It may say the same with respect to variable repeated primary education. Students repeated gain greater number of failures \((N = 74, M = 4.08, SD = 3.19)\) than those who did not repeat a year \((N = 243, M = 2.24, SD = 2.79)\), with \(F = 23.08, df 1 315,\) \(Sig. = .00). The first obtained a sum of scores in the matters lower \((M = 39.88, SD = 14.90)\) compared to those without \((M = 55.17, SD = 18.21)\), \(F = 43.29,\) \(Sig. = .00.\)

These differences are similar, but more pronounced in the number of failures, if we compare students who have repeated a year in Secondary Education \((N = 129, M = 4.12, SD = 3.2)\) compared to those without \((N = 188, M = 1.67, SD = 2.37)\), with \(F = 61.50, df 1, 315,\) \(Sig. = .00.\) Similarly, in the sum of scores obtained in the matters, the repeaters \((M = 40.29, SD =
14.03) compared to those without \((M = 59.36, SD = 17.42)\), with \(F = 106.84, Sig. = .00\).

The comparison between the number of failures in the students studying the weekends \((N = 185, M = 1.74, SD = 2.37)\) is lower than those who do not \((N = 132, M = 3.97, SD = 3.27)\) with an \(F = 49.47, df 1 315\), and \(Sig. = .00\). And conversely occurs with the sum of scores that is higher in the first \((M = 57.16, SD = 17.61)\) compared to those without \((M = 43.81, SD = 17.25)\), with \(F = 45.00; Sig. = .00\).

The comparison between students whose like to study and those who cannot provide a different pattern. In this case, no statistically significant differences between them are showed although students who like to study \((N = 103, M = 2.24 and SD = 2.77)\) the number of failures is slightly less than those who do not like \((N = 214, M = 2.87, SD = 3.07)\), and similarly in the sum of scores obtained in the matters. This may be due to the set of response or to give socially acceptable answers. Even if that is true, the problem is that many students who say they like the study, do not have and/or implement motivational and volitional actions to start and complete the process, having internal resistance as the lack of habits study, lack of tolerance to frustration, lack of effort, delay gratification and affecting the implementation of the conduct in question. This phenomenon needs further investigation and has been treated elsewhere (Broc, 2012).

However the item referred to want to stop studying does not have connotations of social desirability and not all students are able to externalize it, even though it is implicit in them, yielding more clearly the performance, on the other hand, understandable. In this case, those who wish to stop studying \((N = 71, M = 4.92, SD = 3.05)\) obtained a greater number of failures that students who do not want to leave the studies \((N = 246, M = 2.02, SD = 2.64)\), with \(F = 461.83, df 1 315, Sig. = .00\). The sum of scores obtained in the all matters is on the same line \((M = 38.32, SD = 15.94)\) versus what you do not want \((M = 55.43, SD = 17.59)\), with \(F = 52.25, Sig. = .00\), being higher in these last ones.

In the variable I'm home alone in the evenings, the same pattern as in the variable above is repeated. Those who are alone \((N = 79, M = 3.47, SD = 3.07)\) get higher failure rates than those with a parent \((N = 238, M = 2.40, SD = 2.92)\), with \(F = 7.70, df 1 315, Sig = .00\), and in line with the sum of scores
in the first group ($M = 45.86$, $SD = 17.08$), versus those who are not alone ($M = 53.50$, $SD = 18.77$), $F = 10.27$, $Sig. = .001$.

In the variable *I live with my parents versus other configurations*, repeats the same pattern. Those who live with both parents ($N = 297$, $M = 2.56$, $SD = 2.95$) the average number of failures is less than those living in other family configurations ($N = 20$, $M = 4.25$, $SD = 3.23$), with $F = 6.08$, $Sig. = .014$. Parallel in sum of scores in the matters, those living with both parents ($M = 52.34$, $SD = 18.47$) compared to those without ($M = 40.65$, $SD = 18.13$), $F = 7.52$, $Sig. = .006$.

In the case of *working mother*, the results are significant in the average number of failures in favor of working mother, compared to those who do not ($N = 220$, $M = 2.94$, $SD = 3.15$) compared to that the mother does not work ($N = 97$, $M = 2.05$, $SD = 2.99$). Regarding the sum of scores in the matters, differences are not statistically significant.

The pattern obtained when the *father is working or not working* is similar but also significant in the sum of scores. In the case of working ($N = 211$, $M = 2.26$, $SD = 2.81$), the number of failures in the students is less than if it does not work ($N = 106$, $M = 3.48$, $SD = 3.16$), $F = 12.19$, $Sig. = 0.00$, being sum of scores $M = 54.92$, $SD = 18.52$, in the case of work, compared to an $M = 44.99$, $SD = 17.12$, in the case of not working, with $F = 21.31$, and $Sig. = .00$.

**Number of Siblings and Family Size**

The average of failures depending on the number of siblings (four sections 1, 2, 3-5 and 6-9) shows an increasing trend of failures from the 2nd brother on, but becomes significant, except between groups 2 and 3-5 brothers. A brother ($N = 55$, $M = 2.62$, $SD = 2.92$), two brothers ($N = 160$, $M = 2.33$, $SD = 2.97$), three to five brothers ($N = 94$, $M = 3.22$, $SD = 3.03$) and six to ninth siblings ($N = 8$, $M = 3.38$, $SD = 2.61$). Bivariate correlations between the number of failures and the variable number of siblings is $r = .09$ ($df = 315$, $p = .11$) and the family size $r = -.013$, $df = 315$, 2-tailed $Sig. = .82$. If the dependent variable *sum of scores* with the *number of siblings* is used, $r = -.12$, $Sig. = .03$, $df = 315$, and the family size $r = -.02$ $Sig. = .72$ and $df = 315$. Discretizing the variable *number of siblings* in 4 sections, the results are very similar.
Moreover, the average of failures in the 3rd assessment based on the ordinal place of the student between brothers or sisters (4 sections: First, $N = 144$, $M = 2.67$, $SD = 2.95$; 2nd $N = 129$, $M = 2.51$, $SD = 3.02$; 3rd $N = 34$, $M = 3.06$, $SD = 2.97$; and 4 or later $N = 10$, $M = 3.40$, $SD = 3.44$) is increased from the third but does not significant in ANOVA, whose $F = 0.510$, Sig. = .68, and with a statistical test of the homogeneity of variance Levene = .28, Sig. = .84 and Robustness test of equality of means Welch = .45, Sig. = .72, so we can say that there is no difference between the means of the average number of failures of any ordinal brothers depending on the place of the student in the family.

Although the number of publications is quite extensive in this regard (Arranz, 1989; Rodrigo & Palacios, 1998), but somewhat contradictory and inconclusive, the same could be said regarding the ordinal place of the son or daughter in the family (Cusinato, 1992; Sanchez, 1983), so further research is necessary, where the studies are carried out to take into account variables not controlled in this study as the short spacing or medium in birth time regarding his brothers, sex repeated or not in the group of brothers and if there are very important brothers or sisters who have already emancipated, variable because it can mask some results because you can have many brothers or sisters but no longer live in the nuclear family, which would change the constellation thereof. What is important ultimately is that all brothers or sisters find their own role in the family, for example his space of self-identification, in order not to have to look out, and develop more ingenious and intuitive procedures to find recognition within the family. The theme of fraternal rivalry, jealousy and envy, in some cases, remains a hot topic within the current family configurations.

Conclusions

The findings of this study on the variables that affect achievement and school success versus failure at the stage of compulsory secondary education (12-16 or 18 years old) in Spain are quite clear and obvious. In this sense, it could be argued that students, in this stage, would be in general, more likely to academic success, translated into fewer number of failures or greater sum of scores obtained in the academic matters, if the following circumstances occurred:
1) Spanish or Asian students.
2) Man or woman of any course or level.
3) With a number of not more than 2 brothers, including himself.
4) The ordinal place is the first or the second.
5) No immigrant or child of immigrant parents.
6) With a minimum period of years in Spain 7 to 12, preferably.
7) That the student live at home with their biological parents and are not separated.
8) With a size of small family members.
9) With at least one parent working, preferably the father.
10) That parents do not come late to work.
12) The student to eat breakfast every day.
13) May a parent is available to assist the son or daughter in school.
14) Students will study more than one hour a day.
15) To study about the same time and at the same times every day.
16) Students will study the weekends.
17) Have a room to study.
18) Who has not repeated a course or year in primary or secondary education.
19) The student does not want to stop studying.
20) The student is not only at home in the evenings.

This research analyzed variables considered peripheral in other studies related to more personal aspects embedded in social, family and contextual situations that provide, through the measuring instrument studied, a moderate percentage of explained variance of academic performance. It would be interesting, to increase the validity of the model in future work including general intelligence variable and others, from the work done by Gaviria (2005), Castro & Gaviria (2009), Martín et al., (2008), in which the inclusion of other variables is considered essential, as well as Enkvist's recommendations on good and bad education (Enkvist, 2011) in schools. This, perhaps provide a broader vision and accurate explanation of academic achievement in students of compulsory secondary education.


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Collaborative Writing as Educational Research: a Deleuzian Critique

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Collaborative Writing as Educational Research: a Deleuzian Critique

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Abstract

This article discusses the claims made by some qualitative researchers that collaborative autoethnographic writing serves to displace sociology and other social sciences as a means to understand subjectivity. Collaborative creative writing claims to be no less valid than sociological inquiry and is less socially exclusive, and academic criticism of this approach is itself seen as only subjective. A particular project by Wyatt and Gale and others can still be exposed to ‘immanent critique’, however, where the philosophical resources used to support the argument (the work of Deleuze and Guattari in this case) can be explored to suggest quite different implications for subjectivity. These include discussing external social influences on creativity and collaboration, and, more generally, on subjectivity itself. Guattari’s cartography of subjectification suggests that sociological inquiry, including the sociology of education, still has a major role in providing empirical examples and experiences of the processes involved, as resources for subsequent deleuzian philosophising and for effective micropolitics.

Keywords: collaborative autoethnography, Deleuze, Gale, Guattari, subjectification, Wyatt
Escritura Colaborativa como Investigación Educativa: Una Crítica Deleuziana

David Ernest Harris
Plymouth Marjon University

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Resumen

Este artículo discute las afirmaciones hechas por algunos investigadores cualitativos de que la escritura autoetnográfica colaborativa sirve para desplazar a la sociología y otras ciencias sociales como un medio para comprender la subjetividad. La escritura creativa colaborativa afirma ser no menos válida que la investigación sociológica y es menos socialmente excluyente, y la crítica académica de este enfoque se considera solo subjetiva. Sin embargo, un proyecto particular de Wyatt y Gale y otros aún puede exponerse a la "crítica inmanente", donde los recursos filosóficos usados para apoyar el argumento (el trabajo de Deleuze y Guattari en este caso) pueden explorarse para sugerir implicaciones bastante diferentes para subjetividad. Esto incluye discutir las influencias sociales externas sobre la creatividad y la colaboración, y, de manera más general, sobre la subjetividad misma. La cartografía de subjetivización de Guattari sugiere que la investigación sociológica, incluida la sociología de la educación, todavía tiene un papel importante en la provisión de ejemplos empíricos y experiencias de los procesos involucrados, como recursos para la filosofización deleuziana posterior y para la micropolítica efectiva.

Palabras clave: autoetnografía colaborativa, Deleuze, Gale, Guattari, subjetivación, Wyatt.
Empirical sociology has been criticised from a number of positions based on various kinds of linguistic stances, including Wittgenstein’s linguistics, structural linguistics and conversation analysis. The common thread is that social science is redundant because its characteristic forms of research and theorising are misplaced and objectified. Ordinary language alone is perfectly capable of grasping the dynamics of social life.

One of the later developments to make this sort of argument is autoethnography. Conventional ethnography was always developed as part of the methodological resources of sociology in uncovering the subjective dimensions of collective social life, especially if it researched ‘others’, outside the mainstream in some way. However, there have always been problems with the methodology and with the politics of ethnography, turning on that moment when subjective accounts of social life are transformed into sociological data. It is difficult to avoid power relations to impose meaning, or what Bourdieu (2000) called ‘symbolic violence’, at that point. One solution is not to transform the accounts that people give of their lives in that way, to work with unmediated life histories or other entirely subjective accounts.

Postmodern philosophical critique of the claimed privilege of sociological concepts strengthened this trend. Short, Turner & Short (2013, p. 3) say that autoethnography emerged from ‘scepticism toward positivist-informed “master” or “grand” narratives, which claim objectivity, authority and researcher neutrality in the study of social and cultural life...disinterested, “objective” instruction gives way to evocative, emotionally-resonant connection’. Unlike conventional ethnographic research, which can involve subsequent coding or external theoretical interpretation, autoethnographers have developed ‘new forms of subjectivist writing, which focus on the local and the particular... utilising creative written and analytical practices, including literary tropes’ (2013, p. 4).

Autoethnography can offer commentary on academic discourse, usually through attempts to connect subjective accounts to theoretical issues, but still in an unmediated way, by the autoethnographers themselves. Thus personal experience of discrimination in the university might be linked to more general theoretical accounts of the formation of gender identity, as in many studies, including Gannon and Davies (2006), or attempts to see the
transformations of subjective aspects of university life can be seen as a result of ‘neoliberalism’. However, personal experience still retains its privileged position as the only kind of valid evidence of the personal effects of these policies.

There might be no way to fully reconcile autoethnographic and sociological thought. There can be collaborative forms of autoethnography as we shall see, but understanding the other is no longer understood to be a sociological problem requiring any particular method: ordinary forms of interaction will resolve the difficulties, especially if participants are prepared to disclose fully their views and their feelings to each other.

For enthusiasts, autoethnographic approaches ought increasingly to dominate research, especially of the effects of particular organisations and regimes on the subjective lives of participants, while conventional sociological research will eventually become redundant. This intention is perhaps clearest in Denzin’s (2017) recent contribution to the influential Handbook of Qualitative Research edited by Denzin & Lincoln: he invited the audience to declare that the very concept of data is now dead.

Many of the arguments can be seen developed in other contributions to that Handbook. The work of Richardson is of particular relevance to this article in influencing the particular project that is to be discussed. Richardson suggests deploying more lively writing techniques derived from creative fiction or poetry, partly to engage readers by providing details about the normal lives of authors. ‘Form and content are inseparable’ (Richardson 2000, p. 923): in ‘postmodernism’, the boundaries between ethnography, poetry and drama are blurred. Poetry especially can ‘recreate lived experience and evoke emotional responses’ (2000, p. 931). Social science already uses powerful metaphors. Since all these forms arise from ‘creative analytic practices’ they can all be considered as ‘CAP ethnography’ (2000, p. 929).

**Creative Writing in Richardson**

Richardson (2000) sees ‘creative writing’ as a qualitative research method, perhaps the only valid one. Writing is not just a matter of telling people about the social world, but is a form of knowing in itself, discovering ‘new aspects of our topic and our relationship to it’. We should now focus on the
creative and the analytic in autoethnographic writing to help the reader to share and ‘relive the events emotionally with the writers’ (2000, p. 931). Science writing is as conventional, as any other form, and scientific conventions should be rejected because ordinary speech is closer to poetry than scientific prose. No specific examples are offered to justify these substantial generalizations, however.

The rules of conventional ethnography are seen as ‘arbitrary, narrow, exclusionary, distorting, and alienating’ (2000, p. 939), and this seems to be supported by personal experiences of early rejection of her own work. Minorities within academia will find this new approach welcoming, and increasing access will enrich and diversify the community of qualitative researchers.

The writing should still display ‘coherence, verisimilitude, and interest’ (Richardson 2000, p. 931), partly because university autoethnographers have to assess student work, and this leads to a list of criteria (2000, p. 938), which includes ‘substantive contribution’; ‘aesthetic merit’ (including whether work is ‘artistically shaped and satisfying, complex and not boring’); ‘reflexivity’, showing an (uncritical?) awareness of the ‘epistemology of postmodernism’. The list persists in a slightly different form in the latest version (Richardson & St Pierre, 2017). There should also be personal ‘impact’: ‘does this affect me? Emotionally? Intellectually? Does it generate new questions? Move me to write? Move me to try new research practices? Move me to action?’

Richardson (2000, p. 941) ends with some basic suggestions for developing more ‘creative writing’, which include developing ‘attentiveness to your senses... as a bulwark against the censorious voice of science’. Autoethnographers should experiment with evocative writing in particular, for example by turning field notes into drama or a poem and exploring ‘writing narratives of the self’ (2000, p. 942). Some of these techniques feature in the subsequent work of Wyatt et al.

There are clearly problems with this argument, however, for example in a rather uncritical reliance on ‘postmodernism’ which tends to reduce all forms of writing to equivalents, regardless of intention or content. It is perfectly true that science writing can never escape completely from subjectivity, but that does not mean that it should follow the intention to ‘recreate lived experiences and evoke emotional responses’, unless we are to
privilege those over other research goals, which will require justification. We are not guided in the case where other criteria might also contradict, where, say, ‘personal impact’ might be present despite the absence of any new discoveries about a topic.

Personal impact seems to be particularly problematic since it runs the risk of becoming arbitrary and even dogmatic or authoritarian. It must be difficult to disagree with Richardson’s estimate of any personal impact on her specifically, at least without seeming to make personal criticism of her subjective reactions and judgments. This leads to a central problematic claim for the approach since it assumes that the sole source of knowledge about personal subjectivity is the person themselves, that there are no external determinants of subjectivity of which persons are unaware, no unconscious or socio-cultural elements for example, no awareness of how these might intrude on apparently purely personal knowledge or language, no role for any sociological or social philosophical analysis of these elements.

**External and Immanent Critique**

It is difficult to critique approaches which privilege personal subjectivity, however, since for postmodern relativists, any expert discourses claiming to identify external constraints on personal subjectivity can only be subjective themselves. Only the power of universities still preserves these privileged concepts (Gale & Wyatt 2018).

There is no convincing reason why we should prefer, say, Bourdieu’s sociological critiques of universities to Richardson’s personal account: both are clearly subjective in the general sense. This abstract similarity seems sufficient to cancel any differences in content or intent. At worst, academic critique can be seen itself as a form of oppression or criticism as suggested above. Together, these two arguments can provide an almost impregnable defence, offering what Baudelot (in Bourdieu, Passeron & St Martin 1994, pp.88--9) once called ‘prophylactic relativism’, designed to forestall critique altogether: students argued that since there are no right answers, any suggestion that someone has written a wrong one can only be based on a hostile personal opinion. Perhaps that is why the writers considered here are often enthusiastically supported and reassured by other creative writers and autoethnographers in the same academic network, indignantly rallying to
defend them against unfair personal attack.

Badley (2011, pp. 483—4) noticed the difficulties in his attempt at a critical review of Gale and Wyatt (2009): the book has been ‘praised as methodologically significant and pedagogically important…as beautiful, brilliant, evocative, erudite, original, profound and sensitive. A critical or nonaffirmative review may well be received as sour and curmudgeonly …perhaps reviews should eschew any criticism that is not affirmative’. Badley proposes to proceed instead as a ‘textor’, someone who works on the basis that any text is ‘both plural and multilogical’, so that it becomes possible to analyze a ‘textual score’, to see how a text reveals a writer’s voice.

One similar critical option is what was once called ‘immanent critique’ in Critical Theory. The approach works with materials suggested to be relevant by the writers themselves. Neglected implications in these materials are then unpacked to reveal problems with the central argument after all. In this case, the work of Deleuze and Guattari is cited as relevant by Richardson and St Pierre as well as Wyatt and Gale -- Richardson (Richardson & St Pierre 2005, p. 965) refers to her own work as ‘rhizomatic’ and St Pierre describes Richardson as indicating a deleuzian ‘line of flight’ (2005, p.968). However, deleuzian work can then be discussed to suggest implications that are critical for the whole notion of personal subjectivity that informs the work. These can suggest a role for sociology and other social sciences as well.

Immanent critique does not completely demolish the case that all readings are subjective, but it shifts the ground in an important way to ask whether other readings are equally possible and, if so, how they might be compared, and what the grounds might be for preferring one. For example, a reading might be either corrigible or dogmatic, more open to critique or more defensive. Specifically, we can ask whether particular readings of Deleuze and Guattari have been selected to support the emphasis on personal subjectivity, and how alternative readings have been dealt with. If a focus on the personal does act in this defensive way, it is possible to see it as demonstrating a pathological form for Deleuze and Guattari, (for example Deleuze 1990) where subjectivity collapses into a ‘black hole’ incapable of forming any transversal links with other discourses or domains.
Wyatt and Gale and Collaborative Writing

This article aims principally to examine how the work of Deleuze singly, but mostly that of Deleuze and Guattari together, has been used in support of a particular project of collaborative writing by Gale, Wyatt and others, especially in Gale & Wyatt (2009) and Wyatt, Gale, Gannon & Davies (2011a). The project claims to be well established in universities, to have produced important published contributions to qualitative research, influenced teacher training, and become a model for ‘new and creative writing practices in the university of the future’ (Wyatt & Gale 2017, p. 3).

Richardson and St Pierre on creative writing have had a major continuing influence on this project, but there is a special place for deleuzian work in Wyatt et al.: ‘we wanted to bring Deleuze's concepts to life in our collaborating bodies and our unfolding engagements with life in its specificity – and in its Being’ (Wyatt, J., Gale, K., Gannon, S., Davies, B., Denzin, N., & St. Pierre, E. 2014 , p. 3): ‘We look to Deleuze for our primary ways of knowing’ (Gale & Wyatt 2009, p. 29). Their collaborative writing was continually justified by relating it to the collaborations between Deleuze and Guattari and the creative effects this produced.

The actual substance of the writings initially covered conventional autoethnographic interests in subjectivity, emotions and feelings, with the writing seen as a distinct method to access these. Perhaps the best example is Wyatt, Gale, Russell, Pelias & Spry (2011b, p. 253): ‘We offer stories of how writing touches and how it writes bodies into being and in between, returning to love and intimacy as scholarly, messy, complex methodology’. Substantial emotional labour seems to have been required to sustain this project, and it collapsed. In Gale, Pelias, Russell, Spry & Wyatt (2013, pp. 9–10), one of the participants refers to:

the guilt associated with not doing our agreed upon task as we would have liked, with not being the people we strived to be within our group...meaning to write back with sensitivity and insight...I did not like the weight of it all. I did not like myself...Perhaps it was feeling we were not sufficiently taken up, that our writing was left hanging, ignored, or addressed in only a perfunctory manner. We felt slighted, hurt.
Less emotionally demanding and more abstract methodological issues are prominent in the later works.

Throughout, the writing is attributed to characters like ‘Ken’, ‘Jonathan’ and others. Despite sharing names, the characters are not to be seen as authentic representations of the authors: ‘we make no argument – at all— that we are in search of “authenticity”’ (Wyatt & Gale 2011, p. 494). The writings themselves are therefore best described, perhaps, as what Denzin calls ‘truthful fictions’ (Wyatt et al. 2014), although again this makes it difficult to assess them critically.

The contention here is that this project involves selective reading and quoting of deleuzian work, not as a sign of scholarly inadequacy compared to some ‘true’ account, but as a consequence of the privilege accorded to personal subjectivity. This restricts interest and leads to insufficient exploration of the arguments that surround the deleuzian concepts cited in support of the claims about collaborative writing.

**Reading Deleuze and Guattari Subjectively**

The interest in immediate and personal subjectivity seems to have influenced the way in which Deleuze and Guattari have been read. To refer back to Richardson, if there are no substantial differences between genres of writing, and if the main aim of good writing is to liberate emotions in the reader, it becomes possible to read deleuzian work in a particular way. Gale & Wyatt (2009, p. 45) describe reading Deleuze & Guattari (2004):

> Sometimes I read passages that I have read a hundred times before, indulging in the poetry of the writing and finding pleasures in the unusual tropes... and, on other occasions, often quite absent-mindedly, I will lift [a book] from its resting place... open the pages at random and find myself being taken to new heights of intimacy, enjoying pleasures that I hadn’t dreamed of.

This approach is contrasted with its rhetorical opposite, a ‘desire to define, to express the all-embracing denotative utterance, [which] can have pre-occupying effects; the need to colonize meaning becomes obsessive’ (Gale & Wyatt 2009, p. 3). This binary seems to exhaust the possibilities. Other sections refer to reading deleuzian works using a technique where a
character ‘pulled out more quotes from Deleuze’ (Wyatt et al. 2011a, p.43) using unspecified criteria for selection. Quotes are common throughout the work, largely from Deleuze & Guattari (2004) at first but also from Deleuze & Parnet (1987). It is not clear why these volumes have been chosen for particular attention, though, unless it is because these are both collaborative works.

It is impossible to justify adequately the argument here, with no room for extended textual references, but none of the quotes seem to raise problems for the basic approach. They seem to be always taken as immediately relevant to and supportive of the focus on personal subjectivity. As perhaps the clearest example, Wyatt et al. (2011a, p. 26) supply additions in square brackets to a quote from Deleuze & Parnet (1987) which makes the character ‘Deleuze’ seem to contribute directly to their specific project: ‘What mattered was not the points—[Ken, Bronwyn, Susanne, Jonathan]—who functioned simply as temporary, transitory and evanescent points of subjectivation—but the collection of bifurcating, divergent and muddled lines, which constituted this [writing] as a multiplicity’.

It can be seen that this quote actually follows from a discussion of how Dialogues ‘aims to highlight the existence and actions of multiplicities in very different domains…[to focus on] the formations of the unconscious…literary, scientific and political formations’ (1987, pp. viii-ix), which describes quite a different, explicitly philosophical, project ranging across a wide range of academic interests.

In (Gale & Wyatt 2017, p. 25) the problem of making quotes relevant to their project on personal or interpersonal subjectivity seems to have been transcended altogether:

to ‘quote’ him [Deleuze] is to do disservice to him. He is already present in our words, in these bodies writing, in these material spaces, in the morning light that catches the edge of a kitchen table, as we grasp for what might be possible, what might be opened up, what might become-other, for where working at the wonder might take us.

This poetic approach seems to have led to the omission of many topics in Deleuze & Guattari (2004). Many of the Plateaus are not mentioned, including the ones on freudian analysis, linguistic regimes, State apparatuses of capture, the novella, micropolitics, faciality and the refrain, all important
for discussing subjectivity and the external influences on it.

Denzin noticed the unusual focus of the Wyatt et al. readings. He had apparently studied Deleuze and Guattari in a student reading group which had emphasised the themes of capitalism and schizophrenia, and he notes that Wyatt et al. (2011a) said ‘very little, if anything... about politics, madness, or capitalism’ (Wyatt et al. 2014, p. 6). Denzin raises, but does not pursue, the important issue of how different readings might be compared: ‘Whose genealogy shall I follow?’ In the absence of any possibility of shared criteria for choice, this seems to leave only opportunism.

One possible justification for the particular approach to reading Deleuze and Guattari might be found in St Pierre (2004, p. 289) discussing a metaphor coined by Virginia Woolf, involving a dog running along a road, cited in the section on haecceity in Plateau 10 of Deleuze & Guattari (2004, p. 290). In a much-cited phrase, for example in Wyatt and Gale (2014), St Pierre says the metaphor ‘made sense to me. I got it, or, rather, I plugged it (however one makes sense of it) into my own musings about subjectivity and it worked’. ‘Plugging in’ in Deleuze & Guattari (2004, pp 4—5) seems to originate in discussions of desiring machines rather than subjective individuals, however, and can be seen to imply a machinic understanding of writing: ‘A book itself is a little machine... when one writes the only question is which other machine the literary machine can be plugged into, must be plugged into in order to work...Literature is an assemblage’. This machinic conception is discussed below.

Even in personal and subjective terms, much will depend on whether the metaphor leads to an exploration of deleuzian concepts or just to a moment of confirmation of existing knowledge. St Pierre herself does indeed subsequently explore the implications in a more critical and systematic direction than do Wyatt and Gale. She says their project must still retain the notion of the humanist subject, ‘the intentional writer... The author’ (Wyatt et al., 2014, p. 8). More generally: ‘We can’t just drop a Deleuzo-Guattarian concept ... which brings along with it their entire transcendental empiricism – into a study grounded in a humanist ontology’ (St Pierre 2016, p. 8).
Reading Badiou Subjectively

There is a particularly unfortunate consequence of subjective reading in this final example. In specifically academic writing, it is common to summarize the positions of others accurately and at some length, perhaps in the form of 'indirect discourse', before critiquing them. This practice is not always found in normal discourse, and can be missed if the two discourses are made abstractly equivalent. Badiou is about the only critic of Deleuze discussed in the whole project, but he is not explored (Wyatt et al. 2011a, p. 132). Badiou (2000, p. 9) is quoted, offering examples of different images of Deleuze (I have abridged the actual quote):

There is an image of Deleuze as... vitalist and democratic. It is fairly commonly believed that his doctrine promotes the heterogeneous multiplicity of desires and encourages their unrestrained realization... That he preserved the rights of the body... constantly commended the Open and movement, advocating and experimentation without preestablished norms... It is equally believed that he participates in modern (postmodern?) "Deconstruction"

However, the next section, beginning on the next page, is not quoted or discussed. No reason for the omission is given, but it looks as if it is only the first section that supports the interests of the collaborators. Badiou (2000, p. 10) actually goes on to reject these images, as an introduction to the rest of his book:

...let us also remind those who naively celebrate a Deleuze for whom everything is event, surprise and creation that the multiplicity of "what occurs" is but a misleading surface... All those who believe that Deleuze's remarks may be seen to encourage autonomy or the anarchizing ideal of the sovereign individual populating the Earth with the production of his/her desires are no less mistaken... [The machinic conception of desire]... strictly precludes any idea of ourselves as being, at any time, the source of what we think or do.... [and], contrary to all egalitarian and all "communitarian" norms, Deleuze's conception of thought is profoundly aristocratic.

Many other examples of selectivity might be signposted for additional
discussion. The writers concerned claim that their work can be understood as a ‘line of flight’, but the actual discussion in Deleuze and Guattari (2004) shows that lines of flight can take different forms – absolute and relative, for example. Pursuing this issue would lead to the discussion of creativity as arising from the dynamics of the multiplicity, not just in personal forms. There is also a politics of lines of flight, and how they are resisted. This would add an important ‘external’ dimension to purely personal efforts. It would be especially interesting to discuss the politics of their own work, which began facing considerable resistance from conventional university authorities (Gale, Speedy & Wyatt 2010) but seems to have ended as a well-established academic enclave after all, strengthening, possibly, the business model of the university as a humane and creative institution offering therapy to overcome the strains of academic life.

**External Dimensions of Subjectivity in Creative Writing**

Continuing the immanent critique by choosing areas that Wyatt et al. pursue themselves, there is a great deal of discussion of fictional literature and some poetry in deleuzian work, but it is barely mentioned in Wyatt et al.. Discussion seems to follow a rather different project than the one suggested in Richardson. Instead of adding colour and emotional resonance to academic accounts, suitable fiction is to be read ‘clinically’, as a source of experience that is just as relevant for philosophy as direct communications between individuals. Deleuze (1997) has a whole set of essays showing how this can be done.

The chosen novellas in Deleuze and Guattari (2004) illustrate the most commonly available ‘lines of subjectivity’ in our society, for example. One prominent example of poetry cited by Deleuze and Guattari (2004), a work by Ghérasim Luca, recounts all the routine events that were taking place at the same time as the funeral of one of his friends. The discussion does not prioritise the emotions associated with bereavement, but sees the poem as demonstrating the ‘haecceity’, the contingent and nonsubjective conjunctions of heterogeneous events producing individuations (often thought of as ‘accidents’). This is a concept that leads in turn into the whole issue of ‘the event’, of heterogenous assemblies, of processes of actualization of the virtual.
Clearly it is beyond the scope of this article to pursue the discussions of literature very far, but we might focus on the example of Proust’s work, extensively discussed in a number of deleuzian commentaries, including Deleuze (2008). This is the subject of an excellent commentary by Bogue (2008) stressing its relevance for deleuzian pedagogy. Proust’s work is often seen as an exploration of subjective memory, but Deleuze wants to argue that it is really a philosophical inquiry into the operation of time itself, including its ability to determine subjective memories and perceptions, but these insights emerge only as Proust develops his own writing technique. This begins ‘as an extended apprenticeship in the explication of signs’ (Bogue 2008, p. 1), what Bourdieu (1996, p. 201) calls an ethnography, as Proust and/or his narrator (Proust writes in the names of himself and his narrator) begin to investigate the rather exotic subcultures in Paris from which they are initially excluded. These include the elite circles associated with various Parisian salons, and homosexual networks for both men and women.

As his project develops, Proust increasingly displays a ‘machinic’ writing technique. This moves away from the subjective perspectives of the participants to offer more analysis of the impersonal forces shaping their lives and identities, including historical and social change. More specific techniques include using what might be called ‘artificial narratives’ based on some nonsubjective device: perhaps the most convenient example concerns a section where Proust/the narrator uses a train journey to structure his recollections of past events, with each station visited serving as a prompt. Deleuze also describes Proust’s work as exhibiting a ‘body without organs’ as he discusses different ways to perceive human faces, for example, and that would have been a useful example for Wyatt and Gale: ‘Jonathan’ notes that: ‘What I have not addressed in this piece, but which I am aware of at this moment, is how... the process of writing to you, now, here, is (or is not?) contributing to...our BwO’ (Gale & Wyatt, 2009, p. 154)

Creative writers seem to have no interest in avant-garde forms in collaborative creative writing, possibly except for a preference for ‘free-form’ poetry. The artistic avant-garde is important for Deleuze, however, in breaking out of the constraints of ordinary language, and this gives it a political as well as a philosophical significance. We might find demonstrated here a difference in taste, understood by Bourdieu to reflect class position, of
course: those not in elite groups tend to immediately reject avant-garde work as an affront to common sense, to be greeted with ‘confusion, sometimes almost a sort of panic mingled with revolt’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 33). Perhaps critical philosophy has to be restrained in the interests of social inclusivity in creative writing?

Gale & Wyatt (2009, p. 16) cite Deleuze & Parnet (1987, p.1) to say that ‘writing is a question of becoming’. However, Deleuze also adds ‘there are very few who can call themselves writers’ (p. 6). This is because writers with philosophical intents have to learn definite techniques to break with common-sense linguistic and social constraints. They do this by consciously developing technical analysis, ‘calculated sobriety in relation to the disparate elements and the parameters’ (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p. 440), for ‘there is no imagination outside of technique’ (2004, p. 380).

By contrast, ordinary language draws upon an unreflected ‘common-sense’, which consists of an image of thought that operates with flawed processes of recognition and repetition (Deleuze 2004, especially chapter 3). ‘Normal’ concepts seem infinitely extendable and self-sufficient and are not open to rigorous self-correction. As with Bourdieu’s (2000) notion of the habitus, much ordinary thinking is grounded in unthinking habit. Human beings are particularly unlikely to be aware of these processes and defenceless against them (Deleuze 2004, p. 190). In a phrase which many pedagogues would recognise, common sense involves ‘extrapolation from certain facts, particularly insignificant facts… Everyday banality’ (2004, p. 171). Guattari makes a similar case based on various Marxist traditions. His argument, in, for example, Guattari (1995) demonstrates the dangerous harmony between common notions of subjectivity and the systems of ‘Integrated World Capitalism’.

Deleuze’s earlier work argued that far from developing loving, caring relationships with individuals in a warm and supportive academic community, we have to abandon the idea of transparency and good will (including the view that the world itself offers some good will towards our efforts to understand it). Philosophy actually requires an ‘individual of ill will’ (2004, p. 166), someone who sees subjective presuppositions as prejudices, refuses to go along with convention as ‘a wise idiot’, and remains critical of current popular thought.

We see some possible problems with ordinary language where ‘Ken’
records his apparently entirely subjective impressions as he walks through Cornwall (UK) (Wyatt et al. 2011a). He ‘can't help seeing old fishermen everywhere, devout preachers walking from the chapels, and girls in heavy long skirts sorting fish on the quayside’. However, these remarks seem to be fully compatible with the ‘romantic gaze’ already generated by the tourist industry. Bennett (2000, p. 112) notes that paintings of the Cornish Newlyn School, like *Women sharing fish* (Gotch 1891), which features women in heavy long skirts sorting fish, but on a beach rather than a quayside, were ‘particularly apparent with regard to poster production where the imagery of the fishing communities was widely adopted’. The posters display ‘a strong representational if romanticised style in the depiction of simple, dignified working people’.

**External Dimensions of Subjectivity in Collaboration ‘Between the Two’**

A central claim by Wyatt et al. is that caring and supportive collaborative work, will offer particularly insightful forms of creativity, and this is based on some of Deleuze’s comments on his productive collaborations with Guattari, cited in Stivale (2003) and Dosse (2011). Deleuze & Parnet (1987, p.x) describe the relationship with Guattari: ‘What was important for us was less our working together than this strange fact of working between the two of us. We stopped being "author". And these "between-the-twos" referred back to other people’.

Wyatt and Gale also use the term ‘between the two’ to describe their own work, although they offer only a limited discussion of what they might mean by it and of the circumstances in which it might particularly generate creative writing. For example, the ‘other people’ referred to in Deleuze’s words clearly refer to other writers, of fiction and philosophy, as well as immediate colleagues, which seems to imply that direct contemporaneous correspondence between living contributors is not essential. Deleuze’s substantial solo-authored books particularly show the importance of creatively reading the earlier work of others as a prelude to creative writing of one’s own.

Forms of collaboration also seem to have varied between Deleuze and his colleagues. Stivale thinks the collaboration with Parnet was initially rather
like Deleuze’s pedagogic technique in lectures, with Deleuze initially
discoursing at length and uninterrupted, until Parnet was able to understand
his position. Then she was encouraged to ask critical questions about it.

The pattern of collaboration varied even with Guattari. Deleuze &
Guattari (1984) saw Deleuze requiring Guattari to submit written expositions
of his favourite concepts, partly to overcome Guattari’s writer’s block, with
Deleuze making subsequent comments. They focused on theoretical issues,
especially the critiques of Freud and Lacan that pervade the book. The
success of this collaboration lay in their use of ‘everything that made them
different’ (Dosse 2011, pp. 6-7), in their encounters with Lacan for
example. There was little dialogue when they did meet: when the other
spoke, they listened intently and silently. They took care to try to understand
what the other had said and come to some agreement, trying to make each
other’s ideas work, perhaps to produce academic indirect discourse: it is not
clear that any mutual therapy was on the agenda. That produced ‘a true
"work machine" that made it impossible to know who wrote what precisely’
(Dosse 2011, p. 9).

The writing of Deleuze & Guattari (2004) seemed different, however --
both felt more comfortable, and the topics were prompted more on current
cultural events and experiences, a choice to move away from a formal
philosophical style. The results are both impressive in scope and difficult to
follow. However, the possibility arises of yet another nonpersonal
contributor to creativity here in the form of the highly productive Parisian
elite education and academic habitus (Bourdieu 2000, p.145) that both
writers shared and that produces exactly the sort of effortless application of
categories and distinctions in erudite discussions that characterise the book.
The ferment of critical ideas circulating as a result of the Events of May
1968 must also have played a part.

It is also the case that work conditions were highly conducive. Neither
writer was constrained by university conventions: Deleuze seems to have
enjoyed almost total autonomy as a distinguished professor. As Wyatt et al
well know, that is not the case these days, and Wyatt et al (2017) note the
increasing attempts to regulate collaborative academic writing at least at
certain early stages in a career. Wyatt and Gale required some astute
micropolitical manoeuvring with the aid of their supervisor (Gale et al.
2010) to proceed to present a collaborative thesis, for example. Micropolitics
seems an ever-present aspect of collaboration, even there is some institutional autonomy: ‘In these conditions, as soon as there is this type of multiplicity, there is politics, micropolitics’, even with friendly collaborators (Deleuze & Parnet 1987, p. x).

**Guattari and the Cartography of Subjectivity**

Gannon (2006) argued that the autoethnographic self is actually a partial manifestation of subjectivity, embodying only the modern humanist rational self, attempting to know and thus heal itself, as a kind of therapy. This is certainly detectable in the work of Wyatt et al., even at the level of their writing practices, which often seem to begin with moments of what would nowadays be called ‘mindfulness’ before proceeding to supportive exchanges of emails.

Gannon hints both at other possible forms of subjectivity and at the social and historical processes that install current ones. For Guattari especially, there are pathological forms, for example, like those constrained in the interests of social repression, as we saw. Subjectivity can also end in a narcissistic ‘black hole’ where everything revolves around personal concerns and personal schema. Examples here include socially isolating behaviour, from the nervous breakdowns and ‘crack ups’ of writers, artists and philosophers noted in Deleuze (1990) to those institutionalised obsessives and paranoids Guattari encountered in his psychiatric clinic.

All the forms should be seen as contingent variations of underlying processes of subjectification and their complex interconnections. Guattari (2013) aims to ‘metamodel’ subjectivity, to be able to explain each form as a procedure to make sense. There are personal, social and material processes generating affects of all kinds (not just emotions but perceptions, cognitions, whole points of view) whether we are normally aware of them or not. This explains the dominance of the Unconscious, which is not just the freudian collection of infantile memories which have been repressed, but also the habitual, and the affects from unrecognized material determinants. Personal awareness rarely taps this Unconscious in practice.

For Guattari, there are non-human aspects, ‘machines of subjectivation’ (Guattari 1995, p. 9), operating in ‘a-signifying semiological dimensions’ (1995, p. 4), which cannot be understood using conventional semiology. It
is a mistake to prioritise ‘natural language’, as does autoethnography, especially if this excludes these and other affects.

(Guattari, 2013) attempts further systematization and clarification, unfortunately at the expense of being almost impenetrably detailed and technical. For Guattari there are four autonomous, heterogeneous but interconnected domains of the Unconscious. Sociologists might immediately recognise the domain of ‘incorporeal universes’, as including those elements which are normally called cultural, the systems of meanings developed in literature, art, music, philosophy, science and technology which pre-exist particular individuals but still influence them. There are also ‘existential territories’, the second domain, which include animal territories and natural milieux or neighbourhoods, as well as personal lifeworlds, and these feature pragmatic interests and actions, but still within frameworks of determinants.

In the third domain we encounter autonomous ‘flows’. These can be material forces, with direct affects on bodies: Guattari talks of the important psychosomatic affects of bodies on mood and perception rather than any mystical ‘agency’ of the nonhuman world. If flows are semiotized they can affect the domain of incorporeal universes as well. The fourth domain is that of ‘machinic phyla’, where a machine is a particular combination of intensive, non-empirical forces and elements and a phylum describes a structured grouping of machines. Phyla can develop autonomous processes of self-positing and self-development, purely machinic possibilities, including ‘phase transitions’, at an abstract level. The machinic phyla are important because they provide a particular potential for possibilities that are not yet realized, that exist outside current human discourse, that are implicit or immanent. As Guattari (1995, p. 37) puts it: machines have a ‘dimension of alterity’, a radical potential arising from being able to be joined to (even ‘plugged into’) other machines in a “‘non-human” enunciation’. These potentials can be exploited after phyla transmit affects to human domains via ‘[non-subjective] tensors of [cognitive] surplus value of the possible’ (Guattari 2013, p. 55). We have already seen some of the creative potentials of writing machines, but other examples include military technology or metalworking (a particular contribution of the nomads celebrated in Deleuze & Guattari 2004). It is also possible to see theoretical or philosophical systems, including sociological ones, as machinic in the same way.

Overall, it would be hard to overestimate the importance of machinic
developments on contemporary subjectivity, Guattari insists, especially with the advances in communication technology. He saw much potential in the early ‘Free Radio’ movements in France for example, and it would be interesting to consider the growth of the Web or of social media in this context.

Trying to develop a subjectivity that speaks in its own right constantly risks being dominated by the ‘otherness of society’ (Guattari 2015, p. 107). The answer is to retain ‘maximum communication among different levels [and domains] and, above all, in different meanings’. Guattari calls this ‘transversality’. This is necessary to help us become open to a world beyond immediate interests, to develop perspectives, and make enunciations of our own.

It is particularly important to develop ‘a decisive re-examination’ of institutional truths (Guattari 2015, p. 113), and this would include those of the education system. In staying analytic, we also need to resist the ‘besotting mythology of “togetherness”’ (p. 118), perhaps including that close emotional solidarity among autoethnographers. Otherwise, groups also become dependent on consensus (and constant social reinforcement of it in meetings or conferences) and eventually aim only at self preservation to ‘magically protect themselves from a non-sense’ (p. 119). They become ‘subjected groups’. Inevitably, there is an anxiety-producing consequence of groups pursuing transversal communication in that they might have to come to realize they are mistaken. They must pursue transversal and critical inquiries nevertheless, and, in freudian terms, must ‘put themselves in the position of having to bring about their own death’ (p. 119).

Concluding Thoughts

Subjectivity is never just a matter of awareness, existing only in our individual consciousnesses. There are clearly external and social elements – our past culture, creative techniques including machines of various kinds, the habitus and organizational contexts which affect our efforts.

The emergence of subjective enunciations has to be mapped in each case, and this requires analysis, provided by specialist groups or by individuals. This clearly leaves a role for social science. Neither Deleuze nor Guattari are totally hostile to social science, and indeed draw freely upon ethnographic
studies, for example. They also tend to rely on cultural marxism. Their critique follows from a denial of the sufficiency of social sciences, which suffer from the ‘objective illusion’ (DeLanda 2002) that the empirical world is the only reality that exists. The empirical results of social science thus have to be the subject of further ‘transcendental’ philosophising to develop the task of describing the virtual world which is immanent to the actual one.

Sociological analysis has an important role in tracing some of the links between the domains which are only sketched as arrows in Guattari’s diagrams. The links between existential territories and incorporeal universes require transmission mechanisms, for example, which clearly include the education system and the mass media. These transmission mechanisms might produce uneven effects, both accommodation and resistance, and ‘micro acts of resistance, refusal and sabotage’, even in the university (Roggero 2011, p. 76).

Suitable forms of sociological analysis, at the micro level especially, would have intrinsic merit in checking the abstractions and tendencies to over-generalisation about ‘neoliberalism’ including those found in autoethnographic work. Instead, they might help inform the development of the micropolitics that Deleuze & Guattari (2004, Plateau Nine), say is crucial to pursue liberation and transversality in specific concrete institutions and social formations.

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Liderazgo en la Escuela Rural: Estudios de Casos

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Leadership in the Rural School: Case Studies

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Abstract

We studied the construction of leadership in teachers who work as headmasters and head mistresses at rural schools in Catalonia. The objective was to analyse the emergence and development of leadership. We also sought to investigate the possible existence of differentiated models of leadership amongst rural teachers. This study was based on the case analysis approach. To carry it out, we chose four cases, involving two headmasters and two headmistresses, who stood out as the leaders of unique and highly innovative projects. It was found that leadership was the result of a complex process that required a favourable environment, a high level of motivation, skills and a vision of the future that made it possible to construct differentiated projects and to reach goals and objectives associated with innovative criteria within the field of education. These schools could be defined as places where people learn; this means that the students learn, the teachers learn, the families learn and the community learns. In contrast to the traditional conception of the charismatic leader, the leader is not born, but is made. Furthermore, leadership is shared, distributed and collaborative. However, the most relevant thing about these leaders is their social commitment and their values; they not only seek to contribute to educational change but also try to help improve the rural communities in which they carry out their projects. It is therefore necessary to speak not only of ethical leadership but also of social leadership.

Keywords: rural education, rural schools, education and school, primary schools, teacher leadership, teaching innovation
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Resumen

Este artículo estudia la construcción del liderazgo en maestros y maestras que desarrollan su tarea como directivos y directivas en escuelas rurales de Cataluña. El objetivo se centró en analizar la emergencia y desarrollo del liderazgo. Asimismo, se indagó sobre la posible existencia de modelos de liderazgo diferenciados en maestros y maestras rurales. El estudio se basa en la metodología de análisis de casos. Para ello escogimos cuatro casos, específicamente dos maestros y dos maestras directivos que destacaban por liderar proyectos singulares e innovadores; cuestión que permitió conocer con mayor profundidad los aspectos de esta investigación. Se constató que el liderazgo es el resultado de un proceso complejo que requiere de un entorno favorable, una elevada motivación, habilidades y una visión de futuro que permita construir proyectos diferenciados y alcanzar metas y objetivos, respondiendo a criterios de innovación en el ámbito de la educación. Estos centros se definen como escuelas que aprenden, es decir, aprende el alumnado, aprende el profesorado, aprenden las familias y aprende la comunidad. Contrariamente a la concepción tradicional del líder carismático, el líder no nace, se hace. Además, el liderazgo se comparte, se distribuye y es colaborativo. Pero lo más importante de estos y estas líderes es su compromiso social y sus valores, ya que no sólo pretenden contribuir al cambio educativo sino también aportar una mejora a la comunidad rural en la que desarrollan su proyecto, por lo que cabe hablar no solamente de liderazgo ético sino también de liderazgo social.

Palabras clave: escuelas rurales, educación y escuela, educación primaria, maestros líderes, innovación docente
La temática del liderazgo es relevante y está presente en los contextos educativos. El liderazgo escolar se ha convertido en una prioridad de los programas de política educativa a nivel internacional por ser decisivo en la mejora de los resultados escolares e influir en las motivaciones, en las capacidades del profesorado y en el ambiente escolar (OCDE, 2009). Igualmente, La Red de Liderazgo Escolar de la OREALC/UNESCO resalta la importancia de los directivos y directivas en la mejora del aprendizaje.


Conviene recordar que liderar no es equivalente a dirigir (Frederickson & Smith, 2003; Fry, 1989; Guillem, 1994; Mintzberg, 1983). Dirigir conlleva utilizar recursos para lograr objetivos; significa también evaluar, gestionar y controlar, actividades todas relacionadas con la gestión.

Un líder es el que establece una interrelación o influencia mutua entre un grupo de personas o equipo colaborador, seguidores en un contexto, mediante una visión que es asumida voluntariamente y que es atractiva para la propia vida. De acuerdo con Castiñeira & Lozano (2012), estos autores definen dos modelos de liderazgo: el gerencial y el liderazgo ético; cualquiera de estos dos modelos puede aparecer en organizaciones e instituciones educativas.

En este artículo se va analizar la emergencia del liderazgo en los maestros y maestras de escuela rural, cómo se desarrolla y si existen unas características diferenciales entre los maestros y maestras líderes.

**Liderazgo Educativo**

Bolívar (2012) entiende el liderazgo en el ámbito educativo como la capacidad de influir en las personas, con el fin de que éstas adopten líneas para desarrollar una acción. A diferencia del modelo de dirección tradicional basado en el poder de la dirección, Bolívar propone una dirección
compartida; es decir, donde se delegan las acciones. Este autor enfatiza la importancia de cambiar aquel modelo de liderazgo centrado en la burocracia por un modelo más innovador, abierto, flexible y compartido.

Por otra parte, Gallego, González & Brugué (2011) indican que “el liderazgo educativo parte de la reflexión sobre el rol del director como líder, sus funciones, capacidades, objetivos y responsabilidades en el marco de una institución (la escuela) que se encuentra en constante cambio y necesitada de nuevos instrumentos de mejora”. De la tesis de estos autores se desprende que el liderazgo educativo se encuentra vinculado a la innovación educativa. En esta línea, Bolívar destaca que el liderazgo educativo es un factor de primer orden en la mejora de los resultados escolares.

Anteriormente, las maestras y los maestros que ocupaban un cargo de dirección en el centro escolar estaban principalmente asociadas a una mayor satisfacción del profesorado y con niveles más altos de aprendizaje del alumnado. Actualmente se concentran en los roles y en las estructuras que apoyan las prácticas educativas que deseamos (Sykes & Elmore, 1989, p. 78). El problema pues se plantea al revés, tratar de ver qué prácticas de liderazgo son más adecuadas en un contexto organizativo y prescribir una lista de atributos exhortando a llevarlos a cabo. De acuerdo con Bolívar (2001), se pretende configurar los centros educativos como “sistemas más abiertos”.

Bolívar (2010) defiende la tesis de que la mejora de la educación, entre otros factores, pasa por cambiar el modelo de dirección de las instituciones educativas. El modelo administrativo-burocrático de la dirección escolar, presenta graves déficits para incidir en la mejora de los resultados.

El líder, al tiempo que sus roles y responsabilidades se ven ampliados, tiene que actuar como un agente moral y social. En una cultura profesional de colaboración, es obvio que deben desarrollarse nuevas formas de liderazgo del profesorado más allá de la exclusiva preocupación del aula/grupo.

Lo nuevo aquí es la voluntad decidida de romper con la uniformidad predominante en los sistemas públicos y privados de la educación; por lo que se impleta a que los centros escolares reflejen una identidad y personalidad propias.

Hasta no hace mucho tiempo, la cuestión del liderazgo estaba orientada a la organización y la gestión educativa (Lorenzo, 2005). A menudo, los
planteamientos sobre este asunto provenían de otros contextos, en especial de la política y de la administración de empresas, ignorando la especificidad propia de la educación. Con ello se hacía un trasvase de las formas más eficaces de gestión basadas en una racionalidad técnica que, por sí misma, no han sido suficientes para garantizar una educación de calidad. El reto es apostar por un liderazgo personal capaz de aunar el bien común del grupo o institución educativa; un liderazgo personal que apunte por unos valores comunes educativos en sí mismos como guía para la acción que se desarrolla en un proceso dialógico y deliberativo, en el que todos los miembros participen en igual grado de condiciones para lograr un consenso común de valores e intereses (Mínguez Vallejos, 2013).

El liderazgo tiene relación con la conducción hacia el futuro. Castiñeira & Lozano (2012) asocian el liderazgo a entornos de adaptación y procesos de cambio social en dichos entornos, especialmente, cuando existe por medio de las organizaciones el peligro de caer en el sistema establecido. En este sentido, para Mínguez Vallejos (2013), cualquier acción educativa comienza con la posibilidad de una transformación, teniendo en cuenta que el líder ético debe conducir al cambio, el cual debe traducirse en una mejora social (Giddens, 1989; Work, 1996).

Por su parte, Rojas & Gaspar (2006) acotan que lo que importa en el liderazgo educativo es el aspecto humano. Si la acción de liderar está relacionada con la conducción de personas, nunca se insistirá lo suficiente en que el liderazgo, particularmente el educativo, está necesitado de centrarse en dos tareas básicas: a quiénes se conduce y para qué.

Se debe advertir que en las escuelas, especialmente, la dirección no presupone necesariamente tener capacidades o habilidades para el liderazgo, de la misma manera que el liderazgo no debe suponer forzosamente acceso a la dirección. Uno de los elementos claves que diferencia al líder de la dirección es el poder. De la dirección emana siempre el poder; en cambio, el líder se tiene que ganar la “autoridad”. La investigación realizada por Díez, Terrón, Centeno & Valle (2003), pone de manifiesto que esta confusión entre los dos términos es debida a que ambos están vinculados al ejercicio del poder en las organizaciones educativas. Cuando un centro actúa sólo en función de los resultados, es semejante a una organización empresarial que desarrolla un ejercicio de poder jerárquico e individualista. En este caso, cabe hablar de gestión o dirección, no de liderazgo. En este sentido, se
desarrolla un modelo masculino de dirección y así lo justifica muy acertadamente Santos Guerra (2000) cuando vincula dirección con orden y autoridad. Por otra parte, en contraposición al modelo tradicional, emergen formas de liderazgo más blandos. De acuerdo con Nye (2008), esta concepción invierte los términos del liderazgo tradicional, de tal manera que el estilo de liderazgo firme, competitivo y autoritario deja paso a un liderazgo integrador, dispuesto a aceptar y adaptar la conducta de los seguidores; de esta manera han emergido nuevos modelos de liderazgo tales como el distributivo, cooperativo, adaptativo, entre otros, más próximos a los modelos de liderazgo femenino (Chinchilla, 2007; Nye, 2008).

Centrándonos en Cataluña, la Fundación Jaume Bofill conjuntamente con el proyecto Entornos Innovadores de Aprendizaje de la OCDE, han desarrollado un proyecto que propone situar el aprendizaje en el centro de la cuestión educativa e insta a hacer un cambio de paradigma educativo que vincula dos aspectos: el aprendizaje y el liderazgo educativo (Martínez, Badia & Jolonchi, 2013). De acuerdo con este proyecto, el liderazgo para el aprendizaje y los entornos innovadores de aprendizaje son conceptos dinámicos enfocados hacia el éxito escolar; el liderazgo para el aprendizaje es una modalidad de gestión y dinamización de los centros educativos que crea las condiciones para un posible buen desarrollo de la personalidad y del rendimiento académico del alumnado. Este estudio concluye que las organizaciones educativas que finalmente tienen éxito son aquellas que invierten en el crecimiento profesional de su personal (Martínez, Badia & Jolonchi, 2013), y desarrollan un modelo de liderazgo orientado a las necesidades específicas del alumnado; es decir, de esta manera estaríamos hablando de un liderazgo para el aprendizaje.

**Metodología**

Durante mucho tiempo la escuela rural fue invisible a los ojos de la sociedad por no haber alcanzado los requisitos mínimos que requería la institución escolar; a partir de los años 60’ se inicia un proceso de renovación pedagógica enfocado especialmente a la transformación de la escuela rural, que alcanza su zenit a principios de los 90’, momento en que se inicia la transformación del sistema educativo y se constituye un nuevo modelo escolar con la aparición de las ZER (Zonas Escolares Rurales). Este modelo
supone una nueva organización donde se distribuyen recursos humanos y materiales compartiendo un proyecto educativo común pero salvaguardando las singularidades de las escuelas (Ver: Samper, Burrial & Sala, 2016). En el curso 2012-2013 había 88 escuelas ZER en las comarcas de Cataluña; los maestros y maestras que hemos seleccionado han participado de este proceso de renovación.

Con el fin de poder analizar la emergencia del liderazgo en los maestros y maestras de escuela rural, cómo se desarrolla y si existen unas características diferenciales entre los maestros y maestras líderes, se ha optado por la metodología cualitativa, más concretamente, el análisis de casos.

Walker (1983) define el estudio de casos como “el examen de un ejemplo en acción”. Según este autor, el estudio de unos incidentes y hechos específicos y la recogida selectiva de información de carácter biográfico, de personalidad, de intervenciones y valores; permite al que lo realiza captar y reflejar los elementos de una situación que le dan significado. (Walker, 1983, p. 45)

De acuerdo con Vázquez & Angulo (2003), el investigador mismo puede construir el caso, que emerge de la propia investigación. O también a través del conocimiento pre-existente de una situación particular. El estudio de caso sigue la vía de la comprensión, de algo que está más allá para iluminar un problema o las condiciones que afectan al caso seleccionado. Nuestro objeto de estudio es precisamente comprender cómo se produce la transformación de los docentes en líderes.

El caso es importante porque es único. El investigador, en este estudio tiene que comprender lo que tiene de único y de particular. En esta investigación se ha encontrado que cada líder es único, cada uno tiene una potente base educativa, cada uno desarrolla proyectos diferenciados. Así, de acuerdo con Stake (1995), los docentes elegidos para nuestro estudio se corresponden a los criterios que ofrecen las mejores oportunidades de brindar conocimiento; cuestión que nos llevó a definirlos como líderes.

Es importante recordar que la selección de los casos no debe responder a casos típicos o representativos, ya que como bien indica Stake (1994) “no es probable que la muestra de un solo caso o unos casos sea una buena representación de otros”. Por ello, este mismo autor señala que el primer criterio para la selección debe ser la máxima rendibilidad de aquello que aprendemos. Es decir, elegir los casos que nos den más oportunidad de
aprendizaje y entender con mayor profundidad los aspectos de nuestra investigación.

Inicialmente se realizó un primer contacto en 2012 con docentes de diferentes centros educativos rurales de Cataluña, lo cual permitió la identificación de dos maestros y dos maestras que ejercían de directores y directoras de sus escuelas y presentaban rasgos singulares que nos hicieron pensar a priori que reunían ampliamente las condiciones para ejercer con éxito el liderazgo. Tuvimos en cuenta nuestra experiencia y conocimiento de las escuelas rurales de Cataluña, así como el asesoramiento del Secretariado de Escuela Rural.

Los criterios de selección son: a) tener un amplio bagaje como docentes de escuela rural; b) tener experiencia como director/directora; c) haber implementado con éxito un proyecto de escuela singular y diferenciado y vinculado a su entorno; d) establecer relaciones estrechas y abiertas con la comunidad; e) ejercer el papel de líder reconocido por la comunidad educativa. Se observa que estos maestros y maestras desarrollan un elevado compromiso con la necesidad de transformar el sistema educativo.

El trabajo de campo se desarrolló durante seis meses del 2013 en las escuelas donde ejercían los maestros y maestras seleccionados, estas escuelas se encuentran situadas en las comarcas catalanas del Vallès Occidental, Bergadà, Osona y Alto Ampurdán.

Esta técnica nos permitió conocer la trayectoria personal y profesional de estas personas, así como sus percepciones y cómo se han construido como líderes y cómo ejercen su papel. Para ello, observamos diversas situaciones de la vida diaria del centro, y realizamos entrevistas en profundidad a los directivos y directivas. Entre otras cuestiones, preguntamos por la construcción del proyecto de escuela, los retos que han tenido que afrontar, sus concepciones sobre los modelos docentes y educativos, etc. Para el análisis de los datos obtuvimos unas categorías a partir de unas pre-categorías que habíamos elaborado previamente, teniendo en cuenta la fuente de información (observaciones o entrevistas).

En el desarrollo de esta investigación se siguieron los criterios nombrados por Stake (1995), como son la ética y la confidencialidad como aspectos relevantes. Para salvaguardar el anonimato de las personas y centros que han participado en esta investigación, les asignamos unos acrónimos, formados por dos letras mayúsculas, que construimos de la
siguiente manera: la primera letra define el género (M si es mujer, y H si es hombre), y la segunda letra (de las cuatro primeras letras del abecedario) designa el lugar de trabajo (escuela A, escuela B, escuela C, escuela D) y también el pueblo donde está ubicada la escuela (pueblo A, pueblo B, pueblo C, pueblo D).

Maestros y Maestras Hacia el liderazgo

A pesar de ser un tema crucial, el liderazgo educativo no está suficientemente explorado de manera empírica. Cuando se habla de liderazgo educativo se puede aludir a diferentes aspectos o facetas del espacio escolar. La investigación que se ha realizado se refiere a la transformación de estos cuatro maestros y maestras directivos y directivas en líderes, y se centra en tres aspectos: la constitución (formación) del liderazgo, el desarrollo de los proyectos educativos, y la diferenciación, si existe, entre liderazgos masculinos y liderazgos femeninos.

La cuestión esencial es cuál es el proceso que les ha conducido al liderazgo. En todos ellos y ellas existen motivaciones anteriores que les impelen a iniciar un período de búsqueda, los maestros y maestras seleccionados tienen en común la necesidad de transformar el sistema educativo tal y como ellos y ellas lo han vivido.

“Todo tiene una chispa que hace nacer un proyecto. Yo provenía de una realidad totalmente diferente… una escuela de ciudad… Yo hago el cambio… hago un proyecto nuevo”. (HA)
“Yo decidí que para hacerlo de aquella manera no quería… no servía… y me fui a estudiar psicología a Barcelona… y me fui a trabajar a una escuela de educación especial…. la libertad que me daba el hecho de no tener que trabajar con programas, con maneras concretas de hacer… yo creo que fue el primer paso a pensar que la escuela no tenía que ser lo mismo que yo había vivido en mi infancia… ni en aquel año en ..., que la escuela podía ser otra cosa…”. (MB)
“Como había crecido en una escuela de pueblo yo quería ser maestro en una escuela de pueblo…pero cuando llegué no tenía la mínima idea… tenía mis recuerdos como alumno pero no tenía ningún conocimiento de qué me encontraría, ni de qué tenía que hacer…”. (HD)
El liderazgo no se improvisa. Construir un proyecto de escuela singular requiere un tiempo importante de reflexión, preparación, búsqueda y asesoramiento. Construir un nuevo proyecto requiere un grado de responsabilidad y compromiso importantes. Estos maestros y maestras a la vez que trabajan para transformar el medio educativo, transforman su visión de la educación y sus expectativas de futuro y las de la comunidad.

MB imagina un proyecto transformador donde los niños y las niñas pueden dar rienda suelta a su curiosidad y desarrollarla según sus intereses.

“Cuando estaba en X (nombre de la escuela) una inspectora me vio y me dijo: ¿Por qué no te vas a B (nombre del pueblo donde está la nueva escuela) que allí estarás muy bien? Y le hice caso. Allí me encontré a una compañera, teníamos la misma visión de la escuela, de la infancia… de cuál tenía que ser nuestro papel […] Antes habíamos intentado hacer una escuela un grupo de personas y había estado en contacto con Reggio Emilia. Escribí a Tonnuci en un determinado momento y me dijeron: “tendrías que ir a ver a Malagucci”, lo fui a ver y me lo sacó de la cabeza, me encerró en un despacho y me dijo: “eso que tú estás intentado hacer… tiene que ser en la pública, porque es para todos los niños, no solamente para unos pocos”. Y le hice caso. Volvimos aquí y dejamos la idea de la escuela y me fui hacia la pública… […] Encontré dos compañeras y tuvimos que hablar muy poco, teníamos la misma idea y fuimos las tres por segunda vez a Región Emilia y tuvimos contacto con los parvularios, con la gente de allí, y volvimos más entusiasmadas de lo que estábamos, queríamos llevar a cabo un proyecto que nos ilusionaba pero que no tiene que ver nada con el actual”. (MB)

Esta maestra percibe que las formas y maneras tradicionales que ella había vivido en las escuelas pueden transformarse en un nuevo concepto de escuela y de educación, y así paulatinamente crea un modelo nuevo e innovador.

Por otra parte, HD cuando llega al pueblo siente la necesidad de cambiar el modelo de escuela rural tradicional que encuentra, e inicia su proceso particular de búsqueda y transformación.
“Pensé… ¡caramba! Si esta gente es del Secretariado, son expertos y saben cómo funciona, tienes que ir y asistir a estas jornadas… y desde aquel momento me dije esta gente sabe cómo va la cosa… has de formar parte y así fue como comencé… y busqué también información…así fue como descubrí Freinet… […] Lo que me impactó más fueron las diferentes técnicas de Freinet. Y aquí pensé, esto es parte de la solución de lo que estoy buscando, que tenía que ver con los planes escolares o la imprenta escolar, que hace que todo el trabajo de la escuela sea significativo […]. Fui buscando más información. […] A partir de aquí fuimos construyendo el proyecto de la ZER (…) A mí me sorprendió que se trabajara con libros y a partir de esto fuimos experimentando con todo tipo de metodologías”. (HD)

Para MC el proceso es similar. Ella ha adquirido experiencias diversas a través de su participación en los Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica, su activismo político y su experiencia docente, habilidades que le sirven para construir un nuevo proyecto de escuela.

“Yo llego a C (nombre del pueblo) con un bagaje de haber trabajado en dos escuelas y un bagaje personal de haber estado vinculada y todavía estoy, en los movimientos de renovación pedagógica… el trabajo en equipo, la colaboración con la gente son dos aspectos fundamentales que me llevo conmigo cuando llego a B. (nombre del pueblo) y me encuentro una escuela que he de montar prácticamente yo sola y con compañeros que un principio por dificultades personales no colaboran, después sí”. (MC).

HA trabajaba en la escuela privada como maestro de educación infantil, pero el trabajo rutinario de la escuela no le satisfacía y se preguntaba: ¿Toda la vida tendré que explicar lo mismo? Decide iniciar nuevos estudios, y asistir a los cursos de formación del ICE de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Cambia de la escuela privada a la escuela pública. Después, el Departament d’Ensenyament de la Generalitat de Catalunya le encarga la realización de un nuevo proyecto para recuperar la escuela A (nombre de la escuela), y acepta el reto.

”Yo provenía de una realidad totalmente diferente, una escuela de ciudad, de 4 líneas, hago el cambio […] Tengo la necesidad de
compartir mi inquietud con compañeros del grupo ICE […] En este grupo encuentro conexiones, encuentro gente que había trabajado las ideas que yo tenía pero muy elaboradas […] Justo cuando hacía 6 meses que estaba, se me propone el reto de abrir la escuela A (…) Ante este reto yo me documento, leo y escribo las líneas de lo que tendría que ser el proyecto de escuela, y lo nombraba la Autopista de la escuela; un proyecto que tuviera una dirección muy bien definida pero que fuera suficientemente amplia para dar cabida a diferentes miradas. El reto empezó por buscar las personas que quisieran formar parte de este proyecto, formar alumnos críticos que tuvieran en cuenta el entorno que nos envuelve, son huellas que tuvimos en cuenta en este primer momento. No fue un camino fácil. Yo diría que hay una esencia que no tiene que cambiar pero hay una mirada hacia aquello que aprendemos y cómo aprendemos, una reflexión”. (HA)

HA desarrolla su proyecto en una zona rural con dos comunidades bien diferenciadas: los habitantes de toda la vida y los recién llegados. Su implicación con la comunidad es elevada y tiene claro desde un principio que la primera acción que debe acometer es trabajar para cohesionar las dos poblaciones. HA deberá ganarse la confianza del pueblo y posteriormente la confianza de los padres. El primer paso es participar de la vida cotidiana del pueblo, sus fiestas, su actividad cultural y mostrar pro-actividad.

Otro reto es ganarse a las familias, para ello las invita a la escuela y las pone en situación de aprendizaje realizando actividades similares a las que hacen sus hijos e hijas. HA analiza también los niveles de instrucción de la población, que son de nivel medio-bajo, dado que se plantea que si los padres no han tenido éxito escolar van a tener dificultades para entender su proyecto; es decir, se pregunta cómo puede implantar unas nuevas metodologías si las familias no comprenden qué se hace en la escuela. Para ello los espacios de la escuela se abren a la comunidad; si los padres y las madres se apropien de los espacios escolares, todo va a revertir en una mejora y comprensión de estos espacios y del trabajo escolar. Otro requisito importante fue buscar un equipo que se quisiera adherir al compromiso. Algunos de los maestros y maestras líderes han tenido la oportunidad de participar en el diseño de la escuela, creando unos espacios adecuados para desarrollar el proyecto. Otros, en cambio, no han gozado de esta oportunidad, pero han sido capaces de ordenar los espacios según las necesidades de la institución. Ya se trate de escuelas en viejos edificios de
antiguas naves industriales o escuelas de nueva construcción, todas ellas tienen en común la movilidad del alumnado, los espacios versátiles, una relación estrecha con el exterior, etc. Por ejemplo, en la escuela de B se tiene un espacio a la entrada de la escuela en forma de anfiteatro de usos múltiples para el encuentro, la asamblea de alumnado, de familias, para observar y trabajar en proyectos de innovación, gestionar demandas y conflictos. El anfiteatro es un punto diario de encuentro que invita a hablar, pensar o imaginarse.

“Este local es fruto de nuestra intervención como maestros… entonces pedimos al arquitecto que nos hizo caso, que necesitábamos un espacio colectivo que nos ha de servir para hacer presentaciones, exposiciones, que tiene que ser un lugar donde podamos hacer obras de teatro, también será el gimnasio, etc. Después unas aulas… que puedes hacer el aula más cerrada, más abierta en función de qué necesidades y puedes repartir el alumnado según qué actividad estés haciendo”. (MC)

“El edificio es desastroso pero esto le da también por otro lado la calidez de un edificio viejo que no está pensado para unas condiciones concretas, unas determinadas finalidades, pero esto también ha permitido un espacio familiar, que el cambio no fuera solamente de unas pedagogías concretas sino que el edificio acompañara también en este tipo de trabajo (…) tenemos en el proyecto de escuela que los espacios acompañan a las personas”. (MB)

**Proyectos: Estrategias, Motivaciones y Valores**

Maestros y maestras desarrollan un modelo de liderazgo con visión de futuro, en el sentido de ser imaginativos e intuitivos para transformar la realidad, del mismo modo apoyan su trabajo en la reconstrucción de la comunidad escolar a partir del diálogo y la confianza con la comunidad; las familias independientemente de sus orígenes sociales y étnicos se sienten acogidas, seguras e integradas. Estas escuelas mantienen una colaboración estrecha y comprometida con su medio social y natural. Por ejemplo, para MC el trabajo escolar tiene sentido cuando se devuelve a la sociedad.

“Con esta línea yo pienso que hemos ido trabajando una relación muy directa con el pueblo, algunas veces a través de proyectos muy
ambiciosos como el pueblo educador donde la escuela estaba abierta a la comunidad e intentaba ser un espacio de encuentro de la comunidad”. (MC)
“Llegó un punto al 2006… porque la escuela había ido creciendo sobre todo debido a la atención a la diversidad, hace que la escuela se conozca y las familias se planteen llevar a sus hijos, rebotados de escuelas más convencionales, a una escuela un poco diferente, la escuela se fue llenando… fue creciendo…” (MB)

Tanto los hombres como mujeres desarrollan proyectos propios. Las escuelas, además, son espacios de investigación y crecimiento personal. Tienen en común que gozan de un buen número de seguidores que va más allá de la comunidad escolar.

“Hemos generado una escuela con ADN que en estos 7 años nos ha hecho crecer… si no lo hiciéramos, seríamos una escuela que tendría un proyecto, pero no seríamos una escuela que avanza, que aprende”. (HA)
“Yo pasé a ser directora y como tengo una especie de pasión por las ciencias quizás se contagió esta especie de visión al resto del equipo, a los maestros, a los niños, una visión más científica”. (MB)
“La escuela no somos solamente los maestros, están los padres, están los abuelos, están los vecinos, que tienen mucha información que nos pueden aportar en nuestro día a día”. (MC)

El liderazgo implica diferenciación. A pesar de que estas y estos líderes comparten el compromiso para transformar la escuela y unos valores sobre cómo debe ser la educación, el desarrollo de cada centro es diferente, la personalidad de cada uno hace que estos proyectos de escuela sean singulares.

HA construye un proyecto educativo que se basa en cuatro pilares: una escuela de la comunicación, una escuela del bienestar (se disfruta de lo que se aprende), una escuela que aprende (aprende el alumnado, el profesorado y la comunidad), una escuela abierta a la comunidad. Su metodología se basa en la creación de redes de significado a partir del método científico.

Por el contrario, MB basa su proyecto en una nueva forma de aprender las matemáticas, partiendo de que el conocimiento matemático está en todas partes. Las matemáticas son el eje central a partir del cual se conecta el
conjunto de conocimientos. El método de trabajo consiste en crear grupos de investigación sobre diferentes temáticas, la base es el método científico con el que se debe razonar, ordenar, clasificar, jerarquizar, plantearse nuevas preguntas y no dar por cerradas las respuestas.

Para MC, los valores que desarrolla su proyecto se articulan a partir de tres conceptos: la sostenibilidad, el medio ambiente y la democracia; todo bajo un potente paraguas de carácter social. El nivel de implicación con la comunidad es muy elevado. Se basa en el método científico, en su trabajo cotidiano busca el equilibrio entre la teoría y la práctica, desarrolla un profundo respeto por la comunidad. Un aspecto importante es reconocer el entorno, situar la práctica y vincularla con el conocimiento escolar.

“Lo primero que hago es reconocer el entorno, buscar qué tiene y de qué me sirve a mis intereses y a los de la población, el medio físico y social de las personas, el trabajo que han desarrollado… los proyectos tienen una parte práctica que los alumnos puedan tocar aquello que hacen y ver de primera mano que la teoría viene de una experimentación, de un análisis de los elementos”. (MC)

Para HD, un aspecto clave es la construcción de relaciones abiertas con el entorno. La escuela es además un importante eje de dinamización de la comunidad y del pueblo. HD ha logrado recomponer la escuela a partir de un trabajo atractivo, capacidad de empatía y un potente diálogo con todos y cada uno de sus habitantes. Ha logrado recomponer la escuela y ganarse la confianza de sus habitantes.

“Yo pienso que uno de los ejes fundamentales es cómo la escuela integra este medio y cómo el medio integra la escuela…”. (HD)
“Desde los inicios queríamos una escuela que aprendiera, no solamente unos niños que aprendieran, unos maestros que aprendieran, sino una escuela que aprendiera y cuando explicábamos la escuela a las familias en el 2007, cuando se tenían que matricular, una frase que les hacíamos llegar era: “queremos una escuela en la cual los niños no hagan lo que quieran, sino que estimen aquello que hacen”. Hacer crecer el deseo por aprender. Los rasgos que no queremos perder de vista es el proyecto educativo”. (HA)
“Una fuerte vinculación con el entorno próximo, la vida está fuera, los
conocimientos están fuera, dentro podemos crear los contactos...”.
(MB)
“Reflexionando dentro del equipo nos hemos dado cuenta que la
investigación es la única manera de aprender, por tanto en la escuela,
sí, la investigación se puede hacer a partir del método científico dentro
del trabajo escolar...”. (MB)

Género y Liderazgo: Procesos de Desdiferenciación

Las relaciones que mantienen los y las líderes se alejan del paradigma
convencional, por una parte, los maestros líderes no responden al modelo
tradicional de rigidez, autoridad e incentivos. Así, son dialogantes,
desarrollan un modelo empático que genera confianza y buen hacer. Por otro
lado, las mujeres líderes se alejan de los tópicos y estereotipos, dialogan,
saben tomar decisiones y no rehúyen de los conflictos.

Para acercarnos más al desarrollo y conocimiento de estos líderes
tomamos como ejemplo el Claustro pedagógico, una de las actividades
formales que se desarrollan semanalmente en la escuela A y que tiene la
función de poner en común todo lo que acontece académicamente en el
centro. Tarea que implica: diálogo, reflexión, coordinación, distribución de
tareas, orientación y reorientación. Se trata de un ejercicio de liderazgo
compartido, distributivo y colaborativo, ya que requiere la implicación de
todo el equipo docente; es decir, si el Claustro pedagógico no funciona, la
escuela tampoco funciona. Este modelo se acerca al modelo blando que

Asimismo, HD ha logrado con esfuerzo y habilidad, generar elevadas
dosis de confianza por parte de la comunidad en la escuela. Ha logrado
recomponer los vínculos escuela-comunidad de tal manera que la escuela
deviene un núcleo de referencia del pueblo. A título de ejemplo, en
dependencias de la escuela se han creado espacios compartidos como la
biblioteca. Allí se ha formado un grupo de lectura de adultos, que a menudo
recibe visitas de alumnos de todas las edades para leer conjuntamente.

Las maestras líderes se acercan también a estos modelos blandos y
dialogantes. Dos principios están en la base de su trabajo: la construcción de
sentido de lo que se hace y para qué se hace y una fuerte convicción de
justicia social. MB insiste que “el profesorado tiene que dar al máximo y el
alumnado debe de llegar al máximo de su capacidad”; recuerda MB que “en la escuela no hay techo”. Para MC la implicación social con la que plantea sus actividades cotidianas y su relación con el medio físico y social, constituyen dos pilares fundamentales de su proyecto. La pro-actividad que muestra MC tanto en el medio escolar como en la comunidad constituye un acicate del saber ser y hacer de una maestra comprometida con su trabajo.

**Conclusiones**

Tal como sugiere la metodología de análisis de casos, las escuelas analizadas son únicas en su contexto. A pesar de que los maestros y las maestras líderes comparten unos principios educativos similares sobre lo que debe ser la educación, su desarrollo es notablemente distinto. Esta diferencia viene determinada por las habilidades que poseen cada uno de estos líderes.

Se ha podido observar cómo en un momento dado de su trayectoria laboral, estos y estas líderes ponen de manifiesto su necesidad de transformación del sistema educativo. Inician un periodo de estudio, viajes, conversaciones sobre el tema. Las vías de construcción de los proyectos son notablemente diferentes para cada uno de ellos y ellas.

Los principios sobre los que construyen sus escuelas son comunes: partir de los intereses de los niños y las niñas, así como del método científico como base del trabajo, una especial atención en los proyectos de investigación y en el trabajo en equipo.

Son escuelas con una elevada movilidad, con espacios versátiles, donde se fomenta la motivación por el conocimiento y el trabajo bien hecho. En contrapartida a estos principios, sus proyectos son radicalmente diferentes: van desde el construcccionismo y el trabajo de redes, la matemática como eje fundamental del trabajo escolar, la ecología y los medios físico y social, hasta la recuperación de la escuela como elemento fundamental para el desarrollo de la vida rural.

Son proyectos muy creativos que requieren de un elevado grado de dedicación, lo que implica que no sólo el alumnado aprende sino también los docentes; es decir, la dedicación de los maestros y maestras va más allá de los aspectos de coordinación, y se ven obligados a diseñar nuevos elementos que puedan contribuir a la orientación y desarrollo de los proyectos del alumnado.
Las programaciones curriculares homogéneas no sirven al alumno que está desarrollando un proyecto de investigación, por el contrario, los y las docentes deben dejar registrado, a menudo con posterioridad, todo el desarrollo y progresos del alumnado.

En este sentido, si la Administración facilitara la composición de equipos de trabajo con una preparación básica y buena disposición, mejoraría el trabajo escolar. Otra dificultad es la falta de motivación de los maestros y maestras por trabajar en una escuela rural. A veces, el desplazamiento a zonas rurales supone un inconveniente añadido.

Finalmente, retomamos la eterna discusión sobre las diferencias de liderazgo según el género. Cabe destacar que en los años que se ha realizado este proyecto no se han constatado diferencias de género. Los y las líderes estudiados se caracterizan por su capacidad de comunicación. Tanto en hombres como en mujeres, no se observan rasgos autoritarios, más bien se dialoga, se reflexiona, se plantean alternativas. Ambos tienen un marcado carácter social y una gran capacidad de ejecución.

De acuerdo con Nye (2011), a medida que las sociedades alcanzan mayor calidad democrática, tienden también a la democratización del poder; es decir, se aproximan a lo que este autor llama poder blando. El poder blando es más persuasivo, controla mejor las emociones y tiende a reconocer y a escuchar a sus seguidores. Se observa en este estudio sobre el liderazgo en las escuelas rurales, como se aproximan los estilos o modelos entre hombres y mujeres, no sólo en la comunicación sino también en el desarrollo de las actividades cotidianas en las aulas.

Finalmente se observa una proliferación y diferenciación de categorías relacionadas con el liderazgo que dificultan el reconocimiento de los verdaderos líderes, aunque cabe reconocer que algunos directivos y directivas desarrollan tareas excelentes. En el caso que nos ocupa, los y las líderes que hemos analizado se distinguen por: a) la solidez y fundamentación de sus conocimientos que les permiten imaginar nuevas formas educativas dotándolas de sentido. Una observación: todos y todas llegan al liderazgo a edades adultas; b) el grado elevado de compromiso personal con la necesidad de transformar el sistema educativo; c) la realización de un proyecto global que abarca todos los ámbitos escolares y que se encuentra vinculado a procesos de cambio e innovación. Todos los actos son fruto del diálogo previo y permanente entre docentes, discentes y
familias. En este sentido la implicación del medio es muy importante, el “aprender a aprender” adquiere nuevo significado; d) la inspiración, el conocimiento y el uso del método científico contribuyen a la creación de proyectos escolares interesantes; estas escuelas recogen el espíritu del proyecto humanista y de la racionalidad.

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Shadow Education and Social Class Inequalities in Secondary Education in Greece: The Case of Teaching English as a Foreign Language

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Abstract

This article deals with the shadow education system of private tutoring which contributes to the reproduction of social class inequalities, focusing on the Greek public secondary education system. It presents a literature review of the issue and the findings of an empirical qualitative and quantitative research that aimed at examining the causes of the students’ massive resort to private supplementary tutoring for learning the English language, despite the fact that English is taught at school. The study also set out to examine the relationship between students’ socioeconomic background and resort to private supplementary tutoring and the relationship between socioeconomic background and knowledge of the English language as attested by official certifications. Research findings indicate that the widely spread resort to private supplementary tutoring has a negative impact on the teaching of English in Greek public lower secondary education. Using Bourdieu’s cultural reproduction theory, we argue that private supplementary tutoring makes closer the relationship between social class, familial cultural and economic capital and educational outcomes. Thus, upper and middle-class students are at an advantage, since they can move to the labour market with valued educational qualifications that enhance their occupational prospects. Finally, we discuss educational measures to address the problem.

Keywords: social class inequalities, learning English, cultural and economic capital, shadow education
Educación en la Sombra y Desigualdades de Clase Social en la Educación Secundaria en Grecia: El Caso de la Enseñanza del Inglés como Lengua Extranjera

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Resumen

Este artículo trata del sistema de educación de la tutoría privada que contribuye a la reproducción de las desigualdades de clase social, centrándose en el sistema de educación secundaria pública en Grecia. Presenta los hallazgos de una investigación empírica cualitativa y cuantitativa que tuvo como objetivo examinar las causas del recurso masivo de los estudiantes a la tutoría suplementaria privada para aprender inglés. El estudio también se propuso examinar la relación entre el trasfondo socioeconómico de los estudiantes y el recurso a la tutoría suplementaria privada y la relación entre el trasfondo socioeconómico y el conocimiento del idioma inglés. Los hallazgos de la investigación indican que el recurso ampliamente extendido a la tutoría suplementaria privada tiene un impacto negativo en la enseñanza del inglés en la educación secundaria pública griega. Utilizando la teoría de la reproducción cultural de Bourdieu, sostenemos que la tutoría suplementaria privada hace más cercana la relación entre la clase social, el capital cultural y económico de la familia y los resultados educativos. Así, los estudiantes de clase alta y media están en una ventaja, ya que pueden trasladarse al mercado laboral con valiosas calificaciones educativas que mejoran sus perspectivas ocupacionales. Finalmente, el artículo habla de medidas educativas para abordar el problema.

Palabras clave: desigualdades de clase social, aprendizaje de inglés, capital cultural y económico, educación en la sombra
Sociologists of education and educational scholars who study social class inequalities in education are increasingly focusing on the issue of “shadow education”, which is defined as “paid private tuition outside of, and additional to, the formal schooling system” (Smyth, 2009, p. 2). Shadow education is a phenomenon that exists in educational systems throughout the world and is growing rapidly in recent decades (Bray, 2011; Manzon & Areepattamannil, 2014; Zhang, 2014). Research has shown that shadow education has grown in popularity in recent decades and that there is a “prodigious growth in out-of-school, private educational activities meant to supplement formal schooling is observed worldwide” (Mori & Baker, 2010). Shadow education has been extensive in East Asia, but in recent decades it has acquired worldwide dimensions (Chan & Bray, 2014). Similarly, research in England indicates that about 25% of students have attended private tuition during primary or secondary education (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005), while resort to private tuition is extremely common in Greece, especially in relation to preparing university applicants for the highly competitive university entrance examinations.

Apart from the term “shadow education, in the relevant literature researchers also use the terms “private tuition” or “private supplementary tutoring” which is defined as “tutoring in academic subjects (such as languages and mathematics), and is provided by the tutors for financial gain, and is additional to the provision by mainstream schooling” (Bray, 2003, p. 13). Shadow education is at the heart of empirical research, since it is often seen as an instance of the marketization of educational systems, of the “transformation to a market-based system” (Silova, Budiene & Bray, 2006, p. 7). Researchers have also shown that private tutoring can lead to the maintenance of social inequalities in education. In this article we will use the term private tuition to describe tutoring which is supplementary to what students are taught at school.

Private tuition can take many forms. It usually takes place in the student’s home or at centers dedicated to providing tuition (Tanner et al, 2009). It can take place on a one-to-one basis in the home of either the tutor or the students. It can also be provided in organized courses, either in small or in larger groups. In some countries tutoring is provided by mail, via the internet (Ventura & Jang, 2010) or even by telephone (Bray, 2007).

Students and their families resort to shadow education for many reasons.
They may feel that the school does not provide them with adequate knowledge, they may wish to improve their school performance and grades. Also, parents who are concerned about their offspring’s performance in school examinations are likely to resort to private tuition (Davies 2004). Moreover, as it is common in Greece and Japan, students may want to prepare better for university entrance examinations (Bray, 2007; Heyneman, 2011), especially when the places available at universities is limited. Resort to private tutoring is especially common in educational systems with strict university admission processes, since students and their families want to participate in higher education, and especially in prestigious departments. Apart from resorting to private tuition for preparation in competitive university entrance examinations, researchers argue that private tutoring is part of an “enrichment strategy” (Addi-Raccah & Dana, 2015, p. 184), whereby families wish to equip their offspring with educational qualifications that will help them in their lives, while it also serves to overcome the inadequacies of the educational system. This means that education is often considered as “an investment in human capital” that will positively affect students’ future and welfare (Heyneman, 2011, p. 184).

Shadow education concerns sociologists of education because it is linked with the maintenance and exacerbation of social class inequalities in education (Lynch & Moran, 2006; Bray, 2007; Matsuoka, 2015). The shadow education system of private supplementary tutoring is a serious issue with “far-reaching implications for social inequalities and therefore social justice (Bray & Kwo, 2013, p. 480). They argue that since families, regardless of their income, invest heavily in it and spend huge amounts of money. In this way, the free education for all principle, as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is seriously undermined (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Thus, it is also linked to the issue of social class inequalities in educational achievement, which exists in many countries (Hobbs, 2016). Research has indicated that students from families with higher levels of financial capital can afford the cost of shadow education and improve their school performance. By contrast, students from lower social class backgrounds who come from families with lower income cannot attend private supplementary tutoring, so they have less chances to succeed at school (Joynathsing et al, 1988). Indeed, there is evidence that students from families from higher socioeconomic groups receive more private tuition than
students from lower socioeconomic groups (Foondun, 1998). Similarly, research on the prevalence and cost of private tuition in England has shown that the same is true for students from families in the highest household income band (Peters et al., 2009) and for students with parents who are university graduates (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005). These findings are not surprising given the fact that the cost of private tutors could be as high as 30 euros per hour (Lynch & Moran, 2006). In summary, private tutoring, leads to the maintenance of social class in education, since students from different social classes have differential levels of access to it. Therefore, students from upper and middle classes, due to their higher levels of economic and cultural capital can benefit from attending private tuition and achieve better results at school.

**Literature Review**

Private supplementary tutoring is widely spread in Greece. Due to the “numerus clausus” policy in higher education, there is strong competition for the few places available, especially in prestigious higher education departments (Gouvias, 1998). Only applicants with the highest grades will be able to attend higher education, especially prestigious university departments such as the Medical or the Law school. Families invest heavily in higher education, so most families resort to private supplementary tutoring to prepare their offspring for the highly competitive higher education entrance examinations (Giamouridis & Bagley, 2006). Students from families with lower income are at a disadvantage, since they cannot pay for private supplementary tutoring and have fewer opportunities to have high school performance and succeed in the university entrance examinations (Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides et al., 2000).

School performance is important for the following reasons. First, students from families with higher socioeconomic status have higher school performance, so they have easier access to higher education and can attend the most prestigious university departments (Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990). This is because access and allocation within higher education usually depends on academic performance in university entrance examinations. In this framework, research has shown that students from upper and middle-class backgrounds have higher performance and usually study in prestigious
higher education institutions and departments. Empirical data suggest that in Greece social class differentials in relation to school performance can be attributed to students’ economic and cultural capital. Students from families with higher levels of cultural and economic capital have high academic performance, since they can afford the cost of costly private supplementary tutoring (Mylonas, 1999). Second, students with higher school performance in subjects such as foreign languages are at an advantage, since knowledge of foreign languages is an invaluable tool in the labour market.

As far as the teaching and learning of foreign languages, and especially the English language, is concerned, private tutoring is widely spread. At first sight it would seem strange, given the fact that English as a foreign language is taught from the first grade of primary school. Most students and their families choose the less costly organized courses, while a minority the tutoring on a one-to-one basis, which is costlier. It is considered, however, to yield better results, since it can be tailored to meet the specific needs of the students.

Bearing the above discussion into consideration, in this paper we are concerned with a specific aspect of social inequalities in the Greek educational system. More specifically, we are concerned with social class inequalities that arise due to the massive resort to private supplementary tutoring. To examine its impact and its relationship with socioeconomic background, we will focus on the knowledge of the English language of upper secondary school graduates.

It is an issue which is at the heart of the public and scholarly discussion in Greece and concerns educators and those who are responsible for the design of educational policy. The increased concern with the issue stems from the fact that in modern society knowledge of the English language is a prerequisite for the transition to the labour market, and participation in the society, which, due to globalization, is not limited in the country’s borders. It is also an issue which, as we will see, has to do with social inequalities in education.

In modern societies, in which the use of information plays an important role (Castells, 2000) the knowledge of foreign language is a factor that contributes positively to individual prosperity as well as the general financial development and prosperity of the society (European Council of Barcelona, 2002). According to the official rhetoric that accompanies initiatives for the
promotion of learning foreign languages, knowing foreign languages is not simply useful, but necessary in many fields, such as education, labour market and the social life of individuals. In other words, it constitutes a significant parameter for active participation in the knowledge society, individual success, the general financial development and prosperity of the society. Knowledge of the English language in particular, is necessary for active participation in the society and use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), since 78% of websites are in the English language (Chen & Wellman, 2005). Knowledge of foreign languages is linked to combating poverty and social exclusion and the development of an antagonistic society based on the use of knowledge (European Council of Barcelona, 2002).

Apart from the importance of English, the problem we discuss in this article stems also from the acknowledgement of continuing inefficiencies of the educational system in relation to the teaching of foreign languages, which is also mentioned in official sources. For instance, in the documents that accompany the National Curriculum for foreign languages it is mentioned that the teaching of foreign languages in the Greek educational system is not effective, while the Pedagogical Institute argues that the widely spread resort to out-of-school support for learning the English language is indicative of the deficiency of the educational system to provide high quality knowledge of the English language (Pedagogical Institute, 2008).

In Greece public education does not equip students with adequate knowledge of the English language, nor does it offer certification of its knowledge, despite the fact that students study the English language for many years. More specifically, the English language is now taught from the first class of primary school and its teaching is compulsory until graduation from secondary education. In the last decades many initiatives have been undertaken that aimed to increase the quality of teaching in the Greek education system. Despite these initiatives, students still do not receive the knowledge that students and their families wish, so that they do not have to pay in order to learn the English language outside of the school (Pedagogical Institute, 2012).
Research Methods

The above issues led us to conduct a small-scale research study with the aim of examining the causes of the students’ massive resort to private supplementary tutoring for learning the English language, despite the fact that English is taught at school from the first grade of primary education. The research was organized in the following way.

Data Collection

We used both quantitative and qualitative research methods. More specifically, we administered a questionnaire in order to examine the dimensions and the relationships that emerge in relation to the issue under investigation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). We also conducted a small number of semi-structured interviews to obtain in-depth data concerning the attitudes and beliefs of the students (Creswell, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The sample included an equal gender mix of 15 female and 15 male students. The semi-structured interviews included a list of the issues to be examined with each student, while the interviewer was free to build a conversation focusing on the predetermined research questions described below.

Sample

The sample of the research study were first year students from the Department of Fine Arts and Art Sciences and the Department of Physics in the University of Ioannina in Greece.

Research Aim

The aim of the research study was twofold. First, to record the extent of the resort to private tutoring for the English language and to examine the reasons for the widely spread resort to the out-of-school support and its influence on the teaching of the English language in the Greek educational system. Second and connectedly, to examine the relationship between social class
and knowledge of the English language, since the massive resort to the out-of-school support transforms the certification of the knowledge of the English language from a public to a private good. The empirical data obtained from the research will allow us to suggest measures to address the issue of the widely spread resort to private tuition and recommend educational practices that can increase the level of English language teaching and learning in Greek schools. Bearing the above into consideration, as well as the literature review we presented above, the research questions we posed were:

a) What is the extent of the resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language?

b) Why do students resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language, despite the fact that English is a compulsory subject from the first class of primary education?

c) Is there a relationship between socioeconomic background and knowledge of the English language as attested by official certifications?

Analysis

We decided to measure knowledge of the English language on the basis of official certificates, since it is a reliable measure of knowledge. We have used the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages which is often used in similar research (Council of Europe, 2001). It is useful, since it provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1).

The issue under investigation is even more significant due to the financial crisis facing Greece. The financial crisis places more burden on the students’ families, which cannot afford the extra cost of out-of-school support, given the dramatic decrease in income and the high unemployment rates. In this framework, the inefficiency of public schooling to provide students with
adequate knowledge of the English language is especially important, as it is related to the issue of equality of opportunity. If the public school does not guarantee that students can learn the English language, students and their families are forced to seek this knowledge outside of the official educational system, thus increasing social inequalities.

On a theoretical level, we employ the theoretical and practical tools developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron and their cultural reproduction theory in order to explain social inequalities in education and to analyze “how culture and education contribute to social reproduction” (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 153). Their theoretical tools elaborated in the cultural reproduction theory offer deep insights into the processes that enable the students from privileged backgrounds to have better grades in school, have higher performance on standardized tests, and earn degrees with higher value (Kingston, 2001). Their theoretical constructs can provide insights into the ways in which students from families with high resources have high levels of cultural capital, so they can adjust easier to the requirements and the culture of school and have high academic achievement (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Lareau, 1987).

It is worth mentioning a limitation of this research study. The fact that it focused on one higher education institution and two university departments means that care should be taken in generalizing the research results. Despite these shortcomings, we believe that the findings from this study shed light into a phenomenon that is widely spread in the Greek educational system, but has not been examined extensively from a sociological lens that focuses on the social implications of the parallel system of shadow education and the impact of the social class.

Findings

In this part of the paper we present the findings we collected from the questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews we conducted with the aim of examining the issue and responding to the research questions. The data we collected allowed us to gain an understanding of the students’ decision to attend private tuition and the impact of social class background.
Extent of Resort to Private Supplementary Tutoring for the English Language

Research findings indicate that most students receive some kind of tuition outside of the school. More specifically, the data we collected show that 95% of the sample have received out-of-school support, in addition to the teaching of English at school. The students who did not receive private supplementary tutoring were those with parents who knew the language well, so they taught their children the English language. The massive resort to private tutoring means that it is a decision that does not to be articulated, since attending private tuition is considered as the normal practice. As a student reported “Everyone participates in it”.

This means that no relationship between socioeconomic background and resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language was found. The data we collected showed that nearly all students, regardless of socioeconomic background, receive private supplementary tutoring, despite the fact that English is a compulsory subject in the Greek higher education system and students spend many hours studying English. This contrasts with research findings in other countries that show an “association between private tuition and parents’ socio-economic status” (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005, p. 6). According to a study conducted in Ireland, the likelihood of attended private tuition “is higher among more advantaged social groups, that is, among students from more middle-class backgrounds and those whose parents have tertiary educational qualifications” (Smyth, 2009, p. 17).

The high levels of resort to private tuition, regardless of socioeconomic background, reflects the widely spread held belief of the importance of the knowledge of the English language and the inefficiency of the educational system to provide adequate knowledge. Put simply, most students expressed the view that knowledge of the English language in indispensable for their studies and the transition to the labour market. As a student said “You can’t do anything without English”. Thus, if the school fails to provide adequate knowledge, it is only logical that they and their families seek this knowledge outside of the formal educational system.

Moreover, although we did not detect social class differences in the rates of resort to private tuition, we did find preliminary data that students from families with higher levels of financial and cultural capital are more likely to
attend the costliest one-to-one private tuition, rather than organized language courses. This places them at an advantage in relation to working class students who cannot afford the cost of more effective forms of private tuition. In other words, inequalities do not have to do with resort to private tutoring, since almost all students in the sample reported having attended private tutoring. Rather, inequalities were observed in relation to the type of private tuition, with students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds being more likely to attend the costlier type of private tutoring (one-to-one tuition), which are considered more effective, as can be tailored to meet the specific needs of the students. More research is needed before reaching definite conclusions, but we found a relationship between socioeconomic background and type of private tuition that needs to be investigated further in order to examine the impact of socioeconomic background.

Reasons for Resorting to Out-of-School Support

The second research question we set out to investigate concerned the reasons why students resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language, even if English as a foreign language is a compulsory subject from the first class of primary education. We wanted to investigate the driving force behind the seemingly paradoxical decision to resort to out-of-school support for a school subject that is taught at school for many years and great effort has been made in making its teaching more efficient.

The data we collected provided strong evidence that this massive resort can be attributed to two factors. First, the inefficiency of the Greek education system in relation to the teaching of foreign languages. Despite the fact that students study English for many years, students cannot get a certification of the knowledge of the English language. This means that if students and their families want certification, they are obliged to seek it outside of the public school. As a student said: “It’s difficult to learn English at school”, while another expressed the opinion that “You need to go to a frontisterion [a kind of private school for foreign languages] to learn English, the school is not enough”. An additional factor relates to the fact that knowledge of foreign language is essential in the transition to the labour market. Families invest in the future occupational achievement of their offspring, so they believe that knowing foreign languages is important and are willing to undergo financial
sacrifices in order to equip their offspring with useful educational credentials.

In other words, the massive resort to out-of-school support is due to the fact of the widely spread belief in the Greek society that the school does not guarantee the learning of the English language and preparation in examination for the certification of the knowledge of the English language. At the same time, they believe that knowledge of the English language can be secured from sources outside of it. This belief does not only lead to the massive resort to the out-of-school support but also has negative implications for the quality of the teaching of English in public schools. Students often have low interest for the lesson, since they already know, from private tutoring, what is taught at school. In turn, lack of interest for the lesson, as many students reported, led to behavior problems and created a classroom atmosphere that was not always conducive to providing positive educational outcomes.

The above discussion, along with the fact that certification of the knowledge of the English language is considered by students and their families as a commodity that can be bought, makes closer the relationship between social class and its knowledge as it is attested by official certificates. Students from families with higher levels of cultural and financial capital have more opportunities to learn the English language. The research data we collected also shed light to an important feature of social inequalities in education. Social inequalities are evident in the data which show the relationship between knowledge of the English language and socioeconomic background. This data is presented below.

**Knowledge of the English Language and Socioeconomic Background**

The statistical analysis of the research data indicates that there is a relationship between the student families’ income and certification of the knowledge of the English language. The research findings provide strong evidence that the familial financial capital impacts strongly on the certification of the knowledge of the English language. More specifically, students from families with higher income are more likely to have higher certification level, C1 or C2, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, in relation to students from families
with lower income.

In relation to the level of parental education, research findings indicate that it is associated with certification of the knowledge of the English language. More specifically, students with parents who have not participated in higher education have relatively low certification of the knowledge of the English language. Most of them have certification at the level of B2, while very few have higher certification levels. By contrast, students with parents who are higher education graduates or holders of postgraduate degrees are much more likely to have higher levels of certification, that is, C1 or C2.

The above research findings are important, since they show clearly the relationship between knowledge of the English language and social background. They seem to confirm Bourdieu’s theory of cultural reproduction, according which the unevenly allocated resources among social classes (cultural, social and financial capital) are related to social class differentiated school performance (Bourdieu, 2007; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

**What Can Be Done to Address the Problem?**

So far, we have seen the reproductive role of the educational system in Greece. However, we do not adopt a deterministic approach, believing that these inequalities are not inevitable, but can be overcome. We believe that the following measures can increase the level of foreign language education in Greek education and can provide all students, regardless of socioeconomic background, with adequate knowledge of the English language.

To begin with, on the basis of the above discussion, we argue that initiatives aiming at improving the teaching and learning of the English language in the Greek educational system are not enough for dealing with the problem. A holistic solution (combining the micro and the macro level) needs to examine the aims of teaching English, reforming the curriculum, using Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) for educational purposes and providing students with certification of the knowledge of the English language, as a means for reducing the massive resort to private tutoring that impacts negatively to the teaching of teaching English as a foreign language. It is also important to address these issues at depth in order
to acquire research findings that can help the dialogue in the educational community, provide policy makers with valuable information and challenge the belief that English cannot be learned at school.

Secondly, project work could be introduced in an effort to increase student interest, motivation and performance. In the relevant literature a number of beneficial outcomes of project-based learning have been identified. Project-based learning develops student confidence in using the foreign language (Fried-Booth, 2002), while it helps them acquire a positive attitude towards learning foreign languages (Stoller, 2006). Students who participate in projects have the chance to use the foreign language they are learning in a natural context (Haines, 1989).

Finally, differentiated instruction, which takes into account the fact that each student is unique can be helpful (Reese, 2011). In differentiated classrooms “not every student is doing exactly the same thing in exactly the same way at exactly the same time” (Theisen, 2002, p. 2) and the teacher makes use of “a variety of ways for students to explore curriculum content” (Tomlinson, 1995, p. 1). In this way all students, regardless of socioeconomic background and level of knowledge of the foreign language, are provided with challenging content and activities that motivate them to learn and “make their own sense of the content or input” (Theisen, 2002, p. 2), since the students’ needs and experiences are at the heart of the educational process (Tomlinson, 1999).

The above suggestions are simply indicative. Teachers who know their students can alter their teaching approaches to meet the needs of their students and help all of them acquire a good knowledge of the English language. We firmly believe that social class inequalities in relation to the teaching of English as a foreign language are not inevitable. They can be overcome provided effective educational measures have been taken and implemented consistently.

**Discussion and Conclusion**

The aim of the research study was to answer three interrelated questions that concern the issue of social inequalities in education. It is an important issue, since research has shown that the educational trajectories of working class students are different from those of students from the middle class...
backgrounds (Reay, 2001; Egerton & Savage 2000). It is a focal point of educational research and educational policies and initiatives in recent years, since at European Union level, since “the growing scale and intensity of private tutoring in the EU has profound economic, social and educational implications. It has strong implications for equity, for the work of mainstream schools, and for the lives of children and families” (Bray, 2011, p. 7). However, there is still a paucity of research studies that examine the extent of the phenomenon and its causes, even though shadow education has “major social and economic implications” (Bray, 2009, p. 11).

In relation to the first research question, the extent of the resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language we found that the majority of the students in the sample have received private supplementary tutoring. We also found that resort to private supplementary tutoring is not positively linked to socioeconomic status, since most students, regardless of social class origin participate in private supplementary tutoring. Despite the fact that we did not detect social class differences in the percentage of students who attend private tuition, the research data we collected showed that differences exist in relation to the type of private tuition. More specifically, students from upper and middle-class families were more likely to report that they attended the costliest one-to-one private tuition, rather than organized language courses. By contrast, the majority of students from working class backgrounds reported that they attended the less costly organized language courses, in which they attend lessons in a classroom along with other students. This places students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds at an advantage in relation to working class students who cannot afford the cost of more effective forms of private tuition.

As regards the reasons why do students resort to private supplementary tutoring for the English language, despite the fact that English is a compulsory subject from the first class of primary education, we found that there are two main reasons that contribute to this. First, the inefficiency of the Greek education system to provide students with a certification of the knowledge of the English language. This means that if they want certification, they are obliged to seek it outside of the public school. Second, in the Greek society knowledge of foreign language is considered as essential for future occupational achievement. This is a belief firmly embedded in the Greek society which attaches great importance in the
knowledge of foreign languages in general, and the English language in particular. It is interesting to note that such beliefs are in line with the official rhetoric concerning the usefulness of foreign languages. The importance attached to the knowledge of foreign languages is now widely recognized. For instance, in 2002, the Barcelona European Council urged EU countries to take initiative to improve mastery of foreign languages by introducing in their educational systems the teaching of at least two foreign languages from an early age (European Council of Barcelona, 2002; European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017). Knowledge of foreign languages is considered an important human competency that can increase human capital and benefit individuals and countries alike (OECD, 2011).

As far as the third research question is concerned, that is, whether there a relationship between socioeconomic background and knowledge of the English language as attested by official certifications, the research findings indicate that there is a strong relationship. Students from more privileged socioeconomic backgrounds usually have higher level of certification of the knowledge of the English language. The families of the students are aware of the choices available concerning providing their offspring with high quality education, being “skilled” choosers, with high levels of economic, social and cultural capital (Ball et al, 1996). By contrast, students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to have lower level certification of the knowledge of the English language. We believe that this is a way through which social class inequalities are maintained and reproduced. Social class differentials in the certification of the knowledge of the English language means that upper and middle-class students are at an advantage, since they can move to the labour market with valued educational qualifications that enhance their occupational prospects.

Apart from the above research findings that relate to the negative social impact of private tutoring, research has shown that private tutoring has negative implications on other levels as well, including the distortion of and the distortion of teacher performance in mainstream schools (Silova et al, 2006), since “teachers may feel that their students have a safety net outside the school and therefore that the teachers do not need to work as diligently as they might when shadow education is not common” (Chan & Bray, 2014, p. 365). The research we collected did not confirm the above research findings, but did show that the resort to private tutoring often leads to a decrease in
the interest for the lesson of English as a foreign language and to decreased motivation to participate actively in the teaching process.

We argue that the massive resort to the private supplementary tuition undermines the principles of “free” public education in Greece (Giamouridis & Bagley, 2006). Private supplementary tuition poses important questions concerning the issue of equity in the Greek education system, since it appears that familial cultural, social and economic capital impact strongly on academic performance. Social class differentials in academic performance constitute an issue that should be dealt with, as they are related to the wider social class inequalities, social exclusion and equity in participation in higher education. Research has shown that it is imperative to “tackle the extent to which working-class children continue to be denied opportunities open to middle-class children on all fronts” (Whitty, 2001, p. 292).

Future research should use qualitative methods of data collection for an in-depth analysis of the social factors impacting on private supplementary tutoring and its implications for equality of opportunity within the Greek educational system. At the micro level, research should focus on educational approaches and strategies that can increase the quality of the teaching of foreign languages at school and provide foreign language teachers and policy makers with robust empirical data that can be used in the design of initiatives that aim at promoting multilingualism.

References


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Negotiating Neoliberalism. Developing Alternative Educational Visions

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Reviews


En la reciente publicación de Tim Rudd e Ivor Goodson, *Negotiating Neoliberalism. Developing Alternative Educational Visions*, se analiza el Neoliberalismo, tan debatido en los últimos tiempos, como factor esencial y determinante, especialmente a partir de la crisis de 2007, de los numerosos cambios socioeducativos y políticas educativas en el mundo occidental. Sin embargo, el análisis no se centra en la visión macro, sino en cómo este nuevo rumbo afecta al desempeño diario de numerosos y numerosas docentes y estudiantes.

Este punto de partida podría parecer, una vez más, un acercamiento crítico, ya sea desde el punto de vista teórico o desde la perspectiva empírica, a cómo el antedicho Neoliberalismo ha propiciado una estructura institucional, mediante las reformas educativas de los últimos años, que imposibilita la acción de los distintos actores sociales relacionados con la educación en la obtención de un entorno transformador.

Nada más lejos de la realidad. El valor de la obra que coordinan Rudd y Goodson, con la participación de diferentes autores en cada uno de sus trece capítulos, niega el asentamiento en la “cultura de la queja” y aboga por el poder de la agencia, en los márgenes todavía no corrompidos por este tipo de políticas. Para ello, los coordinadores de la obra y sus distintos colaboradores ofrecen alternativas transformadoras que permitan, en la práctica cotidiana, acercarnos como docentes a la realidad que deseamos. En este sentido, se aboga por aprovechar las múltiples oportunidades de acción que nos ofrece nuestro día a día como docentes e investigadores educativos para ejercer nuestro poder de agencia.

El concepto sobre el que los autores y autoras del libro desarrollan su propuesta, no es otro que el de “refracción”. Éste es conceptualizado de manera teórica y explicado de manera práctica con experiencias concretas como la influencia de las políticas neoliberales y su aceptación (o no) por parte de los agentes. De esta forma, los autores y las autoras se sitúan al nivel micro de cómo los actores individuales pueden llegar a cambiar la
trayectoria de dicha influencia macro y meso en una suerte de “refracción”, para lograr los objetivos sociales y educativos que pretenden. Ejemplo de ello es, por un lado, el modo en el que podemos concebir la evaluación. Si bien es cierto que estos sistemas han abogado por una evaluación meramente valorativa y meritocrática, existen numerosas experiencias de evaluación formativa que permiten alcanzar logros educativos más allá de las calificaciones. Por otro lado, este trabajo demuestra que la apuesta de muchos centros y docentes por una educación pública basada en la solidaridad, en el logro de todos y todas, y en el valor de la colectividad, puede moverse en los márgenes que permite la estructura neoliberal y alcanzar el objetivo de transformación social.

En toda la obra, el educador y la educadora aparecen como el elemento fundamental para lograr estos propósitos. Se trata de alinear nuestra práctica diaria como docentes, con los objetivos sociales y educativos que pretendemos. Un sueño educativo luminoso y posible que se aleja de concepciones distópicas y aboga por el poder de los agentes educativos para transformar su entorno.

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As the editor of the International Journal of Sociology of Education I would like to thank all the reviewers for the evaluations realized in 2017. I deeply appreciate their work, which have contributed significantly to the quality of this journal. Yours sincerely,

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